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(SUMMARY)

**Bazele conceptuale ale politicii U.E. de vecinătate
(The Conceptual Basis of the EU Neighbourhood Policy)**

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SUMMARY

European Union slowly becomes a 'security actor'. Not long ago, it engaged in 23 civil and military operations in unstable and conflict regions. Member States together have spent almost 200 billion euro annually for the defense through about 1.7 million active members of these services¹. Nowadays, European Union actions and speaks with a singular voice within the international community, imposing international sanctions, condemning external actions that violate the rule of law and offering a high level of assistance for development. All these activities are in the early stage, and security is, at the present moment, a concept more complex than it was in the past. Now traditional aspects concerning security, as for example national defense and sanctions are no longer imperative to hold power in the field of international security. Mai'a K. Davis Cross believes that the new treats to security come from non-state actors, the integrity of the frontiers is much more vulnerable to the transnational influx, and attacks are planned within the states. To face up these issues, European Union actions through common approaches concerning police protection, border defense, sharing information, etc. This way agencies specialized in these fields were born and had the role to ensure coordination, integration and the establishment of the guidelines. Hence, European Union adapted in a unique manner to all the changes that surround it, with the risk to enter on the `realm` of the national sovereignty of the Member states².

Therefore, although Member states are strongly attached to the feeling and principle of the national sovereignty, especially concerning security and defense, European Union adapted and still does in a manner that reflects a strong feeling of understanding the complexity of the new globalized context. The armies of the Member states are reformed and transformed in order to be engaged in the resolution of different international crisis. Over the last years, it can be seen that integration on different sectors of security means that Member states can maintain their defense. In supporting this effort, Member states have

¹ European Defence Agency, "Defence Data 2009," 2.

² Mai'a K. Davis Cross, Security Integration in Europe, How Knowledge-based Networks are Transforming the European Union, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2011, p. 1.

created the European Agency for Defense and they submit to the norms that form the basis of this agency, including to a common program of research and development in security³.

Similarly, Member states commonly defend their common European frontiers, within an integrated policy of security. Member states have harmonized their approaches in the field of security due to the challenges to which they must respond: threats with chemical, biologic weapons, radiological attacks, attacks on the environment, food-level attacks, and problems raised by the energy security, to which crimes, drugs and trafficking of human beings can be added. The line that separates internal security from the external one does not exist from a virtual point of view, and the progress recorded by the European Union on both dimensions increase its power as an actor of the global security⁴.

The level of the concept of security which is used by the European Union is much higher and expensive than the one with which NATO operates. It is based on US military resources, while EU is an important NATO pillar – only six Member states of the European Union are also members of NATO – and, at the same time, it deals with the daily life of its citizens, in different forms. This is because, unlike the nation-state, European Union defines and redefines itself in a continuous manner. Integration in the field of security ensures a way of understanding the nature of the European Union and of its future trajectory⁵.

Internal security means priorities such as counterterrorism, the defense of fundamental rights, finding a common approach of the legal and illegal immigration, the harmonization of the asylum procedures, the protection of the external borders of the European Union, shearing information by the specialized authorities, the establishment of a minimum of standards for justice, the fight against cross-border crimes, against drugs and trafficking of human beings. On the other hand, external security policy refers to the commitment of the Member States to help each other in case of some attacks, to the sanctions or restrictive measures that European Union can impose to some third states in an attempt to prevent the violation of human rights and of democratic norms, to manage crisis and conflict prevention operations under the aegis of PESD (Common Policy of Security and Defense). In other words, for the Council and the Commission of the European Union, external security means the translation in one voice of the efforts of the Member States to respond in a consistent manner to the problems and international challenges as for example: environmental protection, weapons of mass destruction, inter- and intra-state conflicts, food

³ Ibidem, pp. 1-2.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 2.

⁵ Ibidem, pp. 2-3.

security and education. In this sense, European Commission sent about 130 delegations out in the world with the role of outlining the external image of the European Union through public diplomacy⁶.

With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, internal security has become a problem of Community policy, entering under the jurisdiction of the `Community Method`. This change has left external security – PECS – within the intergovernmental field. Nevertheless, Lisbon Treaty has raised, in this field also, the role of the European Union through acquisition by the High Representative for PECS of the role of vice-President of the Commission supported by a new European Service of External Action⁷.

