

National School of Political Sciences and Public Administration

**“INTERDEPENDENCE AND REGIONAL INITIATIVES
IN THE EASTERN DIMENSION OF THE EUROPEAN
UNION’S NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY”**

Summary

**SCIENTIFIC COORDINATOR
PROF.UNIV. DR. IORDAN GHEORGHE BĂRBULESCU**

**PHD CANDIDATE
MOROȘAN MAGDALENA**

**BUCHAREST
2016**

“If interdependence can be positive or negative, it’s obvious what we ought to be doing...We need a strategy that builds up the positive and beats down the negative. We need to recognize that interdependence is inherently an unstable condition, and we need to move the world toward a more integrated, global community defined by three things: shared benefits, shared responsibilities, shared values.”¹

William Jefferson Clinton

We started our research inspired by the way, in which former US President William Jefferson Clinton has expressed his perception on the practical implementation of the positive side of interdependence concept, that he associates with a paradigm similar to the one on which the European Union is defined: shared benefits, shared responsibilities, shared values.

So we extended this model to the European Neighbourhood Policy, which, as Kahraman also stated, is defined by a framework of partnership that has as central element “the notion of shared values, economic benefits, cooperation against security challenges”² providing to the countries from the European Union’s neighbourhood “a closer relationship which is compatible with increased interdependence.”³

Addressing the EU’s eastern neighborhood region, as a destination area for the reasonings developed in this thesis, we have studied the European Union’s politics dedicated to its neighborhoods through simultaneous examination of the concept of interdependence sides, confrontation between positive and negative interdependence manifested in the states from the Eastern border of the EU, asymmetries that describe the interdependencies in the region, justifying the hypothesis substantiation.

Appeared from the need of launching an appropriate framework for a dedicated policy regarding Eastern Europe, an area where “the countries are experiencing similar problems due to a number of common historical experience in the 20th century”⁴ having economies that depend on each other and sharing powerful political connections, the European Neighbourhood Policy was the answer through which, the European Union wanted

¹ Clinton William Jefferson - First Annual Doyle Lecture at University of Kansas 21 May 2004 in *The Interdependence Handbook, Looking Back, Living the Present, Choosing the Future* Sondra Myers, Benjamin R. Barber, International Debate Education Association, New York, 2004, 43

² Kahraman Sevilyay – *The European Neighbourhood Policy: A critical Assessment*, Ankara Review of European Studies , vol 5, 2012, 13

³ *Ibidem*, 13

⁴ Cimoszewicz, Włodzimierz - *The Eastern Dimension of the European Union. The Polish View*, Speech at Conference “The EU Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy” Warsaw, 20 February 2003.

to strengthen political and economic relations with neighboring states and ensure a high level of security and stability in the region.

The actuality of research is determined by the fact that the analysis of the tackled subject was correlated with the latest changes that occurred in the studied region, considering the fact that from the start of the study, a number of new political and economic factors have influenced the situation of the ex-Soviet countries, beneficiaries of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

In addition, the topic addressed is of great interest both at the political, social and academic level, the transformations undergone in the years 2014-2016 by the European Union (global economic crisis, immigrants crisis, Brexit, security issues caused by terrorist attacks in Member States of the European Union) will have concrete consequences on the functioning of the European Union, as well as on the approach of foreign and security policy so, by default, on the the policy targeting neighboring states of the European Union.

Thus, after launching the reform process of the Neighbourhood Policy which is currently in a stage of completion, followed the launch, in June 2016, of an overall strategy for foreign and security policy of the European Union entitled "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe", document consisting of mandatory priorities, identified following security problems that certain Member States of the European Union faced, which must be subsequently transformed into concrete measures. The document continues the principle on which, was built the idea of the European Neighbourhood Policy, namely that the European Union's security depends directly on the security of its borders proximity and strengthening of neighboring countries will be one of the main objectives of European Union, EU aiming an integrated approach of the fragility of the ENP beneficiary states by measures regarding economic, social or energy sector.

European Neighborhood Policy, initiated by the European Union as a tool for neighborhood from its southern and eastern borders, in the context of interdependence that exists between the states involved, has been the subject of our research. So, within a comprehensive analysis on many levels, we approached political, economical and social development of the countries from the eastern dimension of the ENP, following the implementation of this framework for cooperation with the European Union, the way in which they, along with the European Union, manage to achieve their goals, detailed aspects of this new type of "partnership" covering several sectors, being outlined in the depth study of the case of the Republic of Moldova.

