THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF POLITICAL STUDIES AND PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION
DOCTORAL SCHOOL – POLITICAL SCIENCE

DOCTORAL THESIS

The Eastern Partnership between multilateralism and power politics within the crisis of the liberal world order

Dynamics and constructed identities in an "overcrowded neighbourhood"

SUMMARY

Scientific supervisor: Professor Ioan Mircea Pașcu, PhD

PhD Candidate: Ionela Maria Ciolan

Bucharest

2021

Table of contents

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AA	Association Agreement
AP	Action Plan
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CIS	The Commonwealth of Independent States
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area
EaP	Eastern Partnership
ECU	Eurasian Custom Union
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EU	European Union
EUBAM	EU Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
FTA	Free Trade Accord
GDP	Gross domestic product
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement

PSM	Socialist Party of Moldova
TACIS	Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States
TEU	The Treaty on European Union
UfM	Union for the Mediterranean
UN	United Nations Organization
US	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WTO	World Trade Organization

Summary

a) Aim of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is twofold. On one side, we are bringing a new concept that will cover the current gap in the literature, on the other we are analysing the implementation of the Eastern Partnership and the relations between the involved actors through nexus of constructivism and foreign policy analysis. More precisely, we will examine how the identity-building process of Self versus the Other is translated in foreign policy preferences.

The international society is, today, in a transition from the Postwar liberal hegemonic order (dominated by the US and West) towards a multipolar world order. This crisis of the liberal world order has conducted to various degrees of protectionism, re-nationalization, populism, spheres of influence, great power politics and instability. Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the unofficial war against Ukraine in Donbas represent the restructuring of the European security architecture. The rise of the Russian assertive and aggressive foreign policy coincides with the birth of the Eastern Partnership.

In this volatile context, this thesis is proposing to analyse the developments in the Eastern Partnership for the past decade and to cover a gap in the literature by proposing another filter through which the Eastern Partnership region can be interpreted. In the academic debates, for the past 10 years, there were numerous theoretical attempts of defining the function, role, agency, and meaning of the Eastern Partnership. From "common neighbourhood" to "shared neighbourhood" to "overlapping neighbourhood" and "contested neighbourhood", all of these concepts comprise a transitionary phase of the European Union's foreign policy actions in its Eastern Vicinity and the counterreactions of the Russian Federation. Within these academic endeavours, I propose another concept that is more explanatory of the current complexities of the Eastern Partnership region, challenges, issues, opportunities and conflicting geopolitical narratives and agendas.

 Moving beyond the binary vision of Eastern Partnership as an area caught between the normative and geopolitical interests of the EU and Russia's realpolitik and sphere of influences, I introduce the concept of **"overcrowded neighbourhood".** By overcrowded neighbourhood, I understand today's geographic territory of the Eastern vicinity (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan) as a crossroad of three competing geopolitical agendas: the EU-led Eastern

Partnership, Russia's Eurasian Economic Union and China's Belt and Road Initiative with all the political, economic, social, ideological, and normative implications that each big actor brings to this region.

The past decade of Eastern Partnership implementation was hindered by two aspects: on one side, the decreasing of the EU soft power abilities and secondly, the rising in influence of other actors. The diminish of Brussels proposed model for partner countries came as a consequence of the financial and economic crisis, the reducing of the EaP budget for the "more to more" initiatives, and the shortening of the leverage and conditionality power of EU (Cugusi 2015).

On the other side, the emergence of other international actors in the Eastern vicinity contributed to the scale down of EU soft power abilities. Apart from Russia, other actors have started growing their influence in the region in the past 10 years (China, Turkey, Iran, USA). Adopting the sovereignty as the red line in conducting foreign policy, China is building its different international stance from the West. As Breslin suggests Beijing is "*allowing each country to develop its own political and economic systems and norms independently rather than have them imposed by external powers and actors*"(Breslin 2012, p.5). This approach led to two direct outcomes. Firstly, contrary to the Western stance of linking financial aid to conditionality measures (rule of law, good governance, human rights, reforms), Chinese donations and economic grants are free. No demands for domestic political reforms are required. And secondly, working with China as a trade partners and aid provider, broke the monopoly of Western states and was indicative of the partner countries disagreements with the Western policy applications (Cugusi 2015).

