

interview



**Alina Bârgăoanu, Ph.D., Professor,
Vice-rector of the National
University of Political Studies and
Public Administration, President
of EIR's Administrative Board**

1) This year, the European Institute of Romania celebrates 15 years of activity, a timeframe over which it has provided expertise in the field of European Affairs to the public administration, the business environment, social partners and civil society, often acting as a liaison between different actors. How do you evaluate the EIR's contribution in supporting Romania's progress inside the European Union and what key elements do you believe should be included in the institutional vision for the following period?

The EIR's contribution to supporting the process of Romania's integration in the European Union can be summarised with reference to several fundamental axes. The first one relates to organizing debates on very timely and pressing European issues. These debates are intended to emphasise certain pressing issues, which, at times, suffocate and, even worse, pollute the public space. The second one concerns the strengthening of strategic partnerships with similar institutions working in the area of European Affairs, the most convincing examples being the partnerships with similar entities in Poland. The third one concerns the coordination of the series of Strategy and Policy Studies (SPOS), documents produced with professionalism and responsibility by established research teams.

All these axes must continue to grow in the same systematic and professional manner. I believe that greater efforts ... **p.2**

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publications

Romanian Journal of European Affairs – Winter Issue 2015

In the Winter issue of the Romanian Journal of European Affairs, the contributors discuss a variety of topics encompassing: assessing the European Parliament's democratic credentials; a short story of long (and failed) negotiations in Greece during the first half of 2015; mapping the EU-Republic of Moldova trajectory: roadblocks on the way to economic integration with the EU; management of regional and international crises by the European Union and the future of private equity in Europe ... **p.7**



... should be devoted in the sense of integrating the outcomes of debates and of impact analyses in public policies, with a view to eliminating a gap between nuanced, professional debates and the decision-making process, which sometimes seems to have no connection whatsoever with any debate or expertise. I think that some of the results of the debates hosted by EIR and of the studies would be worth including, at least partially, in the policies and the various country positions related to various European dossiers. I strongly oppose the idea that there is no public debate on European issues in Romania, but I agree that the outcome of debates is often ignored rather easily and not factored in the decision-making and policy-making processes.

2) The migrant crisis has brought to the surface, in a relatively short period of time, the structural problems related to the Member States solidarity and reignited the debate about the old dichotomy between intergovernmentalism and the Community method used for European policy-making. What is your opinion on the mandatory migrant quota system, voted in September by the JHA Council, and what impact do you believe this system will have on Romania? Why do you think our country voted against this proposal made by the Juncker Commission?

The mandatory quotas may prove useful as a first, temporary reaction, but they do not solve the core problem, in the sense that they do not stop the migration or refugee flows. It is obvious that, as in the case of all other major problems the EU is currently facing, a kind of pan-European solidarity must come into play in this matter, a solidarity which the Italian Prime Minister, for instance, has been calling for since the beginning of the year or even since last year. I repeat, this pan-European solidarity must be manifest in all dossiers, in order to be taken seriously both inside and outside the EU; for instance, you cannot tell the Greeks, at the beginning of the euro crisis, to mind their own finances; that was a statement heavily speculated by the financial markets, who correctly understood that no pan-European solidarity would be in place.

Regarding the manner in which Romania voted, I am not entirely happy about this vote. But, I am equally unhappy with the harsh criticism targeting those who voted against the mandatory quotas. Democratic implies, among other things, a certain pattern of elite behaviour in which the majority and the minority recognize each other as legitimate actors; that is, the minority accepts the winning vote, and conversely, the majority accepts that a minority voted against a certain proposal. Leaving this note aside, why am I not entirely pleased with Romania's stance in this case? Let me suggest to you to have a look at the position of Poland, a country whose path we are trying so hard to emulate in Romania. The Poles expressed their opinion against quotas within the Visegrad Group, but, when it came to voting, they changed their position in the last minute. They probably thought that, since the refugees are not very attracted to Poland in the first place (just as they are not very attracted to Romania for that matter), it is not worth ruining a thoroughly built relation with Germany and the European Union as a whole in one meeting. I think that, once more, Poland acted in a pragmatic manner, thus avoiding a possible clash with a powerful European state.

