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THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBORHOOD POLICY: MODELS OF INTEGRATION

У статті аналізується так звана Європейська політика сусідства (ЄПС) і на її основі розкриваються окремі моделі інтеграції до ЄС. Актуальність і головна причина виникнення ЄПС були продиктовані масштабним розширенням ЄС, обставинами, що оточували новий кордон ЄС, викликами і загрозами, які виникли в сучасному світі. Крім того, поблизу кордонів ЄС спалахнули нові конфлікти, включаючи міжнародні, які необхідно було вирішити, що було порівняно новою сферою політики ЄС. Розвиток ЄПС дав новий імпульс зусиллям європейських інституцій, спрямованих на управління чи вирішення конфліктів, у тому числі на території держав колишнього СРСР. Однак, як показала практика, до 2009 року існуюча ЄПС, насамперед у сфері безпеки, не була спрямована на вирішення цих питань, як інституційно, так і фінансово. Поступово важливість розв'язання конфліктів у рамках ЄПС почала зростати, і з'явилася необхідність розвивати співпрацю у всіх сферах на нових платформах і в нових умовах. Пізніше Східний вимір ЄПС було доповнено так званою політикою Східного партнерства. Після фінансово-економічної кризи, військового грузинсько-російського конфлікту та загострення конфліктів в інших регіонах Європейський Союз прагнув всебічно активізувати відносини з сусідніми країнами, які зазнали системних змін, і до середини 2010 року ЄС розпочав стратегічний огляд ЄПС. Бурхливі події «арабської весни» та подальші події в Україні підтвердили актуальність та своєчасність

такого перегляду ЄПС. У такий спосіб, Європейський Союз прагнув активізувати співпрацю з сусідніми та більш віддаленими країнами у всіх сферах. Європейська політика сусідства (ЄПС) після 2010 року є новим підходом Європейського Союзу до сусідніх країн з метою зміцнення відносин, співпраці у створенні зони безпеки і добробуту, формування «кільця дружніх країн» на своїх кордонах. ЄПС також має на меті надати країнам-сусідам ЄС можливість для більш тісної співпраці у сфері політики, безпеки, економіки та культури у рамках нових норм і стандартів. Тому потрібні дослідження вчених і фахівців у напрямку систематизації знань про ЄПС.

Ключові слова: Європейська політика сусідства, регіональне співробітництво, конфлікти, світ та європейська інтеграція, світовий політичний порядок, політика Східного партнерства, транскордонне співробітництво.

The article analyzes the so-called European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and on its basis revealed some models of EU integration. The urgency and the main reason for the emergence of the ENP were dictated by the large-scale EU expansion, the circumstances surrounding the new EU border, the challenges and threats that have arisen in the modern world. In addition, new conflicts have arisen around the EU border, including international ones, which had to be resolved, which was a relatively new area in EU policy. The development of the ENP has given new impetus to the efforts of European institutions aimed at managing or resolving conflicts, including in the territory of the former USSR states. However, as practice has shown, by 2009 the existing ENP, primarily in the field of security, was not designed to resolve these issues, either institutionally, or financially. Gradually, the importance of resolving conflicts within the ENP began to increase, and there was a need to develop it in all areas on new platforms and in new conditions. Later the Eastern Dimension of the ENP was supplemented by the so-called Eastern Partnership policy. After the financial and economic crisis, the military Georgian-Russian conflict and the escalation of conflicts in other regions, the European Union sought to comprehensively intensify relations with neighboring countries that underwent

systemic changes and by the middle of 2010 the EU began a strategic review of the ENP. The turbulent events of the “Arab Spring” and subsequent events in Ukraine have confirmed the relevance and timeliness of such a review of the ENP. The European Union thus sought to intensify cooperation with neighboring and more distant countries in all areas. The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) after 2010 is a new approach of the European Union to neighboring countries with the aim of strengthening relations, cooperation to create a security and welfare zone, formation a “ring of friendly countries” on their borders. The ENP is also intended to provide the EU neighboring countries with an opportunity for closer cooperation in the field of politics, security, economy and culture on new norms and standards. Therefore, we need the research of scientists and specialists in the direction of systematization of knowledge about the ENP.