Apart from EU's Eastern Partnership, Russia's European Economic Union, China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has grown in influence and activity in the Eastern neighbourhood. The EaP states are still, to a certain amount, affected by internal conflicts, economically weak and dependant on external aid, unreformed and prone to political uncertainty. This makes them a vulnerable target in the competing geopolitical regional projects of the big actors. At the intersection of these diverging geopolitical ambitions, the post-Soviet countries are oscillating between balancing and bandwagoning in their foreign policy strategies (Nuriyev 2020).

The second aim of the thesis is to examine the role of identities in the construction of a foreign policy agenda. As such, I am employing three main constructivist concepts (identity building, Self-Other perceptions, and socializations) on the framework of analysing foreign policy decisions

taken by Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia. Here, I am also looking at the link between a national identity and the formation of the European identity.

The link between identity, foreign policy and actorness was greatly researched by the International Relations academics for the past two decades. Decision-makers and state elites are constructing the social world in which they exercise foreign policy actions in cooperation with other countries. As such, foreign policy is a mechanism of creating connections among states (Wicaksana, 2009).

Foreign policy can be defined as an array of formal external contacts and connections handled by a sovereign state/ independent actor within the global arena. Foreign policy only refers to official actions conducted by representatives of a state, carrying as such the legitimacy of those actions, and limiting only to those actions that are only related to the state affairs (Wicaksana, 2009).

Foreign policy identity is built on the domestic identity. Hoft suggests that "*every foreign policy decision maker is as much a member of the social cognitive structure that characterizes her society as any average citizen'' (Hopf 2002:7).* As such the Self-identification process grant meaning to both ourselves and others and create the basis for interests (Houghton, 2007).

Building meaning to the external world is a common endeavor for both constructivists and foreign policy analysis (FPA). Constructivism suggests that history, past rhetoric, behaviour and symbols have an important explanatory meaning and are interpreted through the actor's self-perception and actualization. For Wendt, the actions of actors are dependent on meaning, meaning which is established by the process of interaction. The meaning and not the material system offers the foundation for identity. Therefore, foreign policy makers are constructing images that give an initial interpretation to the social world and its subjects, among which there are the country in question/Self and the other(s). The concept "Other" can describe other state actors, international non-state actors and social movement, and the general public. The Self interacts which Other based on a clear and accurate perception, or in some situations, based on confused and distrustful interpretations. As such, the Other can be friendly and peaceful or dangerous and aggressive. Thus, the Other is identified based on previous interplay and common history and it will be viewed as either ally or enemy. As Richard Devetak suggest, in the process of describing and giving meaning to the external world, states tend to build categories of differentiation and divisions. This process involves a highly subjective divisive judgement between the Self, which is always perceived peaceful and orderly, and the Other which is violent and chaotic. Moreover, foreign policy makers

are perceiving the Self-Other dichotomy in antithesis, since the Other is mainly a danger to the existence of the Self. As such, "*in constructing the other as threatening the self, a state must ensure unity of itself in respect to the attitude of the domestic societal groups*" (Wicaksana, 2009).

b) Importance of the study

The importance and influence of other actors (except the EU, and Russia) in the Eastern Patnership are rarely researched. My own evaluation has validated that there are limited academic articles that look at the Eastern Partnership from the viewpoint of a possible clashing region between the European Union's normative agenda and China's rising international status. As such, this thesis is important because it brings up the idea that Eastern Partnership is an "overcrowded neighbourhood" where the political, economic, normative, and ideological integration project of the European Union is not only competing with Russia's Eurasian Economic Union, but has a more serious contender in China's Belt and Road Initiative.