This discussion is very important for Romania, which doesn't appear to be very successful in building up its reputation inside the European Union. But this is of secondary importance for the EU. The EU can impose quotas and can try to distribute refugees throughout its territory (although it is not very clear how this could be done in real terms). But the EU can no longer avoid the discussion on the root causes of the migration flow - the instability, the power and governance vacuum created in its Southern neighbourhood in the aftermath of Iraq, Libya and Syria interventions. There is this debate about mandatory quotas, there is this harsh criticism against those not accepting quotas. But when will we have a similar debate about responsibility quotas for the European leadership, which either ignored the developments in the EU's immediate neighbourhood or poured gasoline on the fire? The issue related to responsibility quotas will probably be brought up in 10-15 years' time (see the period which elapsed between Great Britain's participation to the second intervention in Iraq and the public apologies recently expressed by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair). In 10-15 years' time, the European Union is very likely to have changed a few times and not necessarily for the better. Whether we like it or not, the European Union has a historical responsibility for the destabilisation of the area where the refugees come from - either as a result of the failure to act or of less inspired and short-sighted actions.

3) According to the formal position adopted by MFA, Romania is fully prepared to join the Schengen Area and a decision to join it would only confirm the fact that our country already acts as a *de facto* member, successfully providing for the security of a significant area of the European Union's external borders. Which are the real obstacles preventing our country from joining the Schengen Area and what strategy should Romania adopt on this dossier?

I have been watching this matter closely ever since that famous moment, when the Interior Ministers of Germany and France announced, at the end of 2010, the postponement (now we know it is *sine die*) of Romania's and Bulgaria's accession to the Schengen Area. There are several reasons underlying this rejection; some of them relate to Romania (see the reputation problem that I have just mentioned), others to the way in which the European Union attends to its own borders. There is a certain contradiction between the interest shown by NATO in strengthening the Eastern border of the European Union (by deploying troops, carrying out joint military exercises, etc.) and the EU's interest in the same border (an interest which could have become manifest by accepting Romania into Schengen). Among other things, this dossier shows that, in the complex institutional and power setting that the EU is, it is very difficult to win when you are all alone, be it for just and European causes. The Schengen cause satisfies both conditions: it is both a European and a just cause. But, even if we have justice on our side, we need to ask ourselves seriously: who are our allies inside the European Union? Who defends our cause when it comes to Schengen membership? Who comes to our help on other matters? Look how a Romanian personality whom I interviewed in 2011 when carrying out research on the Schengen affair framed this situation: "The problem does not lie with the fact that Romania has a bad relation precisely with these countries (Germany and France - A/N). Unfortunately, Romania does not have a good relation with anyone in particular. I'm not saying that it has bad relations with a certain country, although this might be true in some cases. But we do not have good relations with anyone in the EU".

4) Building walls and reintroducing border controls seem to downgrade what is perhaps the most important achievement of the European integration - free movement of people - fuelling Eurosceptic and critical attitudes towards the Schengen Area, at the same time reaffirming the principle of national sovereignty. What do you think the evolution of the migrant crisis will be and what changes do you think are needed in the European legislation in order to prevent similar situations in the future? There are expert studies stating that the next migratory wave towards Europe will be composed of the so-called “climate refugees”.

I agree that the most dramatic effect of the current refugee crisis is the challenge posed to one of the greatest achievements of the European integration - the free movement of people. It is the second crisis that casts a shadow over a remarkable European achievement, the first one being the euro crisis, which called into question the single currency.

I am one of the people who believe that the issue of the refugees can be solved only by acting at the source, creating the premises for stability and prosperity (at least for a relative prosperity) in the immediate neighbourhood of the European Union. Laws and regulations are important, but borders are not maintained (only) by legislation. There are studies (carried out, ironically, by reputable European experts) showing that, when the ratio of the development and prosperity gap between two sides of a border is greater than 5 to 1, that border is simply destroyed, and what comes from the poorer side towards the richer side is like a flood (“flow” of migrants is thus a very apt metaphor). Regardless of how pressing the current refugee situation may be, no matter how useful the compulsory quotas may be, this huge threat to the European Union requires long-term solutions, which have to do with creating premises for peace, stability and prosperity in the areas located at the borders of the European Union. Prosperity seems to be the only source of stability and trust, the safest defence against any kind of threats.

