INTERNAL DIMENSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AND GEORGIA’S EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS: ACHIEVEMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES

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Republic of Moldova and Georgia have signed the Association Agreement with European Union and are firmly directed to obtain the prospect of EU membership. This article seeks to realize an analysis of internal dimension of European integration process of these two countries and namely focuses on the study of key priorities, tasks, problems and difficulties that Moldova and Georgia meet in order to reach the domestic readiness for realization of their European aspirations. The research was supported by FP7 Marie Curie IRSES programme.

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The European integration is a complex and multidimensional process that involves considerable efforts at both, domestic and foreign levels that are interdependent. European integration as the main objective of a state foreign policy supposes the adaptation of the whole domestic system to the European standards. This happens due to the fact that European integration process does not limit only to declarations, official meeting and progress evaluation in different domains, but includes significant changes in public and economic structures. In other words, there could not be a sphere of political, economic, social and cultural life that will not require reforms in the spirit of the European standards. Moreover, at domestic level the European integration process should be realized not only by the Government, public and administrative institutions, but also by civic society and population itself. In this way, Republic of Moldova and Georgia, two states with European aspirations, connect their reform process to the Copenhagen criteria fulfillment. Hence, the advance of both states on their way to the EU membership largely depends on the level of domestic readiness and accomplishment of the European Union’s requirements.

Republic of Moldova and Georgia engaged in bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the European Union after achieving their independence. With time, European integration and developing towards Europe has become a priority for both states. Thus, in the Activity Program of the Government of the Republic of Moldova “European Integration: Freedom, Democracy, Welfare” that provides a framework for Moldovan governance policies for 2011-2014, European integration is declared as fundamental priority of the domestic and foreign policies of the country and that the most efficient way to achieve political, economic and social modernization of the country is to responsibly implement the commitments deriving from the European course, as European integration means, above all, positive internal transformation of the country [1, p.5]. In order to achieve this goal were traced a range of priority actions through which can be underlined the involvement of the whole society, all the political forces and relevant foreign actors in the efforts to turn the Republic of Moldova into a European state with real prospects of joining the European Union; promotion of European values and standards in all areas; creation of adequate conditions for political and economic integration in the
EU by signing the Association Agreement and achievement of the free movement of Moldovan citizens in the European Union and implement the provisions of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with the European Union; improvement of the legal and institutional framework supporting European integration; development and implementation of strategies of communication (internal and external) on European integration issues with the civil society, EU actors and international ones etc. [1, p.48]. However, taking into consideration that the part regarding European integration was included in the section dedicated to foreign policy, denotes that it is perceived mainly as a task of external policy and less as a domestic one. The same can be noticed in case of Georgia. In its Government program “For Strong, Democratic, United Georgia” the determination to join the European Union, Euro-Atlantic orientation and integration with NATO are the stated priorities of the country’s foreign policy. It is underlined that fulfillment of the conditions, which hamper the ongoing negotiations with the European Union for the purpose of association, will be accelerated [13, p.5]. However, there is indicated the need of harmonization of the legislation with European legislation in the most domestic policies.

In general, the Georgian government has clearly defined pro-European ideas, underline Troitiño David and Chochia Archil, it clearly sees the European Union as a main partner and future destination for the country. Cooperation with the European Union is a priority and Tbilisi is trying to show its commitment to the cooperation. Georgia understands that the European Union would mean a huge modernization for the country, development in such fields as human rights protection, social mobility, environmental protection and domestic politics. The government advertises among the people the idea that being closer to the European Union, or in the best-case scenario, joining the Union, would mean a huge development for the country and would stand for its absolute and total modernization [29, p.92]. Indeed, through the framework of the main agreements with European Union (Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, Action Plan Georgia-EU, Eastern Partnership, Mobility Partnership, Association Agreement), Georgia had realized important domestic changes dealing with economic development, poverty reduction, energy sector, agriculture, human rights etc.

