

**University of Evora
School of Social Sciences**

**The European Union perceived as an international actor promoted by its foreign
policy**

Lisii Cristina

Dissertation in International Relations and European Studies

Coordinator: Silverio Rocha Cunha

Date: October 2011

The Plan:	
Summary	4
Resumo	5
Introduction	6
1. European Foreign Policy	9
1.1. The basic values and principles of the EU's foreign policies	9
1.2. The main instruments of the Eu's foreign policy: ESDP, CFSP and ENP	14
2. The EU's closest neighbors:	21
2.1 The impact of EU on Balkan region	21
2.2. The EU complex and difficult relations with Russia	28
2.3. The EU's relations with Mediterranean nonmember states	32
3. International Relations of EU with the other countries	35
3.1. Iran- multilevel engagement	35
3.2. Africa- strategies and partnership for long term development	39
3.3. Afghanistan and Pakistan: making the civilian approach work.	43
The Middle East: a case for EU autonomy	
4. The EU main strategic partnerships.	48
4.1. The strategic partnership with USA	48
4.2. China- an important strategic par	52
Conclusion	58
Bibliography	60

Summary

This paper work is concentrated over the issues that defines and characterizes the EU. It explains and make a deep analyzes of EU as an international actor. In the information below it is listed the main principles and values of EU's foreign policy: the EU should actively help to promote international peace and human security, to ensure that soft power effectively yields real power, promoting effective multilateralism and global governance, EU is a coherent foreign policy actor; to adopt a comprehensive foreign policy, protection of member states interests; give a multilateral sense to the Neighborhood policy; the Democracy protection and promotion.

Also, in this work will be presented the relation established by EU with its neighborhoods that plays a substantial role in EU's foreign policy activity and on which EU actions direct or indirect therefore falls such as: Russia Federation looks at European Union as a model to rebuilding and reintegration and an important support in maintaining the peace in the Europe and worldwide. The Balkan region is assessed as a glass which is half full and half empty, depending on one viewpoint and the region at issue and viewed as a potential for territory enlargements. EU has to pay a special attention to Mediterranean region using a variety of bilateral and multilateral mechanisms

In the relation with countries which a determined by crises and wars, The European Union needs to differentiate the dual-track approach and adopt a much more long-term strategy for Iran. In Afghanistan and Pakistan the EU should keep the civilian actor image and to participate to restoration of the balance between military and civil dimension, and to invest a constant effort to resolve Israeli-Arab conflict. The EU should focus on three priorities, in addition to pursuing its efforts to support the African states to prevent, manage and resolve wars and crises.

The combined efforts of the United States and Europe are no longer sufficient to shape international relations. The EU needs to add a multilateral dimension to its relations with China. The EU has two important strategic partners which represents for EU a support in the maintaining end restoring the stability and prosperity on worldwide arena, besides of complicate and divergent relation with USA, the relation with China is presented as a favorable one for both countries.

The main keywords used to underline the intensity and importance of the goal of this project and to highlight the specificity of the process of answering on the questions listed above and to make the idea of the paperwork more concentrated are: The international relations, Foreign Policy, International actor, Crisis.

Resumo

Este trabalho de papel é concentrada sobre as questões que define e caracteriza a UE. Ele explica e fazer uma profunda análise da UE como ator internacional. As informações abaixo é listado os principais princípios e valores da política externa da UE: a UE deve contribuir activamente para promover a paz internacional ea segurança humana, para garantir que o poder brando efetivamente produz o poder real, promoção do multilateralismo eficaz e governança global, a UE é um ator política externa coerente, a adotar uma política externa global, protecção dos interesses dos Estados membros; dar um sentido multilateral para a política de vizinhança, de protecção e promoção da democracia.

Além disso, neste trabalho será apresentado a relação estabelecida pela UE com os seus bairros que desempenha um papel importante na actividade da UE em matéria de política externa e em que acções da UE direta ou indireta, portanto, cai, tais como: Federação da Rússia olha União Europeia como um modelo para a reconstrução e reintegração e uma ajuda importante na manutenção da paz na Europa e no mundo. A região dos Balcãs é avaliada como um copo que está meio cheio e meio vazio, dependendo de um ponto de vista e da região em questão e visto como um potencial para ampliações território. UE tem de pagar uma atenção especial à região do Mediterrâneo usando uma variedade de mecanismos bilaterais e multilaterais

Na relação com os países que uma determinada pelas crises e guerras, A União Europeia precisa de diferenciar a abordagem dual-track e adoptar uma estratégia muito mais longo prazo para o Irã. No Afeganistão e Paquistão, a UE deve manter a imagem actor civil e de participar para a restauração do equilíbrio entre a dimensão militar e civil, e investir um esforço constante para resolver o conflito árabe-israelense. A UE deve se concentrar em três prioridades, além de prosseguir os seus esforços para apoiar os estados Africano para prevenir, gerir e resolver as guerras e crises.

Os esforços combinados dos Estados Unidos e na Europa não são mais suficientes para moldar as relações internacionais. A UE precisa de adicionar uma dimensão multilateral às suas relações com a China. A UE tem dois importantes parceiros estratégicos da UE, que representa um suporte no final manter restaurar a estabilidade e prosperidade na arena mundial, além de complicar e divergentes relação com os EUA, a relação com a China é apresentada como um cenário favorável para ambos os países.

Os principais palavras-chave usadas para sublinhar a intensidade ea importância do objetivo deste projeto e para destacar a especificidade do processo de responder sobre as perguntas acima e fazer a idéia de a papelada mais concentrados são: relações internacionais, política externa, internacionais ator, Crisis.

Introduction

The topic of the graduate work is: "The European Union perceived as an international actor promoted by its foreign policies". This work emphasizes the European Union as an actor on international arena, its role and importance in global governance and it explains the main idea and someone's view points about this direction. First of all, before trying to explain the main ideas structured in the chapters, the main key points and the strategic views, it is important to set some question which will underline the subjects and the direction that will be followed within this work. In more specific terms, it will be oriented on answering the following questions:

1. Does the EU foreign policy contribute to the creation of the European identity?
2. What is the nature of EU foreign policy?
3. Has EU contributed to the development of human rights, peace and democracy?
4. What are the main objectives that the EU wants to pursue in other areas of the world?
5. What are the instruments the EU set up to deal with different parts of the world?
6. The role and the importance of EU on international arena as an international actor?

Using these questions as basic pylon of the work and evaluating the researches in order to write this report, showing some opinions and views over the different events, the deep analysis made by researchers over the EU's foreign policies and the role of Europe Union as an international actor is highlighting the importance of EU activity on international arena and its strong impact on Europe and the rest of the world, and that the Union is a more coherent and effective actor on the world stage and it is important to show how the priorities of EU international action should be redefined in view of the new tools at the EU's disposal. Also, analyzing the EU's foreign policy and showing the main principle and values of EU which are strongly based on maintaining and promoting world democracy and security, implementing the stability and prosperity tools aimed to avoid future world wars and diminish the wars in generally and its activity is oriented to use soft power in order to settle the conflicts and difficulties between nations using the negotiations methods. Also, this work is highlighting the EU and USA pretty closed partnership directed toward an effective creation of the multilateral international order, and how EU is building a multilateral partnership with China. In relations with other countries such as Africa, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Palestine and Israeli it should to apply all its abilities and instruments in order to resolve and manage wars and crisis, about Iran it should adopt a long-term strategy that is not uniquely focused on the nuclear question, but on re-engaging and re-integrating Iran in the region and international society at large. In the relation with its neighbors the EU must pay an important attention and establish a different behavior, both in terms of possible enlargement of its territory and in terms of settling the economical, social and political relations based on mutual interests.

This paper work is structured in four chapters, each chapters is focused over main topics which emphasizes the EU's intensive and complex relation with worldwide countries and in the same time shows its internal strategic points directed in order to build a union able to face its role on the international arena as an important actor and solve problems which are disturbing the principles of Democracy, human rights and peace.

First chapter is totally dedicated to European Union' foreign policies understood as a set of values and the main instruments used in implementation of these values. First of all, it is important to admit that the EU's core values are the foundation of its relations with the rest of the world, secondly The EU believes that what has worked so successfully in Europe, bringing a half-century of peace, stability, and prosperity, can be applied to the broader world in many policy areas, which means that is necessary to promote and support the democracy, to advance the human rights, promoting sustainable development. Also, the EU's foreign policy values are focused on promoting the strategy of the soft power, the principle of multilateralism and comprehensiveness and the EU must act in accordance with three basic principles – autonomy, consistency and coherence – while striving to shape a multilateral world order. The main instruments which meant to manage the EU's foreign policy are: the EU's common security and defense policy (ESDP), The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

Second chapter is revealing that the first priority of EU foreign policy is Europe itself – the continent – and its immediate neighborhood. In this chapter will be analyzed the relations established by EU and its principal neighbors: Balkan countries, Russia and Mediterranean nonmember states. The relation between EU and Balkan countries could be characterized as much as a deep EU interest on enlargement policy in this area and set all European principles and rules. Despite of different ideas and understandings over the meaning global governance, Russia still play a crucial role for European security, in this terms EU-Russia cooperation make a vital contribution to peace and stability in Europe. EU introduced a wide series of new policies, structures and instruments regarding Mediterranean area which led to a significant development of this region.

Third chapter, concentrating on deep analysis which are revealing EU' capacities and abilities to play an intermediary role in solving conflicts established between states, such as Palestine and Israeli. Also, the reason of this chapter is to show that EU is able to find an effective common ground in order to solve problems and crisis which couldn't be solved for long years, such as Afghanistan and Pakistan' problems, where EU is playing a primarily civilian role. Also, speaking about Africa, EU's foreign policy is oriented in direction of finding the best priorities in addition to pursuing its efforts to support the African states to prevent, manage and resolve wars and crisis, such as intensifying its coherent political representation, adopting approaches for poverty alleviation objectives with foreign policy goals, seek for long-term innovative partnership and sustain development challenges. Speaking about Iran, the EU' foreign policy is geared towards preventing the creation of situations such as in Irak and Afghanistan. The EU engagement with Iran needs to be pursued with different interlocutors at various levels of the Iranian

political hierarchy and a variety of non-state actors. EU is able to engage in dialogue and economic cooperation in order to find the best solution for Iranian problem.

Fourth chapter, this chapter is dedicated to emphasize the EU strategic partnership which is involved in pursuing multilateral consensus and cooperation toward the group of most powerful states, such as USA and China. The principle of strategic partnership should be seen as an instrument designed to foster the promotion of “effective multilateralism”. In this chapter will be presented that the EU and USA a very mach alike, their economies are very connected and their security perception, although not identically but very similar, no other political partnership in the world is as intimate, as enduring and as effective. No matter of this facts in EU-USA relations still persist some disagreements and some misunderstandings, according to different political actions made by USA or EU, which should be set in order to capitalize on this partnership. In relation with China, the EU has succeeded in establishing dialogue mechanisms and collaborations on key regional and global issues, such as trilateral cooperation between EU, China and Africa in area such as migration, terrorism and development.

1. European Foreign Policy

1.1. The basic values and principles of the EU's foreign policies

After the Treaty of Rome, European construction was focused on international policy cooperation. During the European construction, the expression "common foreign policy" has not found its place in treaties signed by European countries. Since October 1970, Member States of the European Community was cooperating and trying to focus on major international political issues, but these efforts was realized on intergovernmental level, within "European political cooperation" frame. In 1986, the Single European Act formalized this intergovernmental cooperation without changing its nature or modalities of exertion. The transformation took place in Maastricht, where for the first time Member States have signed the Treaty objective of a "common foreign policy." After the entry into force of the Treaty on 1 November 1993, the European Union became a force that was able to make its voice heard on the international arena and has expressed its position on armed conflicts, human rights or any other topic related to the fundamental principles and common values that underpin the Union and that it has undertaken to defend. According to the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty, the EU has consolidated its position on the international scene and the functioning of EU foreign policy has been reformed by the Treaty of Amsterdam on 16-17 July 1997, entered into force in 1999 (Bindi 2010, p. 13-41).

Becoming an international intergovernmental organization, the Union aims to build an equitable society within it, and play an active and responsible role on the world stage. These aspirations have a claim in its economic progress, which enabled it to achieve a certain level of integration and develop strong business relations with many countries and regions in terms of development cooperation, humanitarian assistance and reconstruction aid. Indeed, the European Community and its Member States today provides more than half of the funds for international development assistance and more than 50% of global humanitarian aid. They help fund a third of the world in the Middle East (50% for the Palestinian Territories, almost 60% in Russia, emerged after the USSR republics, 40% of the reconstruction effort in Bosnia-Herzegovina).

In other words, the EU is an economic and political giant, which has a competitive and prosperous economy and promoting effective multilateralism and global governance, making multilateral structure more effective and more legitimate and respond to the growing demand for coherence and joined-up policy making.

This work is concentrated over the issues which explain that the EU remains essentially a civilian power that confines the use of force to the most exceptional circumstances and broad international legitimacy. Soft power, nonetheless, is real power. In this context was defined a several priorities that EU should accomplish in order to be a leading power on international arena and be a credible actor by the hole world societies and let the EU to play a primordial role in managing and solving crisis and conflicts. These priorities show

that the soft power effectively yields real power and EU must be (Vasconcelos, June 2010, p. 15-19):

- be autonomous- The EU should define how it stands on international issues and what its aims are for multilateral initiatives and organizations independently of what it is able to agree with its multiple partners. Agreement and consensus should be the outcome of diplomatic bargaining, not the result of self-limitation and compromises at the outset.
- Be consistent- Remaining a normative power is one of the EU's main strengths on the world stage. The promotion of democracy, peace, sustainable human development and a multilateral world order regulated by well-functioning and fair institutions, as a projection of the EU's own experience and internal model, are the basic elements of the EU's identity in the international arena and the fundamental components of its soft power.
- Be coherent- The EU's international strategy must be comprehensive and overarching: it must unite all EU institutions behind the same set of goals, and critically draw on their ability to bring about convergence with and among Member States. This will depend both on defining common approaches and overcoming differences with regard to certain crucial issues and on expanding decision-making by qualified majority voting, which should gradually become the established procedure; another aspect of coherence that must be explored is the representation of the EU in the UN and other international organizations.
- Be comprehensive- A particularly important part of this comprehensive approach is to integrate security and defense more effectively into the broader picture of EU-wide international policy. This should help ensure that EU action really delivers results in difficult theatres, and that national policies are consistent with EU goals.
- Be multilateral- Its international strategy must be designed to cope with the difficulties of acting in a world where its model of deep integration among states is not the rule but the exception, and where it is therefore imperative to engage with others to promote effective solutions to problems which are in effect common to Europeans and the world at large.

Another pylon which marked the European Union's foreign policy was European Security Strategy (ESS), designed by Javier Solana and adopted by the European Council in December 2003, is an extremely important document for the EU. Inception took place due to the need for a comprehensive European strategy in foreign and security policy.

The fact, That the Europe is undoubtedly a more credible and effective actor comes from the increasing European convergence, interests and strengthens solidarity in its bosom. The necessity of building such a strategy derives precisely from the fact that "Europe must be prepared to assume the responsibility to international security and building a better world." A comprehensive security strategy, as it discloses to the new EU strategy is required by the global risks, and the main threats in the security environment. Starting from this point, the European Council adopted a series of strategic objectives (Matei and Tibil, December 24, 2011):

- Responding and combating threats by moving the "first line of defense" outside the EU and the recognition that "none of these threats is purely military and cannot be fought by military means alone." Consequently, the EU aims for a multilateral approach to future security challenges;
- Security building in close proximity: interest that neighboring states are well governed and managed, EU enlargement must not create new dividing lines; EU task is to promote a ring of stable states, well-governed in the east of the Union (become necessary dialogue and cooperation with Mediterranean countries, Middle East and Caucasus, the Arab-Israeli conflict is strategic EU priority);
- The foundation of the international multilateralism order: the development of a strong international community, with functioning institutions, governed according to principles of international law.