Starting from Keohane and Nye's considerations on the theory of interdependence, this paper will present the evolution of the European Neighbourhood Policy, identifying factors that have disadvantaged the implementation of this framework and formulating a hypothesis that the source of inefficiency of this policy was completed through a blending of many causes such as the lack of integration perspective, the fact that EU offers that have not been adjusted to the needs and expectations eastern states, their inability to negotiate a a favorable structure but also the influence of different levels of interdependence between actors in the region.

It is obvious that after the collapse of the Soviet bloc, a considerable part of the newly independent states, expressed their European aspirations, for commercial reasons, technological It is obvious that after the collapse of the Soviet bloc a considerable part of the newly independent states expressed their European aspirations, for commercial, technological or investments reasons, but their interconnection, both economic and political with Russia, has contributed to the lack of a firm and immediate measures that could help their transformation into democratic states that share EU values.

The evolution of the events in the Eastern Europe, from the past three years, that have reshaped the boundaries of Ukraine, have transformed the EU's eastern neighbors in an area, whose evolution, quite unpredictable, has generated heated debates on the influences that the two determinant actors, European Union and Russia, will have on states of the region. The way in which both the European Union and Russia will interact with these countries, their attempt to identify the needs and expectations which states have, in the willingness to make them, constant partners, loyal, which will depend both economically and politically by them, was another aspect of the analysis from this research. Therefore we tried to examine the relationship between the European Union, Russia and the countries of the Eastern dimension of the European neighborhood by interdependence theory, considering their cooperation, throughout history, as the basis for a multifaceted analysis.

The creation by the European structures of a new instrument, the Eastern Partnership, whose appearance marked the moment of opening "of a new chapter in relations with the EU's eastern neighbors"⁵ and drew a lot of criticism from Russia's representatives, that it considered as an alternative to NATO expansion, to the East. Having created special bodies, actions set out at bilateral or multilateral level, the Eastern Partnership was followed

⁵ European Commission – Press release - Brussels, 3 December 2008, www.ec.europa.eu, accesat în 3 martie 2016

almost simultaneously, by the Black Sea Strategy, and later by Strategy of the European Union for the Danube Region, instruments for cooperation which included the countries beneficiary of the Neighbourhood Policy and succeeded in bringing added value to the area, but which have been unable to contribute to the aims of of the Neighbourhood Policy.

Some of the former Soviet countries, initially coopted by the European Union for its Eastern neighborhood policy, later, tacit, became closer to Russia, through the opposition to European Union plans or concrete by joining the Eurasian Economic Union.

So, I considered appropriate the analysis of the external relations of the countries from the eastern border of the EU, which, in order to succeed economic development that was meant to ensure internal security and stability through positive relationships with external partners, had to use the opportunities deriving from the their relations with Russia and the European Union, because internal political and socio-economic conditions are currently incompatible with the drastic reduction of cooperation with one of the two parties. Pentru înțelegerea teoriei abordate și exemplificarea perspectivelor economice și sociale ce însoțesc măsurile Uniunii Europene din cadrul acestei politici și a inițiativelor regionale ce i se asociază,

Exemplifying the approached theory in order to understand the economic and social perspectives that accompany the European Union's measures under this policy and the regional initiatives that are associated to it, we used as a study case Moldova, a country constantly under pressure of Russia's decisions and under the influence of changes in the Eastern Europe but that had taken firm steps in order to become closer to the EU. Thus we examined the decisions of the governments of the Republic of Moldova, as a partner state in the Neighbourhood Policy, which, from the moment of signing the Action Plan with the European Union on 22 February 2005, have taken a series of reforms that were aimed to the state's democratization and to gain benefits from the regional initiatives which the European Union has launched in the region.

Our approach has completed the comprehensive dimension of studies on the conflict in Transnistria, which will have separate section dedicated, a in which will be analyzed the opposition of the separatist regime to any action linked to the concept of Europe, trying to argue, how this frozen conflict, interferes with the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy's measures in Moldova.

It is obvious that the historical connection between Moldova and Romania can not be ignored and cooperation between the two states, one as beneficiary of the European

Union's Neighbourhood Policy and the other a full member of the European Union, represented a separate issue which completed our research.

The study from this thesis will, realizing the construction of possible scenarios for the evolution of the EU's relations with countries from its eastern border, with the enunciation of possible modes of action of the actors involved, in the current conditions of an European Union affected by an external crisis of immigrants and an internal crisis caused by the UK through its desire to leave the European Community.