As the process of European integration of Georgia has deepened, it became clear that it is not only a task of foreign policy. This fact made it necessary to move the focal point in EU policy-making away from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards other ministries and units. The Georgian legislation enumerates several institutions dealing with EU affairs [24, p.3]. It is about some important bodies that coordinate and implement the adjustment of Georgian state to European standards. First of all should be mentioned the foundation in 2004 of the Office of the State Minister on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration (European Integration Office), which is the central coordinating institution in charge of the overall coordination and monitoring of European integration. The main functions of the European Integration Office consist of coordination of activities on the European integration of the Government of Georgia, ministries and other state agencies; assistance to approximation of Georgian legislation to the EU Law; coordination of the EU assistance and programmes [22]. It has two main departments, European Integration Coordination Department and EU Programmes Coordination Department. These structures are focused respectively on coordination of activities on the European integration of the Government of Georgia, ministries and other state agencies; assistance to approximation of Georgian legislation to the EU Law; implementation of the EU-Georgia Association Agreement; assistance and coordination of the cooperation in the framework of the EU's Eastern Partnership including the coordination and the monitoring of the EaP Multilateral and Bilateral Road Maps; assistance of the approximation of Georgia and EU political, business and non-governmental circles etc. [22].

Another important entity is presented by the Georgia's EU Integration Commission, also created in 2004. The Commission is chaired by the Prime Minister of Georgia. The Office of the State Minister on European and Euro-Atlantic Integration is in charge to deal secretariat's tasks of this Commission. The Commission's tasks are as follows: facilitate a process of Georgian integration into the European Union and coordinate the line ministries' activities in this regards; prepare the recommendations and proposals for the Government of Georgia facilitating effective cooperation of Georgia with European Union and its Member States in the political, economic, cultural, legal and other fields; support implementation of the signed agreements with European community and discuss ongoing implementation process; facilitate harmonization of Georgian legislation with the EU acquis communautaire; discuss information on the implementation of the recommendations of the EU-Georgia Cooperation Council, Committee and Subcommittees etc. [14]. At the lower, expert level there is a working group of European Integration Commission - an interministerial deputy minister’s
level working group. Next, an important role plays the Parliamentary Committee on Integration into Europe that focuses on the law approximation field. It also has a function of supervision of governmental activities in the field of general process of the EU-integration of Georgia [24, p.6]. Also, the Committee became main engine within the parliament for initiating the bills regarding approximation to EU law. In its initiations the committee followed mostly the areas established by the National Program of Harmonization, although it sometimes afforded to propose more than it was stated in the National Program [17, p.24]. In general, Georgian National Program of Harmonization is considered as crucial internal mechanism of approximation process and presents by itself a concrete lists of concrete EU legal acts with which convergence of relevant Georgian acts should be achieved [17, p.18].

The efforts of all of these structures are directed to preparation of the country for its European aspirations accomplishment. Indeed, the reform process is realized mainly in accordance with EU conditionality and is based on the objectives established within the framework of signed agreements and cooperation mechanisms. But, there are national mechanisms too. So, here is worth to mention the Strategic “10-Point Plan” for Modernization and Employment of the Government of Georgia, for the 2011–2015 years. According to the document, the ten points that should be accomplished for Georgian state development are: macroeconomic stability; improvement of current account balance; creation/maintenance of favorable investment and business environment; formation as a regional and logistic hub; improvement of infrastructure; development of agriculture; improvement of the education system; fine-tuning social policy; establishment of an affordable, high-quality healthcare system; and finally, urban and regional development [26, p.3]. As a result, Georgian government expects to achieve some good outcomes. Through these there can be underlined that due to the GDP growth by 2015 Georgia shall become, by classification of the World Bank, a “high-middle income country” and the export of goods, service and tourism should increase twice by 2015 against 2010 level, on average – by 15-20% per annum [26, p.3].