5) In a conference organised by the European Institute of Romania, which you also attended, the reputable Professor Simon Hix from London School of Economics, member of the British Academy, reminded us that, beside the current turmoil related to the euro area, the migrant crisis flowing from the MENA region and the persistent tensions in Ukraine, next year, at the earliest, the British may vote by referendum whether or not the United Kingdom will continue to be part of the European Union. Undoubtedly, the spectre of BREXIT worries political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic, having the potential to become an extremely harmful precedent for the European project. How do you comment on this scenario? Do you believe that Great Britain could survive outside the EU? Could the European Union survive without Great Britain?

The costs of a possible exit of Great Britain are enormous for the EU, probably for Great Britain, too. What would be the costs for the EU? I will mention only two aspects: I cannot imagine a Union enjoying a certain degree of prestige and reputation without such a prominent member as Great Britain; add to this the potential domino effect. What would be the costs for Great Britain? No matter how strongly anchored in the world economy you may be, geography does matter and strikes back (as Robert D. Kaplan argues in his book entitled precisely “The Revenge of Geography”). If I may use a metaphor, you cannot simply take your island on your back and try to cross the Atlantic and thus get closer to the U.S. and Canada, despite the fact that certain socio-economic features bring you closer to the North American continent than to Germany or France.

The costs of such a scenario for Romania and for the entire Central and Eastern Europe simply defy measurement. It is either an irony or a happy occurrence that it is a British prime-minister, Tony Blair, who aptly said that, “had it not existed, the EU should have been invented”. At the same time, the truth of this statement does not mean, for the British at least, writing a blank check for the European Union, giving an uncritical yes to the way it looks right now - „big, bossy and interfering” (not my choice of words, but David Cameron’s). It is important to emphasise that the British, *Brexiters* or not, maintain that they are not anti-Europeans; they simply do not agree with the way in which the EU looks and acts right now: big, bossy and interfering.

One should reflect more critically upon the fact that, in Great Britain, one of the few unambiguously „enthusiast” supporters of EU and of the country’s continued EU membership is the United States Embassy. The implicit message coming from the U.S. (which it conveys to their new governing partners in Warsaw, as well) is the following: “if you want to stay our friends, you must stay in the EU”. It is the same message that China’s president has recently delivered during his grandiose visit to the United Kingdom.

Interview by Bogdan Mureşan

Alina Bârgăoanu, Professor, Vice-rector of SNSPA, Rector (2012-2014); President of the Administrative Board of the European Institute of Romania; publications: *United by or Against Euroscepticism. An Assessment of Public Attitudes towards the EU in the Context of the Crisis* (2015), *The Crisis of the European Union. Identity, Citizenship and Solidarity Reassessed* (2013), *Comunicarea în Uniunea Europeană. Modele teoretice și aspecte practice* (EU Communication: Views from Theory and Practice) (2011), *Examenul Schengen. În căutarea sferei publice europene* (The Schengen Exam: In Search of the European Public Sphere) (2011), *Fondurile europene. Strategii de promovare și utilizare* (European Funds. Promotion and Absorption Strategies) (2009); founder of the Center for EU Communication Studies, SNSPA, and of the *Convorbiri Europene* online magazine (www.convorbirieuropene.ro); Fulbright Scholar (2001-2002).

The 'European Culture' International Conference (Cluj-Napoca)

The 13th edition of the 'European Culture' International Conference took place between the 29th and 31st October in Cluj-Napoca. The event was organised by the Faculty of European Studies of 'Babeş-Bolyai' University and by the Institute for European Studies of the University of Piura (in Peru).

Professor Gabriela Drăgan, PhD., Director General of the European Institute of Romania, participated in this event and contributed in two of the panels: *The 'EU and cultural diplomacy'* (round table presided by Professor Vasile Puşcaş, PhD., Director General of the European Research Institute of 'Babeş-Bolyai' University) and as moderator of the *'Role of regionalism in shaping the public regional agenda'* panel, respectively.

The main themes debated at the *'EU and cultural diplomacy'* roundtable included:

- The issue of cultural diplomacy and of EU cultural representation by the European External Action Service;
- The role of cultural diplomacy in the composition of EU public diplomacy;
- Ways in which cultural diplomacy can help strengthen cooperation between Member States;
- The extent to which specific values and cultural elements can be transformed into instruments meant for strengthening cooperation between EU Member States;
- The effects of the multiple crises (economic and financial, migration, Eastern Ukraine etc.) on the European integration process.

