

## opinion

## in this issue



### Europe, in search of a New Security Strategy

According to the introductory paragraph of the European Security Strategy, a 15-page text adopted back in 2003 and still applicable today, “Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history”<sup>1</sup>. Twelve years after the birth of the first document that analysed and defined the security environment in the European Union, the

framework has significantly changed, against the backdrop of the forces of globalization, the new identity politics and the complex interdependencies both inside the EU, between the Member States, and on the outside, in the EU’s relations with its neighbours and partners. This transformation was driven by the successive waves of enlargement, the launch of the European Neighbourhood Policy, the adoption of the much anticipated Lisbon Treaty in 2009 and the exponential development of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). At the same time, the international security milieu went through substantial transformations, and the security concept itself suffered numerous theoretical reinterpretations.

The programmatic document from 2003 tried at the time to encompass the common interests of the then 15 state EU in a shared strategic vision, having the European citizens as final beneficiaries. Nowadays, however, the European Union is confronted both in the East, where ... **p.2**

<sup>1</sup> European Security Strategy, available at <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>



- 3** *Lobbying in Romania v. Lobbying in the EU*
- 6** *Admissibility Guide for Applications to the ECHR. Third Edition*
- 6** *European Congress of Local Governments, Krakow (Poland), 4-5 May 2015*
- 8** *Debate: Four scenarios: The EU and the East 2030*
- 9** *Conference Romanian-Polish Cooperation, Value for Central and Eastern Europe*
- 10** *Eastern Partnership Summit Riga, 21-22 May 2015*



## publications

### Romanian Journal of European Affairs – Summer Issue 2015

In the summer issue of the RJE, the contributors bring to the readers’ attention topics concerning: a theoretical synthesis of the CSDP operations, a comparative perspective on the European Union’s civilian missions in Georgia and Kosovo, the EU emergency aid granted to the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership as a challenge for the European Union, as well as an assessment of the political conditionality in the Transatlantic Partnership ... **p.2**



... Romania is in the *first line* and on its Southern flank with security risks and challenges both new and old, such as: the new crises and conflicts fuelled by geopolitical ambitions on a regional and international level, the hybrid war and informational war, the use of energy as a political weapon and, last but not least, the inability of fragile or failed states to maintain their monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a given territory and its population. The next European Council, in June, will be mostly dedicated to topics of security and defence.

According to Tony Blair's former counsellor and European diplomat Robert Cooper, after the end of the Cold War, the world and the international political order entered a phase of transformation even bigger than those generated by the great revolutionary events from the universal history, like the French Revolution (1789), the Congress of Vienna (1815) or Paris Peace Conference (1919). "*There is a new world, but there is neither a new world order (to use a phrase that was fashionable in the early 1990s), nor is there a new world disorder (to use a phrase that has become more fashionable since)*"<sup>2</sup>. In his 2004 *The Breaking of Nations*, Cooper talks about a post-modern international system revolving around the European Union, with "*a zone of safety in Europe and outside a zone of danger and chaos*". In this context, *the strategic neighbourhood* of the EU may be understood as a space including not only its geographical proximity, but also more ample neighbouring areas that are functionally linked with core European interests. Cooper's vision seems as valid today, if not more, as the day the book was first published, with the mention that centrifugal forces are already eroding the European Union from the inside for some time now. Euro scepticism, for example, viewed as a phenomenon mainly characterized by opposition and resistance to the process of European integration, has showed its fangs during the European elections that took place last year, when political parties favouring this orientation won their local ballots in Great Britain and France and managed to secure a good placing in other Member States. Usually in the countries most hit by the global financial crisis and in those favourable to anti-immigration policies. Also, under the impact of the latest terrorist attacks in countries like France and Belgium, the European institutions have resumed the discussions related to restrictive measures concerning the flows of persons coming into and going out of the European Union.