In general, Georgia on its European way copes with the difficulties that are characteristic to Moldova too. These are corruption, reform of judiciary system, human rights, economic development, and territorial problems. After the Rose Revolution of 2004, there were carried out reforms that attempted to westernize the country. There were registered some success. So, Georgia has demonstrated good capability for combating corruption and organized crime. By 2006, such petty corruption had been virtually eradicated while the Interior Ministry has made great strides to boost its transparency and efficiency. Crime rates dropped, and, in a dramatic shift, the police have become one of the most trusted public institutions in the country. Georgia’s reformed police and public administration, as well as drastically reduced crime rates, have helped make state services more efficient and available to all citizens [20, p.10]. However, according to Georgian researchers, the low level of trust in the judiciary continues to be a matter of concern. Also, the extremely high conviction rate and the failure of the legal system to prosecute or even pursue many high profile political cases raises worries over judicial independence. There were carried out reforms in the police service, including the introduction of human-rights training programs as part of the police training curriculum [16, p.98]. At its turn, the European Commission has identified poverty reduction and employment and social policies as the major future challenges for Georgia [16, p.105]. In 2014, the UN high commissioner for human rights remarked that judiciary situation in Georgia has improved and “acquittal rates were becoming more realistic”, and that judges had grown used to being “more independent both from the executive and from the prosecutors [28, p.11]. But the new regime has also been criticized for politically motivated prosecution of United National Movement members. Both domestic and international observers are alarmed. In this context is presented the statement of the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso, who underlines that situations of selective justice should be avoided, as they could harm the country’s image abroad and weaken the rule of law [28, p.11]. Meanwhile, services were improved: the Ministry of Justice and other agencies created a single-window system to facilitate public services. In 2011 the new concept of public service halls was rolled out, in which the services of various state agencies were unified, including civil and public registries, national archives and the notary chamber. Citizens could now obtain any document or register a change of property in minutes, all at one location, and without corruption [27, p.26].

In general, 2013 was appreciated by the Prime Minister Irakli Garibashvili, as a year full of various memorable events and achievements in Georgia. Georgian democracy is proceeding to the next stage of democratic consolidation. October Presidential elections have been widely praised by international observers
as free and fair. It was elaborated the National Human Rights Strategy. Also, a new Labor Code is fully in line with the ILO standards and the Government finalized the work on the 2020 Strategy for Socio-Economic Development, which aims to ensure a long-term, sustainable and inclusive economic growth in Georgia [12, p.2].

Thus, Georgia has taken concrete steps domestically to facilitate European integration and NATO membership. The parliamentary elections in 2012 and presidential election in 2013 allowed for a democratic transfer of power under the rule of law. While the current Georgian administration has been less visible on the international stage compared to the previous administration, it has taken the leadership role in the GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and focused on domestic concerns such as improving social and economic situation in the country. The government has instituted constitutional reforms such as a system of internal checks and balances, enhancing the role of parliament and the courts. It is also implementing programmes to inform Georgians about the benefits and drawbacks of association with the EU and other political initiatives [31, p.2].

At the moment, Georgia is going to implement the Association Agreement with European Union. The Government of Georgia recognizes that the Association Agreement does not guarantee membership in the European Union. However, they also think that the new framework document foresees approximation with European Union and its legislation on such high levels that effective implementation of this process that makes Georgia’s modernization according to the European norms irreversible. In this context, European Union and Georgia have adopted the EU-Georgia Association Agenda that establishes a set of jointly agreed priorities for the period of 2014-2016, with a view to preparing for the implementation of the Association Agreement, including the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA). This Association Agenda will be applied from the moment of its adoption, for an initial period of three years which may be extended by mutual agreement. From the start of its application, it will replace the existing EU-Georgia European Neighborhood Policy Action Plan of 2006. It incorporates political elements, including political dialogue, reforms to strengthen democratic institutions, the rule of law, independence of the judiciary, and respect for human rights, cooperation on foreign and security policy as well as peaceful conflict resolution, and cooperation on Justice, Freedom, and Security. The Association Agenda also encompasses economic and trade elements, including a dedicated DCFTA chapter and cooperation in a number of sectors such as energy, transport, employment and social policy [7]. Another task of Georgia is to obtain the visa regime liberalization with the European Union. In order to achieve this goal, Georgian government works to implement the Action Plan that consists of four blocks: document security, including biometrics; integrated border management, migration management, asylum; public order and security; and external relations and fundamental rights. Even if there are some problems, generally, the European Commission considers that Georgia has made very good progress in the implementation of the Action Plan benchmarks. The legislative and policy framework required by benchmarks on document security, including biometrics, and benchmarks concerning integrated border management is already at an advanced stage of fulfillment. There is a good progress relating to migration management, asylum, public order and security too [8].