Following the debates on these particularly current issues, the participants' conclusion was not surprising: *culture can and must support the European integration process.*

In the *'Role of regionalism in shaping the public regional agenda'* panel, professors and researchers from Poland, Japan, Belgium, Brazil and Russia took the floor. The main issues raised in the debate featured:

- European modernity produced the nation state, industrial revolution, democracy, colonialism, freedom of speech;



- Modern Japan, since the Meiji revolution of 1868, tried to follow in the footsteps of Western powers to promote and develop their nation through the military, industrial and cultural model of Europe;
- The issue of globalization and its consequences for cultures is topical for the present society, and it needs to be discussed further;
- The present reality gives the immigrants the opportunity to make use of their intercultural wealth through the artistic creation, social or educational activities;
- Cultural knowledge in a globalized world aims to change the way in which cultural and civic education is taught to better prepare people to cope with the new demands;
- Over the last few decades, Member States and/or states associated in some cooperative groups (e.g. MERCOSUR) have encountered serious difficulties in the integration process; therefore it is paramount to recognise that in order to advance in the integration process, the fragile cohesion of these countries must be overcome, all the while keeping in mind the vast cultural differences, regional economic and social inequalities as well as the need to strengthen the democratic institutions of these regions.

Event Details

European
Culture 2015

The 'European Culture' International Conference takes place once every two years, since 1990. Until 2007, the conference was hosted by the Centre for European Studies of the University of Navarra (Spain), with subsequent editions (2009, 2011, 2013) organised by the Charlemagne Institute of European Studies of the Catalonia International University. The concept of 'European Culture' is not understood here as being one of 'identity', but rather encompassing all the cultural expressions manifested not only in Europe itself, but also on other continents.

The agenda of the 13th edition was organised in thematic sections such as cultural identity, multiculturalism, migration, contemporary culture, European identity, Europe in terms of culture, economics and law, sociology, architecture and urbanism, trade, tourism, ecology, literature, arts etc. Moreover, special sections were dedicated to communications, education and the role of regionalization from cultural, political and economic perspectives. The program also included roundtable discussions and a lecture by Mrs. Ana Blandiana, entitled 'Biographies entre deux Europes'.

The conference was attended by over 200 guests from Romania and abroad, which included academics, researchers, and specialists in European culture and civilization.

Florentina Costache

TATRA Summit: Shaping The EU Governance

The Centre for European Affairs, member of the Central European Strategy Council, in cooperation with the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic, the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic, the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic and BRUEGEL, has organised between the 4 and 6 of November 2015 the 4th annual TATRA SUMMIT Conference, in Bratislava.

The TATRA SUMMIT 2015 has assessed the EU'S strategic agenda implementation since the new EU political cycle got its mandate. The conference panels have focused on the Energy Union and the Digital Single Market outlook as well as the genuine Economic and Monetary Union. The TATRA SUMMIT 2015 also took a glance at the Investment Plan striving to put Europe back on track regarding the economic recovery and strategic outlook on the future (dis) integration process, a process challenged by possible Member State exits.

Hundreds of influential experts from leading European institutions, think-tanks, the business sector, government and academia have come to Bratislava to discuss and exchange views on the most fundamental issues of EU politics.

At this important event, the European Institute of Romania was represented by Mrs. Gabriela Drăgan, Ph.D., Director General.



The aim of the conference, as Mr. Andrej Kiska, President of the Slovak Republic outlined, was *"to speak about Europe. To exchange views on how we are doing and where we want to go. As the subtitle of the conference ambitiously states – to shape the future of Europe"*.

In his address, focused on the challenges the European Union faces, Mr. Andrej Kiska stressed upon the problems that we struggle with in Europe today. They are problems of a critical nature. *"Crisis has become a daily routine. Extraordinary meetings of heads of states and governments have become somewhat ordinary. The Greek financial crisis. The Russian aggression towards Ukraine and previously towards Georgia. And certainly the migrant and refugee crisis which is widely labelled as the biggest crisis of our time. Even the most serious one since the end of the Second World War. I do not underestimate the scope of this crisis. It really is a serious challenge – humanitarian, security-wise, economic, certainly also moral. It goes without saying that it cannot be handled solely by one or two countries"* said President Kiska.

Mr. Jeroen Dijsselbloem, President of EUROGROUP, focused his intervention on the conclusions of the so-called Five Presidents' Report on the future governance of the European Monetary Union.