Moreover, this study applies constructivism and foreign policy analysis as theoretical lenses, with the objective of providing a clear picture of the identity-foreign policy nexus in Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia. This endeavour is important as well because it focuses on the EaP instruments implementation but moves beyond the general technical analysis of the Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area, to better understand the domestic dynamics in the countries of my case study (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia).

c) Overview

The Eastern Vicinity was considered a vital strategic area for Brussels since the launch of the Eastern Partnership. With its Eastern waves of enlargement, the union expanded its borders to other external partners and became the frontier adjourning protracted conflicts, illegal migration, endemic corruption, authoritarian regimes and different systems of values, norms, and interest (Juncos 2016). The Eastern Partnership is today one of the most researched and debated foreign policy initiatives of the European Union. Part of the broader European Neighbourhood Policy, the EaP represents the EU vision, strategy, and approach towards its Eastern neighbourhood, comprising an array of complex bilateral, multilateral, and regional frameworks of increased

political cooperation, economic integration, and a set of reforms for its six partner states (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Belarus, Armenia, and Azerbaijan).

More than a decade since Eastern Partnership's inauguration, the highly idealized "stability, security and prosperity" ideals envisioned for this region look quite dire. From the six partners, three have signed Association Agreements and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine), two partners fought each other over the Nagorno-Karabakh and are in tensed relations (Armenia and Azerbaijan) and one partner (Belarus), using its dictatorial rule, have altered the elections and is cracking on the peaceful protests that demand their resignation of the current autocrat and free elections. Moreover, even in the three countries which advanced their reform processes and strengthen their relations with Brussels, the level of ambition in the European path is low, the progress is slow, and a general inertia is appearing. In addition, Moscow took diverse political, economic, military and hybrid measures to block the European integration of these countries. As such, the European Partnership has become an example of geopolitical confrontation between EU and Russia in the Eastern vicinity (Deen et.co. 2021).

The results of the Eastern Partnership, after more than ten years since its launch, are mixed. Some of the partner countries have implemented more and better the European requests than others. The future of the ENP in Eastern neighbourhood and security in the region depends on the European Union's capabilities to set a clearer agenda concerning its Eastern border states, offer more economical and political assistance to the countries which are committed to their democratic and modernization reforms but also to have a firm stand about Russia's actions (Paul 2014). More than a decade since its launch, the "good neighbourliness" principle of the EaP failed to increase the security and stability of the region. Paradoxically, the security environment has worsened in the past 7 years. All Eastern partner states have conflicts on their frontiers with either a neighbour or Russia, either as frozen conflicts or as ongoing conflicts (as in the case of Ukraine) (Petrov, 2014).

The implementation of the EaP mechanism was considered good for the advancement of the partner countries. But as the past decade shown us, it is also beneficial for the European Union. As the authoritative systems in the vicinity grew in power and with the creation of an "alternative model" of values, norms, institutional functioning by Russia, Brussels faces internal security challenges due these developments. Until now, the lack of democratic development was not

considered a security issue, but in the future, the union will have to include a security perspective to the EaP instrument in order to make it adaptable and resilient to current geopolitical struggles.

When looking at the future of the Eastern Partnership, the much-needed revitalisation of the Eastern Partnership instrument beyond 2020 is expected to be "update rather than upgrade". The main problem with this policy inertia is the lack of political will from the EU member states, the design of the EaP mechanism that allows partner countries to mimic reform advances only by working on incremental superficial changes, and the strong and difficult to eliminate corrupt customs and power establishments spread out in all six EaP countries (Minzarari&Pistrinciuc, 2020, p. 5). Within the world order shift and the return of great power competition, the European Union made a move to become more geopolitical in its international stance (Blockmans, 2020).