Starting from the premise that no single country is able to tackle today's complex problems on its own, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently called for a unified and coordinated European response in the face of the profound instability bordering the EU from outside, in the context of the need to revise and update the European Security Strategy.<sup>3</sup> The Romanian diplomacy highlighted the importance of a better reflection of the European Neighbourhood issues in a new policy document, of the coordination with NATO in the development of military capabilities, and of further enhancing the Common Security and Defence Policy's efficiency. Also, according to the MFA, the EU needs to develop its energy security and cyber security. And yet the corollary of the need to revise and consolidate the European security culture seems to be primarily fuelled by Russia's growing assertiveness in the region. A Russia suffering from the post-imperial syndrome and feeling nostalgic about its great power status, which does not hold back from changing sovereign borders through brute force and from reinterpreting International Law norms.

Realist logic tells us that great powers do not change their mentality too much with time once they reached that status, driven by the urge of gaining and keeping relative power, and that habits of domination are not easily unlearned. While the majority of Russians most likely do not regret the Soviet Union, the collective memory yearns for superpower status. In Moscow's eyes, the original sin of the West was NATO's expansion towards the East, complemented by the growing influence of the European Union, as a normative power that shapes and transforms what passes as *normality* in international relations, in the former Soviet sphere of influence. In parallel, Russia's failure in blocking the post-Cold War order was naively interpreted in some Western capitals as an endorsement for it. Nevertheless, the unwanted effects of Russia's aggressive behaviour in Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (2014), besides the almost universal condemnations of its actions and the international economic sanctions that followed the illegal annexation of the Crimea Peninsula, were the strengthening of the European solidarity, on the one hand, and the outlining of the advantages of the European integration model and its normative base, on the other hand.

Bogdan Mureşan

## Romanian Journal of European Affairs – Summer Issue 2015

**Tim Haesebrouck**, PhD researcher at Ghent University, Belgium, attempts a theoretical synthesis of the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy operations. The EU's CSDP has mainly been used to deploy small-scale operations, which generally did not provide the member states with clear security benefits. This article combines insights from different theories of international relations to explain this disappointing track record. The article concludes by discussing two measures that could alleviate the impact of the identified impediments on

the CSDP's track record: devising a CSDP strategy and adapting the consensus rule. However, since the latter is very unlikely in the near future, the CSDP is not expected to develop into a more effective framework for crisis management.

**Monica Oproiu**, Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of International Relations and European Integration within the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration in Bucharest, offers a comparative perspective on the European

<sup>2</sup> Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations*, Atlantic Books, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs site, <http://www.mae.ro/en/node/31521>.



Union's civilian missions in Georgia and Kosovo. Both through the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) the EU establishes contractual relations with its neighbours and seeks to incentivise them for the adoption of economic and political reforms and legislative approximation to EU standards. This paper is concerned with a comparative analysis of the degree of integration between CSDP and the ENP and SAP frameworks, respectively, with a comparative case-study on CSDP missions undertaken in the Georgia/ Abkhazia and South Ossetia and Kosovo/Serbia cases.

**Fulvio Attinà**, Professor of Political Science and International Relations, and Ad Personam Jean Monnet Chair at the University of Catania, draws the attention of the EU foreign policy professionals and researchers community to the aid policy of the European Union towards the countries affected by humanitarian emergencies and disasters. In particular, by measuring and comparing financial aid to the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, this study assesses the importance of vertical coherence of the aid policy. The analysis of the data supports the mainstream view about the common values and goals of the foreign aid policies of the Union and the Member States, but warns about coherence between the Union and the state level, as the aid allocation by European countries to the MENA countries is apparently driven by different priorities.

**Oana-Antonia Colibășanu**, Partner for Eurasia at Stratfor ([www.Stratfor.com](http://www.Stratfor.com)), a global geopolitical analysis company, and Associate Professor at the Academy of Economic Studies in Bucharest, Romania, and **Victor Vlad Grigorescu**, a public policy expert, focusing on trade and energy policy, present in their paper the TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership) as a challenge for the European Union. The initiative, announced in February 2013 and currently under negotiation, aims to establish a trade agreement between the two blocs, removing all trade barriers, including the non-tariff ones, in a wide range of economic sectors. The paper looks at several key elements that the bilateral negotiations are set to challenge from the European Union perspective. It focuses on the main causes for resistance within the EU towards establishing the agreement, seeking to understand the future framework for international trade for the European states. While the EU continues integration to establish a functioning internal market, still continuing the process of diminishing and eliminating non-tariff barriers among the member states, the authors examine whether the liberalisation of trade and investment between the US and the EU will benefit the EU as a whole, considering the current socio-economic trends at the Union's level.

