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**SECURITY GOVERNANCE IN EUROPEAN  
NEIGHBOURHOOD. CASE STUDY: EASTERN  
PARTNERSHIP**

**Summary of Ph.D. Thesis**

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**Keywords:** European Neighbourhood Policy, the Eastern Partnership, governance, externalization of European governance, security governance, Action Plans, unconventional threats, security sector reform, the Wider Black Sea Region, cooperative security

The reason that determined us to choose this topic was just its novelty within political and academic debates, both at European and national level. The security issues in the European neighborhood returned to actuality along with the events that marked the neighboring states of the European Union, both in South - the "Arab Spring " from 2010, and in East - the situation in Ukraine, especially Crimea in 2013. All these prompted the European Union to reconsider its policy towards these regions and adopt a series of measures to encourage the partners to enroll on the path of structural reforms, to make them as compatible with the European model, with the ultimate aim (if not the effective accession to the Community block, in the foreseeable future) at least the integration in some sectors of the Common Market . However, what was intended as an extremely ambitious and coherent geopolitical and geostrategic project, the EU Neighbourhood Policy, launched over a decade ago, has come to be seen by many analysts as a frozen project, that failed to reach even its initial objectives . Our position is that the European Union, although it planned an objective and pragmatic project, the economic and financial crisis that started in Europe several years ago, has greatly influenced the policies of the Member States and the Union as a whole, leading the policy decision makers to focus, in particular, on the internal problems of their states than on European neighborhood, an attitude dictated primarily by financial factors.

During our scientific approach we used several qualitative and quantitative techniques and methods such as selecting, critique and interpretation of the multitude of information. In the first part of the thesis we approached the descriptive analysis – we have described and analyzed the reasons for launching the ENP, the policy objectives and process of operation; Predictive Analytics - we tried to investigate the direction of the ENP, if it is an alternative to enlargement, and the security trends in the Black Sea region. We used the content analysis of the official documents of the European Commission, the papers that founded ENP, and other official acts, such as Association Agreements and Action Plans. Also, in the second part of the paper we used conceptual analysis – we have analyzed the concept of governance and in particular the governance of security. Discourse analysis is another method used - interpreting the speeches of European officials: Romano Prodi, Benita Ferrero- Waldner , Catherine Ashton , and the representatives of the partner countries.

In the last chapter we followed the cause and effect ( causality ), and descriptive analysis - where necessary, predictive study of various facts and events and the inductive method.

As theory we chose the governance approach in the European studies. We considered and demonstrated that it is suitable to explain the development of the European Neighbourhood Policy, which can be understood as a form of "externalization of European governance" or "external governance". This externalization of governance is achieved in particular through the implementation of the Action Plans that contain multiple aspects of democratic governance. Socio-constructivist paradigm is addressed to theoretically base our premises of the paper, but we also used the neorealist theory to explain some actions and approaches of foreign policy actors, especially the Russian Federation.

The thesis is structured in three chapters (excluding the introductory chapter and the related findings).

The first chapter is intended to describe the European Neighborhood Policy . Once we have previously investigated the role of the European Union in the current international system, trying to show whether it is more than a civil power, and the new security capabilities gained through the Lisbon Treaty – we described the ENP stages of evolution, the motivations that led to its development, the objectives pursued, how does it works, ther instruments that finance the programs. We presented and analyzed official documents underlying its foundation: European Security Strategy (2003), Wider Europe - Neighbourhood : A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours (2003), European Neighbourhood Policy STRATEGY PAPER (2004), and other important documents of the European Commission, the EU Council and the European Parliament on the ENP. Here we used the analysis in terms of the theory of governance of the ENP - how to apply principles of good governance in this policy, "external governance" of the EU – we explained the development of the ENP as a form of "externalization of European governance” , Governance neighborhood economic policy and governance aspects of the Action Plans.

Chapter two seeks to explain and explore a new model of security studies - security governance - in a descriptive and interpretative manner and proposes it as an alternative for solving problems and managing the more diverse and complex security risks and threats in the current international system. Security governance is a recent approach, still in a phase of evolution, which has appeared in the speeches of specialists, combining practical security concept (understood in the broadest sense ) with the notion of governance. Thus, we defined

the concept of security and explained its significance today, we focused on governance approach and its connection with security. Finally we analysed security governance - its two dimensions: the domestic one (security sector reform) and external one( multilateral and regional).