In promoting its Eastern Partnership instrument in its Eastern Neighbourhood, Brussels faced the ruthless realism of geopolitics. On one side, EU's agenda and normative ideas are challenged by a geopolitical competition due to Kremlin's military, political, economic, diplomatic and informational responses and numerous difficulties cascading from the partner countries. An evocatory example is Moscow's pressure on Ukraine and Armenia to abandon the signing of the Association Agreements and DCFTAs. While for Ukraine, this Russian meddling transformed into a conflict with Russia in Donbas, for Armenia it meant the renunciation of AAs in favour of Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union. On the other side, by trying to help its partner countries to face Moscow's pressures, EU gets in the situation of validating or even endorsing governments that that are autocratic or illiberal (Deen et.co. 2021). For Tom Casier, this way of interpreting everything through the lenses of geopolitics led the EU-Russia cooperation to be determined by a situation in which "one-sided negative geopolitical reading obfuscating underlying complexity" that causes "abstract enemy-like structures" (Casier, 2016).

Brussels should be careful in not getting in the policy inertia that prioritizes stability in face of reforms, as this move will have a negative impact on EU's level of ambitions towards the Eastern Partnership. While the pragmatic approach of the union towards its Eastern partners can have benefits, Brussels should try to avoid the geopoliticisation of its cooperation. In a way, a more geopolitical union will mean that its normative power status is questioned. And while this is a vital part of the identity of the EU foreign policy, a more depoliticized EU will disrupt the normative aspects of the EU foreign policy and lower its status towards the EaP (Crombois 2019).

So far, all the updates and reviews of Eastern Partnership and the wider European neighbourhood Policy take into account Russia as the main competitor and security threats provider to the Eastern vicinity. By adding the layer of China's raising ambitions and interest in this region, the main objective of this material is to investigate the need for Brussels policy establishment to upgrade its medium- and long-term vision and strategy in regard to the EaP area. In the pursuit of becoming a geopolitical actor, Brussels should pay more attention to Chinese actions in the region. If the union wants to strengthen the security, stability and prosperity of its neighbourhood, EU will have to deepen its domestic understanding of China's foreign policy and to act on more equal grounds with its partner countries. By renouncing on its Eurocentric approach, Brussels can work with partner countries on bottom-up reforms making their engagement within the EaP more personal (fostering thus the local ownership criteria) and limiting, this way, the growing Beijing influence.

The past decade of Eastern Partnership implementation was hindered by two aspects: on one side, the decreasing of the EU soft power abilities and secondly, the rising in influence of other actors. The diminish of Brussels proposed model for partner countries came as a consequence of the financial and economic crisis, the reducing of the EaP budget for the "more to more" initiatives, and the shortening of the leverage and conditionality power of EU (Cugusi 2015).

A tool of Chinese economic influence the Belt and Road Initiative was perceived by the Eastern vicinity states as a way of developing their trade partners, decreasing their dependence on Russia, improving their international status and fostering their security in the region. As such, the countries started to expand a foreign policy strategy that benefits from these competitive regional initiatives both economically and politically. Furthermore, the EaP states are starting to take advantage of the contesting regional initiatives to better face foreign influences whilst preserving their sovereignty and regime recognition by the international community (Nuriyev 2020).

In the previous years, China started growing its interest in the Eastern Partnership area as it is the intersection between Europe and Asia, and on the Eurasian routes proposed by BRI. Therefore, there is an increased collaboration of Beijing with this region in terms of trade. Adopting a neutral position, China collaborates the same with all the local countries, regardless of the conflicts among themselves (Nuriyev 2020). With Xi Jinping ambitions of transforming China into a superpower and after the 2017 Congress of the CCP, the foreign policy of the country and its international stance started to gain some clarity and vision. Culminating with the election of Donald Trump as

president of the USA and the unilateral position of the later, Beijing begun to be more interested in the global leadership, especially on economic and trade issues (Kaczmarski et.co. 2019).

