

**STRUCTURES OF INTERCONNECTIVITY IN THE EU'S
NEIGHBOURHOOD:
MAIN FACTORS THAT SHAPED THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE ENP**

- A HANDBOOK -

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AA-Association Agreement
AGRI - Azerbaijan–Georgia–Romania gas Interconnector
AKP - Justice and Development Party
BSEC- Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation
BSS- Black Sea Synergy
BTC-Baku-Tbilisi-Ceylan pipeline
BTE- Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum pipeline
CEPA- EU-Armenia Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement
CFSP- Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIS - Commonwealth of Independent States
CoE – Council of Europe
CSCE - Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSO - Collective Security Treaty Organization
CU-Custom Union
DFTA- Deep and Free Trade Agreements
DCFTA- Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement
EaP- Eastern Partnership
EAPC - Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EBRD - European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EEA - European Economic Area
EEAS – European External Action Service
EEU - Eurasian Economic Union
EITI- Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EMP - Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENI- European Neighbourhood Instrument
ENP- European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI- European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
EP – European Parliament
ESDF-European Security and Defence Policy
ESS -European Security Strategy
EU- European Union
EUBAM – EU Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine
EUMM - EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia

EUPOL COPS - European Union Police and Rule of Law Mission for the Palestinian Territory
EUROMED- the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (the “Barcelona Process”)
FTA- Free Trade Agreements
GUAM- Organisation for Democracy and Economic Development together with Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova
INOGATE – An international energy co-operation programme between the European Union, the littoral states of the Black and Caspian Seas and their neighbouring countries
JAI - Justice and Home Affairs
LAF - Lebanese Armed Forces
LAS - League of Arab States LAS
MEDA - MEsures D'Accompagnement
MENA - Middle East and North Africa
MEPP - Middle East Peace Process
MFF- Multiannual Financial Framework
NATO- North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO - non-governmental organization
NIF- Neighbourhood Investment Facility
NTC - Libyan National Transitional Council
OPEC - Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PA - Parliamentary Assembly
PCA - Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
PESCO- Permanent Structured Cooperation
PfP - Partnership for Peace
PKK - Kurdistan Workers' Party
PiS - National-Conservative Law and Justice
PNA - Palestinian National Authority
PO - Civic Platform
PYD - Democratic Union Party
REDWG - Regional Economic Development Working Group
SCP - South Caucasus gas pipeline
SGC- Southern Gas Corridor (SGC)
SIGMA - Support for Improvement in Governance and Management
SME - Small and medium-sized enterprises

SPRING - Support for Partnership, Reforms and Inclusive Growth
TACIS - Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States and Georgia
TAIEX - Technical Assistance and Information Exchange instrument
TANAP - Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline
TEU- Treaty on European Union
TRACECA- Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia programme
UfM- Union for the Mediterranean
UN- United Nations
UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNSC- United Nations Security Council
US- Unites States of America
USSR-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD- Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO- World Trade Organization
YPG - People's Protection Units

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Between September 2015 and August 2018, the Department of International Relations and European Integration coordinates the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence "Structures of the EU's Neighbourhood Interconnectivity" (Project no. 566 765 EPP-1-2015-1-RO-EPPJMO- CoE), co-funded by the European Commission through the Erasmus Plus Program, Jean Monnet Action. The project is coordinated by Professor Iordan Gheorghe Bărbulescu, PhD, Dean of the Department of International Relations and European Integration and President of the Senate from the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration.

Throughout this project, the Department set up a Centre of Excellence that aims to develop teaching and research activities that address the issue of the EU's new approaches towards the neighbourhood policy, focusing on the impact of the institutional reform on the economic, social and political development and integration of partner countries. These activities are designed in order to increase and deepen the awareness level regarding the importance of the ENP in the EU's foreign policy and also about the EU's role as a global economic and political actor.

The project covers the following target groups: students and young researchers, the business community, representatives of central government and NGOs working in the field of European studies.