Keywords: *European Neighborhood Policy, regional cooperation, conflicts, world and European integration, world political order, Eastern Partnership Policy, cross-border cooperation.*

Introduction to the topic. The purpose of this study at this stage and given the fact that this topic is global in nature, should be clarified and somewhat narrowed, in our opinion, to two problems: the reform and modernization of the European Neighborhood Policy in general and the assessment of the state and development of the ENP relative to the ENP neighbors, highlighting their specific issues. This would make it possible to reveal the essence of the ENP on the one hand, and on the other, the reasons and essence of the new approaches to the comprehensive dimension of the Eastern Partnership policy and its role in the integration process on the European continent should be explained and disclosed. In our opinion, it is advisable to consider this policy in a consistent statement of the EU decision and the events involved, as well as the reasons that influenced the origin, formation, and then transformation of the ENP. In other words, the stages of creation, implementation, development and implementation of the ENP should be traced. The European Security Strategy, adopted in December 2003, designated the se-

curity of border areas as one of the strategic objectives of the EU. The ENP aims to introduce this task into EU policies, which can be achieved in conditions of political stability and with the proliferation of relevant administrative models and norms outside the EU. The ENP in this context can serve as an alternative to EU membership, as well as provide the Union with a new tool for coordinating its own foreign policy. At the initial stage of the development of projects, the ENP cooperation with the disputed territories (Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh) was ambiguous. It should be noted that the participation of the European Union in resolving issues of disputed territories remains very controversial: The EU is trying to find a balance between the desire to refrain from recognizing these territories and attempts to help resolve conflicts. Many researchers agree that the use of the ENP as a policy tool will not be successful due to the lack of opportunity for participants to join the EU in the future through participation in this initiative. In particular, such a point of view is held by such researchers as G. Cacce and K. Voltsuk [2,3]. a number of other states.

Regarding the policy of the Eastern Partnership (PVP) at the moment, it would be necessary to emphasize the existing shortcomings and the need for its qualitative improvement. At present, the EU implements its PEP in several areas: bilateral (EU-Russia) direction in a common space with Russia; European Neighborhood Policy in relations with Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan; and the third direction is the frozen relations of the EU with Belarus, which are periodically reviewed depending on the circumstances and are not as categorical on the part of the EU as before. These three directions represent three different and separate vectors of the EU Eastern Partnership policy, or in other words, parallel EU policies regarding its eastern neighbors. We uphold the position that the European Union should develop and implement a single strategy for the whole ENP and for each region and key partner country separately. It is necessary to mention the fourth direction in the East - these are negotiations and the policy of the whole EU with Turkey. It is not part of our

task, but after all, the role of this country in this region should be singled out as a role of special importance and use its status, which this country has in the EU since the start of bilateral negotiations.

The European Neighborhood Policy in the first and subsequent stages of the EU geopolitical intentions. The European Neighborhood Policy was finalized after 10 new countries joined the EU in 2004. Among others, the main objective of this first model of the neighborhood policy was to strengthen the security of the EU, to prevent the emergence of new dividing lines in Europe and to secure the external border. In March 2003, the Commission presented its Communication “Greater Europe – Neighbors: A New Framework for Relations with the EU Eastern and Southern Neighbors”, which presented for the first time the principles of the new European Neighborhood Policy and highlighted the importance of the EU in strengthening relations with neighboring countries. The European Union’s Security Strategy, approved by the European Council in December 2003, also speaks about strengthening stability and good governance in EU-neighboring countries. The historical expansion of the European Union was for him a big step towards strengthening security and increasing prosperity on the European continent, but also means changing the external borders of the Union. These circumstances not only opened up new opportunities, but also set new challenges. European Neighborhood Policy is the answer to this new situation. In March 2003, the Commission presented its Communication “Greater Europe - Neighbors: A New Framework for Relations with the EU Eastern and Southern Neighbors”, which for the first time presented the principles of the new European Neighborhood Policy and highlighted the importance of the EU in strengthening relations with neighboring countries. According to this Report, the Commission proposes the creation of the European Neighborhood Instrument to assist third countries, including countries currently covered by the Tacis and MEDA programs. This idea was further developed in the Communication prepared in July 2003, “Towards a