The innovative character of the thesis consists in the analysis of an European policies through the interdependence of the actors involved in the geographical area which is the beneficiary of the analyzed policy. The research will complete the studies in the field by building a picture of interdependencies in the eastern neighborhood of the European Union, on which have emerged the consequences of Neighbourhood Policy's implementation, in the beneficiary countries, and have anticipated the challenges and evolution trends of its, leading to conclusions and recommendations that can be used in the scientific approach of future political strategy in the region.

The structure of the Thesis

The thesis begins with an introductory chapter in which the author argues the reason for choosing the research subject, main directions of study and its arguments for theoretical framing. **Capitolul doi**, destinat descrierii metodologiei cercetării, pornește de la definiția cercetării considerată un șir de acțiuni în vederea obținerii unor răspunsuri, evidențiind faptul că în cazul acestei teze impulsul inițial al cercetării este generat de dorința înțelegerii eșecului Politicii Europene de Vecinătate

Chapter two, designed for the description of the research methodology, starts with the definition of research, considered a number of actions in order to obtain answers, pointing out that in this thesis, the original impulse of the research is generated by the desire of understanding the fail of the European Neighbourhood Policy, of regional initiatives designed to support it, and how the interdependence that exists between actors in the region influenced the faulty implementation of this European policy.

In terms of methodology, the research utilizes a multidisciplinary approach of EU policy aimed to its neighborhood given the fact that for the development of this research were used researches from the studied domain, namely international relations, and research from history, political science or international economic relations.

In the research was used a combination of theoretical and empirical methods that led to the achievement of a comprehensive analysis, overall of the researched subject, the scientific approach being finalized with a multifaceted study of the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in Moldova.

Thus, given the high degree of economic, social and historical interdependence, manifested towards Russia, by the Eastern states at the border of the European Union, benefiting from the European Neighbourhood Policy, and failure of implementation of the Neighbourhood Policy, recognized by the European Union itself, by launching a comprehensive review process of this instrument, we started structuring the research in this thesis, from the assumption that a high level of interdependence that characterizes many types of relationships between the countries in EU's eastern neighbourhood and the European Union, has resulted in an increase EU's influence and power in the region, and such, through a more intensive economic and social cooperation, the goals and the main objective of the European Neighbourhood Policy will be met.

Establishment of the theoretical framework of the research was conducted in Chapter three. The theoretical framing of the studied aspect, respectively the European Neighbourhood Policy and the regional initiatives launched by the European Union to support it, was made from various approaches of the theories of the international relations, naming thereafter the most beneficial theoretical model considered, in order to demonstrate perspective of the researcher. I have started the choice for the theoretical framing of the tackled subject, based on European Commission Communication from March 2003, basically the act of the announcement of the establishment of a new framework for Europe's southern and eastern neighborhoods, which recognizes the economic and political interdependence of the European Union neighbors and it is considered that to achieve stability, security and prosperity at the EU borders requires a strengthening of these relations of interdependence.

We find in this chapter of the research, brief descriptions of idealism, realism, neorealism as theories of international relations, as they evolved, until the 80s, when occurs the reaction of neoliberals, which based on political and economic course of events in recent years, it makes a critical argument in response to the neorealist position which did not admit other actors on the stage of international relations, its ascendancy being in the principles contained of Keohane's work, starting from the study "Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond" published in 1983.

With the emergence of neoliberalism, we assist to an intense debate between two theories, neo-liberalism and realism, neo-liberals being followers of international

cooperation to benefit of both parties, and thereby recognizing other actors on the international scene, along with states. Although some authors prefer to label them, structural realism and institutionalism, because of the recognition of the importance of institutions, or observe some elements of their approaching, the two opposing views retains some important differences noted by Baldwin in his "Neoliberalism, Neorealism and World Politics "in 1993.

Cooperation in the neo-liberal institutionalist vision, can be reflected even within the European Neighbourhood Policy, where the EU Member States, through competent institutions provide a consistent framework rewards to the states from the neighborhood instead demanding implementation of measures leading to the security of the areas near the EU border.

Deepening these aspects, I have directed the research towards an approach which is a synthesis of liberal and realist theories, from international relations, and that analyze the linkages of transnational complexes and interdependencies between states and societies.

Thus, we considered relevant, to how political decisions influence economic interdependence, a comparison between the behavior of firms in the market and of the states at the relationall level, made by Waltz and Aggarwal. Agarwal says that "just as companies holding monopolies (dominated by offer) or mopsons (dominated by request) influence the relative prices and the behavior of other companies, the same nations that hold major parts of world production or consumption in a particular industry adjust policies of other nations and the rules governing the exchange"⁶, thereby influencing the behavior of states who are in a dependent relationship with them.