As the EaP countries are geographically situated on the Eurasian paths, it is expected that the Belt and Road Initiative of China will bring them new trade collaborations and generous infrastructure financing. This Chinese expansion in the region is translated in both improved ways of cooperation and threats for the European Union (Makocki 2017). Until now, EU is a strategic economic partner of the Eastern Partnership states, but China is starting to catch from behind. As for both bid players, the region is rather a small market, possible economic tensions between Brussels and Beijing are improbable. Nevertheless, if we take into account that economic power can be turned into political capital, both actors will try to broaden their influence and interests (Elamiryan 2020). And in the future, that might culminate with potential grievances and clashes on specific issues.

d) **Hypotheses and research questions**

The thesis is based on three hypotheses:

- Eastern Partnership is a highly contested area where the EU's multilateral objectives are clashing with Moscow's great power politics
- Eastern Partnership is moving from a two-dimensional area shaped by Russia and the EU to a multi-dimensional region (influenced by other actors, e.g. China) = "overcrowded neighbourhood"
- The European identity of Georgia/Ukraine/Moldova is strongly interlinked with the national identity

Keeping in mind the above-mentioned hypotheses, the main research question of the thesis is: "*How the crisis of the liberal world order is affecting the EU's Eastern Partnership initiative?*". Moreover, the sub-questions of the thesis were formulated to correlate with the main hypothesis of the research. Therefore, the sub-questions are:

a) How have the EU's agenda vs Russia's agenda influenced the foreign policy and security decision making strategies of Ukraine, Republic of Moldova, and Georgia?

b) How the change in the Eastern vicinity is affecting the EU policymaking?

c) How identity and Self-Other perceptions are influencing the foreign policymaking of the EU and Russia towards the Eastern Partnership?

d) How identity and Self-Other perceptions are influencing the foreign policymaking of Ukraine/Moldova/Georgia towards the Eastern Partnership?

d) Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured on the format of article-based manuscript and each chapter can be individually read or within the whole material. Within the thesis, there are five main articles. The first two of them have a top-bottom approach by looking at the Eastern Partnership within the lenses of the EU-Russia relations and level of ambitions, and through the prism of the new systemic changes within the global arena. The following three chapters are examining the EU relations with Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia by applying the constructivist concepts and foreign policy analysis.

The first chapter present an overview of the Eastern Partnership and expose the blind spots of the policy that will represent a challenge to Brussels if left uncovered. The time frame analysed for this endeavour is 2009-2020. As such, the first part of the material, provides a comprehensive and detailed examination of the Eastern Partnership mechanism and its transformation from a technical to a geopolitical instrument. The second part of the chapter is a top-bottom approach on the level of ambition and divergent perspectives of the two big players that have shaped the development of the EaP mechanism in the past decade, the EU and Russia. The third section of the chapter makes a brief passage on the literature review accompanying the Eastern Partnership in all its transitional phases from "common neighbourhood" to "shared neighbourhood" to "overlapping neighbourhood" and "contested neighbourhood". Joining the academic discussion, I propose another concept that is more explanatory of the current complexities of the Eastern Partnership region, challenges, issues, opportunities and conflicting geopolitical narratives and agendas.

The second chapter is investigating the effects of the decline of liberal world order in Eastern vicinity through the European Union relations with Russia. In this regard, he first part of this chapter will provide a theoretical overview of the concepts of multilateralism, great power politics and multipolarity. Then on the second part, I will present to the reader a broad summary of Russia's relations with the European Union by focusing both on the framework bilateral relations but also

on the geopolitical effects of Russia's assertive policy in the Eastern vicinity. On the third segment of this chapter, by employing constructivist terminology, I are presenting how Russian foreign policy agenda are transforming the international world order and what role the concept "New Cold War" plays in Kremlin's scope of promoting its great power status within a multipolar international system. And finally, I are drawing some lessons for the EU's approach of effective multilateralism and how can the union adapt better to today's contested and uncertain reality at its boarders.

The **third chapter** will first present the institutional framework of the EU-Georgia relations and analyse the status in the European integration and reforms implementation of both the Association Agreement and DCFTA in Georgia. In the second segment, I will highlight the main foreign policy decisions of Tbilisi after Vilnius Summit. The last part of the paper will examine, using the constructivists indicators, the ways how the European identity was created, and how this term is employed by Georgian foreign policy decision makers.