**Beatriz Pérez de las Heras**, Professor of European Law and Jean Monnet Chair in European Integration at the University of Deusto (Bilbao, Spain), assesses the political conditionality in the Transatlantic Partnership. Her contribution aims to advance existing research about the role that the Transatlantic Partnership may play within the specific field of human rights and democracy promotion in the current changing global order. The paper examines recent changes to the foreign policies of the European Union and the United States in this area and assesses the impact of these changes on the Transatlantic Partnership over the last five years. It argues that these modifications entail a greater convergence between the policies of the two regions, though some ideological divergences, lack of coordination and differences in implementation can still be identified.

Full articles will be available at <http://rjea.ier.ro>.

**Oana Mocanu**

---

## Lobbying in Romania v. Lobbying in the EU

### A. General observations

Lobbying - a complex manifestation, with various approaches - needs to be analysed and placed under regulations that should ensure equal competition between all actors and prevent the distortion of the democratic process.

Influencing the decision-making on level of public authority (lobbying, with a general meaning) is an unceasing phenomenon that would not disappear, but at best it would be regulated so that to create a better society, offering everybody equal opportunities to participate and change. In fact, we are dealing with a purely participatory democratic element, involving the presence of a group of active citizens, set to challenge the *status quo* one way or another.

This reality ensues from the fact that we live in a complex world, which we can change only by acting together, and not by ourselves. If we cannot change the world, we have to change ourselves, and not necessarily for the better. George Bernard Shaw said: "The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man."<sup>1</sup>. This attempt to change the world is perhaps an alternative definition of lobbying, seen as challenging the established order.

This reminds some of us of one of the biblical parables relevant for the desire to change by cooperating, *i.e.* the one in the *Gospel according to Mark*, chapter 2, verses 1-12, which narrates the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum. Without going into essential

<sup>1</sup> George Bernard SHAW, *Man and Superman* (1903) "Maxims for Revolutionists". See <http://www.quotationspage.com/quote/692.html>





states with extensive experience in regulating lobby, to understand the main consequences that different types of regulations could have on lobby in Romania.”<sup>6</sup>

The terminological clarification of the concept of lobbying involves, in the researchers' view, defining the democratic context, particularly the possible dichotomy *public interest - private interest*. The analysis took into consideration the existence of interest groups, while allowing a clear demarcation of lobbying from related concepts such as *advocacy* or *public relations*. Thereby, a generic definition was identified: “broadly, lobbying refers to the action of influencing other people’s decision, whether or not the concerned decision is that of an individual, a group of individuals, a company or a governmental institution”<sup>7</sup> (*Chapter I. Terminology and concepts*).

Having identified the general characteristics of lobbying, the study went on to make an inventory of the forms in which interest groups acted in the national public space until now and to present how they carried out lobby-specific activities, without a clear legal framework. The study also tried to identify the impact this phenomenon had on the establishment of Romanian democracy (*Chapter II. Interest and lobby groups in Romanian society*).

One major achievement of this study is represented by the inventory of all types of regulations and all types of legal norms covering lobbying activities. This led to a qualitative analysis on how those norms contributed to the development of lobbying in Romania, whether positively or negatively. Moreover, the differences between lobbying and criminal acts were highlighted, underlining repeatedly the difference between lobbying and traffic of influence (*Chapter III. Romanian legislation on lobbying*).

The ethical perspective on lobbying refers to the fact that “the emphasis is on self-regulation, i.e. on developing mechanisms of an ethical nature within the group of professionals and organisations representing interests of their own or of third parties”<sup>8</sup>. Ethical rules still *in statu nascendi* receive extended attention from the authors, providing an added value to the study in comparison to other studies made in Romania. The authors consider that lobbying gets a number of specific values: *integrity, transparency, confidentiality and accuracy*<sup>9</sup> (*Chapter IV. Ethics in lobbying*).