The third chapter examines the topic of Eastern dimension of the ENP: the Eastern Partnership; it shows the Wider Black Sea Region into a descriptive and analytical form, and investigates the geostrategic, geo-economic and geo-cultural importance that this area has got at the beginning of the third millennium. Then, in a brief introduction we explained why this space returned in actuality, gaining increasing significance for European and international security, we presented a brief history of the Pontic region. After a review of the main state and non-state actors (regional and international organizations, but not limited to these) that operate in WBSR and interests which they pursue, we have identified the key vulnerabilities, risks and threats that endanger the security of individuals and the Black Sea states (conventional threats, of military nature, like the frozen conflicts or the unconventional and asymmetric threats, such as illegal migration and cross-border crime, trafficking in narcotics and small arms, religious fundamentalism, etc.). Eventually we investigated the geopolitical and geostrategic trends in the region, focusing on energy security dimension and the role that WBSR holds as a corridor - transit zone - for hydrocarbon streams from extracting areas to Europe.

Further we tried to provide an applicability of security governance in WBSR, following several aspects of its manifestation. First we focused on security sector reform, as part of governance of the security sector in each coastal state, highlighting the changes that have occurred both in the security policies and strategies, but especially within the empowered structures to protect the state and citizens. We can observe some differences between the state actors, in the sense that countries that were close to the West and were integrated into Euro-Atlantic structures have made significant progress in the reform process, while others (eg. Russia) remained with a centralized and non-transparent sector, initiating few reforms towards a real democracy. Regarding regional security governance, we have adopted a multilateral vision type, for solving the security problems (both soft or hard) considering that a democratic participation, both of neighboring states and other actors (states and regional and international organizations) through a synergistic commitment could provide the best solutions and options to pacify the Pontic space.

The last chapter is the designed to conclusions, followed by references and appendices.

*The Security governance* can be characterized as „an intentional system of rules involving the coordination, management and regulation of issues related to security, by multiple and separate authorities, interventions of both public and private actors, formal and informal arrangements, directed with a specific purpose, in order to obtain specific benefits”<sup>1</sup>. The concept of security governance can be understood as an application of good governance principles – transparency, participation, accountability, efficiency and coherence – in the security and defense sector. From the perspective of development agencies, an effective and well managed security sector is considered to be an essential precondition for long term socio-economic development and a key factor in creating a favourable environment for productive social and economic activities.

Therefore, the notion of security governance is concerned with the mechanisms and structures through which security (in its broader sense) is provided. Thus, the different actors that are present in the security architecture – institutions, countries, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations – (which imply a multi-level or multi-actor governance) are designed to coordinate their efforts in order to regulate the security status. Even if this goal is one shared, the ways and instruments through which security is ensured may vary from one actor to another => a complex management process due to this fragmentation of authority. Therefore, the governance approach should facilitate the understanding of interactions, on vertical and horizontal, between different actors, serving as an organizational framework and analysing how security is produced<sup>2</sup>

We have chosen the Wider Black Sea Region – WBSR<sup>3</sup> as a case study in our paper because it has a major significance in terms of security, enjoying multiple geopolitical, geo-strategical, geoeconomical and geocultural connotations. Its importance in global security has risen along with the end of the Cold War (and implicitly the dissolution of the USSR), with the deepening of globalization and the EU and NATO enlargements in the region. Another rationale was due to the growing strategic significance of the Caucasus region and Central Asia for the West, as a result of NATO’s involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq. There was also the awareness of the EU regarding its energy dependence on Russian Federation and the

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<sup>1</sup> Kirchner, Emil J. , „The Challenge of European Union Security Governance”, in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 5, December 2006, pp. 947-968, [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=950064](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=950064)

<sup>2</sup> Michela Ceccorulli, Ruth Hanau Santini, Lorenzo Fioramonti and Sonia Lucarelli, „EU Security Governance”, *EU GRASP Working Paper*, No. 2, Bruges, February 2010, p. 4, [http://www.eu grasp.eu/uploads/media/WP02\\_EU\\_Security\\_Governance.pdf](http://www.eu grasp.eu/uploads/media/WP02_EU_Security_Governance.pdf) (consulted in April 2010)