Using the theory of interdependence approached by Robert O Keohane and Nye Jeoseph, in the book "Power and interdependence", I highlighted in this chapter, that interdependence restricts autonomy and the actors whose degree of interdependence is reduced use interdependence as power factor.

Analyzing the situation in the eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy we can support Schimmelfennig's statements, which concluded that proximity and asymmetric interdependence give rise not only to economic gains but also to influence.⁷

⁶ Aggarwal V Liberal Protectionism. Berkley, CA: University of California Press,1985

⁷ Frank Schimmelfenning – "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union", International Organization, vol 55, nr1, 47-80

Continuing the incursion in assessing relations between the EU and countries of the Eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy we found that the interdependence of countries in Eastern Europe and the European Union is in favor of the Union.

The actors involved in the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy, especially in its eastern dimension, have certain resources that can influence the asymmetry of relations between them, and thus supporting the foreign policy interests and domination in the region.

Thus, the way these asymmetries influenced the implementation and the failure of European Neighbourhood Policy will be one of the main themes of our research, showing among other things that, as it was claimed by other authors “the asymmetrical nature of the European Neighbourhood Policy, which put the interests of the European Union before those of the neighboring countries”⁸ is a justification for its failure to achieve its objectives.

Unequal distribution of economic resources lead to different economic potential of states that generates asymmetric trade relations causing an uneven economic interdependence resulting in a disproportionate distribution of power of the actors involved.

Based on the use of this power, which can be considered the ability of a state or organization to determinate others to do something they would not do otherwise, that turns sometimes into a significant political resource.

Examining the elements of the Neighbourhood Policy, we noted that it is an instrument through which the European Union disseminates its values in the neighboring countries and transmit new information through which wants to change the beliefs of its neighborhood, applying this way principle from the theory of interdependence that the national interest can be changed by learning, such learning leading to a strategic interdependence.⁹

The rewards of the Union for fulfilling the commitments by the neighboring countries provide enhanced benefits confirming the theory stated, that both sides, that are in a situation of interdependence should benefit. The partner state will make an analysis of the benefits received compared to the costs of implementation of the commitments and thus will decide whether to adopt the values and principles transmitted through this policy.

⁸ Laurent Beauguitte, Yann Richard, France Guerin-Pace – “The EU and Its Neighbourhoods: A textual Analysis on Key Documents of the European Neighbourhood Policy””Geopolitics, Taylor & Francis (Routledge), 2015

⁹ Ernst B. Haas, "Why We Still Need the United Nations: The Collective Management of International Conflict, 1945-1984," Policy Paper in International Affairs No. 26, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1986

Analyzing the types of interdependencies that arise in international relations in Europe, we find that we are facing a positive interdependence and a negative interdependence. Thus, we have exemplified these characteristics, from Schimmelfenning's claims, which observe that states gain by exploiting the positive interdependence with the countries from Central and Eastern Europe through enlargement¹⁰ and we support this paradigm in the case of the European Neighbourhood Policy where the EU can use its interdependence with neighboring states to achieve his desire, namely to ensure a self, stable and prosperous environment at its borders.

To perform a complete analysis of the European Neighbourhood Policy, of the methodology for its implementation, of the transformation that has occurred in the neighboring countries of the European Union but also in order to frame the subject in the theoretical area identified for conducting the research, in chapter four of the thesis, we showed the moment of appearance of the EU policy for its neighborhood and pursuing in parallel the evolution of this eastern and southern neighborhood of the European Union and the transformations undergone by the European Union in the years before the emergence of this new cooperation framework.

To have an accurate reflection of the context in which it occurred initiation of first contacts between the EU and the countries bordering to the east we presented the EU eastern neighbourhood analyzing economic issues and political aspects related to the values of the rule of law, the social issues, the scope of the conflicts emerged in the region, which in our opinion, have contributed to the emergence of a necessity, recognized at EU level, to create a tool for managing the EU's relations with countries in this region.

The transformations that took place in the period immediately following the disappearance of the USSR in the post-Soviet space were directly influenced by the converging points of the new independent states and the distinctive elements characterizing each state given that we are dealing with an amalgam consisting of European countries such as Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Russia, the Caucasian countries Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan and Asian countries such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan.