In its analysis on internal developments, the study also takes into consideration similar developments on European and national level, succeeding to demonstrate that “lobby and interest groups are legitimate elements of a liberal and participatory democracy”<sup>10</sup>.

Presenting identified solutions in terms of *regulation (hard law) v. self-regulation (soft law)*, the study provides decision-makers and all concerned parties with a balanced approach, emphasising transparency and the need for “wide recognition of the existence of the lobby phenomenon”<sup>11</sup> (*Conclusions: Transparency of interests and lobbying activities*).

We can eventually conclude that “without offering miraculous recipes, the study represents a very useful invitation to debate and insight, on a complicated issue, offering several possible solutions”<sup>12</sup>.

### **C. Launch conference on the topic *Lobby, from theory to practice. Implications on the public policies, the business environment and the NGOs in Romania***

The study’s ability to generate debate and insight was highlighted on 31 March 2015, during the launch conference.

With a large audience including representatives of the Romanian Parliament, the Ministry of Justice, the European Institute of Romania, the academic and business environments, experts in European affairs and lobbying, as well as representatives of the civil society, the media, etc., the conference proved to be a fertile ground for public debate on a controversial issue. The complexity of the issue was underlined by Mrs **Laura Florea**, president of the Romanian Lobbying Registry Association, who stated: “Lobby becomes a more and more complex form of communication, including when it concerns politicians, and transparency should be the watchword”<sup>13</sup>.



The study is fully available at this online address: [http://ier.ro/sites/default/files/pdf/Studiu\\_Lobby\\_site.pdf](http://ier.ro/sites/default/files/pdf/Studiu_Lobby_site.pdf)

The full event report for *Lobby, from theory to practice. Implications on the public policies, the business environment and NGOs in Romania* is available at this online address: <http://www.ier.ro/en/events/conference-lobby-theory-practice-implications-public-policies-business-environment-and-ngos-r>

**Mihai Sebe**

<sup>6</sup> Elena-Simina Tănăsescu (coordinator), *Lobbying in Romania v. Lobbying in the EU*, European Institute of Romania, Bucharest, 2015, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Elena-Simina Tănăsescu (coordinator), *Lobbying in Romania v. Lobbying in the EU*, European Institute of Romania, Bucharest, 2015, p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 99.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> Gabriela Drăgan, “Foreword” in Elena-Simina Tănăsescu (coordinator), *Lobby in Romania vs. Lobby in the EU*, European Institute of Romania, Bucharest, 2015, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Conference event report, available online at [http://www.ier.ro/webfm\\_send/232456](http://www.ier.ro/webfm_send/232456)

# Admissibility Guide for Applications to the ECHR.

## Third Edition

The European Court of Human Rights published on 3 December 2014 the third edition (updated) of the *Practical Guide on Admissibility Criteria*, describing the formal conditions which an application must meet. This edition covers case-law up to 1 January 2014 and presents the stricter procedural conditions which came into force on that date.

For a number of years now, and owing to various factors, the Court has been overwhelmed by individual applications (over 99 900 were pending before the Court as of 31 December 2013). The vast majority of these applications (more than 95%) are rejected without being examined on the merits for failure to satisfy one of the admissibility criteria laid down by the Convention. This situation is frustrating on two counts. On the one hand, as the Court is required to respond to each application, it is prevented from dealing within reasonable time-limits with those cases which warrant examination on the merits, without any real benefit for the public. On the other hand, tens of thousands of applicants have their claims rejected, without any chance of appeal, often after years of waiting.

The idea of providing potential applicants with comprehensive and objective information on the application procedure and admissibility criteria is explicitly indicated in the Interlaken Declaration. This practical guide is to be seen in the same context. It was designed to present a clearer and more detailed picture of the conditions of admissibility with a view, on the one hand, to reducing as much as possible the number of applications which have no prospect of resulting in a ruling on the merits and, on the other hand, to ensuring that those applications which warrant examination on the merits pass the admissibility test. At present, in most cases which pass that test, the admissibility and merits are examined at the same time, which simplifies and speeds up the procedure.