In his opinion *"growth is not an end in itself. But it is crucial if we want a thriving euro area in a globalised world and if we want to keep and maintain Europe's unique and inclusive social-economic model."* Mr. Dijsselbloem also outlined that *"the debate on what is needed to complete the architecture of the Monetary Union has been going around in circles; circling around a few symbolic, important instruments, such as contractual arrangements and a fiscal capacity, which function as landmarks on the road to a complete Economic Union. Before examining these instruments, I think we first need to agree on our analysis of the problems we face. We need to consider the political context, which is challenging. And only then can we design the way forward."*

On his address to the audience, Mr. Miroslav Lajčák, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Slovakia, emphasized the fact that Slovakia supports an ambitious approach towards the deepening of the EMU. *"The 2016 Slovak EU Presidency will be a unique opportunity to shape this process. We will move this key issue forward. It is vital for the euro zone, the EU as such and our citizens. And we will do so in close cooperation with all the relevant partners. Because what started as a crisis of our currency, quickly transformed into crisis of responsibility and mutual trust. And respect for rules. Those rules and principles we already had in place. Exactly to safeguard one of the EU's most iconic symbols. The euro as part of our cementing the EU identity"*



More than that, we all are shareholders in the EU common project, and we are responsible for its success. *"To paraphrase Sir Winston Churchill's famous quote, the European integration project has given so much to so many and it is recognized by so few for doing it these days (...) The EU is our creation. It is globally unique. No other similar regional effort has ever brought so much living comfort to its citizens. That is indisputable. Thus we have to take good care of it. And protect it and help grow further."*



The TATRA SUMMIT initiative was launched by the Centre for European Affairs (CEA), member of the Central European Strategy Council, and its partners with an ambitious goal - to shape the future of Europe. While scrutinizing the most burning economic and political issues of today, it incorporates a variety of perspectives and builds trust among the representatives of the EU institutions, member states' ministries of finance and foreign affairs, business leaders, think tanks and international media.

Since its foundation four years ago, the TATRA SUMMIT has become a prominent platform for debating the Future of the European Union in Central Europe. TATRA SUMMIT enjoys a well-recognized and respected status in the wider Europe region and is an indispensable meeting place of relevant EU stakeholders. By bringing together an immensely diverse pool of participants and creating an open forum, the TATRA SUMMIT conferences aim to make a lasting contribution to defining the future of the economic and political governance of the European Union.

The 2015 edition of the TATRA SUMMIT is even more important as it takes place one year ahead of the Slovak EU Presidency.

Photo source: <http://tatrasummit.org/tatrasummit2015>

Florentina Costache

EIR Conference – UN at 70: Transition from MDGs to SDGs

The European Institute of Romania hosted on 23 October 2015 the conference “UN at 70: Transition from MDGs to SDGs” organised in partnership with UN Youth Association of Romania. The conference was focused on the historical transition from the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) to *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs), a new framework for fighting global poverty and promoting sustainable development which is meant to mobilize the international community in the years to come.

At the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit 2015 which took place in September, the UN member states adopted the *Sustainable Development Agenda - 2030* which includes a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) intended to eradicate poverty, reduce inequalities and fight human rights abuses, and as a corollary, to solve pressing issues related to climate change by the year 2030.



“I am glad to acknowledge such interest and enthusiasm among the youth to find out more about the global issues which we have to tackle during these complex times”, said Mrs. **Gabriela Drăgan**, Director General of the European Institute of Romania, in the opening of the conference moderated by the EIR Expert **Bogdan Mureșan**.

In the first panel, Ms. **Luminița Ghiță**, Director General of the General Direction for Environment Protection and Sustainable Development, Ministry of Environment, spoke about the importance of the Millennium Development Goals and presented a quick overview of these goals, with their achievements and shortcomings. *“In Romania, the issue of climate change is not sufficiently debated or known by the public opinion. But our stance is, most of the time, in line with that of the European Union”,* noted Ms. Ghiță.

In the second panel, Mr. **Sorin Tănăsescu**, Minister Plenipotentiary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke about the transition from the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals, or, more precisely, about what the adoption of the *Sustainable Development Agenda* implies. Thus, Mr. Tănăsescu highlighted the importance that both Romania and the UN, attach to the global process of sustainable development, emphasizing the need for international coordination for the implementation of the development goals contained by the Agenda.

The special context in which the Agenda was adopted was also mentioned - this year marks 70 years since the creation of the United Nations and the 60th anniversary of Romania's accession to the UN.