The European Security Strategy (ESS) adopted by the European Union at the European Council in Brussels on 12 December 2003, made a proposal to make the organization: More active - a strategic culture capable of providing a rapid, robust and promptly intervention using political, diplomatic, military, civil and commercial tools;

More capable - the European Defense Agency has a major role in the development of defense capabilities;

More coherent - the strength point of ESDP and CFSP is the conviction that "we are stronger when we act together", the current challenge is to put together the different instruments and capabilities (Europa, September 2009)

The ESS is a step forward of the Union's high significance of consistency in foreign policy and security route. European analysts see its strategic formulation about double changes that has become necessary after November 9, 1989 and September 11, 2001. (Vasconcelos, February 2009)

European Security Strategy ESS recommended that the organization should become a more active EU foreign policy actor, proceeding from a targeted manner and in a range ranging from diplomatic tools, trade and development policy up to the military intervention to be considered as last resort in conflict prevention and crisis management. The Council approved the document which showed the significance of direct activism organization: "A European Union that assumes increased responsibilities in a more active way will become a Union which will have more political weight." The ESS stresses that the active policies must cope with the dynamics of new threats, with dynamism which involves " its own strategic culture of favoring such as upstream interventions, and, if necessary, robust". (Vasconcelos, February 2009)

The global role of the European Union is supporting pillars of civil and military capabilities; it seems well-supported recommendation for the development of these capabilities and their better exploitation as well as highlighting the need for these tools to be better grouped and coordinated, to strengthen EU cooperation with its partners. Cooperation with partners is the main pillar of the security action effectiveness of the organization globally.

ESS is a comprehensive strategy that presents a common view of threats and responses necessary to be made. The document provides the Union the so-called "guide" of international action for the European culture and capabilities strategy development-military, civilian, diplomatic – necessary for Europe to intervene in the regional environment, continental and global security.

Applying the ideas of Security Strategy, the EU confirms that is in the process of becoming a credible political authority in Europe. This contributes strongly to the way they reinforces the image of responsible regional player, and the multiplicity and extent of efforts made in terms of regional and global security and the stability which represents an important contribution of EU to prove its credible quality power. Responsible regional player image comes from the fact that EU military operations reinforce the visibility of ESDP in Europe, confirms the idea of strategic partnership with NATO, but not limited to complement the overall European defense device and contribution to building a credible world power : the ENP, the EU goes beyond the continent, emerging global and strategic vision; the EU already proposed a system of global security, wants to empower regional actors, and UN for establishment of the world peace and stability; the military operations complete in fully its political and economical actions.

Although the external influence is limited, EU operations contribute to the creation of its new status, which presents EU as a commercial power of the world (25 percent of world trade) and first aid provider (55 percent of development aid). In fact, in December 2004, the Working Committee for Analysis and Reflection on Current Affaires (CARA) from French Institute of Higher National Defense Studies (IHNDIS) considered the increasing role of the EU security role: drafting a White Paper, "Global Strategy of the EU", in two parts, a strategy based on preventive, reactive and active restructuring of the transatlantic relationship (Bindi 2010, p34-38):

- EU social policy and strategy: multilateralism, and sustainable development;
- Security strategy, defense policy: conflict prevention (Petersberg missions modified) mutual security and combat terrorism, with a large open application development prospect of Article 5 of the WEU Treaty to situations non-military weapons attacks.

For maximum EU involvement in global security is a matter for the future, any analysis of institutional choices of the CFSP in the field is reported at the time in December 2001, when the Laeken Convention on the Future of Europe was convened. The draft European Constitution that was prefigured then completed and signed by the Member States in October 2004 in Rome, is now revised, following its rejection by referendum by France and the Netherlands. New form of the Lisbon Treaty, which would be subject to Irish voters vote second time, after his rejection in the first referendum, not ignore, of course, global security issues, seen through the Community institutions, the CFSP and ESDP.

The main tools designed to manage the EU's foreign policy: the EU Common Security and Defense Policy (ESDP and Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), which is the main EU instruments in the maintain its international status and importance and its desire to resolve international conflicts between states, reducing the problem in third World countries and peacekeeping

worldwide. the main EU instruments will be analyzed in the next chapter of this work and will highlight the full EU role and position in the international arena.

Also, EU foreign policy is surrounded by a wide range of values that a strong correlated its basic principles. EU principles and values derive from its strong character and desire to create a limitless world based on roles, peace, prosperity and mutual understanding between countries and peoples. EU is a deeply hidden value in power politics, establishing multilateralism, promoting human rights and soft power, if you look below, we can easily understand the reality of this statement (Bretherton and Vogler 2006, p. 26-34).

1.2. The main instruments of the EU's foreign policy: ESDP, CFSP and ENP

After World War II, the Western European countries military potential weakness created the necessity of adopting certain policies and instruments to defend the integrity and stability of European as well as maintaining and controlling the worldwide stability. As it was mentioned above there are three important instruments in the managing process of EU's foreign policy such as: The European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)

European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) aims to enable the development of the Union's civil and military capacity for crisis management and conflict prevention at international level. Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties represent a considerable advance for construction by European Union a common defense policy.

- The ESDP missions and objectives (Bindi 2010 p.51-66)

Formally assigned the ESDP missions were defined by the three Petersberg tasks that were adopted in 1992 and were inserted in the WEU and the EU Treaty. These tasks are: humanitarian missions and national's evacuation, peacekeeping missions, combat missions for crisis management and / or peacemaking operations. This form allows a broad interpretation of the tasks which the EU can take. Over the years, ESDP missions have been better defined.

In 2002, a statement of the European Council expressly affirmed that the fight against terrorism was included in the objectives of the ESDP. Since then, the European Defense Policy is no longer just an external projection, but acquired an international dimension to protect citizens living in Europe.

In December 2003, the European Security Strategy (ESS) adopted by the European Council has helped to clarify further the objectives of the ESDP, as well as its role. This document is indeed a doctrine of the EU's foreign policy which doesn't exclude the appeal to force in extreme cases and that remains ambiguous regarding the notion of preventive action. Petersberg tasks were defined in the Constitutional Treaty. Thus, the Constitution states that ESDP must provide "peacekeeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security." Therefore, the Constitution adds other four missions which must not be interpreted as new skills, but rather as the development of the Petersberg tasks background.

Thus, the ESDP includes the following seven areas: humanitarian and rescue missions; peacekeeping missions; combat missions for crisis management; disarmament missions; military advice and assistance missions; conflict prevention missions; operations for stabilizations at the end of the conflict.

In these conditions it can be concluded that the ESDP should be always oriented in this perspective. These options should not be considered a mere formality, because in most

cases the states national constitutions, do not explicitly link their foreign policy to promote such values in the world.

- The ESDP instruments for civilian and military crisis management (The Political Department for Defense and Planning 2009, p.5-10)

The ESDP creation imposed the necessity to identify the civilian and military resources that the European Union has to implement are launching a crisis management mission. The European Security and Defense policy capabilities required to achieve the objectives are both military and civilian.

The military capabilities of ESDP- When ESDP was launched in 1999, the European Council set a goal that has to be committed to achieving it in 2003 in terms of military capabilities: the Helsinki Headline Goal. "The Overall objective" of the EU consists in making available at the end of 2003, a force of 50,000-60,000 people provided by Member States (corresponding to an army corps), which can be conducted in a period of 60 days and for a period of one year and for a long-term action. According to the global objective, these forces must be able to fulfill the Petersberg tasks and must be in military terms self-sufficient. In this position they can be supported by logistics, air and naval necessary means. However it should be noted that the "overall objective» is not creating a European army. It's more about the national unity which can be used by the European Council if it decides unanimously to intervene in a region of the world.

A second ESDP task on military capabilities is the "Headline Goal 2010" and tactical groupings. While the EU develop "global objective" in Helsinki, new threats have emerged in a non-traditional type, rendering them new demands in terms of military capabilities. Most European armies are still structured in a form of the European territory defense against possible armed invasion, as during the Cold War. The "Headline Goal" defined in Helsinki in 1999, and which has not been achieved in reality, was inspired by the Kosovo War, which finally was a classic conflict within Europe. The EU is still unable to perform highly specialized missions for large distances. In turn, the "Headline Goal 2010" aims to take a series of improvements in order to cover gaps in the target arising from Helsinki, introducing the concept of "Tactical groupings", drawing from an initiative of France, Germany and the United Kingdom adopted in April 2003. The purpose of this initiative is to provide a range of ESDP force composed by 1,500 people, which can be carried out in a time of 15 days on large distance and in difficult conditions.

The civilian capacity of ESDP -After launching the creation of ESDP in 1999, Member States have realized that crisis management might not be only in a military way. Strengthening the law rules, especially the creation of an honest police and an effective judicial system, begins to be perceived as an essential component of any action to restore peace. The civilian task management of ESDP has been integrated in 2000 during the European Council in Feira. It concerned the four districts: police, strengthening the law rules, civil administration and civil protection. Identifying and providing usable ESDP civilian capabilities has been relatively rapid. The EU has acquired some skill in the field, intervening in many countries (the Balkans, Georgia, Congo, Iraq, Palestine, and Sudan).

In the civil sector, there are still capacity gaps (especially in the legal staff in finance and logistics). Outside the military, a "Civilian Headline Goal" has been identified to strengthen civilian capacity in 2008. ESDP civilian missions still make an issue of coordination in development cooperation policy, managed by the European Community under EU competence and supranational (first pillar). European cooperation policy, in fact, contains many programs that occur in the areas of rule of law, democracy and reconstruction after conflict.

Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is one way of achieving the EU's external relations.

Its legal regulation was made relatively late compared to the rest of European construction, given the sensitive nature of this policy which is still found outside the remit of Member States.

The need for a common foreign policy based on cooperation of states made prior to emergence of EU foreign policy between Member States of the European Communities to take place in the European Political Cooperation (EPC), launched in 1970, following the report of the Foreign Ministers of Member States European Communities in Luxembourg and extended by the Single European Act (SEA) in 1987.

The Treaty of Maastricht in 1992, completed by the Treaty of Amsterdam, the European Union has set its objective affirmation on the international scene, notably through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy, including defining a policy for defense, which could lead, at the right time, to a common defense. According to the Maastricht Treaty, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) is the second pillar of the EU, alongside the European Economic Community (first pillar) and Justice and Home Affairs (third pillar).

Treaties of Amsterdam (1997) and Nice (2000) represents the active entry stage of the CFSP on stage. The results of the Amsterdam treaty are the creation of an autonomous action device which represents a solid legal framework through cooperation between states and a high representative for CFSP, which in the same time is the General Secretary of the Council. It is designed to help achieving a common foreign policy on the EU's level and which is a forward step in foreign policy. (Quille, July 2008)

The CFSP objects are (Smith 2003, p.103-110):

- The safeguard of the common values, fundamental interests and independence of the Union;
- Strengthening the security of the Union and member states in all its forms;
- To preserve peace and strengthen international security, the principles of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act's principles and objectives of the Paris Charter;
- Promote international cooperation;

- Developing and strengthening democracy and the rule of law and respect human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Unlike the Community method, CFSP methods are characterized by cooperation between Member States for leadership in policy and gradual practice of implementation actions in areas where Member States have common interests. At the same time, the member states assumes the responsibility to actively and unreservedly support the CFSP, to refrain from any action contrary to the interests of the Union, to ensure the conformity of their national policies to common positions, to inform each other about any foreign and security policy problems and to support common positions in international organizations.

The current security policy and common European cooperation is based on both political stability and the military stability. Security policy based on cooperation renounce any idea of imposing stability by means of confrontation.

In a concise form of expression, the Common Foreign and Security Policy is one of the pillars of the EU (Lucarelli 2004, p.4-26). After the Treaty of Rome, European construction was focused on economic aspects, based on the principle of a common market, even if there is the idea of international policy cooperation. During the European construction, the expression "common foreign policy" has not found its place in treaties signed by European countries. Since October 1970, Member States of the European Community cooperated and tried to focus on major international political issues. But this was at intergovernmental level, the "European political cooperation". In 1986, the Single European Act formalized this intergovernmental cooperation without changing its nature or exercise modalities. The transformation took place in Maastricht, where for the first time Member States have signed the Treaty objective of a "common foreign policy." After the entry into force of the Treaty on 1 November 1993, the European Union as a force that was able to make their voice heard on the international scene, has expressed its position on armed conflicts, human rights or any other topic related to the fundamental principles and common values that underpin the Union and that it has undertaken to defend. CFSP provisions have been revised by the Treaty of Amsterdam, which entered into force in 1999. Since then, Articles 11 and 28 of the Treaty on European Union was expressly devoted to CFSP.

European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) is a new approach in the relations between the EU and its neighbors, an approach that goes beyond the traditional one based on cooperation. This policy provides a framework to strengthen the neighborhood and to enhance cooperation with neighboring countries in the enlarged EU to create an area of prosperity and good neighborhood, a "chain of friends" at the borders of the Union.

The objectives of the European Neighborhood Policy (Sourander July 2008):

The main objective of the ENP is sharing the benefits of EU enlargement in 2004 with its neighboring countries. Another objective is settled by the European Security Strategy of 2003, increasing security in the vicinity of the enlarged Union.

European Neighborhood Policy does not provide the Member concerned (Member of Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, and in June 2004 and the South-Caucasian) prospect of EU membership, but allows a privileged relationship with neighbors and better focus efforts in areas of importance vital to close the Member concerned by European standards. (Dannreuther 2004, p. 27-44)

Other objective is increasing the stability, security and prosperity degree of the EU and neighboring countries to the East and South, especially offering to the countries a relationship closer with the EU. ENP should prevent the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbors. The Policy is based on commitments to common values, including democracy, law rules, good governance and respect for human rights and principles of market economy, free trade and sustainable development, and poverty reduction as well. With the ENP, the EU strives among others to counteract or prevent the emergence of threats to "discrete security" such as large-scale illegal immigration, stopping imports of energy, environmental degradation, terrorism penetration.

Among the benefits of the ENP include those related to economic and social development as well as the possibility obtaining domestic market access and integration in other European policies:

- Education, training and youth;
- Research;
- Environmental issues;
- Culture;
- Audio-visual policy;

The need for a European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) was acutely felt in 2003, when appeared the problem of creating new barriers in Europe, after EU enlargement. In March 2003 the European Commission in its Communication on Wider Europe Neighborhood policy outlined the principles of the EU and stresses the importance attached by the EU relations with its neighbors. According to this communication, financial aid provided so far for neighboring countries, especially TACIS and MEDA programs will be supplemented in future by creating a new financial instrument, the European Neighborhood and Cooperation which will support the implementation of the Neighborhood Policy.

In October 2003 the European Council welcomed the initiative and invited the Commission and the Council of Ministers to continue. On May 12, 2004 the European Commission presented the Communication "European Neighborhood Policy, Country Strategy and Reports" with concrete steps to implement the neighborhood policy and how to extend the benefits of EU enlargement on its new neighbors.