However, in the words of Liana Fix, the Association Agreement signing it is just the beginning of another long term period of reforms and the main challenge for the West is keeping Georgia on the European track. Georgia remains in a vulnerable position; in this regard, the signing of the Association Agreement constitutes no watershed. Moreover, although Tbilisi’s determination to continue the path of Euro-Atlantic integration is strong, Euroskepticism is likely to gain a stronger foothold. Disappointment about low economic benefits, a lack of security guarantees, and the inherent contradiction between Georgian “traditional values” and the European Union’s liberal normative agenda bear the danger of engendering disillusionment with the European dream [10, p.6]. The survey about Knowledge and Attitudes towards Europe in Georgia commissioned by Eurasia Partnership Foundation looks at the results of three waves of surveys conducted in 2009, 2011 and 2013, and attempts to identify trends and highlight changes in both knowledge and attitudes of the population of Georgia. According to it there is noticed that declarative support for European Union integration remains very strong in Georgia, with overwhelming majority of Georgians ready to vote for joining the European Union, if a referendum were to be held tomorrow. This said, only 13% think that the country is ready to join the European Union and only about a third of the respondents think the majority of the European Union citizens would like Georgia to join the European Union. Also, Georgians expect that the EU membership would bring increased national security, better chances of restoring territorial integrity, and improved economic
situation. This means that Georgians see the EU membership as a way to address some of the most pressing issues facing the country. At the same time, both Georgians and minorities are under-informed about the European Union and, specifically, about the European Union’s role in Georgia. While Georgians appear to have slightly more knowledge about the EU than they did in previous years, minorities display a striking lack of awareness [18, p.4].

Although there is a kind of risk of Euroskepticism, according to the latest polls, the large majority of the population (65 percent in April 2014, down from 68 percent in November 2013) supports EU membership for Georgia. [10, p.4]. It should be mentioned here the fact that, according to Cappucci Marianna, Georgians claim their “Europeanness” and believe they have the right to join the European institutions much more than other countries such as Turkey and Moldova. Georgians consider themselves as Europeans at least from three different points of view:

− from a geographical standpoint, if we place the border between Europe and Asia on the pass of Surami, about the 70% of Georgian territory would fall into Europe;
− from a religious point of view Georgia developed into one of the major Christian states and cultural centers. Georgia is a Christian nation since, although surrounded by Muslim states, except for Armenia;
− from an historical and cultural perspective, in Georgia are located the old territories of Iberia and Colchis (the latter linked to the myth of the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece), which in ancient times belonged to – or at least, in the case of easternmost territories, were strongly influenced for commercial and cultural reasons by - Magna Grecia (cradle of European culture and civilization) and, later, the Byzantine Empire [4, p.117].

Thus, in order to improve the knowledge of the population regarding the European integration process of the country the Georgian government elaborated and adopted the EU Integration Communication and Information Strategy for the period of 2014-2017. This Strategy attempts to raise the awareness on European Union-Georgia cooperation as well as on the opportunities, challenges and obligations of the integration process. Moreover, the strategy envisages the active involvement of representatives of the business sector, public administration, civil society and the media in the process. In addition, the Action Plan of the Strategy for 2014 stipulates the dissemination of information concerning the European integration process in the European Union member states, which in its turn will contribute to the visibility and popularization of Georgia abroad. This is considered to be an unprecedented initiative among Eastern Partnership countries [11, p.33].