<sup>3</sup> See more about the history, geography and geopolitics of the WBSR in Yannis Tsantoulis, „Subregionalism in the Black Sea and the EU’s Role, Incentives, Obstacles, and a ‘New Synergy’”, *Discussion Paper C183*, Center for European Integration Studies, Bonn, 2008, p.5

potential alternative of the Caspian – Black Sea resources and routes. We should not forget the „coloured” revolutions from Ukraine & Georgia and its consequences for the region’s relations and evolutions<sup>4</sup>. Nowadays the WBSR is a key market for the Western exports, a transit zone for the gas and oil from Central Asia to EU, and also for any illicit trafficking, illegal migration, organized crime, religious fundamentalism and terrorism<sup>5</sup>. The region comprises the six littoral states (Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Turkey and Bulgaria), but given that the term „wider” refers more to a political-economic region rather than a geographical one, then we must also regard another countries such as Moldova, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Greece.

Most states from the WBSR is facing a number of vulnerabilities and threats: the frozen conflicts, the lack of a consolidated democracy, economic and energy dependence and other transnational phenomena. Besides Romania and Bulgaria (which are EU member states) the other Black Sea countries (and especially the former Soviet and current members of the CIS ones) suffers from critical deficiencies in terms of security, democracy and development, which means a serious challenge to security region and even to the European Union. Therefore we can say that all the states are affected equally by the problems from the region and are interested to solve them and to participate in *the process of region building*.

The policy makers, being aware that a genuine political and economic modernization can not be done as long as the security and defense sectors remain outside the control of civilian authorities and into a lack of transparency, have decided to begin a reform process of these sectors. The encouragement of reforms was double motivated: on the one hand internally – the need for change and transformation from a totalitarian regime, from a centralized, closed, nontransparent security system, headed by a communist party (in most states around Black Sea excepting Greece and Turkey) and being into its service, towards a democratic regime and a transparent security system, placed under civil and democratic supervision & control of the Parliament, at the service of citizens and intended to pursue their interests and those of the national state. The second consideration was external motivated – the security sector reform has occurred in order to meet the Western standards in this area, so that to get support from the West and to facilitate the integration into the Euro-Atlantic

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<sup>4</sup> Svante E. Cornell, Anna Jonsson, Niklas Nilsson and Per Haggstrom, “The Wider Black Sea Region: An emerging Hub in European Security”, *Silk Road Paper*, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Skill Road Studies Program, Uppsala, December 2006, p.6, available at:

[http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/Silkroadpapers/0612Blacksea\\_P.pdf](http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/Silkroadpapers/0612Blacksea_P.pdf) (consulted in August 2010)

<sup>5</sup> Adrian Pop and Dan Manoleli (Coordinators.), “Spre o strategie europeană în bazinul Mării Negre. Cooperarea teritorială”, Study No. 4, European Institute of Romania, Bucharest, December 2007, p. 10, available at: [www.i.e.r.ro](http://www.i.e.r.ro) (consulted in January 2009)



structures (this is a common objective for Romania, Bulgaria, maybe for Turkey, Moldova and less or not at all for the former Soviet republics). We mention in this respect the Code of Conduct for Political-Military Relations developed by OSCE in 1994 and which assumed that all the security services, not just the military ones, should be under the democratic control<sup>6</sup>. Also, the main assistance instrument of NATO for the Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe countries – the Partnership for Peace – was aimed to intensify the political and military cooperation in Europe and to promote the commitment to democratic principles.

These two initiatives came from two security organizations, that promoted the principle of positive conditionality (whether the countries from the region carried out some agreed reforms, then they would received assistance from them) also turned to the states from the WBSR and favored the security sectors reform from within. The fact is that it further feels the need for reforms, especially in the Commonwealth of Independent States countries, so that we could talk about a genuine security sector governance.

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<sup>6</sup> Rienk Terpstra, „The OSCE Code of Conduct: Setting New Standards in the Politico-Military Field?“, in *Helsinki Monitor*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1996, pp. 27-41