The EU was providing support through the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). It replaces the TACIS technical assistance program (for states near the east) and MEDA (for neighboring southern states). According to the ENPI regulation, there are available 11181 billion Euros for this instrument from 2007 up to 2013. This means that available funds are 32% higher than those available for ENPI beneficiary countries under the previous instrument of 2000-2006 (Sourander July 2008).

It also uses the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), including support for relevant organizations of civil society by delegates of Committees in the ENP countries (except Libya, Syria and Tunisia, where there will be conditions and where seek other ways to promote democracy and human rights). In some countries the ENP is performed actions financed by the Instrument for Stability and the Instrument for Nuclear Safety. There are also thematic programs under the Instrument of development cooperation; cooperation on migration and asylum to support local actors or non-Member States and relevant amounts are very small. You can also use the tool of humanitarian aid and macro-financial assistance.

The information about PCA and Euro-Mediterranean Agreement is based on research made on the work (Bindi 2010, p.100-111) which says that ENP is, also based on partnership and cooperation agreements (PCAs) and Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements that were signed by 13 of the 16 countries covered. This does not require the introduction of any new type of agreement but, because the initial period of application of the PCA expires sites must find an answer to the question of the future legal basis of bilateral relations with the countries of eastern neighborhood.

Achieving these goals would be made by neighbors concerned with defining a set of priorities which was noted in the Action Plans, which are key political document in the development of relations between the EU and its neighbors.

Main instruments of the ENP are the bilateral ENP Action Plans. Develop an action plan ENP involves entry into force of an ACP or a Euro-Mediterranean Agreement. The Commission shall prepare a draft action plan, which then negotiates with relevant neighboring countries. Therefore, the joint ACP's main or established under the Euro-Mediterranean Action Plan approved.

Each ENP Action Plan lists a number of political and economic reform objectives and concrete measures. In this respect they are similar to the Accession Partnerships to support reforms and prepare candidate countries for EU accession. However, in the context of the ENP, the EU does not require a general adaptation to legislation and case law and there is clearly no incentive for reform represented by the prospect.

Action plans would be based on commitment to common values: respect for human rights, including minority rights, rule of law, good governance, promoting good relations with neighbors, market economy principles and sustainable development. Another objective of the Action Plans was found near the foreign policy partners. The evolution of relations between the EU and neighboring countries was highlighted by the signing of the Action

Plans which entirely depend on how effectively the neighboring state will share common values cited above.

Action plans was defined by a set of priorities, whose achievement will lead to a rapprochement with the EU. These priorities cover several areas:

- Political dialogue - includes issues such as fight against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, resolving regional conflicts;
- Economic and social policy - must promote participation in a number of EU programs and improving interconnection and physical links with the EU (transport, energy etc.).
- Trade - it provides a more open market in accordance with the principles of WTO and EU standards;
- Justice and Home Affairs - a closer cooperation in areas such as border management, migration, fight against terrorism, human trafficking, drugs and weapons, organized crime, money laundering and economic-financial crime.

Action plans will be differentiated to reflect the existing state of relations with every country in question. Drawing Action Plan for each neighboring state is depending on needs and ability that was taken into account, the interests of both parties. Will also take into account the following circumstances:

1. The geographical position;
2. The economic situation;
3. The development of EU - the State concerned;
4. Reforms in progress.

Action plans was defined as margin for a period of 3-5 years. It is possible that with the performance priorities of the Action Plans, the current generation of bilateral agreements to be replaced with a new form of privileged partnership, represented by the “European Neighborhood Agreements.”

States included in the European Neighborhood Policy (Sourander July 2008):

In Eastern Europe: Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus

European Union and Russia have established strategic partnership to further develop the already existing, by creating four common spaces, according to decisions taken at the summit in St. Petersburg Russia in May 2003.

The South Caucasus: Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan

In the Mediterranean: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Lebanon, Libya, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Syria, and the Palestinian Authority.

2. The EU's closest neighbors

2.1. The impact of EU on Balkan region

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the relations between the EU and the Balkan countries which can be characterized and perceived both in terms of a potential association as well as in terms of the interest of building stability in the region through a series of political, social, economic and cultural norms which are closely tangent and connected to European standards. Taking into account the above statement, we could clearly specify that the interest of the European Union to the Balkan countries is seen as a possibility to enlarge the space through the integration of Balkan countries into EU sphere, only in condition that the countries of the region in turn will meet all conditions laid down for membership. In these circumstances, the European Union participated actively in the process of transformation and political stabilization of the area which had a very positive impact on the Balkans in particular since 1996. Another interest of the EU towards the Balkans, in addition to opening a possibility of integration, was the tendency of establishing peace, stability and economic development of the region. In these circumstances we can say that the main purpose of the EU in the Balkans is to establish the economic, social, political and cultural stability and development for subsequently open the parentheses on the discussion related to the integration in EU of the Balkan countries.

To better understand the transformations that took place in the Balkans, it must be analyzed more deeply all of policies and reforms adopted by the EU towards the Balkan countries and the conditions that the regional countries must meet in order to achieve the standards and subsequent integration into the European Union.

Due to the outbreak of the Kosovo crisis in spring 1999, the EU launched on 10 June 1999 Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, which highlighted for the first time the accession possibility to the EU of the Balkan countries and was launched the stabilization and association agreements by " Stabilization and Association Process "(SAP).(Bindi 2010, p. 149-154)

European Councils of Feira and Nice (in June and December 2000) recognized that the Western Balkan countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) tended to become potential candidates for EU. It was stated that the Western Balkan countries had an evident perspective for becoming EU's member with the condition that the settled terms will be accomplished. Subsequent meetings of the European Council showed that the future of the Western Balkans lies within the European Union's frame. In 2003 was adopted by the EU and Western Balkan countries the "Salonika Agenda" which reflected the evolution of this relationship. The Balkan countries have turned progressively from stabilization and reconstruction to the stability consolidation, sustainable development, association and integration into European structures. The EU confirmed its commitment to support Balkan

countries in their efforts to implement reforms aimed to strengthening the democracy and stability and promoting economic development and regional cooperation. Thus, the EU Policy of Stabilization and Association, including the Stabilization and Association Agreements, currently represents the EU general direction toward the Western Balkans for their future accession. (Dannreuther 2004, p.69-77)

EU main tools and instruments used in order to guide the policy of the Balkan countries in the direction of EU standards is Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA), CARDS program and Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance- IPA. (D'Angelo and Ghiatis, July 2008)

Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) established a strategic framework for the Western Balkan countries and EU relation, combining a new relationship between Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) and an assistance program (CARDS). Stabilization and Association process is both bilaterally and regionally, creating strong links between each Balkan country and the European Union and also encouraging cooperation between countries and their neighbors in the area. Stabilization and Association Agreements are international agreements are legally binding, which requires, after the signing, the consent of European Parliament, the ratification by the country's parliament and the agreement of the Member States of the European Union. It requires respect for democratic principles, human rights and legislation; the agreements provide for the establishment of a free trade area with the European Union and the rights and obligations in areas such as competition law and state aid, intellectual property and establishment, which will allow economies of area to begin to integrate with the EU economy. After the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Croatia, Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, on 16 June 2008 Bosnia and Herzegovina was the last country to sign the Stabilization and Association Agreements.

CARDS program, which set targets and mechanisms of Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), increased during 2000-2006 to about 5 billion Euros in support the region. Since each country has advanced in the process of stabilization, the support turned progressively from infrastructure reconstruction and reconciliation support to the government institutions and legislation development and to the gradual approximation to the European standards, and harmonization with community acquis. Financial support was directed towards strengthening democracy and the rule of law, human rights, civil society and media, and to enable a free market economy.

Since 2007, funding for EU membership was channeled through a single unified tool (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance - IPA) appointed to assist the candidate countries and potential candidate countries. Total financing for membership for the current financial framework (2007-2013) is 11.5 billion Euros. To achieve the objectives of each Balkan country in the most efficient way, IPA consists from five basic components: support the transition and enterprise building; cross border cooperation (with EU Member States and other countries eligible for IPA); regional development (transport, environment and economic development); human resource development; rural development;

It also intensified regional cooperation efforts, the strengthening of good relations between neighbors, especially through the new Regional Cooperation Council. This structure, which followed the Stability Pact, promotes mutual cooperation and European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Southeast Europe to reinvigorate the region's economic and social development for the benefit of its residents.

The EU Stability Pact was complemented with a new tool, much more important for the countries in the region, the so-called Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), which came to significantly expand regional concept. Stabilization and Association process is both bilaterally and regionally, creating strong links between each Balkan country and the European Union and also to encourage cooperation between countries and their neighbors in the area.

With this tool, the EU is providing new contractual relations for target countries, Stability and Association Agreement (SAA). This Agreement is designed to the needs of each state and the start of negotiations for this Agreement may be different from state to state, depending on how each country intends to fulfill its obligations. According to the Commission's report issued on presentation of the new instrument, SAP is intended as a contribution factor of the EU to the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe. The central elements of the SAP are:

- Establish SAA prospect
- developing economic and trade relations
- Enhancement of economic and financial support
- supporting the process of democratization, civil society and education
- Cooperation on justice and home affairs
- Political dialogue

The CARDS was established in December 2000. The main purpose of this program is to support Western Balkan countries the participation on the Stabilization and Association Process. Within this program EU spent in 2000-2006 approx. 5 Billion Euros in order to achieve four broad objectives:

- reconstruction, democratic stabilization, reconciliation and repatriation of refugees;
- the institutional and legislative development, including harmonization with UE norms to promote and strengthen democracy, human rights, development of civil society, media and free market economy;
- Sustainable economic and social development and structural reform;
- promoting closer relations and regional cooperation between countries in the region and the EU

The IPA (Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance) is an EU instrument endowed for the period 2007-2013 by 11.5 billion Euros. IPA comes to eliminate deficits in the programs which are often overlapping, sometimes contradictory the objectives of which are lined with each other and not always with the main policies of the Union, and proved to be very ineffective, and implementation procedures were considered too complicated.

The IPA consists of five components:

- support during the transition and the establishment of institutions,
- border cooperation
- Regional Development
- human resource development,
- Rural Development

With the introduction of European Partnerships instrument, processes of rapprochement between the EU and Western Balkan countries have acquired a very strong bilateral character. But it is also extremely important to analyze the relationship of the European Union in the direction of the Balkan countries in terms of crisis management operations, which may be civilian and military, launched by the EU in the ESDP frame, in order of crises and conflicts amelioration erupted in a specific region. By coincidence the first civilian and military missions launched with such character took place in the Balkans in 2003. In these conditions becomes more important to focus the attention by means of short presentations, on the main steps of cooperation between the EU and each country in the Balkans. (D'Angelo and Ghiatis July 2008, The Political Department for Defense and Planning 2009 p.26-30)

- The evolution of relations between Albania and EU

Since 2001, The EU offered to Albania financial support mainly through the CARDS program. Between 2001 and 2004, the country received 188 million Euros, and in 2005 - 2006, approx. 87 million Euro. Important to note is that by establishing the so-called Albanian-EU Task Force (President of the Commission, the Commission and the Albanian Minister for European Integration) was created a flexible institutional framework, which meets several times a year, members of the consultation particularly the efforts and progress on issues such as Albania in the field of justice, freedom and safety. In 2003 started the negotiations to sign a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with EU which in the end was signed on June 12, 2008 and entered into force on April 1, 2009.

Later in this region was registered some progresses on the establishment of a democratic culture and the evolution of reform that allows the creation of a political system based on efficiency and transparency and fighting corruption and crime. Albania also plays an important role in maintaining regional stability, both multilateral and bilateral relations with the Balkan countries as the EU and neighboring countries.

- Development of relations between the EU and Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina has benefited from trade preferences since 1996, but institutionalized contacts with the EU have only started in June 1998. To identify the most important problems of the country in the SAP, the EU has published a roadmap setting out the 18 basic steps. The plan was completed in September 2002 and in 2003 the European Commission's Feasibility Study has negotiated an agreement on stabilization and association identifying the priorities of the country. In 2005 the European Commission recommended the Council to open negotiations on the creation of a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Negotiations on the SAA

began in November 2005. Thus Stabilization and Association Agreement was signed on June 16, 2008, after progress has been made in police reform, ICTY cooperation, public broadcasting reform and public administration.

On December 2, 2004 Operation EUFOR-Althea was launched, the most important EU-led military mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, carried out with planning capabilities, command and communications NATO under Berlin plus Agreements. The mission aims to maintain a secure environment to implement the provisions of the Dayton Agreement. After improving the security situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the EU Ministers of Defense in December 2006 decided to reduce EUFOR forces / Althea, from about 6000 to 2 500 soldiers.

EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM BiH) launched on January 1, 2003, the first civilian crisis management mission, which aimed to support the reform and modernization of police forces in Bosnia. Mission grants and assistance in training and in the fight against organized crime and corruption.

In December 2007, the Portuguese presidency report on ESDP emphasize that, although heavily promoted and supported the EUPM police restructuring, Bosnia and Herzegovina has made significant progress in this regard. However, despite the difficult domestic political situation were concluded agreements on the police level toward the fight against organized crime and have been institutionally reinforced especially the Investigation and Protection Agency of the State and Border Police. Following the assessment mission report, conducted by the head of the mission revealed that the mission has focused lately on fighting organized crime, including by strengthening cooperation between police and prosecutors. In this context, the Council decided that the mission will be extended until December 31, 2009.

- Development of relations between EU and Croatia

Until 2001, there were no contractual relations between the EU and Croatia because of war and the country's failure to comply with democratic requirements. Financial cooperation was limited to humanitarian assistance, support for democracy and support for reconstruction. In 2000 due to change of government in Croatia, it can get out of international isolation and to engage in SAP. Therefore, in 2001 Croatia signed Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU comes into force in February 2005. In January 2002, is signed an interim agreement in order to allow the entry into force of trade and trade-related matters of the SAA.

On February 21, 2003 Croatia was the first Western Balkan country has submitted an official application for EU membership. Following the positive opinion and recommendation from the European Commission in April 2004 the European Council decided that accession negotiations will be opened on March 17, 2005 when Croatia will fully cooperate with The Hague International Criminal Tribunal of the United Nations for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). However, in March 2005 the Council decided that Croatia did not cooperate fully with The Hague tribunal. Once this obstacle was removed, the accession negotiations with Croatia were officially opened on 3 October 2005.

After monitoring, in October 2006, sixteen negotiation chapters were opened and two provisionally closed until February 2008. Croatia's progress sends a signal to other Western Balkan countries on their accession prospects once they meet all conditions. Croatia in its accession process has to achieve further progresses on administrative and judicial reforms fight against corruption, minority rights and refugee return.

- Evolution of the EU with Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro

Since Serbia and Montenegro formed a union by referendum in May 2006, the evolution of relations with the EU will be treated here, until now, as a whole. At the beginning of the period covered by us to the conclusion of a European Partnership located, supported by Council of Ministers in June 2004 and implementation plan of the Partnership, presented by the Serbian-Montenegrin in December 2004.

Then came, in April 2005 the Commission report, it expressed the belief that the state union was now sufficiently prepared for SAA negotiations, which, moreover, have been started in October 2005. However, negotiations have all been broken, because, according to the EU, Serbia-Montenegro cooperation with the International Court of Justice in The Hague does not take place in satisfactory parameters.

In late January 2006, the European Partnership amended key priorities are, once again, cooperation with The Hague and dialogue with Pristine. And that cooperation with The Hague was not, according to the EU, satisfactory, the Union suspended in early May, SAA negotiations.