Specific Objectives of the project are the following:

1. Foster research on the development of the European Neighbourhood Policy and the impact of the present reform on the role of EU in a more and more globalized world
2. Enhance knowledge among young researchers specialized in complementary study fields
3. Development of the study field
4. Share knowledge regarding the ENP and its current reform among business community, representatives of public administration and civil society

Structures of Interconnectivity in the EU's Neighbourhoods

Ana Maria Costea

“The fact is that the European Union and the European Economic Community that preceded it were not designed for playing a role in world politics. For a long time we were unable to do so. But circumstances dictate that we must aim to be able to hold our own on the global stage”¹.

This collective study aims to retrace how the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) emerged, starting from the early 2000's debates to present, before describing in detail how the ENP operates at the institutional level in its East and South dimensions. It discusses the ENP's regional initiatives, by highlighting the impact of the geopolitical shift emerging in the European neighbourhood since 2003. A particular analytic attention is given to the main calibrations made to the ENP in the last decade, reflected in the different levels of EU engagement in the neighbourhood, which the study examines in detail in the specific political context of each of the 16 partner countries. Overall, the book offers an up-to-date material on the structures, procedures and content of ENP, focusing more on the consequences of its policy instruments for each of recipient countries, how its changes have affected the behaviour of its partners and which were the instruments that influenced ENP's implementation. Last but not least, the book provides an image of the EU member states' strategies and behaviours in the neighbourhood and how did they influence the ENP.

As mentioned above, the project aimed to develop a comprehensive research EU's effectiveness in terms of fulfilling its objectives of creating a ring of friends at the external borders of the organization. Given the fact that the concept of effectiveness is very debated within the sphere of international relations, we opted for its narrow perspective given by Nils Hoffmann and Arne Niemann in their most recent study, where they define it as being the relation between the goals of the policy and its achievements, thus what the EU decision makers intended to achieve, and what they accomplished from those objectives². Hence, the book will analyse, on one hand, the EU's foreign and security strategies and tools in order to establish the goals and the instruments used in order to reach them and, on the other hand, the results in

¹ *Speech by President Jean-Claude Juncker at the 54th Munich Security Conference, Munich, 17 February 2018, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-18-841_en.htm (accessed on 5 June 2018).*

² Nils Hoffmann, Arne Niemann, EU actorness and the European Neighbourhood Policy in *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, Routledge, ed. Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti, Thomas Demmelhuber, 28-38 (Dec 2017) <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315691244-3> (accessed on 23 July 2018).

relation with each partner country within the ENP. In doing so, the research team will create the cause-effect chain that influenced the ENP over the years focusing on the following factors: what triggered the emergence of the ENP, of the UfM, of the EaP, what generated the review of the ENP, how the member states/ European institutions reacted to/generated them, how the ENP was implemented and which was the reaction of each partner state to this policy. Summing up, taking into consideration the literature review conducted in the second chapter, the research encompasses a limited number of factors (hence, delimitating the research) that influenced the development and the implementation of the ENP, both from within (the preferences of the EU member states³), but also from the partner states (part of the ENP) and the international context, more specifically the regional competitors (Russia and Turkey). Taking into account the very interconnectivity between the units that are analysed throughout this book, analysing the context and its evolution in time became a necessity. In order to do that, the authors took also into consideration the concept of the EU's actorness. As in the case of actorness, there are multiple definitions, but we opted for the one where is understood as "*the Union's capacity to aggregate preferences and select policies on international issues, and then to pursue them in relations with other states, non-state actors and international institutions*"⁴. Whereas in the case of the concept of effectiveness, the research team analysed the result, in the case of actorness, it is more about the process: how are the national preferences aggregated⁵, how is the EU acting once the aim was decided, etc. In order to fulfil this aim, the authors emphasised elements of the EU's decision making process and highlighted the national/ EU's preferences that stood behind ENP related decisions, especially in times of crisis, or when EU instruments or policies emerged.

The present research is structured in five main sections:

The first part encompassed the introduction and the research design in which the structure and the methods of analysis are explained. This chapter is followed by an analysis over the foreign policy of the EU from both institutional and decision making points of view in order to establish the organization's power projection. This part encompasses two time limits: the first one from 1992 till 2016 and the second from 2016 until nowadays. The importance of these first two

³ For more information about the concept of national preferences Andrew Moravcsik. *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

⁴ Daniel C. Thomas, Still Punching below its Weight? Actorness and Effectiveness in EU Foreign Policy, *Paper prepared for presentation at the UACES 40th annual conference*, Bruges, 6-8 September 2010, 2.