New Neighborhood Instrument". In October 2003, the European Council welcomed the progress made in the implementation of this initiative and encouraged the Council and the Commission to continue this work in order to ensure an integrated balanced and proportionate approach, including the creation of a financial instrument. In May 2004, the European Commission presented the "European Neighborhood Policy. "Country Strategy and Reports", which sets out clear steps for the implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy and methods for extending the benefits of EU enlargement to neighboring countries. These priorities are supposed to be included in a jointly agreed Action Plan, which is a key policy document in strengthening relations between the EU and partner countries. Thanks to the ENP, Europe offered its neighbors a special relationship based on mutual commitment to common values (democracy and human rights, rule of law, good governance, principles of a market economy and sustainable development). The ENP was thus laid out as a result of the debate in 2003–2004, starting with the New Neighborhood Initiative (2002) and the Greater Europe concept (2003). The purpose of the ENP was to adapt the enlarged EU to its enlarged neighborhood and promote transformation processes in the neighboring countries in line with EU standards.

At the first stage, the ENP set itself the goal of becoming a universal modernization policy, which would not allow any difference between EU neighbors in the West and in the East. The ENP has identified an Action Plan as the main universal tool. This is a document adopted between the EU and the ENP country, which takes into account the needs and capabilities of the country, as well as the interests of the EU. The Action Plan itself was not a binding document between the EU and the relevant ENP country. However, the EU has proposed joint Action Plans only to those ENP countries that have already been in contractual relations with the EU through Associative Agreements (AU) and / or Partnership-Associative Agreements. The Action Plan determines the scope of political and economic reforms necessary to bring the relevant ENP country in line with

EU standards by setting short- and medium-term (3-5 years) priorities. The plan covers a wide range of issues, starting with political dialogue and reform, economic and social cooperation, cooperation in the ship system and internal affairs, in the sectors (transport, energy, informed society, environment, research and development), as well as in the human dimension (international contacts, civil society, education, health, etc.). In response to advances in achieving these priorities, the following incentives were identified: greater integration into European programs and networks, increased aid, and easier access to the market. Thus, the European Neighborhood Policy goes beyond existing relationships and offers deeper political relations and economic integration through reforms, which are a means of achieving peace, stability and economic prosperity. The level of ambition in this relationship will depend on how these values are shared by the partners. The European Neighborhood Policy does not offer the prospect of joining the European Union to partner countries, but offers privileged relations with the EU and assistance in achieving goals in various areas of cooperation. This policy applies to the EU's nearest neighbors on land and at sea: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine. Although Russia is also a neighbor of the EU, relations with it are developing within the framework of the Strategic Partnership. The EU and Russia decided to further develop their strategic partnership by creating four common spaces in accordance with the decisions taken at the St. Petersburg Summit (2003). Russia and the EU are implementing five programs for cross-border cooperation for 2007–2013. Kolarctic, Karelia, South-East Finland-Russia, Estonia-Latvia-Russia, Lithuania-Poland-Russia. Agreements on the implementation and financing of these programs were signed (2009). The Russian side allocated EUR 103.7 million for the implementation of the programs. In 2014, the parties began to develop new programs for 2014–2020. Kolarctic, Karelia, South-East Finland-Russia, Russia-Estonia, Russia-Latvia, Russia-Lithuania, Russia-Poland.

EU policy, although characterized by the introduction of enhanced cooperation with neighboring countries, does not provide for any preferences for membership in this international organization. According to researchers, this is the main disadvantage of such forms of cooperation, given the foreign policy ambitions of the latter. In turn, the political leadership of the EU understands that the lack of prospects for granting membership to countries in Eastern Europe may impede the stabilization and further development of the European region, spread nihilistic sentiments regarding the processes of European integration.