At the end of May 2006 Montenegro held a referendum on independence, in accordance with Article 60 of the Constitutional Charter of Serbia and Montenegro. Following the referendum and the subsequent declaration of independence by the Montenegrin Parliament, the EU Council on June 12, 2006 the conclusion states that "The EU and its Member States have decided to develop relations with Montenegro as a sovereign and independent". On 15 October 2007, Montenegro signed a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with the European Community and its Member States. An Interim Agreement on trade and related issues, which entered into force on 1 January 2008. Adopting a new constitution, the European standards and signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) has proven to be important steps for Montenegro and its relations with the EU.

On April 29, 2008 Serbia signed a Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union, which represented the first step towards membership. On July 7, 2008 a new government was formed, pro-European in Belgrade. The EU has encouraged the new Serbian government to maintain positive relations with the European Union and its Member States and adopt a constructive approach towards the European Union's efforts to contribute to peace and stability in the Balkans.

At the summit in The Salonika in June 2003 was confirmed that Kosovo is deeply rooted in the Stabilization and Association Agreement EU policy applied to the Western Balkans. On April 20, the European Commission adopted a Communication in Kosovo "A European Future for Kosovo", which reinforces the Commission's commitment to Kosovo. In addition, on 20 January 2006 the Council adopted a European Partnership for Serbia and

Montenegro, including Kosovo. European Partnership is the European Perspective for the Western Balkan countries within the Stabilization and Association Process. The recommendation was sent with the report from Ambassador Kai Eide, who concluded that, despite widespread corruption and ethnic tensions have made sufficient progress in institution building to ensure proper functioning of the Government of Kosovo and thus would be inadequate to stop the political dynamics. Security Council approved the Secretary-General's intentions. UN Secretary General K. Annan appointed former Finnish President Martti Ahtisaari as special representative to oversee the process. Thus began negotiations in Vienna on Kosovo's status.

ESDP mission in Kosovo has been an EU Planning Team for Kosovo (EU Planning Team for Kosovo - Kosovo EUPT) was established in April 2006. EUPT Kosovo mandate expired on 6/15/2008, with the entry into force of the Constitution of Kosovo Yves de Kermabon was appointed Head of ESDP Mission in Kosovo planning.

EULEX Kosovo mission was launched as a result of the Joint Action adopted by the Council on February 4, 2008 with three priority areas for action: police, justice and customs. In this respect, Mission in Kosovo will result in monitoring, advising the competent institutions of the executive responsibilities. EULEX Kosovo is, in terms of numbers and mandate (until 15 June 2010), the most important and complex EU civilian mission.

- Evolution of relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

The first trade and cooperation agreement with the European Union came into force in January 1998. In April 2001, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was the first country in the area which has signed a Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA). Agreement entered into force in April 2004. An interim agreement was signed in April 2001, allowing the entry into force of commerce and industry issues of ASA on June 1, 2002.

Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia faced a serious political crisis in 2001 because of insurgent violence that led to the deployment of a NATO mission. International military presence was provided by NATO until 31 March 2002, until the EU took over NATO's mission, the first military peacekeeping mission.

Successful completion of Operation Concordia, the first EU military mission launched in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and carried out with recourse to NATO assets and capabilities, on 18 March 2003 - December 15, 2003. Replacement in January 2006, the mission Proxima in FYROM to EU Police Advisory Team (Eupator), have an objective advice to ensure a smooth transition from ESDP instruments to community projects run by the European Commission

From December 2003 up to December 2005 was carried EUPOL PROXIMA mission (EU Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), a plan still in civilian Concordia mission to support local police in the fight against corruption and promotion of European standards.

Like the rest of the Balkans countries, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on 18 February 2008 has participate in EU accession process and identifies eight key

priorities, to demonstrate that it is ready to begin negotiations on accession it must respond to these priorities.

2.2. The EU complex and difficult relations with Russia

The EU relations with Russia naturally was established after the collapse of the USSR, the new state attempting to settle a solid connection with the most powerful economic actor in the western borders. In 1994 The Russia and UE signed a cooperation agreement, but due to the conflict in Chechnya, it will enter into force in 1997. Beyond economics, the EU - Russian Federation relations was focused on continental security issues, especially after 2001. In these conditions and including the project created in 2002-2003 of a Common European Economic Space, which involves developing a free trade zone between Russia and the EU after Russia's recognition as a functioning market economy in 2003. Common economic space established by the Conference of the St. Petersburg in 2003 cover four areas: economic, internal security, justice and culture. At the Moscow Summit next year, was reached an agreement to achieve a roadmap plan of the common area and on the specified size. In 2005, on the London Summit was evaluated the progress made on roadmap plan and there was registered a move from tactical understandings to cooperation agreements. The first tension EU - Russia takes place when it is discussed Russia's accession to WTO.

Anyway the, Russian Federation is a key partner for the European Union. Due to this fact for European Union the building a strategic partnership with Russia has a vital importance for various reasons. First, Russia is the largest neighbor of the Union, with a growing importance due also to EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007. The EU Security Strategy of 2003 emphasizes the fundamental role played by Russia on geopolitical level and for security, both globally and regionally. Russia is a key player in the UN Security Council and the European neighborhood policy. Energy security is also a defining element for relations between the EU and Russia, since Russia is a major supplier of energy to the European Union and it is expected that exports will continue to grow in coming years. Trade and investment relations with Russia are also a dynamic area of development. Russia is a vast market for goods and services from the European Union, which is experiencing a significant expansion and increased purchasing power, making it the third country trading partner of the European Union. On the other hand, the European Union market is by far the most important destination for exports from Russia. EU companies are major investors in Russia. (Bindi 2010, p. 121-128)

In light of the many differences and a number of unresolved issues, the European Commission show in May 2007 that will support Russia's accession to WTO, but not at any price, calling to display the real political view in order to overcome the last obstacles aroused. The Union intransigence was manifested especially in negotiations on energy, especially after the fact that the organization has increased its consumption of energy, and

Russia has built a transmission line to Germany via the Baltic Sea. The figures indicate a volume of Russian exports of raw materials in the EU for 70 percent.

Russia remains a major geopolitical actor. Thus, the EU and Russia bear a depth dialogue on global political issues, including resolving conflicts such as those in the Middle East, Afghanistan and the Western Balkans and preventing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and relevant technologies, such as in Iran and North Korea.

The main tools and instruments used by EU in its relation with Russia (Csaszi, July 2008):

Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) entered into force in 1997 for an initial period of 10 years, automatically extended each year after 2007. These establish the main goals, the institutional framework for bilateral contracts and require activities and dialogue in a number of areas. Partnership and Cooperation Agreement is based on the following principles and objectives: promoting peace and international security support for democratic norms and political and economic freedoms. It is based on the idea of a mutual partnership, aimed at strengthening the political, commercial, economic and cultural.

PCA provisions cover a wide range of policy areas including political dialogue, trade in goods and services, business and investment, financial and legal cooperation, science and technology, education and training, energy, nuclear technology and cooperation in space environment transport and culture.

In addition to the CPA in June 1999 the Council adopted a common strategy - the first application of this instrument under the common foreign and security policy established by Article 13 of the Treaty on European Union. The strategy gave priority to four areas of action (Csaszi, July 2008):

- Strengthening democracy, rule of law and public institutions in Russia;
- Integration of Russia into a common European economic and social space;
- Cooperation to strengthen stability and security in Europe and beyond;
- Common challenges on the European continent.

PCA established an institutional framework for regular consultations between the EU and Russia. It includes the summits of Heads of State and Government, held twice a year and defines the strategic direction of relations. At ministerial level, the Permanent Partnership Council (PPC), held meetings all the time it was necessary to discuss specific issues. Meetings were also held high-level officials and experts.

Political dialogue takes place in regular meetings of foreign ministers, senior officials meetings with their Russian counterparts of the Union, monthly meetings with the Russian ambassador to the EU Political and Security Committee Troika and the experts in a wide range of international issues. Since 2005, there are regular discussions on human rights issues.

Members of the European Parliament and members of the Russian Parliament (State Duma and Federation Council) meet regularly in the Committee on EU-Russia parliamentary cooperation and exchange views on topical issues. (Lynch Dove, December 24, 2011)

Since 1991, the EC technical assistance has been one of the most important programs to support the transition process in Russia. More recently, EC support was redirected to a limited number of areas to support institutional reforms in Russia and to achieve a systemic impact in key socio-economic areas related to the implementation of the CPA. Previous Tacis funding is now gradually replaced with funds provided through the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), even if relations with Russia are not related to the European Neighborhood Policy. ENPI funds are to implement the four common spaces. The support has been complemented by other EC instruments, such as the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights, humanitarian aid in Chechnya and cooperation in science and technology. The aim was also to improve coordination at all levels with the European Union Member States, international financial institutions and other major donors. (Vasconcelos 2011, p.47-49)

The EU-Russia summit held in Khanty-Mansiysk in June 2008, on which the parties agreed to commence negotiations on a new agreement to replace the existing PCA. The new agreement will reflect changes in political, economic and social, both products in the European Union and in Russia, the entry into force of the PCA, in 1997. EU negotiating mandate was adopted in May 2008 after significant reserves of Poland and Lithuania issued previously because of tensions arising in their bilateral relations with Russia. (The Political Department for Defense and Planning 2009 p. 38-39)

After the decline recorded by the conflict in Georgia in August 2008 and subsequent gas crisis in January 2009, the EU resumed its cooperation with Russia on the EU to promote the interests and values. It is in the interest of the EU that Russia strategic partner on the international stage; to further integrate in the international system based on a set of rules and cooperate on issues of global concern such as climate change, terrorism, organized crime and energy security. It is in their own interest that the EU and Russia to cooperate more closely together to effectively address many issues of global concern which occupies a privileged place on the agenda of the EU's CFSP, such as Iran, Middle East, Afghanistan and protracted conflicts in the common neighborhood. For this agenda to progress, the EU has opted for principle approach: seeking opportunities for developing relations with Russia where possible, but to our firm compliance where applicable.

EU-Russia dialogue on issues of international interest, both in bilateral and international forums, is wide and deep and has become increasingly open in recent years. In 2009, there were no fewer than 35 formal political dialogue meetings.

Negotiations on a new EU-Russia continued with five rounds conducted in 2009. As agreed in the joint declaration made at the EU-Russia summit EU-Russia in June 2008, aims to conclude a strategic agreement to provide a comprehensive framework for EU relations with Russia in the near future and contribute to development potential of these relationships. It should provide an enhanced legal framework and provide binding commitments legally covering all main aspects of the relationship, as are contained in the roadmaps of the four EU-Russia common spaces agreed at the meeting The Moscow Summit in May 2005. It is essential for the EU to ensure balanced progress in all areas of

negotiations, including the existence of strong provisions on trade and investment. (The EU General Secretary Council 2009 p.35-36)

External security, Russia has continued to contribute to EU military operation CSDP, EUFOR Chad / RCA with 4 helicopters and 120 personnel to the mission in March 2009. It was a good example of effective cooperation in crisis management. Another positive development as possible was the coordination with maritime mission CSDP, EUNAVFOR Atlanta to combat piracy off the Somali coast in 2009. Also, the Summit EU-Russia held in November 2009 in Stockholm, it was decided to re-launch exploratory talks on a framework agreement for the participation of Russia's participation in EU crisis management operations. In this regard, the first informal contacts took place in December 2009 and expect to continue them in 2010. (Csaszi, July 2008)

Human rights, democracy and rule of law, domestic developments in Russia and in 2009 represented a source of concern. This is especially the situation in North Caucasus. However, there have been some positive developments in Russia on human rights, including the ratification of Protocol 14 to the European Convention on Human Rights. In September 2009, President Medvedev has signed an executive order establishing office of Presidential Commissioner for the Rights of the Child.

2.3. The EU's relations with Mediterranean nonmember states

For Mediterranean neighborhood countries the European Union launched as known, the Barcelona Process (Euro-Mediterranean Partnership name) assigned by the Barcelona Declaration in November 1995, which represents the Mediterranean Dialogue for complementary elements objectives, including: the political and security partnership in order to create a common area of peace and stability, economic and financial partnership designed to establish a common area of prosperity, and a social, and cultural partnership, to increase exchanges between civil societies and the countries involved and, moreover, lead to the creation of a complete free trade by 2010.

An analysis made by the European Union on Euro-Mediterranean relations in spring 2007 in Brussels, said that it must be at a new threshold of quality, due to the strategic importance of the Mediterranean for the EU and highlighting the need of Mediterranean policy solidarity to face numerous common challenges and to achieve the objectives aimed at finalizing an area of peace, stability and shared prosperity. Commission emphasized in its recent imperative efforts to strengthen the ENP, the sensitive improvement of the impact of the partnership, finding new ways to deepen common relations, strengthening political dialogue and strengthening partner countries' integration into EU policies.

On these coordinates, we find the expected number of significant actions and decisions, such as (Bindi 2010, p. 169-179, Europa, July 2008):

- Budgetary and financial funds allocated by the EU countries to south and east of the Mediterranean Sea for the period 2007-2013, according to the maintenance of the importance of trade, economic and strategic relations with the EU regions;
- To create a Euro-Mediterranean energy market fully interconnected and integrated through the development and integration of energy markets in the Euro-Mediterranean and sub-Saharan and complete necessary energy infrastructure projects;
- It is necessary to establish a link between Euro-Mediterranean policy objectives, in particular, size and objectives of economic and financial relations with member countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council;
- Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Forum to become a Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly (EMPA) to strengthen the parliamentary dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean process, to increase overall dialogue between the two regions;
- Enhance the political dimension of the neighborhood to the south, given the increased complexity of relations with the Mediterranean where the Barcelona Process has been a significant step;

- To be re-launched and updated strategic and political objectives of the Barcelona Process, including the creation of networks of cooperation and promoting North-South regional integration and South-South;
- To confer a thematic dimension to the ENP, which is to continue to deepen trade and strengthen support for reforms that improve the regulatory environment and investment climate;
- To be checked on several aspects of the relationship between the ENP and the Euro-Mediterranean partnership, by adding new agreements and multilateral programs in energy and transport and strengthening existing ones;
- Vulnerability to consider Euro-Mediterranean region in terms of environment, climate change and develop an action plan on renewable energy for the region;
- To act to prevent the systematic destruction of natural resources and human potential, generated by various conflicts present a greater concentration of political and economic measures in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the five-year work program;
- Be fulfilled commitments under the Barcelona Declaration of 1995 on respecting diversity, beliefs and cultures of other people, promote tolerance, protection of fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression;
- Are respected international law to fight against terrorism, which does not justify stigmatization any culture, civilization or religion in particular;
- EU institutions and the Mediterranean partner countries to ensure that their strategic principles, political and economic take into account the goals of the Lisbon and Gothenburg strategy for sustainable development and sustainable development objectives Mediterranean strategy, having also , the need to reduce inequalities and disparities between the two shores of the Mediterranean;
- European strategy in the region to develop policies and major investments in financial resources and intra-regional partnership of added value of this strategy;
- To promote a common EU immigration and asylum and strengthening management of migration flows in a comprehensive and balanced, the benefit of people in the region Mediterranean;
- To achieve a gradual integration of Euro-Mediterranean energy markets, to meet the energy programs of common interest and to develop sustainable energy sources in line with national plans and programs and local communities;
- Enhance the energy security cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean region. Although the Arab world are the critical voices of reciprocal economic partnership process because it believes they would prove profound imbalance of the parties (it gives the example of Belgium, which has a GDP larger than that accounted for all the South Mediterranean involved), however, the gains of such initiatives are a remarkable extent, at least for Maghreb triangle.