In **the fourth chapter**, I will present an overview of the complex bilateral relations of the European Union with the Chisinau leadership, the achievements and fails of the Eastern Partnership in Moldova, the foreign policy decision making process since the Vilnius Summit in 2013. In addition, I will embark on analysing the divergent views about the Moldovan identity, the role of elites in constructing narratives later internalized by the population. In addition, I will research how the European Union is perceived in Moldova and how strongly is the European identity socialized and internalized with the country.

In **the fifth chapter**, I will provide an evaluation of the EU-Ukraine bilateral relations following Kyiv's four foreign policy periods, I will examine the status of EaP mechanism implementation, and the difficulties encompassed throughout the last six years. Moreover, I will briefly study the impact of EuroMaidan on Ukraine's foreign policy orientation after the Revolution of Dignity, Crimea annexation and the start of the unofficial war with Russia in Donbas. Plus, the third part of the chapter will investigate the Ukrainian identity-building process and its link with the European identity building initiative in the Ukrainian state.

e) Methodology

For the premises of this thesis qualitative methods are employed. I will use a mix of descriptive and explanatory studies with the purpose of analysing the existing data, to find a suitable academic explanation for the research questions. The data analysed includes primary sources (online discourses and official documents) and secondary sources (books, academic articles, think tank papers, journalistic sources). The period researched is between February 2014 (with the annexation of Crimea by Russia) until December 2020. This research employs methodological approaches based on the following research methods: interviews as a technique of data collection; documents as a technique of data collection; and multi-methods/triangulation as a technique of data collection

As a methodological framework, we will use foreign policy analysis, understood as *"the process and resultants of human decision making with reference to or having known consequences for foreign entities"* (M.Hudson 2005). Since foreign policy analysis is a wide umbrella which includes multiple determinants that influence foreign policy decision makers and foreign policy decision making, this study will have a multifactorial and multilevel ground. Therefore, during the research I will employ both discourse analysis and document analysis because they offer us an important insight into the foreign policy decision making processes from both the EU, Russia but also from Kyiv, Tbilisi, and Chisinau. Discourse analysis will be used to explore the role of identity and Self-Other perception in foreign policy making. Foreign policy analysis will be used to explore the dynamics and changes in the Eastern Partnership and EU-Russia level of ambition.

In addition, my methodological framework is supplemented with 30 qualitative interviews conducted in Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Brussels, Estonia, and the United States.

The theoretical paradigm that will be employed during this research is constructivism. Constructivism is an international relations approach that places ideas, interests, norms at its core. We will focus on Alexander Wendt's constructivist premises, thus the indicators that will be used in this thesis are identity, the normative structure, and the socialization process. Identity, as defined by constructivists, represents the construction of the self in opposition to an "other". The constructivist approach does not take identity as fixed but rather claims that the actors (states) construct their identity from history, previous interactions, norms, and values. It is important to mention that since identities are constructed through interaction, they can alter. As defined by Wendt, a normative structure (the international system) constructs the identities and interest of the

actors but also the interactions between the actors may lead to the replication or transformation of the structure (Wendt, 1992). The third indicator, the socialization process is *"a causal process of learning identities and interests through social interaction"* (Wendt 1999).

Conclusions

As the EaP countries are geographically situated on the Eurasian paths, it is expected that the Belt and Road Initiative of China will bring them new trade collaborations and generous infrastructure financing. This Chinese expansion in the region is translated in both improved ways of cooperation and threats for the European Union. Until now, EU is a strategic economic partner of the Eastern Partnership states, but China is starting to catch from behind. As for both bid players, the region is rather a small market, possible economic tensions between Brussels and Beijing are improbable. Nevertheless, if we take into account that economic power can be turned into political capital, both actors will try to broaden their influence and interests. And in the future, that might culminate with potential grievances and clashes on specific issues.