The guide keeps the structure of previous editions. Thus, after defining the notions of *individual application* and *victim status*, the first part examines the procedural grounds for inadmissibility (non-exhaustion of domestic remedies, non-compliance with the six-month time-limit, anonymous application, substantially the same application, abuse of the right of application, and application already submitted to another international court). The second part examines the grounds for inadmissibility relating to the Court's jurisdiction (*ratione personae*, *ratione loci*, *ratione temporis* and *ratione materiae*). The third part focuses on the grounds for inadmissibility relating to the merits of the case (manifestly ill-founded and no significant disadvantage). The last part is an index of approximately 1 200 cases cited in this guide.

On the occasion of publishing the new edition, Dean Spielmann, President of the Court, stated: "Practitioners should study this Practical Guide carefully before deciding to bring a case. By so doing they will make an important contribution to the effectiveness of the European Convention on Human Rights."

Costin Fălcuță

event

---

## European Congress of Local Governments, Krakow (Poland), 4-5 May 2015

The first edition of the European Congress of Local Governments (ECLG) took place in Krakow, 4 - 5 May 2015.

The event was organised by the Institute for Eastern Studies (IES) in Warsaw on the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary from the reform of local public administration in Poland.

The Congress, which took place at the International Conference Centre in Krakow, was attended by more than 1000 delegates from different regions of Europe. The agenda of the event included subjects relevant for the regions and local governments, structured according to different themes (economy, finances, environment, and regional cooperation, among others) in the form of plenary sessions and debates.

Why Krakow? In the opening of the Congress works, Mr. Jacek Majchrowski, Mayor of the city, reminded the audience that the former royal capital city of Poland has been, since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a place of meeting for those who decide the future of Europe. The opening session also featured Mr. Marek Sowa, Marshal of the Małopolska Region and Mr. Olgierd Dziekoński, Secretary of State at the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, who noted that the ambitious objectives





of the European Union cannot be achieved without the participation of local governments, as those are the closest to the citizens.

The European Institute of Romania was IES's partner in organising a debate during the ECLG entitled: *The Rural Development Programme 2014 - 2020: who will gain, who will lose?* The event was moderated by Mrs. Gabriela Drăgan, Director General of EIR and it took place on the first day of the congress (4 May).

#### The key points of the guests' speeches

*Michael Pielke, Head of Unit/DG Agri/ F3: Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark and Poland*

Mr. Pielke gave a first overview of the RDP 2014 - 2020 and presented the resources available for its implementation. Moreover, Mr. Pielke presented each measure included in the program stressing their importance and, finally, he showed the first conclusions related to the programming exercise. The paradigm of the financial period 2014 - 2020 is the way of spending the money: much more efficiently, by projects with added value. To this end, there is a need for better projects and a better preparation of the beneficiaries, so that the European Structural Funds and Investment Funds be implemented efficiently in the EU member states.

*Michael McCarthy, Member of Parliament, President of the Committee on Environment, Culture and Gaeltacht, Ireland*

Mr. McCarthy pointed out the importance of a good connection between authorities and the local communities in order to finance projects. Local authorities have to further consolidate their cooperation to respond to the needs of citizens (medical assistance, education, infrastructure, social assistance etc.) and to improve their standard of living. Bringing into discussion the LEADER program, the speaker mentioned that it is necessary to create a ministry for "rule affairs". The presentation concluded with two key-points: the need to create rules to ensure sustainable jobs and the need for more clear and coherent requirements regarding project financing.

*Jacek Soska, Member of the Regional Council Malopolska, Poland*

Mr. Soska highlighted the three general priorities of RDP 2014 - 2020: stimulate the competitiveness of agriculture; ensure the sustainable management of natural resources and combat climate change; achieve a balanced territorial development of economies and rural communities, including creating and maintaining jobs. As far as rural development is concerned, the speaker noted that agriculture is a difficult profession, therefore the people who live in rural communities should enjoy the same privileges (jobs, education) as those living in urban communities.