Rationale of the initiative in question - neighbors sharing common prosperity of the benefits of democracy and peace - remains strong, as long as the EU will put into practice positive cooperation with its neighbors in economic, political, commercial, social, etc.

Wide theoretical discussion has occasioned by the launch of French President Nicolas Sarkozy (Krauss Stefan, December 16, 2011), after installation in office of a personal vision on the ENP, by creating in the southern European of a Mediterranean Union, which will bring new challenges in development cooperation between Member States. The idea of a Mediterranean Union, aimed for the SEE association with the countries on the other side, follows the example of Central European Initiative, Initiative for South East Europe Cooperation Initiative (SECI), the Council of Baltic States (CBSS), etc. The proposal has caused irritation for Turkey, which, by bringing the proposed new Union states, see dropped the possibility of its EU accession. Finally, intense diplomatic efforts of France, where Germany has cooperated, have led to approval by the European Council in Brussels on 13 March 2008, the transformation of the Barcelona Process in the "Union for the Mediterranean". (Vasconcelos, June 2010, p.44-46) The new structure is an adaptation of the Barcelona Process to the current reality, and it must be officially launched at a summit expected to take place in July at Paris. Initial proposal to the French president, who looked only links with the South European countries on the southern shores of the Mediterranean initiative "Union for the Mediterranean". New "Union" relations with Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey, and Libya as observer, will focus primarily on the following areas:

- Improvement of energy supply;
- Mediterranean pollution control;
- Strengthening supervision of traffic and civil security cooperation;
- Creation of a Mediterranean Erasmus exchange program for students;
- Creating a scientific community between Europe and its southern neighbors.

Following discussions on the initiative, it was decided that its projects are financed from additional sources, private sector and management structure is composed of two directors responsible for coordinating cooperation between the EU and partner countries - one from member countries EU and other non-European Mediterranean countries - appointed two years.

The EU established a bilateral link with each Mediterranean country. In this context the main importance had the Association Agreement signed by EU with Egypt in 2004, with Algeria in 2005, with Israel in 2000, with Jordan in 2002, with Lebanon in 2006, with Morocco in 2000, with Palestinian authority the EU signed an interim agreement in 1997, with Tunisia in 1998, with Turkey 1996, the bilateral cooperation programs between Syria and EU had been suspended in May 2011 under the MEDA/ENPI instruments and to suspend all preparations for new bilateral cooperation. The EU also will not take further steps with regard to the Association Agreement that had been negotiated with Syria. This EU reaction was due to the violent repression by Syrian authority of the anti-governmental protest which occurred in Syria on mid-March 2011. (Krauss, July 2008, European Union External Action, December 2011)

3. International Relations of EU with the other countries

3.1. Iran- multilevel engagement

This chapter emphasizes the real soft power application by the EU against Iran, in case of Iran it was clear from the beginning that its activity may cause a new war and for EU was very important to avoid it. Iran became a very dangerous due to its nuclear issue but EU decided that is easier to apply against Iran a series of rules reducing its nuclear activity, and giving the EU countries the power of monitoring and controlling over this issue in Iran. In this conditions the Europe and the US when dealing with Iran on the nuclear issue, was demanding a greater transparency from the Iranian government with regard to its nuclear technology program. (Ruth and Mauriello 2005-2010, p.4-8)

In the late '90s to try a close engagement with Iran to the European continent, has tried more formal contractual relationships but these attempts were abandoned due to outbreak of political and diplomatic crisis on developing secret nuclear program.

Nuclear issue is in the last six years, the main topic of discussion and of worsening EU-Iran relationship. Iran's nuclear program began in mid 1970, because, first of all assistance provided by Western countries (West Germany, France and USA).

In 2001 the EU made an evaluation in perspectives and conditions to make a closer relationship with Iran, admitting for the first time the possibility that the Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) might be concluded. A mandate for such an agreement was given to the Commission at the Luxembourg Council on 17 June 2002. The said mandate was also linked to success in the field of human rights, Iran's nuclear issues and counter-terrorism. As seen from a more close perspective, the negotiations over a TCA were Commission-driven whereas the EU presidency led the negotiations for a Political Dialog Agreement (PDA), both agreements reinforcing one another. That means that, if Iran is able to change their negative policies in the areas which concerns EU, than EU from its side would agree on a generous TCA. But in 2002, it also deepens the crisis between Tehran and the international community, due to non compliance of Iran's Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and safeguards agreement was ratified by Iran and that no nuclear weapon states undertake not to acquire nuclear weapons and agree to be subject to various controls. However, a series of reports prepared by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on the application of the safeguard agreement has accused Iran's uranium enrichment to be designed to develop nuclear weapons and not for purposes of energy, in other words the goal of developing a

military nuclear program rather than a civilian. In 2003 negotiations were suspended on a trade agreement between the EU and Iran was suspended due to lack in many cases ranging from terrorism and human rights in conflict Arab-Israeli and ADM.

In the second half of 2003, was created an informal direction from Italy, Britain, Germany and France in charge of diplomatic negotiations with Tehran. The EU Member States have taken the lead in the efforts to reach an understanding with Iran, offering a number of guarantees regarding the peaceful nature of its nuclear activities. When the Foreign Ministers of Europe's "Big Three" (France, Germany and UK) seized the initiative in October 2003 and visited Teheran. They made it clear that Iran should suspend uranium enrichment and allow intrusive inspections of the IAEA by signing the Additional Protocol to the NPT. In return they assured Teheran, that Europe will continue the dialogue with Iran and, furthermore, will offer a huge package of economic incentives. With the support of EU High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, to November 15, 2003 E3/EU has reached an agreement with Iran on full suspension of all enrichment and reprocessing activities and negotiations on agreements long-term. Agreement shall be known as the Paris Agreement. In mid-December 2003 Iran signed an additional protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), accepting more detailed inspections of all its nuclear equipments. However, when the initiative was launched it was supported by Javier Solana, the High Representative of EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy and other member states of EU. The EU-3/EU formula becomes EU's main policy tool in its effort to engage with Iran.

In June 2004, the European Union has made clear desire to closer cooperation with Iran's nuclear program, the existence of terrorist threats, lack of respect for human rights and Iran's opposition to any step in the direction of Israeli –Palestinian conflict settlement. Therefore in November 2004, at the Paris was agreed to freeze the entire uranium enrichment program on a long-term until a common agreements in settlement of existing problems will be found. Also, on "Paris Agreement" was reaffirmed the commitment of both sides, on the NPT. Under the terms of this agreement the Iran has to stop seeking the acquirement on nuclear weapons and The E3/EU recognizes the Iran's right under the NPT. This agreement provides objectives guarantees for Iran's peaceful intentions as well as firm guarantees on cooperation and commitments on security issues. In this frame Iran confirmed its determination to combat terrorism, and agreed to cooperate over Iraq. In this terms the both acts, Iran's signing the Additional Protocol and the voluntary suspension of the enrichment, are widely accepted as serious concessions made by Islamic Republic. From E3/EU turns under this situation, had to accept the agreement on long-term arrangements.

In August 2005, following the appointment of Mr. Ahmadinejad as president and after rejecting a proposal from the E3/EU on a framework for long-term agreement, Iran announced it would resume uranium conversion - an activity related to enrichment process. In early 2006, Iran has continued uranium enrichment. IAEA reported the case to the UN Security Council, which urged Iran to stop sensitive nuclear activities. In June 2006, a package of incentives and warnings was presented by Mr. Solana to Iran on behalf of the

EU, the P-5 and Germany. Against the backdrop of a continuing failure to find a diplomatic solution, the UN Security Council in UNSC resolution 1737 of December 27, 2006, Iran decided to impose a series of limited sanctions. Also, in mid-June 2006, the E3/EU formulated a proposal in Vienna including trade concessions and assistance with Iran's civilian nuclear program in exchange of which Teheran would stop the enrichment process of uranium. At the end of the year, the Iranian leadership rejected the Vienna proposal and the EU went open, stating it was considering sanctions within the UN framework. Then, in December 2006, the UN passed unanimously a resolution asking Tehran to stop its nuclear activities. The scope of sanctions was expanded by UNSC resolution 1747 of March 24, 2007 and by UNSC resolution 1804 of March 3, 2008.

In applying these sanctions and other further sanctions, the EU, however, continues to seek a negotiated solution. In June 2008, Mr. Solana, also acting on behalf of the EU, the P-5 and Germany, Iran presented a revised set of incentives and a somewhat extended. Meanwhile, the human rights situation in Iran deteriorated further. EU criticizes harshly, among others, frequent recourse to the death penalty.

A European Parliament delegation for relations with Iran seeks progress in this state, and international relations with Iran. EU-Iran inter-parliamentary meetings were held in Brussels in 2006 and in Tehran in 2007. Human rights issues regarding Iran are also addressed by the Subcommittee on Human Rights of the European Parliament.

Parliament supported the E3/EU. In its resolution of February 15, 2006 it declared that the nuclear issue should be resolved in accordance with international law and we should make efforts to sign a comprehensive agreement that takes into account Iran's security concerns. Under the resolution, a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East could mean an important step to address security concerns of countries in the region. Resolution of January 31, 2008 clearly rejected the idea of undertaking military action and regime change policies. Resolution 1803 in March 2008, was calling for a financial freeze of individuals' assets deemed to be involved in the nuclear program as well as increasing vigilance over two Iranian banks found to be connected to the proliferation efforts. All members of the Security Council, except Indonesia, voted in favor of the new Resolution, with the Iranian spokesperson accusing the international community of acting outside international law.

The ongoing unrest and turmoil following in June 2009 show, yet again, that the course of domestic politics in Iran is too volatile to be easily predicted. The primary focus in Europe and the US when dealing with Iran has been on the nuclear issue, demanding greater transparency from the Iranian government with regard to its nuclear technology program. The present strategy consists of the so-called dual track approach. This entails pursuing sanctions against Iran for its violations of the Non-Proliferation Treaty while trying to engage the country diplomatically. This approach has so far produced three Security Council resolutions admonishing, threatening and sanctioning Iran on its less-than-perfect track record in complying with IAEA demands. These sanctions have at best slowed down

parts of Iran's nuclear program but have not changed the impetus driving it and hence not diminished Iran's motivation to continue. (Vasconcelos, June 2010, p. 56)

The nuclear issue is one of the most important subjects of discussion within the European Union and its strategic partners, due to the fact that this issue can turn in a huge conflict in Middle East which in the end will involve all European countries. As a result of the fact that the relationship between the EU and Iran is based on mutual mistrust and misunderstanding, we can admit that the EU belief that pushing for a suspension will induce Tehran to sit at the negotiating table for good, abandoning the idea of enriching uranium, and, on the other, Western understandings of the relevance of the nuclear issue in Iran. Also, the EU has activated its diplomatic force in order to avoid US unilateral military strikes against the Islamic Republic, but it has accepted US demands of a suspension of uranium enrichment as a pre-condition for talks with Tehran, which in Washington is considered a sine die suspension, while for Tehran any suspension is time-limited. The EU launched its diplomatic initiatives because it wanted to offer an opportunity to Iran to address international concerns. The EU objective was to give the Iran the possibility to build the international confidence giving the idea of safety that the nuclear program is exclusively for peaceful purposes, and to start develop a secure relationship between EU and Iran. The need for Iran to build international confidence has been and continues to be the heart of the matter. It was Iran's agreement to suspend all uranium enrichment in turns the EU will handle the issue within the IAEA framework, rather than to refer it to the Security Council. The Iranian issue is based on the principle of long-term agreement. This issue can be solved only in time and only by diplomatic conversations between EU and its international partners for one side, and Iran on other side, also must be involved programs and instruments which will help to take the necessary action for maintaining the stability and peace in Middle East region. (Gliere 2007, p. 14-16)

3.2. Africa- strategies and partnership for long term development

It is known that Africa was the only continent where the EU was concerned since its establishment in 1957, and which benefited by the Treaty of Rome for financial support through the creation of the European Fund for Development (FED), the main instrument for Community aid for the African continent (now extended to other countries in the Caribbean and Pacific). In this approach the long-term community has been improved from one stage to other activities, actions, tools and methods of cooperation. Compared to the huge changes that Africa supported in these periods, the efforts always proved to be insufficient.

At the General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) was adopted a common position in regard to support operations and prevention of violent conflicts in Africa (January 2004) and was adopted an Action Plan to support peace and security in Africa (November 2004). The Action Plan aims to rebuild capacity, support in planning, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants (DDR), security sector reform (SSR). At the European Council in December 2005 launched an EU strategy for Africa, the strategy is the framework document on partnership with the African Union, including ESDP. EU Strategy for Africa provides inter alia: the need for an integrated approach (ESDP coordination tools, the means available to the Commission and Member States approaches), in support of African development capabilities, including the African Standby Force - African Standby Force, the association of African states Code of Conduct on arms exports, inserting provisions relating to UN resolution 1325 and a paragraph dedicated to children in armed conflict. (Douaud and Caprile, July2008)

The EU-Africa partnership materializes, also by carrying out more missions - operations on the African continent, such as: Artemis DR Congo, EUFOR RD Congo, EUSEC RD Congo, EUPOL RD Congo, and Guinea Bissau EUSSR. Simultaneously, the EU has supported the African Union in Sudan / Darfur (AU) through a package of financial resources, logistics and the decision to engage in military crisis management operation in Chad and Central African Republic. In addition to the EU's commitment to the African continent, took place in December 2007, the Lisbon EU-Africa summit where they were adopted EU-Africa Joint Strategy and Action Plan 2008-2010 for implementation. Also, topics such as, strengthening peace and security architecture in Africa and peacekeeping capacities in Africa were discussed at their meeting in Brussels in September 2008 between representatives of the Political and Security Council of the EU and representatives of Peace and Security at the African Union. The meeting was highlighted the need for progress in specific areas, especially in the African Standby Force the creation and operational/certification provided for 2010. African continent are among the priorities of

the EU CFSP agenda. It is estimated that, with the launch in 2003 of the Artemis operation in DR Congo, the crisis outbreaks in Africa has become one of the favorite areas of ESDP action. DR Congo has remained ever since one of the centers of interest of EU policy in Africa, where they were held three distinct operations. Africa is also one of the areas to materialize the cooperation between the EU and the UN, the best example being support for MONUC in the DR Congo 2003/Artemis and 2006/EUFOR DR Congo.

The EU missions in Africa (The Political Department for Defense and Planning 2009, p. 30-32):

The European Union is involved in the transition process in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the community type instruments (financial assistance for development) and the military missions, security and police. Various activities of the Union in R.D. Congo are conducted in close coordination with the EU Special Representative for the Great Lakes. The first autonomous EU military mission was launched in Africa, in DR Congo. Based on the UNO request for the forced peacekeeping support by the UN, the EU decided to launch a military autonomous called "Artemis". The objective of the operation was to provide a temporary stabilization forces until the arrival of a strengthened peacekeeping force of the UN (MONUC). The mission was a rapid response type, under time pressure to answer the EU, representing a useful opportunity for practical verification mechanisms and procedures. Successfully satisfying the criteria regarding decision-making, operational planning and rapid deployment and actual deployment and retrieval of theater force elements were useful for further project development battle groups. The mission, launched in June 2003 and completed in September of the same year, France had the national framework, which has provided operational command structures and force command. The level of force was 2,000 soldiers (mostly, 1700 were French soldiers). At the mission also contributed other EU Member States and third countries (Brazil, Canada and South Africa).