In developing its superpower ambitions, *"Beijing's approach to ideology may be flexible, but its cumulative effect is to expand the space for authoritarianism" (Sullivan&Brands 2020).* China is starting to position itself in a competition with the West on what type of political, economic and form of governance will dominate the 21st century. In turn, this is representing a great threat for the European Union, its governance system, democracy and all the values of the liberal world. In order to better prepare for a multipolar world, dominate by insecurity, Brussels needs to upgrade its knowledge on China and update its policies to include the competitive world views.

Selective Bibliography

- .Hudson, V. (2005), "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations", *Foreign Policy Analysis,* Vol. 1.
- Baar, Vladimir, Jakubek, Daniel, "Divided National Identity in Moldova", in Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2017

- Baltag, Dorina and Bosse, Giselle, "The ENP as an instrument for building a security community? The case of Moldova", in Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, NUPI Working Paper 833, 2014

- Baylis, J., Smith, S. and Owens, P. (2011), *The Globalization of World Politics, An introduction to international relations,* 5th Edition, Oxford University Press, New York.

- Beacháin, Donnacha; Coene, Frederik, "Go West: Georgia's European identity and its role in domestic politics and foreign policy objectives", in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 42, Issue 6, 2014

- Busygina, Irina. *Russia– EU Relations and the Common Neighborhood, Coercion vs Authority*. London: Routledge, 2018

- Cadier, David. "The Geopoliticisation of the EU's Eastern Partnership". *Geopolitics*, Volume 24, Issue 1, 2018

- Casier, Tom. "Great game or great confusion: The geopolitical understanding of EU–Russia energy relations". *Geopolitics*, Volume 21, Issue 4, 2016

- Casier,Tom. "Identities and Images of Competition in the Overlapping Neighbourhoods: How EU and Russian Foreign Policies Interact". *Security in Shared Neighbourhoods Foreign Policy of Russia, Turkey and the EU*. Rémi Piet and Licínia Simão (eds.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016

- Celata, Filippo. Raffaella Coletti. "Beyond Fortress 'EU'rope? Bordering and Cross-Bordering Along the European External Frontiers. *Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders*. Filippo Celata and Raffaella Coletti (eds). New York: Springer, 2015

- Cenușa, Denis, "Georgia-Moldova-Ukraine "Association" Triangle: Deepening EU Integration and the "Shield" Against Russian Influence", in IPN Press Agency, 27 July 2021, available at: https://www.ipn.md/en/georgia-moldova-ukraine-association-triangle-deepening-eu-integration-and-the-sh-7978_1083346.html , (accessed July 29, 2021)

- Cuguri, Battistina. "Future Perspectives for the European Neighbourhood Policy". *Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders*. Filippo Celata and Raffaella Coletti (eds). New York: Springer, 2015

  - Delcour, Laure, "You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink': the EU's and Russia's intersecting conditionalities and domestic responses in Georgia and Moldova", in European Politics and Society,2018

- Delcour, Laure. Kataryna Wolczuk. "Between the Eastern Partnership and the Eurasian Economic Union: Competing Region-building Projects in the 'Common Neighbourhood'". *Theorizing the European Neighbourhood Policy*. Sieglinde Gstöhl, Simon Schunz (eds.). London: Routledge, 2017

- Delcour, Laure. *The EU and Russia in Their 'Contested Neighbourhood' Multiple external influences, policy transfer and domestic change*. New York: Routledge, 2017

  - Emerson, Michael, Movchan, Veronika, "Ukraine and Europe, A short guide", in Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), Brussels & Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting (IER), Kyiv, 2016, available at: http://aei.pitt.edu/79179/1/Ukraine_pop_edition_FINAL.pdf, (accessed July 11, 2020)

  - Feklyunina, Valentina; Romanova, Valentyna, "Ukraine and Triangular Diplomacy: Kyiv's Legitimacy Dilemmas in the Midst of the Crisis", in Triangular Diplomacy among the United States, the European Union, and the Russian Federation Responses to the Crisis in Ukraine, by Vicki L. Birchfield & Alasdair R. Young (eds.), Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