*Carmen Boteanu, Deputy Director General, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Romania*

The representative of MARD Romania gave a presentation of the National Program for Rural Development (NPRD) 2014 - 2020. The main points were: financial resources allotted and the specificities of NPRD 2014 - 2020, in the context of drawing-up this program. Romania's specific priorities substantiated NPRD 2014 - 2020, thus reflecting a prioritisation of domains and types of beneficiaries at the level of financing (budget assigned according to measure and intensity of the grant at project level). An answer was thus given to the question launched by the theme of the debate: "Who wins and who loses?" From the point of view of the European financing, including NPRD 2014 - 2020, there are only winners, in the sense that besides the experience acquired in accessing those funds, the beneficiaries see their own businesses develop and also benefit from the advantages of living in a developed community.

*Daniela Giurcă, Adviser, Department of the High Representative for Sustainable Development, Government of Romania*

Ms. Giurcă presented the main strategic guidelines for the mountain area of Romania. The information is found in the national strategic document relevant for the period 2014 - 2020, dedicated to less favoured mountain areas. Thus, there are four general objectives and several specific objectives corresponding to each of them, among which: increase the revenues of farmers; maintain the young population in the less favoured mountain area, with focus on the rural area; encourage the diversification of economic activities in the less favoured mountain area; modernise the transport infrastructure and the infrastructure for basic services; sustainable management of agricultural and forestry resources.



Valerie Carter, President of the European Council for the Village and Small Town - ECOVAST, Great Britain

Ms. Carter presented to the audience the main elements of the ECOVAST strategy which complete the actions at local level aimed at improving the implementation of RDP 2014 - 2020. Moreover, Ms. Carter emphasised the importance of small towns (in the context of the debate) her conclusions being based on research undertaken by ECOVAST at the end of 2014.

All panel presentations are available on EIR's website ([www.ier.ro](http://www.ier.ro)).

Besides the panel, in the opening of the IES - EIR debate, a presentation was delivered by Mr. Maciej Smetkowski, Member of the Managing Board of the Regional Studies Association (Poland), on the "Economic Situation and Social Mobilization in Polish Municipalities".

As mentioned before, throughout the two-day congress featured plenary sessions and debates on a challenging range of subjects:

- Labour market. Unemployment - one of the biggest challenges for the EU;
- Regional cross-border cooperation in Europe;
- The EU cohesion policy: what is the impact on urban development and regional development?
- Tourism management in the regions;
- Cooperation between local governments and enterprises in addressing social problems etc.

The plenary session "A New Plan for Europe" in the second day of the congress brought into discussion the Juncker Plan and the financing possibilities of the local/regional projects. Mr. Emil Boc, Mayor of Cluj-Napoca and Ms. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Mayor of Warsaw were among the speakers.

Many debates at the ECLG benefited from Romanian expertise, our country having the second largest representation from outside Poland (behind Ukraine).

At the closing of the Congress works, the general conclusion was that the voice of regions has significantly increased the political and economic influence, both on the national and the European level, as the multilateral and direct cooperation of European regions in the social and economic spheres developed strongly in the recent years.

Furthermore, according to the Treaty of Lisbon, in the first stage of the legislative process, the European Commission has to take into account the opinion of local authorities and of regional associations active in the EU. This is the reason why this regional level of European integration gained even more importance - in fact, Europe "lives" due to its regions and for many European citizens they represent the concrete dimension of the EU.

Florentina Costache



## Debate: Four scenarios: The EU and the East 2030



On 14 May 2015, the European Institute of Romania, in partnership with Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), organised the debate "Four scenarios: EU and the East in 2030- Future relations between the EU, the Russian Federation and the

Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries". On this occasion, the publication regarding the scenarios conceived for the relation between the European Union, the Russian Federation and the common neighbourhood was launched. Delegates of the working group, Romanian decision makers, as well as European Parliament representatives took part in the debate.