Strategic review of the European Neighborhood Policy of the European Union: new opportunities. As mentioned above, EU Action Plans with ENP countries will be based on mutual commitment to common values, mainly in the areas of the rule of law, good governance, respect for human rights, including minority rights, developing good neighborly relations and the principles of a market economy and sustainable development. It is also assumed that partner countries will undertake obligations in relation to some of the most important aspects of EU external activities, including, in particular, the fight against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as well as compliance with international law and conflict resolution efforts. Economic integration with the EU will allow neighboring countries to successfully implement their reform programs and economic development policies. Creating a prosperous and stable neighborhood means building a healthy political and economic system with solid foundations for socio-economic development. There is a relationship between reforms: in order to develop trade and investment, both parties must develop transport services and infrastructure communications. At the same time, strengthening the judicial and regulatory systems has a positive effect on the business climate and investments. The budget of the European Neighborhood Policy for the period 2014-2020. is 15.4 billion euros. The bulk of funding goes to bilateral cooperation programs, tailored to the needs of each of the partner countries, and based on the agreed partnership priorities or the

Association agenda, which are the basis for political engagement and cooperation. The two key principles of the European Neighborhood Policy are differentiation and responsibility for the outcome. This approach takes into account the different wishes of the partner countries in the development of their relations with the EU. The EU and the partner countries together determine the priorities for their cooperation, paying particular attention to common interests, which allows each of the parties to be more interested and responsible for the result. In addition to flexible individual support for the implementation of each partner country's ambitions, the ENP also provides flexibility in the use of financial assistance, allowing the EU to more effectively respond to new challenges, such as natural disasters, security threats, and to assist countries in conflict or post-conflict situations. An example of how quickly and flexibly EU financial instruments can be used is the activation of new trust funds to respond to conflicts in Syria and Africa.

Regarding interaction sectors, the ENP has **four priority areas**: good governance aimed at creating a just, inclusive and stable society based on respect for human rights and civil society engagement; economic and social development, including the creation of jobs for young people as a basis for stabilizing the economic situation in the region; security cooperation, mainly in areas such as conflict prevention, the fight against terrorism and radicalization; migration and mobility, which includes both mobility and illegal migration, human trafficking and smuggling. Finally, attention is also paid to energy security and combating climate change. With many countries (Algeria, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Moldova, Morocco and Tunisia), the EU has already concluded Association Agreements. The agreements with Ukraine since 2014 are already being implemented on an ongoing basis by the Association Agreement, and with some (with Armenia in November 2017) others are in the process of negotiations (Azerbaijan). Negotiations with Libya and Syria are suspended due to local conflict situations. Association agreements mean that the country is closest to what can join the

EU before or instead of becoming a candidate for EU membership. They provide for the process of harmonizing the partner country's legislation with EU legislation and include privileged trade relations - that is, the country can more easily gain access to certain sectors of the Single European market. With the EU, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, the EU even agreed on Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Zones (DCFTA). DCFTA talks are also under way with Tunisia and Morocco. Morocco even applied for membership in the European Community back in 1987, which was rejected on the grounds that it is not geographically a European country. A few years later, the Copenhagen criteria also introduced a number of political and economic prerequisites that a country must fulfill in order for the membership application to be accepted for consideration. First of all, it is stable democratic governance, a market economy and respect for human rights. As in the EU foreign policy and development policy, responsibility for the ENP is shared between four participants: the Council on Foreign Affairs, the European Foreign Policy Service (EEAS), the European Commission Directorate General for International Cooperation and Development (DEVCO, also known as EuropeAid) and Neighborhood and enlargement negotiations (NEAR), as well as the European Parliament. The Council and the Commission share the special role of the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, which (F.Mogherini) is simultaneously a member of both organizations - the Vice-President of the European Commission and the Chairman of the Council on Foreign Affairs (besides other roles). The Council makes decisions on foreign and neighborhood policy, ultimately responsible. The EEAS assumes the role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the EU diplomatic service, and the Directorate General Directorate of the NEAR and DEVCO manage the practical implementation and financing of the neighborhood policy. The main financial instrument of the ENP is the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), implemented for the first time in the EU financial perspective for 2007-2013. The ENPI was created on the basis of the former TACIS tool (CIS

Technical Assistance), the purpose of which was to assist the former Soviet countries in 1991-2006. From the very beginning, the main desire of the ENP was to go beyond the CFSP and the nature of only external relations with third countries. For the ENP partner countries, the prospect of participation in the integrated space of 4 EU freedoms was open, subject to compliance with the relevant EU standards.