  - Fisenko, Olga; Vakarev, Yevgeny; Pozina, Marina; Zhivitsa, Olga; Kargina, Natalia," Features of the regional identity of the Crimean population", in Propósitos y Representaciones, Journal of Educational Psychology, Volume 8, 2020

  - Gnedina, Elena, "'Multi-Vector' Foreign Policies in Europe: Balancing, Bandwagoning or Bargaining?", in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 67, No 7, 2015

  - Humă, Roxana Adina, "The mioritic nation – an alternative approach to Moldovan national identity", in Nationalities Papers, Volume 44, No 3, 2016

- Jørgensen, K.E. (2013), Prospects for Multipolarity and Multilateralism in World Politics. In: Christiansen T., Kirchner E., Murray P. (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of EU-Asia Relati*ons. Palgrave Macmillan, London

- Kakachia, Kornely; Minesashvili,Salome, "Identity politics: Exploring Georgian foreign policy behavior", in *Journal of Eurasian Studies,* Issue 6, 2015

- King, Charles, The Moldovans. Romania, Russia, and the politics of culture, Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2000

- Korosteleva, Elena, The European Union and its Eastern Neighbours Towards a more ambitious partnership? Oxon: Routledge, 2012

- Korosteleva, Elena. "The Challenges of a Changing Eastern Neighbourhood". *Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*. Schumacher, Tobias and Marchetti, Andreas and Demmelhuber, Thomas (eds.). London: Routledge, 2017

- MacFarlane, Neil; Menon, Anand, "The EU and Ukraine", in Survival: Global Politics and Strategy, Volume 56, No 3,2014

- Makocki, Michal. Nicu Popescu. "China and Russia: an Eastern Partnership in the making?". *EUISS Chaillot Papers*. No 140, December 2016

- Mankoff, J. (2009), *Russian Foreign Policy, The Return of Great Power Politics*, New York: Rowman&Littlefield Publishers

- Nitoiu, Cristian, "The Influence of External Actors on Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Space", in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 70, No. 5, July 2018

- Parmentier, Florent , "The European Neighbourhood Policy and Moldova" , in The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy ed. Tobias Schumacher , Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018)

- Racheru, Ileana, Politica Externă a Republicii Moldova, De la Independență la Președinția lui Vladimir Voronin, Volume I, Bucharest:Monitorul Oficial Editură și Tipografie, 2020

- Ruggie, J. (1992), "Multilateralism: the anatomy of an institution", *International Organization*, 46:3

- Schumacher, Tobias. "The European Neighbourhood Policy, The challenge of demarcating a complex and contested field of study". *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy.* Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti, and Thomas Demmelhuber (eds.). London: Routledge, 2018

- Solonenko, Iryna, "Added Value? Eastern Partnership and EU–Ukraine Bilateral Relations", in Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft No.3,2011, available at: http://www.fes.de/ipg/, (accessed May 11, 2020)

- Szkola, Susanne, "The Self/Other Space and Spinning the Net of Ontological Insecurities in Ukraine and Beyond: (Discursive) Reconstructions of Boundaries in the EU Eastern Partnership Countries Vis-à-Vis the EU and Russia", in Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Global Politics, Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective, by Erica Resende, Dovilė Budrytė, Didem Buhari-Gulmez (eds)., Palgrave Macmillan, 2018

- Tago, A. (2017), "Multilateralism, Bilateralism, and Unilateralism in Foreign Policy." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, available at: https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-449, (accessed August 21, 2020)

- Wendt, A. (1992), "Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics", *International Organization,* Vol. 46, No. 2.

- Wendt, A. (1999), *Social Theory of International Politics,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Wolczuk, Kataryna, "Ukraine in the European Neighbourhood Policy: a paradoxical partner", in The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy, edited by Schumacher, Tobias, Marchetti, Andreas and Demmelhuber, Thomas, London and New York: Routledge, 2018