The first scenario - "Shared Home" - is based on the idea that all Europeans share the same home, for pragmatic reasons. In the year 2024, relations between the EU and Russia will start to improve, the member states belonging to the former EaP will no longer be in the position to choose between aligning to EU or to Russia and the economic cooperation intensifies given that a new free trade agreement between EU and Russia would be signed, which would also include the EaP countries.

The second scenario, the most optimistic one - "Common Home" - could materialise after the election of a new Russian President, in 2024. Based on the idea of common values shared by the European nations, the scenario foresees the tacit acceptance of the annexation of Crimea, at European level,



the depoliticisation of the energetic field and the cooperation between the EU and Russia in order to face the new common threats.

The “**Broken Home**” scenario anticipates the unwinding of EU-Russia economic interdependence, relations remain tensed between the European Union and Russia in the context of unsolved conflict in Ukraine, and the arming race is underway.

The last scenario - “**Divided Home**” - focuses on the mistrust between EU and Russia, on the fragility of security and the competition between the two regional cooperation models (European Union, Eurasian Economic Union)

During the second stage of the debate, the speakers emphasized the necessity of maintaining good relations between EU and EaP states, given the extremely low level of trust in Europe. This turning point concerning the European

Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership is felt in the European Parliament as well. Some speakers anticipate however that the dialogue between EU and Russia will be limited to the response regarding the common challenges, such as environmental protection and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, since the two do not share the same values. Ensuring the European Union’s survival is essential and in this context, Romania could represent a generator of stability and security in the region.

For full event report, please access <http://www.ier.ro/en/events/debate-four-scenarios-eu-and-east-2030-future-relations-between-eu-russian-federation-and-eas>.

**Roberta Antonie, intern**

---

## Conference

### Romanian-Polish Cooperation, Value for Central and Eastern Europe

On May 15 2015, the European Institute of Romania (IER) and Jagiellonian Club of Poland jointly organized the conference “Romanian-Polish cooperation, Value for Central and Eastern Europe”. This conference was attended by H.E. Marek Szczygiel, the Ambassador of Poland in Romania, security experts and analysts, researchers on international relations and European studies and professors.

During the two thematic panels, the main focus was on the challenges posed by the security crisis in Europe and on the need to respond to them. Right from the start, there seemed to be a broad agreement that the annexation of Crimea and the Russian support for the separatist rebels were factors of continued instability. As a consequence, on the short and medium term going back to business as usual with Russia will no doubt prove to be a difficult and improbable task. In a context characterised by the apparent American withdrawal from Europe, by the erosion of the community method inside the European Union, and the rise of Russia, which cannot afford to lose its grip over Ukraine, these factors undermine the stable framework of continental security. In all probability, Russia will not cooperate with the Western states and, as things stand, the need for a powerful voice coming from Central and Eastern Europe is pressing.

Romania is caught between two areas of instability - the Ukrainian conflict and the tense situation in the Eastern Balkans. With NATO as the main security provider in Europe, it may be argued that Romania and Poland are in the first line of the Ukrainian conflict. The two states can cooperate in order



to contain the spread of Russian soft power in the region. The strategic partnership between Romania and Poland is essential, but it must also be efficient, since, at the moment, it is primarily based on a sentiment of fear of Russia. Up to this point, the firm reactions to Russian aggression were a common denominator for the two countries that apparently face a challenge in creating a relevant Central and Eastern Europe inside the EU. The Romania-Poland tandem is an outspoken supporter of the Eastern Partnership, acting as an active promoter of the EU enlargement policy and NATO’s *open doors* policy.

As far as the Romanian-Polish cooperation goes, the importance of strengthening the bilateral strategic partnership was evoked, with the powerful argument that, aside from diplomatic and financial efforts, the active involvement of the civil society is quintessential for a cultural change. In the end, it was estimated that the existence of a security crisis in Europe requires confidence building and consolidating measures between EU members.

For a full event report and more information regarding the conference, please access the following link: <http://ier.ro/en/news/expert-seminar-romanian-polish-cooperation-value-central-and-eastern-europe.html>.