Adding to this paradigm also the fact that each of the 15 states followed an individual road from membership of the USSR to an independent state, we have the

¹⁰ Richard Rosecrane, Artur Stein – “Interdependence : Mith or Reality”, World Politics, October 1973, 1-27

premises that describes a post-Soviet space that drew attention to those who are involved in international relations or at the political or academic level.

"What was a nation is now fifteen distinct economies, interrelated, at least in the short term through complex networks of interdependence, woven in years of central planning"¹¹ it is a paradigm valid if we refer to the interdependence of the 15 new states formed after the dissolution of the USSR .

Examining the creation of the CIS, which was aimed to develop relations of cooperation and neighborhood relations between Member States, based on the existence of their sovereignty and taking into account that, as also Kubicek states, referring to relations between the former Soviet states, 'interdependencies (in trade, investment, transport networks, movement, and even cultural ties) were quite deep even before the establishment of the CIS"¹², we might conclude that this initiative may be considered an appropriate solution for this region. Throughout this paper, we have highlighted the factors that led to the failure of this initiatives, that "managed to survive as an institution but is far from being a central actor in the post-Soviet space"¹³.

Thus, analyzing from the perspective of the theory of interdependence relations, between the former Soviet states, we believe that the most important relationship of interdependence is manifested in the energy sector, given its macroeconomic importance and its use as power factor especially when we consider the relationship between Russia and certain former Soviet states, that are vulnerable from an energetic point of view.

It is important to emphasize that this interdependence does not relate strictly to the natural resources existing in the former Soviet states, also includes the interdependence generated by distribution networks. Each of the new independent states has a separate energy profile analysis, from which we can extract which vulnerabilities they show, whether they are consuming countries, supplier or transit countries.

Referring to countries such as Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia and Belarus, considered part of the eastern neighborhood of the European Union, we observe the Soviet legacy of a shared energy dependence on Russia, of a polluting energy infrastructure and a power sector characterized by numerous political interference or conflicts of interest

¹¹ World Bank, International Economics Department – “Measuring the Incomes of the Economies of The Former Soviet Union”, December 1992

¹² Kubicek Paul – “The Commonwealth of Independent States: an example of failed regionalism” – Review of International Studies, British International Studies Association, 2009, 240

¹³ Kubicek Paul – “The Commonwealth of Independent States: an example of failed regionalism” – Review of International Studies, British International Studies Association, 2009, 242

given that "energy can indeed be a very profitable business in some states of the former USSR that are energy dependent." ¹⁴

Considering the interdependence of the political factor with the economic and social factor as a way of describing the complete and complex landscape of eastern neighborhood of the EU, prior to the launch of a policy instrument to support countries in the region, we have outlined the features of this space, both politically and social, highlighting interdependencies that these countries have in these sectors with Russia.

After an economically, socially and politically analysis of the eastern neighboring countries the European Union's, we headed research to analyze the frozen conflicts in the region, whose presence in the territory bordering the European Union, we believe, that was one of the determinants for the European Union's decision to develop its neighborhood policy and thus intended to ensure a stable and secure space on its borders.

Referring to the conflicts in Transnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh and Abkhazia and South Ossetia, we support Wallander's view that "clearly the death of the Soviet Union has not removed interdependent nature of security of post-Soviet states. Common borders, mixed population, instabilities transition from communism, division and also Soviet deployment across multiple countries, have created common security interests but also competing."¹⁵

It is obvious that the existence of these conflicts led to a climate of uncertainty in which one of the main factors was the intervention of Russia which through its economic, military or political actions, affected the territorial integrity of some of the newly independent states, helping to keep separatism of territories and thus managing to maintain its dominance in the region.

States that existed in the vicinity of the European Union, both in the south and east, also in particular those resulting from the disintegration of the Soviet Union, who were in the early 2000s, characterized by instability, having economic systems less developed, also having reduced opportunities to ensure security in the area, being sometimes a factor threatening the security of the European Union, repositioning of the eastern borders of the EU, together with the international context that has shaped after 11 September 2001, were the startup items for the emergence of an approach defined and institutionalized way for the European neighborhood.

¹⁴ Balmaceda M. Margarita – Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union, Routledge, New York, 2008, 9

¹⁵ Wallander A. Celeste – Conflict Resolution and Peace Operations, 107

If from economically and socially point of view, we presented the former USSR countries after independence, this time of research we followed the evolution of their relationship with the European , in particular regarding politically and financially issues, in order to further interpret the EU decisions on the need to adopt a special defined framework for neighboring states.

Even if Agreements for Cooperation and Partnership included regulations on economic and trade issues, EU funding through special programs this region reforms, that could have contributed to the installation of democratic societies, stable and oriented towards European values, they were generally considered insufficient, by the newly independent states who wanted concrete measures for a possible gradual accession to the European Union.