In December 2003 the EU Council decided to support UN action in DR Congo, the creation of an Integrated Police Unit (IPU) comprising representatives of all Congolese political factions. In late 2004, the EU decided to launch a police mission (EUPOL Kinshasa) to support the Integrated Police Unit activity (IPU). EUPOL Kinshasa mission's mandate ended on 30 June 2007, but the EU support continued from July 1, 2007 by a new ESDP police mission in security sector reform - EUPOL RD Congo. The initial mandate of the mission was until July 1, 2008, but then was extended up to June 30, 2009. EU support will be solely advisory in order to increase the coordination capacity of the Congolese police, maintaining order and public safety responsibility belonging to the Congolese authorities. From July 1, 2007 new Police Mission in security sector reform - "EUPOL RD Congo 'mission took work over EUPOL Kinshasa. From that time, the mission has contributed significantly to the preparation steps to reform the Congolese national police. Composition: 39 international agencies focused on the police, justice, and an expert on human rights.

EUSEC RD Congo is another EU mission in DR Congo, to support the process security sector reform in this country. The mission, launched in June 2005, had an initial mandate of one year, after the mission was extended successively, with a mandate up to the end of June 2009. Despite the tense situation in the east of the country, continued efforts in security sector reform. EUSEC RD Congo has contributed to defining a future model for the Armed Forces of DR Congo. Today, at the request of the Congolese Minister of Defense, Chain of payments project was extended to all Congolese army.

"EUFOR RD Congo", in the context of the UN request, on March 23, 2006 UE council approved the launch of a task force supporting UN peacekeepers in DR Congo (MONUC) during the electoral process (from June to October 2006). The PSC meeting was agreed the name operation "EUFOR RD Congo", and functions of the operation commander - Lieutenant General Karlheinz Viererk (Germany) and the EU Force Commander - General Major Christian Damayanti (France). The mission was autonomous, operational command is provided by Germany (Potsdam), and force headquarters (FHQ) was in Kinshasa. The concept of deploying a component operation provided about 1,000 troops in DR Congo and a reserve battalion level (stationed in Gabon).

In parallel, the European Commission held an election observation mission (EOM). Head of Mission: General Morillon, Member of Parliament. The mission had a total of 250 people, and 100 long-term observers, including 16 observers from third countries, Norway, Switzerland and Canada, 150 short term observers - recruited locally.

It was intended to launch a single mission of advice and assistance in security sector reform (SSR) in DR Congo. SSR concept is currently implemented by the two distinct missions, by extending their mandates (EUPOL RD Congo EUSEC DRC).

In addition to commitments from the Great Lakes, the EU civil-military operation carried out in close cooperation with other Community instruments of the Union in the Darfur region of Sudan. The region is still marked by a profound humanitarian crisis affecting over 2 million people, caused by the conflict between rebel fractions and the Sudanese authorities. The mission was launched in coordination with NATO contingents are designed to support the African Union (AU), AMIS I and II, in Darfur. EU mission to support the AU in Sudan / Darfur began in July 2005 and aimed to assist and support to African Union (AU) forces in the political, military and police framework in order to stabilize the situation in Darfur. On June 12, 2007 representatives of UN, AU and Sudanese government have reached agreement on implementing the hybrid force AU / UN (approx. 20,000 military and civilian) beginning from 2008. On June 31, 2007 the UN Security Council authorized by Resolution no. 1769/2007 the deployment of 20 000 people in a joint hybrid operation UN / AU in Darfur (UNAMID). The hybrid force is the last step in a process in three parts for building peace in Darfur. According to the UN resolution, dated from December 31, 2007 AMIS is incorporated into UNAMID mission. EU Special Representative in Sudan had a key role in coordinating EU support for AU and other regional actors.

EU military operation in Chad and Central African Republic, EUFOR Chad / RCA, on a France proposal, the EU Council has approved the launch of an ESDP military operation in Chad and Central African Republic, to secure the contact area with Sudan. After approval of crisis management concept (CMC) and the Joint Action (September 2007) was passed to the operational planning phase. The action proposed by France is conducted under resolution 1778 (2007) Security Council, EU forces will deploy to prepare the conditions for taking the UN mission. Operations contribute to the protection of refugees, humanitarian assistance and help facilitate the creation of conditions for voluntary return of displaced population. Mission is limited in time (one year), since achieving initial operational capability (IOC) March 15, 2008 achieved with a clear strategy and a closing well defined mandate, lack of coordination with non-UN humanitarian organizations, institutional and government, including the involved Chad and African authorities.

Following the adoption by the UN SC resolution 1834, have been demarcated preparations for a follow-up after EUFOR Chad / RCA, namely the transition to a UN mission expected for March 2009. In this context, close cooperation was established between the General Secretariat in Brussels at Mont Valerian Operational Command and DPKO in New York. Beginning the third autonomous EU military operation in Africa is estimated that the success of the mission will enhance the EU's credibility as a global actor on the one hand, and test the EU's capacity as a security provider in sub-Saharan Africa, on the other part.

In May, 2007, the EU Council and European Commission have considered a possible option to launch an ESDP advice and assistance for security sector reform in Guinea Bissau. In this regard, was approved in December 2007, the Crisis Management Concept (CMC) for the conduct of ESDP missions. The mission is part of the overall support of the EU to strengthen peace and security in Africa and is complementary COM activities carried out by the European Development Fund (EDF).

Mission objective is to provide advice and assistance to local authorities in security sector reform, in close cooperation with the UN and other international actors. The mission has a term of 12 months and consists about of 15 military advisers and civilian senior (army, police, justice). They provide the conditions necessary for the implementation of SSR. Currently, EU SSR Guinea Bissau has a mandate until May 2009, with the possibility of being extended.

EU support operation in Somalia, Atlanta. The UN Resolution 1816 to 1808 requires Member States to enhance coordination of efforts to discourage acts of maritime piracy, which has intensified in recent years near the coast of Somalia. Also, CS UN expressed concern about the threat that piracy and armed robbery committed to transported humanitarian aid to Somalia, the safety of commercial maritime routes and international navigation for proper. The mission was officially launched at the GAERC meeting on 10 November 2008. Since December 2008 the mission became operational. Maritime operation ATALANTA is the first EU mission led by ESDP, some Member States contributed with forces and capabilities to the EUNAVFOR

3.3. Afghanistan and Pakistan: making the civilian approach work. The Middle

East: a case for EU autonomy

The European Union involvement in global security method, strategies and objectives development necessary for countries in the Middle East, which will then create a climate of stability and prosperity on the continent and around the world. An important step in this direction was the Barcelona Process of the European Council in June 2004 in Brussels which established a Strategic Partnership EU - Middle East. The meeting approved the report on "Strategic Partnership between the European Union the Middle East" initiative which will enhance cooperation between the parties, will promote peace, prosperity and progress in the region and which is based on instruments Barcelona Process. Specifically, the launch of this partnership is the enforcement of the EU's overall strategy for the region, which will definitely make future EU action, contributing to complementary, but independent, the U.S. initiative called "Greater Middle East".

This strategy has several directions: strategic partnership to attract mainly the countries of North Africa and the Middle East; the desire for partnership is the cornerstone of the strategy and the strategy takes into account the particularities and needs of each country in the region, without the objective to apply a single method; strategy to address the concerns of the region, taking into account the issue of conflict in the Middle East in Iraq; strategy to encourage progress towards democracy and respect human rights, to achieve a long-term commitment, coherent, firmly implemented and pragmatism.

Targets and key-priorities of the EU regarding the Middle East (Vasconcelos, June 2010, p.53-55):

- Promoting a common area of peace, prosperity and progress, maintaining close relationships, based on cooperation and responding to requests coming from the region, on the extent possibilities.
- Complete resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict will be a strategic priority. Making progress in the Middle East peace process should not be a precondition for reforms in the region and vice versa. All the two dimensions of this process must be pursued in partnership with the same determination.
- The EU will use the partnership dialogue to express its position regarding human rights and rule of law. In the same time, it was promoted the cooperation actions in the fight against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction and non-proliferation.
- The EU will work with regional partners to support reforms in the economic, political and social engagement through, along with public and civil interventions

and taking into account the relevant relationships defined by UNDP on human development in terms of education, fundamental freedoms and strengthening women's rights

- The Regulation framework modernization and imports and exports liberalization will enable the EU to press for adherence to WTO countries in the region, which will help to improve business environment.
- The EU will cooperate closely with the United States, the UN and other external factors in achieving these objectives. The EU targets are expected to be completed by the Euro-Atlantic Partnership, in cooperation with Russia and other stakeholders of the region and from the region. U.S. intervention in Iraq and the coalition and opposition members of the EU countries (Germany, France, and Belgium) to such a solution created some problems in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership for the Middle East, but questioned the effectiveness and its need. There are also inconsistencies and lack of Euro-Atlantic unity in the Arab-Israeli conflict, considered essential for stability in the Middle East. Although some of these differences are likely to be resolved, the implementation of the objectives of the EU Strategic Partnership with the Middle East is not easy. There is a European political will for the work of a strategic partnership with the Middle East.

One of the keys to resolving the Middle East is the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Here things are not progressing very much between the EU and the U.S. there are some inconsistencies in the effective resolution of hostilities. But the EU pays special attention to resolve the conflict in the proximity of its borders. In this regard, the Council and appointed an EU representative for Middle East peace process. Meanwhile, the EU reaffirms its commitment for reconstruction of the region, the lack of a clear perspective regarding peace which means that the chances of success of reforms that the EU wants in this area are minimal.

Europe sees more than the most serious threats to the European continent and beyond, it are the absence of democracy and prosperity in the Middle East. European Union, believe that the long decline of demography was confronted with destabilization caused by rapidly growing Muslim population, the proximity of the twin social chaos, economic and political disintegration Arab neighbors. A democratic Middle East politically and economically would therefore be the most logical solution to European issues, which would end the massive influx of illegal immigration and would stop the radicalization of Muslim enclaves in Europe, bringing economic prosperity in the future partners, open trade and investment ideas. Although the project of democratization of the Middle East - the solution par excellence of economic and security problems in Europe - had to be developed and proposed by the U.S., Europe must continue to support the democratization of the Middle East, because it has a vital interest. (Ioannides, September 2011)

The EU participation in the missions regarding the Middle East (The Political Department for Defense and Planning 2009, p.32-34)

Participation in EU Assistance Mission at Rafah border point, EU BAM Rafah, the first EU security mission in the Middle East, was launched in November 2005 when it was

opened and the border at Rafah, in the context of Israeli withdrawal in Gaza. Mission objectives consist in monitoring, verifying and assessing the compliance of the Palestinian authorities on border control rules, institutional capacity building in the management of the frontier, and implementation of the link with the EU Police Mission in Palestinian Territories. Mission, with an initial duration of 12 months, consisting of about 70 civilian experts, is headed by Alain Fugeras who took the mission from Major General Pietro Pistolese. After closing the Rafah border point on 14 June 2007 (following the takeover of Gaza by Hamas), the mission has suspended operations, leaving the stand by ready at any time for activation / deployment. Following the EU commitment in the area of 10 November 2008 Council adopted Joint Action extending the mission until November 2009. Police deployment in the Palestinian Territories (EU COPPS) - EU coordination office support Palestinian police (iunie2006 - June 2009), the first Middle East mission with a civilian character, in which the EU supports the Palestinian Authority in improving the civil police and enforcement capacity law and order, assist in the implementation of the Palestinian Civil Police Development and counseling and support for judicial reform.

EUJUST LEX deployment, civilian mission to strengthen the rule of law in Iraq (1 July 2005-30 June 2006), developing Iraqi police and legal system, providing assistance and training in EU Member States or in the mission area 1800 provided training for judges, prosecutors, senior police officers and the Iraqi prison system (coordinated mission of 16 experts in Brussels and 5 officials in Baghdad, the Iraqi authorities related functions). In this sense, are concerned, primarily the needs expressed by the Iraqi side. Head of Mission Stephen White is a former British police officer. Mandate was extended until 30 June 2009.

This chapter is also analyzing the EU position and its involvement regarding countries that are engaged in the war conflicts, such as Afghanistan and Pakistan. The situation in these countries is more than unfavorable, and the main interest of EU is to manage these conflicts up to their ends.

The EU reaffirms its commitment to build strong long-term partnership with Pakistan and to support democratic institutions and the civilian government of Pakistan and civil society. The EU expresses its determination that it will be based on shared interests and values. It should address a wide range of issues, including economic and commercial cooperation and providing humanitarian assistance and development, regional and global security issues, human rights and the rule of law and issues related to migration, including illegal immigration. Regarding the ratification of the ICCPR and CAT to Pakistan, the EU takes note of Pakistan's intention to withdraw formally many of its reserves.

As the EU's partnership with Pakistan develops and should balance the increasingly more and more interests and concerns of both partners. Thus, while the EU is ready to continue cooperation in several areas, also rely on Pakistan's response to EU concerns, particularly security and human rights, including protection of minorities and freedom of religion and expression. Also, in the absence of structural reforms, economic and fiscal scale EU assistance cannot be fully effective.

EU fully recognizes the fact that Pakistan has made huge efforts to ensure the security and stability in the region. It strongly encourages Pakistan to intensify efforts to combat

terrorism and extremism. EU cooperates with Pakistan on capacity building in law enforcement and judicial police. Contribution to the political process led Pakistan to Afghanistan to tackle the conflict in Afghanistan will be essential, the EU welcomed recent talks between the two governments. (Vasconcelos, June 2010, p.62-64)

The EU is Pakistan's largest trading partner, accounting for more than 20% of Pakistan's total trade. Since the beginning of its cooperation with Pakistan in 1976, the Commission has granted more than EUR 500 million for projects and programs. In 2007-2013, the EU will provide about 398 million EUR for development and economic cooperation with Pakistan. (Peral, September 2010) Also, The EU remains committed to the European Council Declaration of 16 September 2010 on, inter alia, better market access for Pakistan. The EU has made substantial efforts to achieve a consensus within the WTO for a waiver request that Pakistan be given a limited reduction of duties on imports for the major EU market. Council reiterates its commitment to Pakistan's eligibility for GSP since 2014, with the condition to provide necessary criteria. In this context, Pakistan should continue effective implementation of international conventions listed in the rules of the EU GSP.

The EU relations with Afghanistan firmly comply with international community relations with Afghanistan and its reconstruction efforts. The main pillar on EU-Afghanistan political relation is based on reconstruction and development aid. The Commission is about to meet Tokyo commitment from 2002 on granting 1 billion Euros as assistance for reconstruction in 2002-2006. Overall, the EU is the second largest donor to Afghanistan after the United States. The main contribution of the European Parliament was the budget, maintaining a focus on reconstruction, demining and electoral support. EP sent a delegation to Afghanistan in September 2005 to observe the national elections. (Gliere 2007, p.30-31)

EU reiterates its firm commitment to Afghanistan and to the process of development and transition in the period until the end of 2014, when responsibility for security of Afghan authorities fully recover. These issues are a priority for the EU. The EU notes that there should be proper coordination between security transition and sustainable progress in governance, rule of law and development.