The importance of the European security issue, in both its forms – internal and external – is residing in many aspects. First of all, it can be raised the problem of the distinction between the two forms which has become difficult to do in the new global context of trans-nationalization⁸. In the case of the European Union the process of distinction is much more difficult. This is because national frontiers of the Member States have become internal frontiers of the European Union, hence redefining the whole concept of borders and turning over the distinction between internal and external. Each Member State must think about internal security as being a concept which also includes what is outside its borders⁹.

Secondly, a clear external dimension of the internal security and an internal dimension of the external security can really be found in the decision-making process from Brussels and within the capitals of the Member States. After the 11 September events common efforts were made in order to treat the problems of internal and external security as being `two sides of the same coin`. Hence, European Security Strategy from 2003 foresees that key threats towards the Europe of the 21st century are: terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, chemical and biological attacks, illegal immigration, and cross-border trafficking of human beings, of drugs and of weapons. For treating such threats in an efficient manner, European Security Strategy calls for a more hard involvement in helping third countries that do not succeed in facing these challenges for different reasons. In this sense was also created the International Agency of Atomic Energy. European

⁶ Ibidem, p. 7.

⁷ Idem.

⁸ D. Bigo, “When Two Become One: Internal and External Securitisations in Europe”, in *International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration*, Morten Kelstrup, Michael C. Williams (edit.), Routledge, London, 2000, pp. 171–204.

⁹ Mai’a K. Davis Cross, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

Security Strategy from 2003 reflects the belief that internal threats need external strategies, and that external threats need, in turn, the instruments of the internal security in order to be combated¹⁰.

Thirdly, the approach of the two dimensions of the European security together must also be methodological. This is because, doing so, the chances of a better analyze of the problems that it raises and the ones of finding the proper solutions to them increase. Mai'a K. Davis Cross believes that internal security has known a further emphasized progress than external security and because of this the first could offer `a wicket for seeing` external security in the future¹¹.

The present paper with the title `Conceptual foundations of the EU Neighbourhood Policy` debates, in terms of the aspects concerning the European security, the problems of the European Neighbourhood Policy, its directions, its accomplishments and its future perspectives.

Due to its importance which we already presented, the paper starts with a chapter concerning `European Security` which is structured on two directions of analysis: general aspects and specific aspects of the European Union concerning the theme of the present paper. Within the first part of this chapter we made reference to: the identity of the European Union and to some international aspects; a cognitive approach of Europe; `Mediterranean Union`; Eastern Partnership and to the Project `Enlarged Europe – New Neighbourhood`. Within the specific aspects of the European security, we believed that is important to make reference to PECS and PESD, and we approached aspects concerning: the changing European security policy; the evolution of the European security policy since 1945; the European security policy after the Cold War; the development of its capacities and the implementation of PECS; the European security policy after the 11 September events.

In a study dedicated to PESD system, to the history, structure and its capacities, Maria Raquel Freire desired to clarify the context and the way in which things reached to the Policy of European Security and Defense (PESD). In her demarche, the author forayed into the dynamic and the way in which the European Union searched solutions to the challenges of matching its objectives with its operational capacities. The author believes that in this process there were involved internal and international political factors which influenced the implementation of PESD and also of other European political instruments. The author also

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 8.

¹¹ Idem.

highlighted the limits of PESD on the basis of a critical analyze of the results obtained up to date.

In 1998, the French President Jacques Chirac and the British Prime Minister Tony Blair gave a bilateral declaration in which they encouraged European Union to create an autonomous force capable to face international crisis. So, serious discussions concerning the Policy of the European Security and Defense (PESD) started and at the European Council of Cologne from 1999, PESD became a part of PECS.

In the context of analyzing the `permanent concurrence` between NATO and European Union for weaning the title of global actor on security issues we made reference to the objectives and priorities of PECS, to its limits, and also to its institutional construction, to the development of its capacities and to its implementation, and to the European security policy after the 11 September events.