Slow reform processes, human rights abuses, disregard the rule of law, the lack of an institutional and legislative system to facilitate reforms and transition to market economy that have maintained after the implementation of the Agreements of Cooperation and Partnership with Union have helped shaping Aslund's opinion that, these agreements were insubstantial¹⁶, also even if the agreements signed with Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaidjean also Georgia, "shared similar structures"¹⁷ their application had different results according to economic profile, social and security of each partner, to the degree of interest for integration into the European Community and the application accordingly of the European values and standards.

Given the fact that bilateral relations of the Union European with the states in Eastern and Southern neighborhood and regional framework for its Southern Neighbourhood have had not the expected results, difficult situations maintaining in this two areas, the European Union expressed a wish for reorientation of its foreign policy and for the creation of the a new regulatory framework, adapted to the needs of its neighborhoods, which unifies the bilateral relations of the Union with the neighboring states, with the multilateral relations, which mainly aims to ensure security and stability at the EU borders.

Starting from the Polish Initiative of 1998 on the need for a strategy for the eastern neighbors of the Union or from the steps of Straw¹⁸, in 2002, other member states or future members of the Union joins the idea of a policy Neighbourhood and the result of these

¹⁶ Aslund Anders – Ukraine – What Went Rong and How to Fix It , Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington, 2015, 42

¹⁷ Nowak Carsten – Legal Arrangements for the Promotion and Protection of Foreign Investments Within the Framework of the Eu Association Policy and European Neighbourhood Policy in Brundenberg Marc, Griebel Jorn, Hindelang Steffen – European Yearbook of International Economic Law, Springer, 2011, 128

¹⁸ Jack Straw , Ministrul britanic pentru relatii externe care in 2002 a scris preşedenţiei spaniole privind necesitatea unei noi relatii cu vecinii estici ai Uniunii dupa extinderea acesteia catre est

actions was that in March 2003, the Commission forwarded to the Council and Parliament communication "Wider Europe - Neighbourhood: a New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours", the document wanting to be a response, to the many requests made in order to have a different foreign policy for the states in the neighborhood.

The 16 Member States to which this policy has been dedicated to, were: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, Ukraine.

The first references to the interdependence of the EU and its neighbors makes Javier Solana, in his work on the European Security Strategy, where he considers the establishment of a zone of security and stability in Europe, closely linked to the interdependence of safety exists between the two sides. "The European Union shares with its neighbors an asymmetrical interdependent relationship and the level of asymmetry has always been an important source for the EU's presence in the neighborhood."¹⁹

Treated more often like a specific method than as a policy as highlight Van Vooren with a distinct and rational toolbox and targeted cut, on the neighborhood, the ENP was designed to provide a coherent framework for action at EU borders.

If perhaps the most common definition of the Neighborhood Policy is the fact that it is an alternative to enlargement policy, that must be regarded as having an important role in determining the place of this policy in EU policies, references like that of Borzel which considers it a development policy or criticism of many researchers, even since its launching, as Zaiotti who believe that "ENP has been developed keeping in mind the neighbors."²⁰

Thereby in this chapter, we analyzed the literature that has as object of study European Neighbourhood Policy, identifying a number of authors who address the European Neighbourhood Policy through interdependence theory.

Given the fact that the European Union is based on a process of compliance and rewards, we observe that the connection which is developed by Lavenex and Schimmelfennig considering their opinion that "leverage increases the efficiency of international interdependence asymmetry in favor of the EU"²¹ and therefore supports our hypothesis that the degree of interdependence between stakeholders determine effects on how is implemented the policy.

¹⁹ Sevily Kahraman, "THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY: THE EUROPEAN UNION'S NEW ENGAGEMENT TOWARDS WIDER EUROPE", 2005

²⁰ Zaiotti Ruben – Of Friends and Fences : Europe's Neighbourhood Policy and the "Gated Community Syndrome", European Integration, 2007, 152

²¹ Lavenex Sandra, Schimmelfennig – Democracy Promotion in the EU's Neighbourhood – From Leverage to Governance, Routledge, 2013, 10

Thus the European Neighbourhood Policy "is based on the idea that the EU can indirectly improve neighborhood safety by supporting domestic reforms and through closer ties with neighbors. This reflects the strong role of liberal ideas of democratic peace and economic interdependence in European foreign policy." ²²