In the third section of the conference, which was attended by numerous students and young professionals with an interest in International Relations and European Studies, the **UN Youth Delegates of Romania**, Anca Agachi and David Timiș presented in brief the UN Youth Delegate Program. The program started in Romania in 2006 and has since become a tradition in our country. Currently it is run under the aegis of the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Romania being one of approximately 30 states supporting this initiative, out of the total 193 UN member states.

Bogdan Mureșan

Balkan SAYS 2015 – Conference report



For the third consecutive year, the *Euro-Atlantic Council of Slovenia*, a non-governmental association formed by experts in the field of Euro-Atlantic security architecture, organized the thematic seminar **Balkan SAYS**, between 14 - 17 October, in the Slovenian town of Bled. The main objective of the seminar, which I had the pleasure to attend, was to bring around the same table students and young professionals with relevant studies and activities, to debate on different security issues, together with established speakers and officials. In order to develop new perspectives and creative solutions to solve some of the most critical problems arising from the Balkans region which has been perceived throughout contemporary history as Europe's "powder keg".

Following a competitive selection process, the works of the seminar brought together **over 30 students and young experts from public institutions, research centers and think-tanks from the Balkans and other regions**: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kosovo, Latvia, Montenegro, the Nederland, Norway, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and Great Britain.

In keeping with the tradition of the event, the participants had the opportunity to learn from, ask questions and debate with prominent lecturers, including high representatives of the North-Atlantic Alliance, diplomats and university professors from Slovenia. The lecturers shared their vision, experience and competences in relation to three main themes which made for the quintessence of the seminary: "*Integration of the Western Balkans into the Euro-Atlantic structures*", "*Violent Extremism and Radicalism*", and "*Migration and Refugee Crisis - a Challenge to Europe*". Besides these three themes mainly tackled from the perspective of their implications for the Balkan Peninsula, the organizers presented the participants a roundtable dedicated to *The Ukraine Crisis and its Implications to European Security*.

Building upon the questions and answers sessions and the insightful presentations of the guest speakers, the participants came up with their own opinions on the three themes, filtered through extensive talks in focused workshops. Thus, the participants, divided in three working groups, outlined *objectives, challenges and solutions* for the three themes under discussion. Each group had a *special rapporteur* who took note of the most relevant ideas and presented them to the audience during a working dinner at the Bled Castle in the third day of the conference. The conclusions were included in the final report of the conference, to be published at the end of November.

After the official closing ceremony, during which each participant was awarded an attendance certificate from Professor **Anton Bebler**, President of *Euro-Atlantic Council of Slovenia*, and Mr. **Iztok Stefanic**, President of the youth section of *Euro-Atlantic Council of Slovenia*, the entire group was invited for some sightseeing in the mountain resort Bled. It was a new occasion for networking and experience sharing between participants, lecturers and organizers.

Bogdan Mureşan

publications

Romanian Journal of European Affairs – Winter Issue 2015

In the Winter issue of the Romanian Journal of European Affairs, the contributors discuss a variety of topics encompassing: assessing the European Parliament's democratic credentials; a short story of long (and failed) negotiations in Greece during the first half of 2015; mapping the EU-Republic of Moldova trajectory: roadblocks on the way to economic integration with the EU; management of regional and international crises by the European Union and the future of private equity in Europe.

Stephen Vitkovitch, MA in Politics in the EU from Leicester University, currently working for the Home Office (UK Interior Ministry), takes a critical look into the European Parliament's democratic credentials by analysing both voter turnout and the impact of the 'Spitzenkandidaten process'. The article goes on to examine the way in which the institutional framework set by the Treaties affect the EP's choices with its more limited role possibly causing it to adopt policy positions that are at odds with citizens' views and security. The author suggests that the adoption of a more intergovernmental approach to EU decision-making at the expense of the European Parliament would help improve the democratic credentials of EU decision making.

Antonis Klapsis, Ph.D., Adjunct Lecturer at the Hellenic Open University and at the Open University of Cyprus, addresses the failed strategy followed by the Greek government under Alexis Tsipras during the six-month negotiations with Greece's creditors, arguing that the distinct lack of a concrete plan during these negotiations led to a series of moves on the part of the government based on a combination of ignorance, misconceptions and wishful thinking. The article goes on further to discuss how these decisions caused the prolongation of the negotiations, led to a worsening of the Greek economy and, in turn,

the Greek position within the EU. Concluding, the author argues that this failed strategy lies behind the near-exit of Greece from the Eurozone, a development which was only narrowly avoided.