In the case of the Republic of Moldova, how it was mentioned above, the European integration process was seen from the start mostly as the task of foreign policy, choosing to intensify the contacts with European Union and transmit some messages in this direction. So, this mission first belonged to the European Integration Department, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs subdivision that has been created in 2003, in order to consolidate the powers of national institutions in their activities and initiative in regard to integration of the republic into the European community, as well as to promote the strategy of Moldova’s accession to the European Union. Simultaneously with the establishment of the European Integration Department, the Government called on ministries and departments to establish European integration subdivisions subordinated to them [23, p.23]. Later, in 2005 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been added the words ‘and European Integration’, showing in that way the determination of the country to follow the European way. However, awareness of the European integration path of the Republic of Moldova developed slowly. An important moment constituted the formation of the National Commission for European Integration in 2002. It consisted of 30 members who represented mostly the Government, but included also a limited number of MPs and representatives of local government, and non-governmental sector. Following the Presidential Decree, the commission was established to pursue two major goals: draft the Strategy of European Integration of the Republic of Moldova and submit it for Parliament’s approval and draft and approve the plan of actions designed to facilitate the Strategy of European Integration of the Republic of Moldova and coordination of its further implementation [23, p.22]. As result, only in 2005 it was adopted the Strategy of European Integration of the Republic of Moldova and it comprises almost all problems that country copes with and from which solution the European integration depends on. Being an internal document, the Strategy aimed to prepare the country to join with European community. At the same time, how underlines Vasilescu Gr., this document is too big, having around 611 pages and do not contain certain provisions regarding the deadlines and who is responsible for its implementation. Moreover, this document cannot be finding on the official government web pages,
just on those of non-governmental organizations [30, p.250]. In this way, unfortunately, this document remains just at the level of intention without any practical outcomes.

In course of time, it become obvious that all actions linked to European integration should be connected with the domestic reform process. So, the National Commission for European Integration was gathered once again in a new composition. One of its first actions was the adoption of an Action Plan regarding the modernization and Europeanization of the Republic of Moldova. Later, this Action Plan become the truly guidelines for reform process realization in five important domains and namely independence of justice, freedom of mass-media, human rights protection, corruption fighting and improvement of the investment environment [6, p.3]. Also, since 2009 activates the Governmental Commission for European Integration of the Republic of Moldova, which assures the coordination of realization of commitments that come from the documents and agreements between Moldova and European Union. The Commission is headed by the Prime-Minister and it mostly consists of ministers. There can be invited to the Commission’s work, if it is necessary, representatives of civic society [15].

Speaking about the other domestic documents that are focused on the country’s development, there should be mentioned the National Development Strategy “Moldova 2020”, through which the government of the Republic of Moldova engaged to implement of a long-term strategic vision regarding the development of the Republic of Moldova in accordance with its preparation for European integration. The strategy proposes seven solutions for economic growth and poverty reduction. So, the document focuses on: aligning the education system to labor market needs in order to enhance labor productivity and increase employment in the economy; increasing public investment in the national and local road infrastructure, in order to reduce transportation costs and increase the speed of access; reducing financing costs by increasing competition in the financial sector and developing risk management tools; improving the business climate, promoting competition policies, streamlining the regulatory framework and applying information technologies in public services for businesses and citizens; reducing energy consumption by increasing energy efficiency and using renewable energy sources; ensuring financial sustainability of the pension system in order to secure an appropriate rate of wage replacement; and increasing the quality and efficiency of justice and fighting corruption in order to ensure an equitable access to public goods for all citizens [21, p.8].

At the same time, a range of governmental documents as Agenda for European Integration of 2009 and Implementation Tool- Key measures until June 2011 that focuses on the European integration process of the country and can be found on the official page of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova, present detailed plans of actions in the fields that require reforms, such as consolidation of state of law, public administration reform, adjustment of Moldova’s policies to the acquis communautaire, human rights protection, justice and corruption, improvement of investment environment, improvement of social policies etc.

Anyway, corruption remains Moldova’s gravest problem and the government’s greatest challenge. The main strategic document which coordinates efforts in the area of anti-corruption in the Republic of Moldova is the National Anti-corruption Strategy 2011-2015. The central authority specialized in combating corruption in Moldova is the National Anti-corruption Center (NAC). The NAC was initially established in 2002 as the Centre for Combating Economic Crime and Corruption (CCEC) but since then it was restructured several times. In 2012 the CCEC was renamed into the NAC which focuses on corruption while the economic crimes not related to corruption have been transferred to the Ministry of Interior and the Customs authority. This reform was among priority requirements for the visa liberalization process with the European Union [25, p.11].

Another strategic document with direct implication on the fight against corruption in Moldova is the Strategy for Justice Sector Reform 2011-2016 (SJSR). This strategy is structured on seven pillars, each of which reflects the most pressing problems of the sector. One of the specific goals of the SJSR is to promote and implement the principle of zero tolerance for corruption events in the justice sector. The SJSR is accompanied by the Action Plan which lists the actions to be taken and implementation costs. In the framework of this strategy the Moldovan Parliament amended and adopted numerous laws which preliminary relate to judiciary sector such as the laws on courts organization, status of a judge, judges’ selection and career, judicial disciplinary process, integrity checks for the judges, judge’s communication with third parties etc. [25, p.11].