⁵ For more details regarding how the national preferences are influencing the EU's foreign policy please see Ana Maria Costea, *East versus West: When politics collide with economics*, (Bucharest, Tritonic, 2015).

chapters revised in identifying the main strategic interests that the EU had beyond its borders, but also its institutional development in order to be able to follow those interests.

The second part of the research analyses the ENP since 2002 until the beginning of 2018. 2002 was chosen because of the Copenhagen summit which took place in December that year, this event being seen as the birth of the ENP, as it was followed in March 2003 by the European Commission's release of the Communication named „Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours”⁶. The second part is organized in 2 main chapters, 2011 being the demarcation point. The research team puts emphasize on the year of 2011, when the ENP was reviewed for the first time following the Arab spring and the recent then events from Eastern Europe.

Taking into consideration the globalization effects and that the ENP comprises both the Eastern, but also the Southern neighbourhood , the research had to take into account the regional context, namely the relations between the EU and the Russian Federation, on one hand, and the relations between the EU and Turkey on the other. This was a necessary step in developing a complete picture of the neighbourhood taking into consideration the behaviours of both states and their influence in their regions (the Russian Federation in the Eastern part and Turkey in the Southern). As it is going to be noticed in the following chapters the strategies of both partners change the behaviour of the EU, proving that the ENP is or is not a suitable policy for changing the regional dynamics and for creating what was called the ring of friendly states. Additionally these regional poles had the capacity to influence the behaviour of the EU also from within in the sense that in specific occasions the EU member states succeeded in going beyond the minimum common denominator in terms of its foreign policy acting instead as a strong, unitary actor. The inclusion of Russia and Turkey in the research was more than necessary although they are not part of the ENP, because their own power projection influenced the behaviour of the partner states that are part of the ENP as it will be further analysed in the following chapters.

The forth part of the research analyses the interaction of the EU with a focus on the implementation of the ENP and the factors that influenced it at the level of each partner country.

⁶ Wider Europe — Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament*, COM(2003)104 final, accessed March 20, 2013, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0104:FIN:EN:PDF> (accessed on 23 September 2017).

This part is structured in 2 main chapters according to the 2 geographical regions comprised by the ENP: firstly, the Eastern neighbourhood where the research team analysed the relations between EU and Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan; secondly the Southern neighbourhood where the focus was on the relations between the EU and Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria and Tunisia. This part was quintessential for the present research taking into consideration that within these chapters the authors could identify if the ENP had an impact and fulfilled its objectives. To a larger extend, this part was also necessary in order to be able to evaluate the EU power projection beyond its borders.

Last, but not least, the research will be dedicated to conclusions regarding the development and the evaluation of the ENP from its beginning till present days. Also each chapter comprises a section called *the Way Ahead* in which the authors try to make predictions regarding the short and medium term security developments.

Regarding the timeline, the analysis will concentrate on the events that occurred starting with 2003 until the beginning of 2018. The year 2003 is very important for this research since it is the year when the ENP was launched. Since we intend to analyse the implementation of this policy, we wanted to give an up-to-date diagnose of the most recent regional and international dynamics that influence the implementation of the ENP, thus the research comprised also the beginning of 2018. Some exceptions of this rule applied in specific case in order to better explain the context that generated specific events or influenced the behaviour of the EU or its partner countries. These exceptions are the following: 1991 when the ex-soviet states that are analysed in this paper became independent and the USSR faced disbandment. This year is very important for the future development of their foreign policy since what can be called the shadow of the past⁷ can determine the shadow of the future⁸; 1992 when the Maastricht treaty was adopted and the CFSP came into force, 2000 when Vladimir Putin came to power in Russia and changed the future behaviour of Russia and 2002 from the reasons mentioned above.

⁷ For more details please see Ana Maria Costea, *East versus West: When politics collide with economics*, (Bucharest, Tritonic, 2015), 20-21.