For long-term EU commitment to achieve, especially those concerning security, the EU should ensure that support for Afghanistan's development can be offered throughout the safety conditions. Moreover, the Afghanistan have to take steps to strengthen the democratic institutions of good governance, including oversight by elected bodies at national and sub national levels, especially transfers and use of public funds. The independent role of parliament, the judiciary and the audit authorities should be respected and strengthened gradually. Council expresses concern about the lack of progress in governance, rule of law and combating corruption and calls on the Government of Afghanistan to demonstrate a firm leadership role in meeting commitments conference in Kabul in July 2010. Council noted that these issues will play a major role in ensuring a successful transition, and irreversible and building long-term commitment to Afghanistan by the international community. International Conference on Afghanistan in Bonn on 5 December 2011, the international community will evaluate the process, will establish long-term international commitment basis and will hold talks on the political process in

Afghanistan and its regional aspects. Progress on previous commitments made by Afghanistan is relevant to this debate. Have adequate resources available to finance future EU action in Afghanistan, including a coordinated implementation of EU Action Plan, both the EU and the Member States. As stated in the plan will also be important for the EU and Member States to coordinate their activities more development in relation to the priorities identified by the Afghan government. However, the EU expects the international community and Afghanistan, to meet these challenges. It is therefore especially important that coordination mechanisms such as Joint Council for coordination and monitoring to increase its effectiveness and the UNAMA to continue to be central. The EU recognizes the need for coordination on the ground with other international actors, including NATO-led Afghanistan to meet their common objectives (Vasconcelos, June 2010) p. 62-64).

Production and trafficking of drugs and precursors remain a major threat to stability and good governance in Afghanistan and continues to be an important source of revenue for insurgents. These have a direct impact on areas such as agriculture, health and police and negatively affect the development of legal economic alternatives to opium cultivation, which are more favorable to the entire population of Afghanistan. In this direction, the EU urges the Afghan authorities to continue to address these issues in a holistic way and also asked the international community to increase cooperation, including regional and Pact of Paris - UNODC. The EU stands ready to support these efforts as necessary.

The EU remains committed to supporting the Afghan police and contributes to improving the quality of services it provides. Council will look at how the EU can best achieve this and, as part of this process, the Council decided to consider a strategy for EUPOL AFGHANISTAN post-2013 EU Member States intend to engage with government Afghanistan, the issues of migration, particularly in combating and preventing illegal migration and to strengthen cooperation on return and readmission.

EU Police Mission in Afghanistan's civil-On 30 May 2007, the Council adopted Joint Action EU launched EUPOL Afghanistan.(The Political Department for Defense and Planning 2009 p.33-34) Operational phase of the mission started on June 15, 2007, the mission with a mandate of three years. The strategic objective of the mission is to contribute to under Afghan authority, the civil police arrangements are effective and robust, designed to be able to interact with the Afghan justice system in line with international standards. EUPOL Afghanistan is working closely with EU Special Representative, with Afghan and international parties to the restructuring of the Afghan police. Experts and advisers are held at the Ministry of Interior and police officials besides. Head of Mission is Jürgen Scholz (Germany), who replaced Friedrich Eichele (Germany). During the donor conference held in Paris, on 06/12/2008, J. Solana stressed the EU's support provides the reconstruction of Afghanistan. He also recalled the EU's commitment to double the numbers EUPOL Afghanistan. Years 2009 and 2010 when there will be presidential and parliamentary elections are of paramount importance to Afghanistan. Despite difficult security conditions on the ground, it is imperative that these elections take place under optimum conditions for the Afghan people to restore confidence in democracy and the Afghan government to prove that functions.

4. The EU main strategic partnerships.

4.1. The strategic partnership with USA

The onset of the transatlantic relationship was made immediately after the Second World War, when political and economic ties in Europe and the U.S. have grown bigger. This process was accelerated by the fall of the Berlin Wall; the European continent became the most important partner of the U.S. business world. In 1990, the U.S. and the European Community adopted a Declaration Transatlantic, stipulating the need to strengthen economic and political ties. Free movement of goods and at the same time maintaining the interests of the European Union is one of the main goals of the Union, trade relations with the U.S. The U.S. and European Union have an important role in international forums such as the World Trade Organization (WTO). The desire to reach agreements stronger summits is not observed only in the international economy, but the obtained results and the program to help countries in Eastern Europe.

In December 1995, these relations had gained a higher speed by implementing the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA), accompanied by an EU Joint Action Plan - United States, which applies in 50 specific areas. New Agenda offers both parties the opportunity to join forces, to achieve four important objectives: promoting peace, development and democracy around the world, responding to global challenges, contribute to the development of world trade to closer economic relations, building bridges between the two sides of the Atlantic. The action plan contains more than 150 areas where the EU and the U.S. have established a bilateral cooperation and multilateral one. To promote peace and stability, the EU and the U.S. is committed to working to develop a stable and prosperous Europe. Collaboration and joint reconstruction focuses on countries in the former Yugoslavia, democratic and economic reforms in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, Ukraine and other former Soviet republics, peace in the Middle East and common action on issues of development and humanitarian aid. (Europa, July 2008)

In 1998, the Transatlantic Economic Partnership was launched; it has facilitated joint action in the sphere of investment and trade. At the beginning of the new century, we witnessed an emergence of a Euro-Atlantic bloc that goes far beyond a mere cooperation, the result of a strong commitment to promoting the creation of a Western unit, size of the utmost importance for transatlantic relations and the document was adopted European Commission in May 2005 "An EU partners - the United States strengthened and a more

open market for the XXI Century", which performs with a partner overseas transatlantic market regulation, a dynamic knowledge and innovation, a more relevant and border control for trade and investment more reliable faster and create a Transatlantic Assembly. (European Commission External Relations February 2009, p. 3-8)

There is also, regular dialogue between Euro just (the EU body for judicial cooperation in criminal matters) and the US Justice Department. The overall agenda for future cooperation is now set out in the joint EU–US declaration on combating terrorism, adopted in June 2004 at the EU–US summit at Dromoland Castle, Ireland. This declaration shows the capacity of the EU-USA to work together and to understand each other. (European Commission External Relations February 2009, p.21)

The EU leadership and USA ones, met in Vienna on June 21, 2006 to respond on concerns related to peace security, stability and prosperity in an increasingly globalized world. At the Vienna Summit these two world powers discussed the importance of the political stability on the world stage as well as, that democracy, peace, human rights are the priority of this century, and the need of make it's more secure and prosperous for all mankind. Vienna Summit was highlighting the EU-USA interested to strengthen their strategic partnership by adopting the priority actions to support the cooperation in the following four areas:

- Promoting peace, Human rights and Democracy Worldwide
- Confronting global challenges, including security;
- Fostering prosperity and opportunity;
- Promoting strategic cooperation on energy and energy security, climate change and sustainable development

At this Summit was established the priorities in which direction the EU and USA has to cooperate in order to maintain the worldwide stability.

However, records show that after 50 years of joint action, life can still demonstrate, through the facts, that the U.S. retains the same role in becoming Europe. Even in the tensest moments, no one doubted the special significance of the transatlantic link. Applying Marshall Plan, the creation and strengthening of NATO, rebuilding Europe U.S. signature on them and vitality of the transatlantic partnership has not lost a moment of force. European Parliament cooperation with Congress and the U.S. administration has allowed the development of links while becoming more powerful, useful to both parties. (Gliere 2007, p.235-251)

Security challenges facing the world present strengthened cooperation involves a close and dynamic transatlantic relationship, especially in crisis management. Modern management of the global crisis is a challenge and improve the Euro-Atlantic response to crises through close collaboration in all aspects of their management depends largely on strengthening the EU's role in global crisis management. According to EU Summit Declaration - the United States in 2008, the two actors maintain today's "most important bilateral relationship in the world", which continuously strengthened in recent decades. "The progress in transatlantic

economic integration between the EU and the United States of America", signed at the summit in April 2007 led to a deepening transatlantic economic integration and increased trade cooperation in supporting the integration of capital markets, investment and innovation, ensuring protection of intellectual property rights and trade reliability. Transatlantic Economic Council (TEC) has become an effective platform of reducing barriers to transatlantic trade and investment.

A new EU aviation security agreement - the U.S., signed in June 2008, strengthen the judiciary and safer transatlantic partnership and improve security in the breast in the air transport systems. (Vasconcelos, June 2010, p.68-69, European Commission External Relations February 2009, p. 3-8)

Transatlantic cooperation, according to current global challenges, requires a broad strategic approach, coordinated global issues both at regional and supra. Quality of cooperation must take into account the large international stakes, which are to promote world peace, democracy, human rights, fight against terrorism and protection of fundamental rights and related conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction, strengthening transatlantic free trade competition, free movement of persons , capital, services and goods, the fight against climate change and promote safety and energy efficiency.

With regard to regional affairs and safer, EU Summit Declaration - USA 2008 emphasize the common commitments for cooperation in the fight against international terrorism and the protection of peace and human rights.

Thus, the transatlantic relationship is a cornerstone of the CFSP. EU and U.S. continue to consult closely on regional issues with character. He was again focused on Iran, Middle East Peace Process, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Western Balkans, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina. There was close cooperation in combating terrorism, referring to talks and expected to close more military detention center at Guantanamo and the financial crisis, including the G8 and G20. (Europa, July 2008).

Informal meeting of EU-US Summit held in Prague (April 5, 2009) was an opportunity for a first political contact between EU leaders and the new U.S. president. The formal meeting of the EU-US (Washington, November 2009), have been addressed complex issues of global concern facing the EU and the U.S., including economic-financial climate change, cyber security, policy development and stakes of foreign policy. A particularly important result was the creation of EU-US Energy Council to deal with issues such as global energy security, new technologies and research. Other results included the Declaration on dialogue and cooperation for development, which lays the foundation for enhanced cooperation on certain aspects of development policy. (Vasconcelos 2011, p. 49-53)

Declaration on non-proliferation and disarmament settled the common goals in this area. At the same time, have been recognized social and economic benefits of a visa-free regime between the two partners. Both sides reaffirmed their commitment to cooperate to achieve full visa-free travel arrangements between the U.S. and EU Member States as soon as possible and to enhance the security of passengers.

As two super-powers that dominate the international scene, they cannot remain indifferent to the problems that arise in different regions or states. Cooperation in international affairs between the U.S. and the EU is vital because most times the problems are too complex to be solved only one of them. There is no international dispute, or the country in the world where the United States and European Union have no interest in each of them is not affected by how the other works. It is known that the two are different opinions regarding a number of important issues such as the International Criminal Court, the Kyoto treaty, production and storage of anti-personnel mines, capital punishment, the use of armed force in international relations and relationship between human rights and citizens and combating international terrorism preventive. There are differences of opinion on issues such as genetically modified plants, whose development and cultivation is more stimulated in the U.S. than in the EU and on global competition in terms of steel production and construction of aircraft (Boeing vs. Airbus). However, it is undeniable that what separates them is much less important than what unites them: the values and goals we share and which aims to be achieved globally through cooperation - respect for the rule of law, human rights and minorities, democracy, the fight against crime and terrorism, to name a few.

Annual Summits EU-level U.S. presidents, numerous meetings at ministerial and technical level working groups provides a framework for the two sides to coordinate their actions when they agree or minimize disputes when they do not reach to an agreement on an issue.

US-EU cooperation has gained a new dimension due to the involvement of more and more the European Union in securing the world's conflict zones. Even if the means of enforcing security offered by the EU (peacekeeping missions, humanitarian aid, measures to prevent or resolve conflicts, post-conflict reconstruction and security) are somewhat different methods of the U.S. armed forces in recent years the European Union It seems important entity in the world able to provide security, complementing U.S. efforts. (Vasconcelos 2011, p. 49-53)

4.2. China- an important strategic partner

China has never dealt relations with the European Union with the same distrust with which it treated the USSR, especially during the East-West conflict. European Economic Community and China established formal diplomatic relations in 1975, after Sir Christopher Soames Commissioner's visit to China. Explosive growth of Chinese economy, European integration and European interests of the community has resulted in a common interest in developing relations in many areas. In 1978 the two sides signed an economic cooperation agreement. This was extended in 1985, becoming more comprehensive in 1988, when he exchanged diplomatic missions. In 2010 agreement was renewed.

In June 1989 relations were strained following the Tiananmen Square incident and the European Union decided to suspend relations with China. The dialogue was restored in 1994 through an exchange of letters in which the EU recognizes China's status in the emerging power on the international scene. In 1995 and 1996 was established the dialogue on EU - China on human rights and in 1998 held the first two Europe – China summits.

In July 1995 the Commission published a Communication on "A long term policy on relations between Europe and China" which was approved by the European Council which reflected the transformation of China into a global economic and political power. Since then, EU-China relations have continued in the following three areas: political dialogue (including human rights), trade and economic relations and EU-China cooperation program. (Nuttin July 2008).

In 1998, the European Commission adopted the Communication entitled "Towards a global partnership with China", whose main objective is to improve the EU's relationship with China. The current EU policy on China is based on the strategic document of the Commission in June 2001 entitled "EU Strategy for China." A new strategic document entitled "Common Interests and Challenges in EU-China relations: towards a mature partnership" was approved on 13 October 2003. Strategy Paper of 2003 suggests ways to further develop EU-China relations by enhancing existing mechanisms and the systematic integration of global and regional governance, and security issues. On 13 October 2003, China published its first policy paper on EU. China supports European integration and EU demands to grant full market economy status. China expects EU to become the most important trading partner and his investment.

The Partnership EU - China is based on economic benefits is certainly a strategic partnership. Dialogue EU - China takes place on many levels today. Annual meetings are

held at the head of government, to which EU country is represented by Prime Minister at that time providing presidency. Political dialogue is supported by meetings at ministerial and senior level officials representing different fields.

In December 2005 the Council gave the Commission a mandate that the latter had to replace the Trade and Cooperation Agreement between the EEC and China, signed in 1985, with a global Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) to determine the agenda of EU- XXI Century China. Negotiations were launched in January 2007 and will include an update of the 1985 Trade Agreement.

In late 2006, the Commission has developed two separate communication, but in conjunction with the general approach to define future relations. Communication entitled "EU-China: Partners close, growing responsibilities" consider EU-China relations in the context of China's return to the stage as a global economic and political power. This signals the EU's willingness to continue and further intensify its comprehensive engagement with China. Communication is based on strategies that includes five parts and focus on supporting China's transition to a pluralistic society on sustainable development, improve mutual trade and economic relations, strengthening bilateral cooperation and on regional cooperation and international support. Overall, the communication stress that the responsibilities and expectations of increasingly large should take into account permanent influence and strengthens China's position in the world. Issued the same day as communication, working document on EU-China trade and investment, entitled "Competition and Partnership", includes details on policy options necessary to ensure that trade relations will benefit both parties

The main objectives of EU-China relationship (Nuttin July 2008):

- The development of trade relations and other types of relations between the EU and China (PRC).
- Develop profile political, economic and EU trade in China.
- China's determination to participate in the international arena through its integration into the global economy, supporting China's transition to an open society based on rule of law and respect for human rights.
- Supporting economic and social reform process underway in that country.

The most difficult problems encountered in relation EU - Republic of China are those of rejection and continuous violation of human rights and trade barriers imposed on European exports.

China's position on human rights

Chinese legal system has many problems such as lack of specific laws that protect citizens' rights, conflict of laws, a weak judicial system in which judges are appointed by the state and do not benefit from an independent budget. All these factors lead to many abuses and corruption.

In "Policy on the EU" are mentioned differences of opinion on human rights: "There are both consensus and disagreements between China and the EU on the question of human

rights. The Chinese side appreciates the EU's persistent position for dialogue and Against Confrontation and stands ready to continue dialogue, exchange and Cooperation with the EU on human rights on the basis of mutual respect and Equality so as to share information, enhances mutual Understanding and Cooperation in Protecting deepens, Citizens' social and cultural rights and the rights of the disadvantaged. "

In April 2009, the Chinese government introduced the National Action Plan for Human Rights from 2009 to 2010, which established a set of actions, their purpose and a time frame for implementation. People's Republic of China that not only recognized these problems, but created a strategy to combat them and in a very public is a huge step forward. But two years later, when implementing this plan has not yet occurred, there has been no Changing the smallest, this plan has become another unfulfilled promise and no future.