The inclusion of the expansion policy in the EU's foreign policy was a turning point in its history. The adoption of economically less developed and relatively poor countries forced the Union to develop solidary instruments in order to maintain the political stability and economic development of the new EU members. The introduction in 1980 of Greece, Portugal and Spain prepared the Union for its new role in Europe, shaping an understanding of foreign policy objectives, a policy of further expansion, including the accession of the group of 8 post-communist countries in 2004. At the initial stage, the ENP had no special distinctions between southern and eastern countries. However, it soon became clear that the Mediterranean region and Eastern Europe are different regions with their own characteristics and specifics, different tasks. The EU's eastern neighbors, as opposed to the southern ones, are European countries and parties to the EU Agreement, Art. 49 of which states that every European state that recognizes the principles of p. 6 (1) may apply for admission to the EU. The determining factors are the immediate geographical proximity and size of these countries, compliance with these principles and standards. The concept of relations embedded in the ENP, although with certain problems, however, is currently working on the implementation of a comprehensive EU pan-European policy, implements its strategic initiative in Europe and provides a place for one of the leading players in the world.

The main deficit in the current EU policy towards the eastern neighborhood was the lack of a regional multilateral format of interaction with Eastern European countries. Relations between Eastern European countries, for example, Russia and Ukraine, Russia and Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova, etc. are the most im-

portant factor affecting the efficiency of the EU and its ability to defend its interests. There are many examples here that require the EU to resolve issues in a multilateral and regional format. Otherwise, the EU itself will lose the initiative, the status of a world player and will become ineffective in its relations with each.

After a radical change in Europe in 2005-2009 (establishing full control of the Russian Federation over Central Asian gas resources, defeat of the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, military intervention of the Russian Federation in Georgia, financial crisis, etc.) put the EU in front of new challenges, the need to revise its policy regarding the Russian Federation and the ENP countries as its eastern neighbors. A notable shift was the initiative during the presidency of the EU of Finland and Germany to introduce such tools in addressing the “regional components” of the Eastern ENP. A new dimension of the ENP in the field of sectoral cooperation between the EU and the ENP countries with the introduction of such ENP tools as a sectoral agreement, thematic (sectoral) dialogue and the possibility of joining the ENP countries to the European Community Programs and Bodies. Since 2006, Finland has coordinated the EU Northern Dimension Initiative, which determined cooperation in the EU-RF Common Space (the Northern Dimension was approved as early as 1997), the EU-RF model. This provision is enshrined in the Communiqué on Strengthening the European Neighborhood Policy (12/04/2006), which also reflects the ideas of the German proposal ENP-plus, including the sectoral agreement as the main tool for the ENP, which opens up the possibility of participating in the relevant EU Programs and Bodies. Finally, on April 11, 2007, under the chairmanship of Germany, the Communiqué of the Synergy of the Black Sea Region - a new initiative of regional cooperation was made public. This new initiative was the first in the history of the eastern policy of the ENP to introduce a regional format of political dialogue between the EU and the countries of the Eastern ENP. In the EU report submitted in June 2007, Ukraine, Israel and Morocco were identified as the most likely partners for participation in Community programs. Declared their inten-

tion to participate in the programs of the Community of Egypt, Lebanon and Moldova. With the commencement of the Financial Outlook for 2007–2013 (the new budget period), the Regulation on the creation of a number of new Community programs entered into force.

By that time, the European Parliament had also become more active, which had contributed to the political decision-making process, in particular, through its resolutions and during legislative procedures. For example, the OPEN Media Hub project, administered by the NEAR Directorate General. It is part of the Open Neighborhood Program, which, in turn, is the information and communication branch of the European Neighborhood Instrument (ENI), the source of funding for the ENP. ENI was established by the European Council and Parliament through a regular legislative procedure on the basis of the relevant articles of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. The implementation of this project is also coordinated with the EU delegations in the partner countries that are part of the EEAS and should coordinate their activities with the work of the European foreign service in the region. In addition, the European Commission launched the ENPI Information and Communication Support Project (Info Center) in January 2009 to talk about EU relations with neighbors and partners in the east and partner countries in the Mediterranean. In our view, the role of the European Parliament could be even more efficient, given its control and political functions (hearings, commission reports and other forms). For example, recently the President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko in his twitter congratulated the recommendations of the European Parliament on the creation of a new model “Eastern Partnership Plus” for Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia.