As a consequence of the 11 September events, European Union responded by adopting a framework decision concerning the fight against terrorism. Hence, measures were taken both in the police field, and with regard to the legal cooperation, to the definition of a list of terrorist organizations and of measures of the external fight against terrorism. Within PECS, European Union promoted dialogues with other countries about communism and about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Practically, European Union tried to find a way of fighting against terrorism through PESD. Subsequently, after the Madrid attacks from 2004, the efforts of fighting against terrorism were accelerated. Since 2004, a plan of standardization of the capacities that a state could apply for the benefit of ESS (European Security Strategy) was started. In this case, the objectives for 2010 provided the composition of detachable war groups, air capacities, the availability of airways and the development of interoperability. The initiative was followed by the creation of the European Agency for Defense (EAD) by the European Council, at the 12th of July 2004, with the purpose of coordinating the defense operations, of increasing cooperation in the evolution of armaments, of fostering competitiveness in European industries of armament and of encouraging research and development. In November 2004 it was decided the composition of 12 fast action groups with a staff of 100 up to 1500 people, detachable within 10 days since a unanimous decision of the European Union¹².

Regarding the war in Iraq, it became a point of dispute between the North-Atlantic Organization and the European one, but also between the European states. The war exposed

¹² Allen G. Sens, op. cit., pp. 16-18.

the limits of a European approach towards a major international problem. The future of the transatlantic relations is of a fundamental importance. It is difficult to argue that a world in which Europe and America do not cooperate regarding the security could be more stable or could better respond to the challenges determined by the global changes. If this relationship would erode entirely, then it would not be able to cope with crisis in Europe's periphery or of further, which demand a coordinated and multilateral answer. Hence the fear of a permanent division between continents appears. Opinions are divided concerning this aspect. On the one hand, it is believed that this crisis marked the rupture which will deepen in the future, or that the American vision is heading towards unilateralism, and the European one towards multipolarity. In this version, it is imperative that Europe sufficiently integrates so that to play an important role in the formation of the future world. Anyway, Europe and America have very different opinions concerning the use of military force, the answers towards threatening regimes, the investment in the defense capacity, the degradation of the environment and the exchange policy. But others consider that the differences between the two were overreacted and that, in the end, both Europe and America, share the same beliefs, and the surveys carried out showed that over 50% of the population of both continents consider that the two must cooperate and that in recent years they approached considerably¹³.

The second chapter of the paper is dedicated to a detailed analysis of the different aspects concerning the `European Neighbourhood Policy`. The chapter is structured in five main themes: the objectives, genesis, borders, content and legality of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

Within the subchapter dedicated to the objectives of the European Neighbourhood Policy we concentrated our attention, mainly on the definition of the term `European Neighbourhood Policy`, on its main objectives and on the evolution of this policy, on its instruments, on its sources of financing and also on its strategy and directions of action.

In this context, we saw that the Neighbourhood Policy raises many conceptual issues. European Neighbourhood Policy represents a new approach of the relations between European Union and its neighbours, an approach which overpasses the traditional one based on cooperation. This policy represents a framework for strengthening relations of neighborhood and concerns the intensification of the cooperation with the neighbouring States of the enlarged European Union in order to create an area of prosperity and

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 19-21.

neighborliness, to create a `circle of friends` at the borders of the Union. In this sense, European Neighbourhood Policy proposes a partnership with a set of ambitious objectives for the neighbouring States of the European Union, based on sharing the same political and economic values and through institutional reform¹⁴.

From the very beginning it was cleared that the European Neighbourhood Policy includes some `vague promises` related to the political dialogue and to the cooperation in the field of security. The possibility of `adhesion` to the European Union is not attractive for all neighbouring States, especially when it's about enduring the abstentions provided by the Union membership program, without the certainty of integration. It is becoming more and more difficult for the population to accept reforms which result in high costs. The perspective of `accession` - seen as a reward for the reforms - does not exist for the States participating in the European Neighbourhood Policy. Its premise is represented by the common interest of the European Union and of the partner states in not transforming the border that separates them in a barrier in front of the trade, of the social and commercial exchanges or of the regional cooperation¹⁵.