Thus, the domestic reform process in the Republic of Moldova should be firmly continued in order to achieve good results necessary for county’s development as well as for the advance in Moldova – European
Union relationship. Due to its realizations, Moldova, being considered the leader of good scores among Eastern Partnership countries, was able to obtain the liberalization of visa regime and, along with Georgia and Ukraine, to sign the Association Agreement with European Union. At the moment, implementation of Association Agreement and possibility of EU membership application constitutes the main mission of the government. In this direction, was elaborated the draft of National Plan of Association Agreement Implementation for the period of 2014-2016. European Union at its turn supports key reforms in the Republic of Moldova. So, the European Commission has announced a new annual support package for the Republic of Moldova to help public institutions, citizens and the business community to seize the benefits and opportunities of the Association Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area with the European Union. The EU annual support package provides €101 million of bilateral allocation to Moldova and it is directed to two actions. First, is the support to Public Finance Policy Reforms in Moldova (€37 million) that is to assist the Ministry of Finance, the Parliament and the Supreme Audit Institution of Moldova in the process of enhancing good governance, effective fiscal policy, transparent and accountable public finance policy and strengthened public financial management systems. Second action regards the European Neighborhood Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development (ENPARD) Moldova – Support to Agriculture and Rural Development (€64 million) that is to enhance rural development through improved policy dialogue, governance and service delivery meeting the needs of private farmers while increasing the competitiveness of the agriculture sector [9].

Indeed, the signing of the Association Agreement is surely an important step, but it should also prod Moldovan government to accept the responsibility of continuing to work on reform. Also, an important domestic task is to continue to work with population, informing it about all European integration and Moldova–European Union issues. As states Coadă Ludmila, Moldova’s political environment and society remain heavily polarized, with right-wing and center-right parties advocating for European integration, left-wing parties against it, and only half of Moldova’s citizens supporting the nation’s accession to the European Union. Nonetheless, Moldova’s European course appears to be taking root. The approximately 50 percent of people supporting European integration appear to be the more active segment of the population [5, p.20]. In this context are relevant the results of latest research presented by Barometer of Public Opinion for April 2014, which shows that in Moldova society is divided into two groups, 35% are oriented to the European Union and 38% to the Custom Union. However, in the case of national referendum regarding the accession of the Republic of Moldova to European Union, 44% of population would vote for it [2, p.59]. In this way, it is necessary to improve the knowledge and understanding of Moldova citizens about the European path of the Republic of Moldova. Usually, the low familiarization of population with European Union is a result of a vision that accession to the European community is seen as the responsibility of the government, not the society’s one. There is a lack of a strategic framework in this direction too. In 2007, the Department for European Integration within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs elaborated the Strategy of Communication in order to create an informational system about the European Union in Moldova and to make Moldova better known within European community. At domestic level it provided a range of activities as sociological studies, consolidation of press services of the central public institutions, trainings for the public servants, journalists, professors, informational campaigns etc. [3, p.2]. Unfortunately, this strategy was abolished in 2012 and there is no one new elaborated. Recently was presented an initiative of representatives of civil society of the Republic of Moldova to launch the Civil Society Platform „Pro Europe” that is open to all those who share the European values and ideals and aims to consolidate the European integration choice and to contribute to the democratic development of the Moldovan society, to the promotion of European values, to the understanding of economic, social, democratic and political benefits that brings the European integration.

Thus, studying the domestic dimension of European integration of both, Republic of Moldova and Georgia, it becomes obvious that only with consensus and common efforts of government, civil society and all citizens there could be resolved the problems that impede European integration of the countries. At moment, after Association Agreement signing, Moldova and Georgia are motivated to continue their pro-European course. The European integration process is seen as capable of generating solutions to unresolved problems and to produce positive transformation. Thus both countries should concentrate on the reforms they already promised the European Union in order to advance their relationship with the European Union.


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