All English language news agencies in China have published a total of 73 reports to the National Action Plan for Human Rights 2009-2010, between 13 April 2009 and 14 December 2009. Only one of these reports spoke of the Chinese government's ability to implement this plan. (Nuttin, July 2008)

Chinese Government considers as evidence of NHRAP dedication to human rights, but the same government continued to systematically violate the most fundamental rights. It was restricted freedom of expression and freedom of association. He continued censorship and restricting the press and the Internet. A pressure exerted control over lawyers, human rights and NGOs. Increased the number of restrictions imposed on minorities such as Tibetans, the illegal and sometimes secretly imprisoned its own citizens. Chinese NGO "Chinese Human Rights Defenders" made a report of 100 citizens who have been harassed, interrogated, monitored, and incarcerated between October 8, 2010 and November 8, 2010. Considering all this, it is hard to imagine that the NHRAP is a tool whose purpose is to minimize the abuse or the adoption of the approach means an improvement in human rights protection, the Chinese government. (Zaborowski 2008)

The NHRAP have to change and improve the situation in the following areas: the rights of prisoners, torture, illegal imprisonment and detention, the death penalty, the right process, right to information and expression, censorship of the press, right to health, freedom association, and respect for human rights in quake-stricken areas, minority rights, rights activists and NGOs in human rights.

National Action Plan for Human Rights 2009-2010 did not mention: Hukou system, disputes on private property, people LGBT rights abuses in China, the rights of foreign policy, investment and development.

One-child policy

This policy was introduced in 1978 and applies to those born in 1979. It was created by the Chinese government as a solution to social, economic and environment in China. Authorities say that this policy prevented between 250 and 300 million births from its

implementation until 2000 and 400 million births from 1979 to 2011. One-child policy violates human rights and more specifically the right to family. (Tabita 2011, p. 3)

Tibet

One of the biggest problems between China and the European Union is the situation of Tibet. Former independent theocracy, it was attached to the force of China in 1950. Tibetan riot in 1959 led to the persecution of Buddhist monks, local leaders and representatives of the old Tibetan families.

In terms of legal and historical status of Tibet is disputed, the Chinese government has sponsored several books and studies that "prove" that Tibet was part of the Chinese Empire. Other studies put emphasis on the relationship between Tibet and China. However, these disputes are not clear. First, political and legal situation of Tibetans to China living standards and clearly violate fundamental human rights. Without the right to vote or independent polls, respect and devotion to the Dalai Lama and widespread government in exile, even at the risk of persecution, clearly shows that local people do not identify as part of China, but as Tibetan. (Tabita 2011, p. 4-5)

In the second one line, position in the exile Tibetan government official did not dispute the right of the Chinese to govern Tibet, but requires changes and social rights and religious substantial freedom and autonomy.

Just as in the case of Taiwan, the Chinese government rejects any international involvement in conflict based on national sovereignty. Even if EU membership recognizes Tibet in China, this is a sensitive subject. EU supports the universalism of human rights, and their repeated violations, illegal imprisonment of monks, persecution of Tibetan language and Buddhist religious practices involving the State are a serious violation of human rights and law. Some analysts called the Chinese government's policies in Tibet "genocide" or "cultural annihilation".

Arms embargo

The European Union imposed an embargo to China in 1989, following the Tiananmen Square protests, which have killed thousands of dissidents. Students and intellectuals took to the streets after the death of Hu Yaobang, a Party official known for supporting liberal, and have shown to encourage economic and political reforms. Non-violent protests took place in other cities in China. The movement lasted seven weeks. Premier Li Peng declared martial law on May 20, but there were no military action until June 4 when tanks and troops from the People's Liberation Army took to the streets of Beijing, opening fire on protesters at Tiananmen Square and advancing to remove protesters. The estimation number of the dead people range from hundreds to several thousands. After the event, the Chinese government banned movies, books, newspapers; international media access has prevented the country and banned any mention of events in the national press. Censorship continues today, many sites are blocked in China because it mentions the massacre of 4 June.

In 2004, Franco-German pressure, the European Union agreed to begin negotiations to lift the embargo, with the hope that there will be many commercial benefits. U.S. strongly opposed the EU's position change. Some critics have suggested that the reason the possibility of China confrontation, armed by the European Union, in a future conflict over Taiwan. The EU has succumbed to pressure imposed by the U.S., conditioning the resumption of ratification of the Agreement on Civil and Political Rights.

EU decided to maintain arms embargo with regard to China, after negotiations between Catherine Ashton, Foreign Affairs Officer and the UK and other countries have failed. "There is a consensus that the EU is not the time for lifting the embargo. We must see clear progress in terms of problems that led to the embargo, specifically issues related to freedom of citizens and political rights." (Tabita 2011, p. 5-6)

Other political relations established between the European Union and the Republic of China (Nuttin July 2008):

- On 12 February 2004 the European Community and the China National Tourism Administration signed an agreement that will facilitate the movement of Chinese tourist groups in the EU (except for countries that are not part of the Schengen area, which will have to take steps in to conclude bilateral agreements).
- On 24 and 25 April 2008, European Commission President and nine commissioners paid a visit to China in order to open a dialogue with the Chinese government focused on climate change and sustainable development (trade, economic cooperation, energy).
- The first political summit scheduled between the EU and China held in London in April 1998. The most recent summit, namely the tenth, was held in Beijing on November 28, 2007. Leaders considered progress over the decade in EU-China relations and have them considered historical. They discussed the full range of bilateral and international issues, paying particular attention to strengthening cooperation on a number of fundamental global challenges such as climate change, current and energy security and supporting development in Africa.
- China's role on the international scene and its overall influence on international business continued to take a significant scale in 2009. In particular, the EU continued to encourage China to play its role in promoting regional stability and to engage actively in seeking solutions to regional crises.

Relations between the EU and China generally went smoothly, after incidents in 2008. Political dialogue has remained the main means of further EU-China strategic partnership. Negotiations on Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, launched in 2007, important progress, especially politically. He also continued cooperation on a whole range of dialogues, over 56 in number, including those on trade and economic issues. (The EU General Secretary Council 2008 p.25-26)

In 2009 there were, exceptionally, two summits (first held in Prague on 20 May, the organization was actually postponed summit in 2008) that marked the reinstatement of the two parties. Both meetings focused generally on the relations between the EU and China and, especially, the resolution of global challenges such as economic and financial crisis, climate change and regional and international situations. At the second Summit, held in Nanjing on 30 November, the EU has given priority to climate change in perspective of the Copenhagen Conference on climate change and future bilateral relations on the eve of entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. (The EU General Secretary Council 2009, p.36-37)

Conclusion

Basing on the information listed above in the chapters we can firmly assure that European Union is a unique union by its consistency and conception as in the same time by its priorities and values that ever was created after Second World War.

The main message of this paperwork is to show the European basic principles and instruments which was established in order to keep the stability and prosperity on the international arena and in the same time the EU seen as an international actor, and its importance and contribution on the creation of the European identity and deep analysis of European foreign policies nature. In this view, the key of recognizing and understanding the European foreign policy is to go beyond the narrow definition of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) to encompass all of the broader policy areas in which the EU operates at the international level.

Also, it is important to admit that besides of EU' interests of development and maintaining of democracy, human rights and peace principles worldwide, the EU forces are deeply involved and concentrated on Europe continent itself. For European Union its neighborhood plays a crucial role because for both, a possibility to enlarge its territory in the Balkan area and a relevant support from Russia in the worldwide stability and peace keeping process. For countries and regions beyond its neighborhood, the EU needs to strike a delicate balance between genuine universalism and the prioritization of specific geographical areas where the action of the Union can make a difference and where its responsibility is at stake, as in preventing mass violence, supporting democratic regimes under threat or in the event of a serious challenge to international security. Such prioritization should be based on the principles of effectiveness and be consistent with the common interest of the EU as opposed to short-term interests of Member States.

Also, analyzing this paper work we can see the EU's willingness and abilities to solve conflicts between countries, trying to spread among them human rights and democracy principles. These EU position is highlighted in the Iran's nuclear conflict, the attempt of EU to create an African Union based on democratic principles promoted by the capacity of solving crisis and problems in a diplomatic way, avoiding war and destructions. In the same time on the African continent the EU have to deal with the problem of increasing the life level. The countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan needed special attention due to the complicate situation created in these areas, the EU is working toward creation of an adequate balance between the military and the civilian dimensions of international operations,

including by the establishment of a unified chain of command under civilian leadership which could be fully integrated in the UN framework as necessary. Considering the present Afghan context in particular, the EU it is trying to reshape its presence in order to make a distinctive contribution mainly along two fronts: enhancing civilian police training, which should be extended to the training of civil servants; and supporting relevant mediation tracks and reconciliation efforts at the local, national and regional levels.

In order to evaluate the EU relation with its strategic partners such as USA and China, we have to admit that already existing link established between them have to be defined on the conditions of a new paradigm. This formula is available for both USA and China, even if the partnership with China is more favorable and is not causing troubles and difficulties, being based on mutual agreement and interests.

The EU's newer and old strategic partners have to grown into political and security actors on the world stage, who are essential to the solution of major regional and global problems, and with whom the Union needs to engage, albeit with differences of emphasis according to the issue at hand, in order to resolve common problems and bring about a multilateral world order. The EU should launch multilateral initiatives involving several of its strategic partners at a time. Around this uneasy connection created between US-EU are a lot of misunderstandings and disagreements, but there is no other partnership as intimate in the world as EU-USA relation, even if their points of view often are different and their methods of solving problems includes a wide range of opposite interests. Even in these conditions USA and EU still remains the important strategic partners.

In these conditions, we can define the EU as a union oriented on the creation a worldwide nation based on principles and rules which will help to promote and develop the democratic norms, a soft politic power instead real aggressive politic power, which will actively advance humans rights and peace keeping.

Bibliography:

A report commissioned by The EU-Russia Centre 2006, *THE EU-RUSSIA REVIEW*, issue two,

Bindi Federiga (2010), *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing European's role in the world*, edited by the Brookings Institution

Bretherton Charlotte and Vogler John (2006), *The European Union as a Global Actor, second edition*, published by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Brimmer Esther (Paris 2007), *Seeing blue: American vision of the European Union*, edited by Institute for Security Studies paper Nr. 105, European Union

Csasz Levente, July 2008, the Russian Federation,
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/general/article_7241_ro.htm
December 20, 2011

D'Angelo Sandro and Ghiatis Georgios July 2008, The Western Balkan countries
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/relations/article_7240_ro.htm,
December 2011

Dannreuther Roland 2004, *European Union Foreign and Security Policy Towards a neighbourhood strategy*, published by Routledge 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

Douaud Armelle and Caprile Anna July 2008, Relations with the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific: from the Yaounde and Lome conventions to the Cotonou Agreement
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/general/article_7256_ro.htm
December 24, 2011

EU focus 2005, *The EU: A Community of Values*, published by European Union, Delegation of the European Commission to the USA

Europa, European Security Program 2009,
<http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Europa/Aussenpolitik/GASP/EU-Sicherheitsstrategie.html>, December, 2011,

Europa, July 2008, Transatlantic relations,
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/relations/article_7246_ro.htm, December 20, 2011

European Commission External Relations, *The European Union and the United States: Global partners, global responsibilities*, published on February 2009 on the internet webpage http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/us/intro/index.htm

European Union External Action, December 2011, Syrian Arab Republic
http://eeas.europa.eu/syria/index_en.htm, January 5, 2012

European Union, December 2008, European Union Law,
<http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2008:325:0052:0055:RO:PDF>, December 15, 2011

Gliere Chaterine (volume VII, 2007), *EU security and defence, edited by Institute for Security Studies*

Hettne Björn, Söderbaum Fredrik and Stålgren Patrik (2008), *The EU as a Global Actor in the South*, edited by Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies

Ioannides Isabelle, September 2011, Transformation in Arab World: What next,
http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail_debate/article/q-transformations-in-the-arab-world-what-next-6/, December 15, 2011

Krastev Ivan and Leonard Mark with Bechev Dimitar, Kobzova Jana and Wilson Andrew ECFR 2010, *The Specter of a Multipolar Europe*, published by European Council on Foreign Relations ecfr.eu,

Krauss Stefan, The Southern Eastern Mediterranean Countries, July 2008,
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opoce/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/relations/article_7244_ro.htm, December 16, 2011

Lucarelli Sonia 2004, *EU foreign policy between telos and identity*,
<http://www.jhubc.it/ecpr-bologna>

Lucarelli Sonia and Manners Ian (2006), *Values, principles, identity and European foreign policy*, edited by Rutledge 2 Park Square

Lynch Dov, July 2004, the Russia-EU Partnership and the Shared Neighborhood,
<http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-russia-eu-partnership-and-the-shared-neighbourhood/>, December 24, 2011

Matei Dumitru and Tibil Gheorghe, December 24, 2011, European Union in the context of European Foreign Security Policy <http://www.presamil.ro/OM/2005/03/pag%2005.htm>,

Nuttin Xavier July 2008, Republic of China and Taiwan
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opocea/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/relations/article_7249_ro.htm, December 22, 2011

Peral Luis, September 2010, Humanitarian Action in Pakistan, A case for EU Political Involvement,
http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/Humanitarian_action_in_Pakistan.pdf, December 19, 2011

Quille Gerrard, July 2008, Security and Defense Policy,
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opocea/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/cfsp/article_7233_ro.htm, December, 15 2011

Rhodes Carolyn (1998), *The European Union in the World Community*, published in USA

Santini Ruth Hanau and Mauriello Raffaele (Framework Programme 2005-2010), Report on: *Iranian perceptions of the European Union, Research* project made by: THE EXTERNAL IMAGE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION, phase two,

Schuman Robert 2010, *State of the Union 2010*, Report on Europe Publication directed by Thierry Chopin and Michel Foucher

Smith Karen E. (2003) *The European Union: A Distinctive Actor in International Relations*, edited by, London School of Economics

Sourander Dag July 2008, The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)
http://circa.europa.eu/irc/opocea/fact_sheets/info/data/relations/framework/article_7239_ro.htm, December 20, 2011

Tabita Alexandra Puie (2011), *The European-China Relations*, edited by the University of European Studies, Romanian, Bucharest

The EU General Secretary Council 2008, *Annual Report of the Council to European Parliament according to main aspects and basic options of CFSP*

The EU General Secretary Council 2009, *Annual Report of the Council to European Parliament according to main aspects and basic options of CFSP*

The Political Department for Defense and Planning 2009, *European Security and Defense Policy*

Tonra Ben and Christiansen Thomas (2004), *Rethinking European Union foreign Policy*, edited by Manchester University Press

Vasconcelos Álvaro de February 2009, The European Security Strategy 2003-2008: building on common interests <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/the-european-security-strategy-2003-2008-building-on-common-interests/>, December 20, 2011

Vasconcelos Álvaro de June 2010, *A strategy for EU foreign policy*, edited by Institute for Security Studies European Union

Vasconcelos Álvaro de 2011, *The Agenda for the EU-US strategic partnership*, edited by Institute for Security Studies European Union

Zaborowski Marcin 2008, EU-China Security Relations
http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/EU-China_security_relations.pdf, December 22, 2011

Zielonka, Jan (1998), *Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy*, edited by The Hague: Kluwer International Law