The speed and intensity of this process shall depend on the will and capacity of each partner state to engage in transposing the European Neighbourhood Policy agenda for building and strengthening the cooperation framework act. In short, European Neighbourhood Policy aims to promote interdependence, cooperation (especially regional cooperation) and foreign investment. The implementation of this policy is concentrated on the conditionality policy that imposes the respect for the law, an architecture which has its origin in the relations with the candidate countries as well as in the one with the Balkan States¹⁶.

European Neighbourhood Policy method consists of the development of the cooperation relationships within a new frame of reference, defined by reference to the key objectives relating to stability, security and sustainable development, structured on the three actual pillars of the European Union's functioning: Internal Market, Justice and Home Affairs, Foreign Policy and Common Security. In applying this method, the following

¹⁴ Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament Wider Europe — Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours (COM (2003) 104 final). A se vedea și EC Commission 1997, Agenda 2000, For a Stronger and Wider Union, Part I The Policies of the Union, sect. IV - The Union in the World, p. 43.

¹⁵ Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council laying down general provisions establishing a European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument, Brussels, 29.9.2004 COM(2004) 628 final 2004/0219 (COD), p. 5.

¹⁶ Günter Verheugen, EU Enlargement and the Union's Neighbourhood Policy, Diplomatic Academy, Moscow, 27 October 2003.

principles shall be adopted: cooperation based on some common values; focusing on priorities; differentiation; positive conditionality based on some reference criteria; periodic assessment; progress by entering the distinction between short term - long term. Therefore, it can be said that the Neighbourhood Policy lies on the border between the European security strategy and the enlargement strategy; furthermore it combines elements of the two strategies, by adapting the instruments used in the enlargement process (priorities, evaluation criteria, country reports, specific financial instruments) to the relations of regional cooperation.

The second subchapter, referring to the genesis of the European Neighbourhood Policy is concentrated on: the alternative opinions concerning ENP; the presentation of a narrative typology of ENP; framing this policy; and on the `bureaucratic European games formed around the European Neighbourhood Policy`.

Neighbourhood aspects did not appear as a problem in the European government circles concerning European Neighbourhood Policy. They are a recurring element of the European political scene which appeared especially after the end of the period of bipolarity when, in less than a decade, European Union passed a multilateral process of enlargement, a Mediterranean partnership, `a northern dimension`, associated, candidate and partner countries. Any attempt to give meaning to the different discursive strategies was mobilized for the inclusion, in the sense of European Neighbourhood Policy, of the significant needs to take into account the relationships between these strategies and the ample discourses elaborated on the issue of the European Union's relations with its neighbourhood¹⁷.

Within the discursive space of the neighbourhood, the author focuses on the increasing importance of a narration concentrated on threats and danger arising out of the neighbourhood areas of the European Union, in the so-called `external borders`. The argument about the presence and the relevance of narrative `threats` was also brought in discussion by Alexandra Goujon¹⁸, starting from the approaches of the `narrative policy` developed in the field of public policy analysis. Her work remains anchored in the idea that European Neighbourhood Policy, in the process of its conceptualization, can be isolated as an action/a policy and as a certain research object. European Neighbourhood Policy should be examined rather as a part of the `external governance` of the European Union or in the light of the practices that govern EU relations with the rest of the world. Specific narrative `threats` identified by Goujon fit into the broader process of re-drafting of the multiple

¹⁷ Julien Jeandesboz, op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁸ Alexandra Goujon, op. cit., 2005, pp. 137–163.

discourses about the `new threats` and about the `international chaos` which were spread at transnational level in the recent years in a `Europeanized` version¹⁹.

In this sense, J. Jeandesboz is funding a narrative topology of the European Neighbourhood Policy that map out two separate discourses referring to the neighbourhood, in the specific context of the European Neighbourhood Policy. This topology takes into account the dynamic perspective, in order to underline the progressive change of the discourse presented in various texts which deal with the European Neighbourhood Policy, from a solution in which there are different narratives, to one in which `threats` become dominant within the discourse, conferring a meaning to the initiative²⁰.