⁸ Concept described by Robert Axelrod in "The Evolution of Cooperation". It emphasizes the situation in which "For cooperation to prove stable, the future must have a sufficiently large shadow. This means that the importance of the next encounter between the same two individuals must be great enough to make defection an unprofitable strategy. It requires that the players have a large enough chance of meeting again and that they do not discount the significance of their next meeting too greatly" http://www.cultureofdoubt.net/download/docs_cod/evolution%20of%20cooperation,%20axelrod.pdf (accessed on 3 January 2018), 4.

Regarding the methods, the authors used mainly the documents analysis, primary and secondary sources. The main documents that were used throughout the paper are: the EU's 2003 Security Strategy⁹ and the Global Strategy of the EU from 2016¹⁰ in order to see how this organization was/is perceiving itself and the international system, and if was/is efficient in fulfilling its objectives; the Council Decision establishing Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)¹¹ in order to emphasize the current developments happening within the EU, the Maastricht Treaty¹² which is necessary for the analysis regarding the CFSP development, the Lisbon treaty¹³ which will be useful in order to highlight the organization's nowadays competences in terms of foreign affairs. The main documents which refer to the regional dynamics that were used within the paper are: the ENP¹⁴, the 2011 review of the ENP¹⁵, the EaP¹⁶, the Barcelona Process¹⁷, UfM¹⁸, Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) signed between the EU and the Russian Federation from 1997¹⁹, the six point's plan which was signed in order to stop the Georgian war²⁰, the Geneva Agreement²¹, the economic sanctions that the EU imposed against Russia²² and the Minsk Agreements in order to analyse the positions of the EU in its relations with external partners like Turkey or Russia, or the partner countries.

⁹ A Secure Europe in a Better World, *The European Security Strategy*, 12 December 2003, Brussels <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf> (accessed on 23 March 2017).

¹⁰ Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe, *A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy* (June 2016).

¹¹ Council Decision establishing Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and determining the list of Participating Member States, December 2017

¹² Treaty of the European Union, 1992

¹³ Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon (13 December 2007).

¹⁴ Wider Europe — Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament*, COM(2003)104 final, accessed March 20, 2013, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0104:FIN:EN:PDF> (accessed on 23 September 2017).

¹⁵ A new response to a changing Neighbourhood, *European Commission*, COM(2011), 303, https://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/com_11_303_en.pdf (accessed on 13 July 2016).

¹⁶ Joint Declaration of the Prague Eastern Partnership Summit Prague, *Council of the European Union*, 7 May 2009, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/er/107589.pdf (accessed on 9 October 2016).

¹⁷ Barcelona declaration adopted at the Euro-Mediterranean Conference, November 1995

¹⁸ Joint Declaration of the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean Paris, 13 July 2008

¹⁹ *The Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation between European Communities and their Member States and the Russian Federation* (1997), http://www.russianmission.eu/userfiles/file/partnership_and_cooperation_agreement_1997_english.pdf (accessed on 4 April 2017).

²⁰ IANS, Georgia, Russia agree to French-brokered peace plan, *Thaindian*, 13 August 2008, , http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/uncategorized/83465_10083465.html (accessed on 3 January 2017).

²¹ Geneva Statement on Ukraine, *The European Union External Action*, Geneva, 17 April 2014, doc no. 140417/01, http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2014/140417_01_en.pdf (accessed on 5 May 2017).

²² Council Regulation (EU) No 959/2014 of 8 September 2014 amending Regulation (EU) No 269/2014 concerning restrictive measures in respect of actions undermining or threatening the territorial integrity, sovereignty and

Strictly regarding the ENP, there have been used several documents. At the UfM level the authors included: Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements²³, The Europe-Mediterranean partnership 2001 review²⁴, Five Years Work Programme²⁵. They were necessary in order to establish which were the changes that were made, the nowadays dynamics from the southern region, but also in order to see which of the policy's targets were fulfilled, or which is their current progress. At the level of the EaP, there have been used the following documents: Polish-Swedish Proposal²⁶ that represented the starting point of the program, the Summit conclusion from Vilnius 2013²⁷, Riga 2015²⁸ and Brussels 2017²⁹. As in the case of the UfM, these documents were necessary in order to analyse the chronological development of the program, its accomplishments and vulnerabilities, but also the regional dynamics from the EU's point of view.