The strategic objective of the European Union - to ensure a safe extended neighborhood, established by the European Security Strategy is meant to be fulfilled through European Neighborhood Policy, this being, as it was highlighted by Cremona "an attempt by the European Union to build common foreign and security support of many pillars and making economic development and the rule of law principle axis of its external relations" ²³

Starting also from this theory, which I supported and endorsed it in the paper, we have shown that one of the main causes of failure of implementation of the ENP and its regional initiatives been insufficient economic support provided by the EU, economic dependence and in particular energy dependence from Russia, of the states benefiting from this policy, contributing decisively to the lack of a firm response to its actions. European Union position as a security provider, based on economic development has failed to be a guarantor of security in its Eastern neighborhood, even the existing divergences between some Member States, helping to build a neighborhood policy failure, particularly regarding its ability to be able to anticipate the crisis that covered eastern Europe since the fall of 2013.

We have noted that very conclusive to our research, the intentions set out by the European Commission in its Communication "Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2008" released in April 2009, which established the imperative need for a partnership in growth based on mutual interdependence and stronger need to address the increasingly frequent problems of the neighborhood economy ²⁴. The specified conditionality of this policy is again highlighted in the same document, positive incentives depending directly of the need to implement the Action Plan, demonstrating the ambition of the partner concerned to go further, particularly as regards democratic practice, human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law.

Developments from the Eastern Europe have highlighted the need for the EU to act quickly in different types of situations, with different types of decision-making

²² Raik Kristi,- Geopolitics, values and the ideational battle over the EU's Eastern neighbourhood in Raik Kristi, Saari Sinikukka, Key Actors in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood, The Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Grano Oy, 2016, 64

²³ Marise Cremona "The European Neighbourhood Policy: Legal and Institutional Issues", CDDRL Working Papers, nr 25, noiembrie 2004

²⁴ European Commission, Communication from the Commission: Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2008, 23 Aprilie 2009

procedures, which must be considered in the drafting of legislation like as the framework legislation for financial assistance, the simplification of procedures in trade policy, or efforts to use faster decision-making procedures in the use of tools from the Common Security and Defence Policy.

Besides the events that marked negatively this policy we can signal also the events that have positively influenced the eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy, namely the signing of Association Agreements by Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine, which can be considered as a first step of the removal of Russia's control and also a firm step in approaching the European Union.

Due to the failure of the EU in order to maintain a stable and secure framework at its borders and its inability to support one of the countries benefiting from the Neighbourhood Policy, in the actions to maintain territorial integrity and also considering the existing conflicts in the southern neighborhood of the European Union, which generated a process migration towards Europe, the European Commission has launched in March 2015, a public consultation on the review of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

Chapter four research concludes with an analysis of financial instruments dedicated European Neighbourhood Policy, both in 2007-2013 financial framework and the financial framework 2014-2020.

In the fifth chapter, dedicated to regional initiatives in the eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy of the European Union, we presented the emergence and evolution, of the Eastern Partnership, of the Black Sea Strategy and of the EU Strategy for the Danube Region and how they have contributed to developing of the beneficiary countries and how they help to the achievement of the European Neighbourhood Policy's goals

Analyzing the framework of the Eastern Partnership we observe its flexibility and the fact that it was initially regarded, with some ambiguity, by partner countries that found themselves in front of an initiative with the beneficial objectives for their future development goals but without a clear purpose and motivation that obviously have been constituted by a real integration into the European Union.

This is probably one of the reasons that contributed to the failure Partnership objectives, expectations gap between the EU and the partner countries is also reflected in the difference between the performance of states of the eastern dimension of the European neighborhood and expected results of European Union representatives.

Even if through this partnership has been an intensification of the dialogue between the partner states and the European Union, dialog shown at governmental, social or

economic level, concrete results expected in the areas of democracy, human rights, economic or political have not been achieved, numerous measures and actions have remained only at the dialogue level between the parties.

Although "eastern neighbors see dialogue and rapprochement with the Union as a way to balance the asymmetry in their relations with Russia,"²⁵ the European Union could not concentrate all their efforts to reduce this asymmetry and Russia and continued to use it to get its political goals as we have shown in the next section of research

Assertion of general measures that have been formulated on other occasions to summary proceedings restatement, reiteration, reconfirmation of actions without exposing concrete plans that should have a precise time framing, real human and financial resources, a determined way of evaluation and thus to contribute in a noticeable way to make easier the achievement of the objectives set primarily on the needs expressed by the partner states

Being a phenomenon increasingly more present in current international relations, interdependence is a determining factor in interstate relations, especially when it comes to asymmetrical interdependence. Given the complex relationships between actors in the Eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy existence of economic dependence influence their behavior shaping international relations or certain contributing significantly to some decisions of international politics.