Regarding the process of Europeanization, J. Jeandesboz believes that it should be regarded in the light of the problem called `the area of freedom, security and justice`. The Hague Programme represents now the basic component of the process of creating the area of freedom, security and justice. European Union Council of 2004 expressed in the sense that `The security of the European Union has a new emergency, in the light of the attacks from the United States, from the 11th of September 2001, and from Madrid, from the 11th of March 2004. European citizens expect the European Union, in guaranteeing the respect of the fundamental rights and liberties, to approach more efficiently the cross-border problems, such as: illegal migration, trafficking and smuggling of human beings, terrorism and organized crime, and also their prevention. Especially in the field of security, coordination and coherence between the internal and the external dimensions have increased their importance and should be closely watched`²¹. In this context, the Hague Programme refers to the `need of intensified cooperation and to the development of the capacities, both in South and on the Eastern borders in order to allow those countries to better manage migrations and to ensure an adequate protection for the refugees`²². This is `the primary argument of the international cooperation as a rule of the game in the practice of outsourcing the internal security`. This should be the relationship between the European Neighbourhood Policy and the great ascension process of security of the European Union²³.

¹⁹ Didier Bigo, *op. cit.*, 2005.

²⁰ Julien Jeandesboz, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²¹ Council of the European Union, *The Hague Programme: strengthening freedom, security and justice in the European Union*, 16054/2004 (JAI 559), p. 3.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 13.

²³ Julien Jeandesboz, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

Within the third subchapter, called `The Borders of the European Neighbourhood Policy`, we presented the European Neighbourhood Policy as an universal balance, so that later to refer to it in comparison with the enlargement model of the European Union.

The practices and concepts established in other `contexts` of the European Union's `neighbourhood` had a substantial impact on the entire European Neighbourhood Policy. It is expected that this type of `political transfer` to become evident from the point of view of a comparative approach between the European Neighbourhood Policy and the most relevant policy of European Union, introduced into another context of `the integration across borders`, which is its expansion. Looking at the history of the European integration, it can be seen that the idea and the purpose of `building security` in `Europe's neighbourhood`, as it was expressed within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy, are not new towards the external policy of the European Union. Over the last two decades, the internal process of integration was accompanied by a progressive enlargement of the Union – as an area of prosperity, stability and security, and also as a normative gravitational centre in order to capture adjacent regions and major parts of the European continent. Along its development, European Union has succeeded to impose its own rules, norms and values outside its territory, especially democracy, the rule of law, human rights and market economy, and to shape its neighbours in its own interest²⁴.

The statement that European Neighbourhood Policy has a strong resistance in time and that it builds on the enlargement model can be found to all political analysts and external observers²⁵. It has also been alleged that one of the European Neighbourhood Policy's specialties is the decision-making process. In the key documents which underline the structural methodology of the European Neighbourhood Policy, there are references to the successful instrument of the enlargement policy and, most importantly, to the strategic objective of the enlargement benefits' transmission towards neighbouring countries. Although the political instruments which have developed within the European Neighbourhood Policy cannot be catalogued as being simple copies or imitations of the enlargement model, from the perspective of the historical institutionalism, the impact of the past is revealed for any process of formation of a policy²⁶.

In spite of the apparent continuity between the European Neighbourhood Policy and the policy of enlargement, and also other policies of the European Union directed towards its

²⁴ Carmen Gebhard, *op. cit.*, 2010, p. 91.

²⁵ J. Kelley, *op. cit.*, 2006, p. 32.

²⁶ Carmen Gebhard, *op. cit.*, 2010, p. 92.

neighbourhood, there are important factors which transform European Neighbourhood Policy in a special case. The area to which it refers is greater than the territory of the European Union itself, and countries that the policy wants to gather as a single `political template` are much more diverse than any other group of states or regions which were part of other politics of the European Union. In terms of the normative aspirations and of the used strategies, European Neighbourhood Policy can be seen as being the most ambitious government external projection plan that the Union has provided until today. It is a unique challenge that the European Union is forced to face in this point of its strategic, territorial and geopolitical development²⁷.