**Octavian Gheorghe Roşca, intern**

Photo source: Ilie Bumbac/Agerpres



## Eastern Partnership Summit Riga, 21-22 May 2015

Between 21-22 May 2015, in Riga, the fourth Eastern Partnership Summit took place with the participation of delegates from EU institutions, high officials of member states and representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine. The Summit participants<sup>1</sup> reiterated the fact that the Eastern Partnership continues to represent a comprehensive framework in view of consolidating democracy, rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as the principles and norms of international law. The purpose of this mechanism is that of building a common area of shared democracy, prosperity, stability and increased cooperation and is not directed against anyone. Right from the start, the sovereign right of each partner to freely choose the level of ambition and the goals to which it aspires in its relations with the EU was reaffirmed. The progress made within the framework of the Partnership, since the Vilnius summit in 2013, was reviewed and welcomed: the signing and application of the Association Agreement (AA) with Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine (a notable result in this respect is the increase in trade between EU and Georgia and between the EU and the Republic of Moldova).



Photo source: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/>

The Summit participants announced the revival of the EU-Belarus Human Rights Dialogue. Concerning the Ukrainian crisis, discussions strongly supported all efforts made towards de-escalation and adopting a comprehensive political solution in respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. In this context, all parties involved in the conflict were called upon to swiftly and fully implement the Minsk Agreements of September 2014 and the package of measures for their implementation of February 2015. In order to solve the regional conflict the specific role OSCE has and must play was underlined.

Regarding the situation in Transnistria, the importance of continuing negotiations in the 5+2 format based on a comprehensive political approach was underlined and, in the same time, the need of an intensified dialogue between Chişinău and Tiraspol was mentioned.

Also, discussions focused on the importance of the continued intensification of results-oriented multilateral cooperation within the Eastern Partnership on all levels, including the 4 multilateral platforms and welcomed the holding of ministerial meetings and conferences across a wide range of sectors, including Justice and Home Affairs, Trade, Digital Economy, Health and Agriculture in the first half of 2015. In this context, the next round of dialogue to be held in Minsk is one to look for.

Until the next Summit, participants urge for progress to be made in the following four areas:

- **Strengthening institutions and good governance:** participants agreed on strengthening, where appropriate, multilateral and bilateral security dialogue and practical Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) cooperation including opportunities for the participation of relevant partners in CSDP activities.
- **Mobility and people to people:** participants welcomed the fact that the visa-free regime for citizens from the Republic of Moldova holding biometric passports has been operating effectively. Engaging a constructive dialogue with Armenia in this regard is also expected.
- **Market opportunities:** the need of strengthening the business dimension was emphasized, including through improving the business environment and legal framework for local, regional and European small and medium-sized enterprises.
- **Interconnections:** the progress made on major energy infrastructure projects put in place since the last summit was acknowledged, including opening natural gas reverse flow capacities to Ukraine from Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, the particular role played by Azerbaijan as well as contributions made by others (Georgia) in the developing of the Southern Gas Corridor.

Following this Summit, the President of the European Council (Donald Tusk) said that the Eastern Partnership, in general, and the Riga summit, in particular, are not about dramatic decisions, but rather about reaffirming the idea that EU represents a partner for the long term.

**Octavian Gheorghe Roşca, intern**

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2015/05/21-22/>

**Editor-in-Chief:** Oana Mocanu  
**Editors:** Mariana Bara, Mihai Sebe  
**Graphics & DTP:** Monica Dumitrescu  
**Translations RO-EN / EN-RO:** Raluca Brad, Ionela Haralambie, Mihaela Moncea

\* The texts published in this Newsletter express the authors' opinion and do not represent the official position of the European Institute of Romania.

ISSN 2065 - 457X

In order to receive future issues of the EIR Newsletter, you can subscribe accessing the following link: [www.ier.ro](http://www.ier.ro).



**European Institute of Romania**  
 7-9, Regina Elisabeta Bvd., RO - 030016, Bucharest, Romania  
 Phone: (+4021) 314 26 96 / 133 / Fax: (+4021) 314 26 66  
 Contact: [newsletter@ier.ro](mailto:newsletter@ier.ro), Web: [www.ier.ro](http://www.ier.ro)