Apart from the programmatic documents of the EU, the authors analysed also the strategies/ the discourses of the decision makers from the partner countries like: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine; Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria and Tunisia. Also there have been analysed strategic documents from the Russian Federation and Turkey, like, for example, their national security strategies. They were quintessential for the present research because they represent the states' points of view regarding themselves, the EU, but also the regional/international system.

independence of Ukraine and Council Regulation (EU) No 960/2014 of 8 September 2014 amending Regulation (EU) No 833/2014 concerning restrictive measures in view of Russia's actions destabilising the situation in Ukraine, *Official Journal of the European Union*, September 12, 2014, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=OJ:L:2014:271:FULL&from=EN> (accessed on 20 September 2017).

²³ Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements, *Summaries of EU legislation*, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV:r14104> (accessed on 18 May 2016).

²⁴ The Barcelona process, The Europe-Mediterranean partnership 2001 review, European Commission, Second Edition, http://eeas.europa.eu/euromed/publications/review01_en.pdf (accessed on 18 May 2016).

²⁵ Five Years Work Programme, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/euromed/summit1105/five_years_en.pdf (accessed on 14 August 2016).

²⁶ Polish-Swedish Proposal, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland*, June 2008, www.enpi-info.eu/library/sites/default/files/attachments/Polish-Swedish%20Proposal.pdf (accessed on 5 October 2016).

²⁷ Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit, Vilnius, 28-29 November 2013, Eastern Partnership: the way ahead, Council of the European Union, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/139765.pdf (accessed on 14 June 2017).

²⁸ Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit (Riga, 21-22 May 2015), EEAS Website, a, http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/eastern/docs/riga-declaration-220515-final_en.pdf (accessed on 16 June 2017).

²⁹ Joint Declaration of the Eastern Partnership Summit (Brussels, 24 November 2017) Council of the European Union, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/31758/final-statement-st14821en17.pdf> (accessed on 14 December 2017).

The paper is a result of a comprehensive research also regarding the secondary sources. Among the main scholars that were used throughout the analysis were the following: Nicu Popescu and Mark Leonard³⁰, Iordan Bărbulescu³¹, Daniel C. Thomas³², Nils Hoffmann and Arne Niemann³³, Andrei Tsygankov³⁴, John Mearsheimer³⁵, Andrew Moravcsik³⁶ and others.

In what concerns the limitations of the present paper, as mentioned above, the book is developed around the concepts of actorness and effectiveness with their chosen definitions. Secondly, the authors analysed mainly the relations between the EU and its partner countries, emphasizing the national preferences that stood behind the main decisions taken at the supranational level. They also focused more on the security sector, developing a chronological analysis over the ENP and the factors that influenced its implementation. Thirdly, within the regional context chapter, the team took into account only Russia and Turkey and no other actors like for example China.

³⁰ Mark Leonard & Nicu Popescu, A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations, in the European Council on Foreign Relations, 2007, http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR-02_A_POWER_AUDIT_OF_EU-RUSSIA_RELATIONS.pdf, (accessed on 3 December 2016).

³¹ Iordan Gh. Barbulescu, *Noua Europa-Identitate si Model European* (Iasi: Polirom, 2015).

³² Daniel C. Thomas (ed.), *Making EU Foreign Policy- National Preferences, European Norms and Common Policies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and Daniel C. Thomas, *Still Punching below its Weight? Actorness and Effectiveness in EU Foreign Policy, Paper prepared for presentation at the UACES 40th annual conference*, Bruges, 6-8 September 2010.

³³ Nils Hoffmann, Arne Niemann, EU actorness and the European Neighbourhood Policy in *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, Routledge, ed. Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti, Thomas Demmelhuber, 28-38 (Dec 2017) <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315691244-3> (accessed on 23 July 2018).

³⁴ Andrei Tsygankov, *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012).

³⁵ John Mearsheimer, *Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault*, *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2014, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141769/john-j-mearsheimer/why-the-ukraine-crisis-is-the-wests-fault> (accessed on 18 January 2017).

³⁶ Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).