As we have already shown, the penultimate subchapter is centered on the presentation of the content of the European Neighbourhood Policy. In this context, we have shown that the Lisbon Treaty signed by the leaders of the European Union in December 2007 and entered into force in 2009, envisages the European Union's commitment `to assist the populations, the states and the regions which confront with natural disasters or with manmade disasters`, and also to `promote an international system based on a stronger multilateral cooperation and on a good global governance`. Hence, the Lisbon Treaty confirms the intention of the European Union to `develop a special relationship with the neighbouring countries, built on the values of the Union and characterized by close and peaceful relations based on cooperation`. Four important aspects foreseen by the Lisbon Treaty are meant to enhance the action capacity of the External Policy and Common Security concerning the European Neighbourhood Policy: increasing the impact, coherence and visibility of the European Union's external action by the new High Representative of the Union for External Affairs and Security Policy and vice-President of the Commission; a new European Service of External Action which to ensure support for the High Representative and to action in cooperation with the diplomatic services of the Member States; the legal personality of the European Union – which is the only one able to consolidate the Union's negotiating ability; and the special procedures of decision-making which to ensure the way towards a enhanced cooperation between the Member States²⁸.

²⁷ S. Lavenex, op. cit., 2004, pp. 680-700.

²⁸ European Union, Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community (2007/C306/01), Official Journal of the European Union, English Edition, C 306, Volume 50, 17 December 2007, available online at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/>.

In terms of military and civil capabilities of the European Union, it was outlined the idea that they are based on three aspects: the ability to act and to sponsor; the ability to cooperate and the ability to coordinate²⁹.

The abilities of the European Union to coordinate and to cooperate are closely related to its internal processes, and also with its relations with the third countries. Within the European Union, these capabilities have two dimensions: a horizontal one (the coordination between the three pillars) and a vertical one (between the European Union – as a supra-national organization, with its own institutional structures -, and the Member States of the European Union). At an external level, the abilities of coordination and cooperation are essential especially in the relations of the European Union with NATO, due to the increasing dependence of the European Union to the resources of this organization. The cooperation with third countries and with international organizations (United Nations, OSCE, etc.) and with non-governmental organizations enjoys a special place within the European Union because it is dedicated to multilateral approaches and it recognizes the mutual benefits of the cooperation with organizations specialized in crisis management³⁰.

With the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty it was intended the improvement of the European Union's institutional capability to cooperate and coordinate both internally and externally, and also the increasing the coherence and the effectiveness of the Foreign Policy and Common Security. So, according to Article 28 from the Lisbon Treaty, 'the Council shall adopt a decision which to establish the specific procedures in order to guarantee free access to the funds from the EU budget for emergency financing initiatives within the field of Foreign Policy and Common Security and for activities as: disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue operations, military operations and assistance, conflict prevention operations and preservation of peace, crisis-management operations, of peace making and post conflict stabilization. Furthermore, the Treaty foresees that training actions are not in charge of the Union's budget, and so, they shall be financed of a fund built from the contributions of each Member State³¹.

In this context, European Union has conducted several missions. From these we reminded: the Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM-B-H 2003); Operation CONCORDIA in Macedonia – 2003; Operation PROXIMA in Macedonia din 2003; Operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2004.

²⁹ Stefan Wolff, Annemarie Peen Rodt, op. cit., 2010, pp. 119-121.

³⁰ Ibidem, pp. 121-122.

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 122.

In the subchapter concerning the 'Legality of the European Neighbourhood Policy' we considered that we must make reference to: the analytical challenges of this policy; to the causal and constructive theories about ENP; to the normative power of the European Union within the European Neighbourhood Policy; to the principles of the European Union within this policy: legitimacy, coherence, consistency, persuasion, commitment, differentiation, socialization, sovereignty and conditionality.

Understanding European Union as a regional actor entails for, according to Ian Manners, approaching the European Neighbourhood Policy from a causal and formation point of view. Theories about European Neighbourhood Policy make more than guide exploration and control; they represent its realities, because as Catherine Hoskyns observed, 'theory creates and explains the questions that arise and the ones that do not arise'³². In the analysis of the European Neighbourhood Policy is useful to compare the causal approaches to the constructive ones in order to understand the way in which different theories lead to the understanding of what the policy of the European Union makes possible. According to the causal theory, the object of study can be explained as a causal relationship between two factors³³. So, a causal expectation would be to make the European Neighbourhood Policy to be, from an analytic point of view, 'something for something'. According to the constructive theory, the subject of study is created in the context of a specific relationship³⁴. Constitutive expectation would be that the European Neighbourhood Policy to create and to retrace the subjects based on the relationships between them. In other words, the object of a constitutive approach is represented by the analysis of the way in which the practices and the experiences of the participants are changed through the European Neighbourhood Policy³⁵.