Gabrielle G. Bulgari, MA graduate, College of Europe 2014/2015, discusses EU-Republic of Moldova relations by taking an in-depth look at the Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement's provisions. The article focuses on political and economic integration aspects, as well as benefits for the agriculture sector and an assessment of risk factors, discussing the Republic of Moldova's increasingly important role within the European Neighbourhood Policy and Eastern Partnership. The article further draws attention to the importance of the Association Agreement and its impact on EU - Republic of Moldova relations.

Antonio Manrique de Luna Barrios, Ph.D., Professor of Public International Law & International Organizations at the Deusto University (Spain), discusses how the EU manages regional and international crises, by looking into the development of its military and civil capacities. The article goes on to analyse the EU's peacekeeping operations to provide a set of recommendations for a better use of its normative power in order to consolidate the respect and protection of fundamental rights around the world.

Mihai Precup, Ph.D. student at the University of Paris 1: Panthéon-Sorbonne and advisor to the Vice-President of the European Investment Bank in Luxembourg, examines the future of private equity investments in Europe by looking firstly into their evolution across Europe and by analysing the main determinants of the European private equity market. The article's empirical model features many already tested determinants, but also newly included variables such as productivity and a corruption index, and uses aggregated and macroeconomic data from the European private equity market during 2000-2013 to estimate a panel. The article's findings support the already existing determinants, but, at the same time, they also highlight the increasing importance of new factors such as productivity and corruption, especially as a result of the recent economic crisis.

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



Oana Mocanu

Working Paper: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: Negotiations Status Quo and the Relevance for the Romanian Public Debate



On November 23, 2015, the European Institute of Romania hosted a debate regarding the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). On this occasion, the Working Paper written by Ph.D. Oana-Antonia Colibășanu (coord.), Victor-Vlad Grigorescu and Eliza Vaș was presented.

Gathering representatives from the governmental sphere, members of the Parliament, mass-media and delegates of the civil society, interesting contributions were brought up by the participants, during the debate. The team of authors presented the way they envisaged this Working Paper as well: a chapter considering the specific literature (special reports included), the negotiations status quo and the debates that took place in the Romanian civil society on the topic.

The Working Paper was published in English, on www.ier.ro, Publications Section, Working Papers Series.

Eliza Vaș

CALL FOR PAPERS

Romanian Journal of European Affairs

— A Romanian publication to focus on the European Union debate —



The European Institute of Romania would like to invite contributors interested in European affairs to submit articles for evaluation and publication in the **Romanian Journal of European Affairs**, a journal indexed in various international databases (ProQuest, EBSCO, SCOPUS, Index Copernicus, DOAJ, HeinOnline, Cabell's Directory etc.).

Romanian Journal of European Affairs (RJE) is a quarterly publication that covers a wide range of topics, from top issues in EU (economic and monetary affairs, energy, migration, security, neighbourhood policy etc.) to the impact of the European integration process on the member states, as well as the EU's relations with other global actors.

Guidelines for authors:

We warmly welcome submission of articles or book reviews.

The articles (written in **English**) should have between **4,000 and 8,000 words**, accompanied by a **200-word abstract**, a very brief autobiographical note, keywords, also in English, and **JEL** classification (if the case). Book reviews should be no longer than **2,000 words**.

The articles will be submitted in Microsoft Office Word format, Times New Roman, 12, spacing at 1.5 lines and will be sent to the address rjea@ier.ro mentioning „For RJE”. Oxford citation system is recommended.

The submission of an article implies commitment from the author to comply with the copyright policy of the Romanian Journal of European Affairs. The **Copyright Agreement** is available online.

More details can be found here: <http://rjea.ier.ro/en/page/guidelines-authors>

Selection of articles:

Each article received for publication enters a selection procedure before being accepted or rejected. All articles under analysis are made anonymous and handed over to two reviewers whose reports will provide the basis for acceptance or rejection.

Within the evaluation procedure, there are several factors, both quantitative and qualitative, that are taken into consideration. The main selection criteria are: scientific excellence, originality, novelty and potential interest for the journal's audience.

The editors reserve the right to ask the authors for changes, both in form and content, whenever necessary.

For more general information on the journal and the previous issues, please visit: <http://rjea.ier.ro>

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