So in the last part of chapter five of the research, we analyzed these economic and political influences highlighting certain vulnerabilities that the Eastern Partnership states have manifested due to a historical dependence they have on Russia, and whether they have determined transformations of the path of these European countries.

Besides these two levels of interdependence we have integrated in the context the interdependence influence over the performance of ENP purpose and the relationship of interdependence between Russia and the European Union. Thus we have highlighted here, the implications of the EU's energy dependence on Russia, the effects of sanctions imposed by the European Union to Russia, after the annexation of Crimea, and the position of EU member states who supported the lifting of these sanctions.

If in the the first chapters we have studied the Neighborhood Policy of the European Union as well as regional initiatives in the eastern dimension of it, we have tried that in chapter six of the thesis, to highlight the particular case and the complex of historically

²⁵ Sadowski Rafal – Partnership in Times of Crisis, Challenges for the Eastern European Countries Integration with Europe, Center for Eastern Studies, 2013, 30-31

evolution of Republic of Moldova, after declaration of independence, in terms of relations with the European Union, Russia and Romania.

Thus analyzing the implementation of the Action Plan agreed with the European Union, the effects and the manner of implementation of the Association Agreement signed by Moldova with the EU and the new directions of Moldova's relations with the European Union, imposed by crises like the Ukrainian crisis, migration or Brexit, we used elements of the structure of this case study to support the hypothesis stated above and to demonstrate that the interdependence of countries in the eastern dimension of the European neighborhood, towards Russia, has contributed decisively to the failure of the implementation of the Neighbourhood Policy and has created serious obstacles for the European course of these countries.

In chapter seven, I concluded that the analysis provided in this research, confirms the assumptions that we have made, that the source of the inefficiency of this policy was completed through a blending of many causes such as lack of integration perspective, unadjusted for the European Union to the needs and expectations of the states in the East, their inability to negotiate in their favor and the influence of different levels of interdependence between actors in the region.

It is obvious that in the Eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy of the European Union is a confrontation between positive interdependence and negative interdependence. Actions aimed to increase the positive interdependence should be multiplied, in our view, as has been shown by the course of this study, a more interdependent European Union with its eastern neighbors, accompanied by diminishing interdependence towards Russia of the states from the eastern dimension of the European neighborhood, will help create an area of stability and prosperity at the eastern borders of the European Union, and to meet the objectives of the Neighbourhood Policy and the efficient implementation of EU regional initiatives in the region.

Providing a dedicated policy for its Eastern neighborhood, tailored to the needs of individual countries, given their interests, and addressing to a smaller number of priorities that they can solve completely and efficiently, without expecting quick results, given that some state reforms will take a long processes, are elements that can reform the current way of addressing of the European Union to the states from its eastern border.

We believe that the regional dimension of the Neighbourhood Policy should be strengthened by maintaining regional initiatives already in force, adapting them permanently to the new developments on the eastern border of the EU and the Black Sea, through the

introduction of new common challenges such as energy, migration or security on their list of priorities. The approach consisting in platforms of dialogue as was proposed by Romania, we consider particularly useful because they will involve all actors in the region in solving the serious issues from this geographical area.

After Brexit, phenomenon that reflects a situation not only in Britain, but one common to several Member States, there is a real danger of the disintegration of the European Union. We believe it is necessary in order to avoid a disaster in Europe, to take a number of concrete measures that has to be immediately implemented and that has to lead to rethinking areas such as security of EU borders, fighting terrorism, combating of inequalities between Member States, establishing clear rules on what constitutes the rights and responsibilities of member states, strengthening the visibility of European values and adapt them, to the needs of European citizens, assessed at the level of 2016.

At the end of my research I concluded that it is obvious that the European situation is not favorable to maintain the current form of the European Union, but considering the exacerbation of nationalist items, the speed with which have been exercised certain events and unpredictability that the Union has manifested to certain recent situations, the European Union have to adopt serious reforms and the 27 Member States, after UK exist, has to react quickly and efficiently.

We believe that the new European paradigm must return to the dictum enunciated by Jean Monnet 'We unite people, not states'²⁶ and EU reconstruction has to be designed to redefine solidarity, that currently, some Member States, are about to forget.

²⁶ ec.europa.eu/romania/documents/eu_romania/tema_36.pdf, accesat in 1 septembrie 2016