The approach of the normative power focuses on the creation of a middle way between the cultural universalism and the reification of the cultural relativism, in order to critique and change European Union in the framework of the world politics, by studying the conceptual aspects of the European Union and through their criticism or support in order to change the policy of the European Union³⁶. In order to study normative power in the

³² Catherine Hoskyns (2004), 'Gender perspectives', in Antje Wiener, Thomas Diez (edit.), *European Integration Theory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, p. 224.

³³ Peter Burnham, Karin Gilland, *op. cit.*, 2004, p. 27.

³⁴ Mervyn Frost, *op. cit.*, 1996, p. 138.

³⁵ Ian Manners, *As You Like It: European Union Normative Power in the European Neighbourhood Policy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

³⁶ Ian Manners, 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40 (2), 2002, pp. 238-239.

framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy it is useful to analyze the conceptual aspects of the European Union's principles, of its actions and of their impact in this field³⁷.

The third chapter of the present paper is dedicated to a practical analysis of the directions of action of the European Neighbourhood Policy. The four directions of action identified are: Eastern Europe – in which case were analyzed the situations of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus; Western Europe – where were studied the situation of the Middle East and the one of the Caucasus; Mediterranean Area and some states from Africa; and Moldova – as a distinct situation due to its relationship with Russia, and especially with Romania – as a Member State of the European Union. In the case of Moldova, we dedicated a short part of our work to the problem of Transnistria and to the relationship between Moldova and Romania.

The final chapter, entitled `Achievements and Perspectives` focuses in issues such as: European Neighbourhood Policy and its relationship with `Security, Democracy and Stability`; the achievements of the European Neighbourhood Policy until 2009 and after the Lisbon Treaty; and to future perspectives. Regarding security-related issues, we have paid them a special attention in this chapter also, concerning the European Neighbourhood Policy as a European way of achieving security.

European Security Strategy outlines an `ambitious agenda` of the European Union, focusing on putting into practice various instruments, by creating some partnerships and multilateral institutions, for the continuance of the policy of prevention and stability. In this sense, it is provided that `the best way to protect our security is represented by a world of well governed democratic states. The dissemination of the good governance, the support of the social and political reform, the fight against corruption and abuse of power, the establishment of the rule of law and the protection of human rights are the best ways for strengthening the international order`. These aspects have been conceptualized by the notion of global public goods (GPG). Physical security, economic prosperity, political freedom or democracy, human rights, the rule of law and social welfare of education, of sanitary services, of the environment and of others, all represent `global or universal goods` because, at least from the perspective of the European Union, anyone is entitled to them, and they are public because their insurance is in the responsibility of the public authorities at all levels of Government. The gap between those who enjoy these goods and the ones who do not is created by the economic instability, by the phenomenon of migration, by frustrations, by

³⁷ Ian Manners, *As You Like It: European Union Normative Power in the European Neighbourhood Policy*, op. cit., p. 36.

extremism and by conflicts. European Union cannot prevent these as long as it is surrounded by them. Global public goods are interdependent because in order to enjoy one of them we must have access to all. They are a constant concern of all the European Union politics because only this way there can be achieved sustainable results³⁸.

We can see that the tone of the European Security Strategy is a positive one, even progressive. It hopes to achieve some positive objectives in the interest of the European Union, and of others, expressing a sense of responsibility³⁹ towards the European neighbours and of solidarity with them. From this point of view, European Union can be described as being a positive power⁴⁰.

³⁸ Ibiem, p. 75.

³⁹ Hartmut Mayer, Henri Vogt (edit.), *A Responsible Europe? Ethical Foundations of EU External Affairs*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2006.

⁴⁰ Sven Biscop, *The European Security Strategy – A Global Agenda for Positive Power*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2005; Sven Biscop, Jan Joel Andersson (edit.), *The EU and the European Security Strategy – Forging a Global Europe*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2008; Sven Biscop, *The ENP, Security, and Democracy in the Context of the European Security Strategy*, op. cit., p. 75.

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