The policy of the Eastern Partnership of the European Union and its role in the integration process on the European continent. Over the past decade, the EU has significantly increased its presence in the European countries of the post-Soviet space, first within the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy, and later thanks to the Eastern Partnership initiative.

As noted above, **the Eastern Partnership** (EaP) is a project of the European Union, the main goal of which is the development of EU integration ties with six countries of the former USSR: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. The idea was to be viewed as a kind of regional (Eastern) dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy, which was initiated by the European Union in relation to its “new neighbors” after another expansion in May 2004, adopted in addition to the two main directions of the European Neighborhood Policy - the Northern dimension and the Mediterranean. That is, the EaP is a regional EU initiative that includes six EU member countries and six non-EU countries from Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. Eastern Partnership was initiated by Poland, and later supported by Sweden, which turned it from an individual to a much wider European project. The initiative was submitted to EU foreign ministers for consideration on May 26, 2008 in Brussels during the meeting of the Council on Universal EU Policy and the Council on International Relations (GAREC) by Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski with the participation of Sweden. The discussion on the creation of the EP was held on June 19–20, 2008 at the European Council. The Czech Republic subscribed to the proposal in full, while Bulgaria and Romania were much more cautious, believing that the new program could negate the activities of the existing Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Cooperation and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, which initiated the creation of supported just Bulgaria and of course Turkey. Thus, the introduction within the framework of the ENP of the idea of EaP in the EU was the next, effective step in the process of developing the initiative, creating a new model of the ENP.

Reference: - Relations between **Ukraine and the European Union** after the signing of the Association Agreement by Ukraine have been steadily developing, but the country’s investment indicators against the background of the ongoing armed conflict in Donbass and the political crisis worsened, and key sectors of the economy (including export-oriented) plunged into crisis. On 2.11.1991, the European Commission recognized the democratic

nature of the All-Ukrainian Referendum, and the European Council, which met on 9-10.12.1991 in Maastricht (after the signing of the Bialowieza Accords), expressed a desire to develop relations with Belarus, Ukraine and Russia, “freely and peacefully expressed their will to complete sovereignization “. In the spring of 1992, the European Mission adopted a directive to begin negotiations on the preparation of cooperation agreements with Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine. The leadership of Ukraine from the very beginning stated that it considers European integration as a priority direction of the country’s foreign policy. Already in the resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine dated July 2, 1993 “On the main directions of the domestic and foreign policy of Ukraine” the priority of the European vector and the desire to seek entry into the European Union were approved. However, the all-European policy towards Ukraine until 1994 was marked by declarativeness and utter vagueness of wording. It reflected the fears of European politicians on issues such as the unwillingness of the Ukrainian leadership to compromise on nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory, the lack of progress on the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the rise of Ukraine’s confrontation with Russia, Europe’s main partner in the post-Soviet space , a high degree of economic instability in Ukraine. Only in 1994, after the fundamental issue of the removal of nuclear weapons of the former USSR from the territory of independent Ukraine was resolved at the beginning of the year and its accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a Nuclear-Free State, did United Europe take the first concrete step in the development relations with Ukraine. On June 14, 1994, a basic Partnership and Cooperation Agreement was signed between Ukraine and the EU. This shift was promoted by the election of Leonid Kuchma to the post of President of Ukraine, which in comparison with the representative of the party nomenklatura Leonid Kravchuk was perceived in Europe as a young energetic politician and a major production manager. Active reform work, which Leonid Kuchma launched in his presidency, contributed to maintaining this image. It is unimportant

that the new president promised to reduce the level of confrontation in the Russian-Ukrainian relations, which was of considerable interest to Europe. In May 2009, Ukraine, along with five other former Soviet republics, began participating in a new initiative of the European Union - the EaP. At the Ukraine-EU summit in November 2010, a protocol was signed to the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement on the main principles of participation in EU programs, which stipulated that representatives of Ukraine would be able to participate in the status of observers in EU programs, as well as be part of The composition of the steering committees of those programs that Ukraine will provide financial support. In February 2011, Ukraine became a full member of the European Energy Community, whose goal is to create a single market for electricity and gas in the EU and Southeast Europe. The text of the new document was finally agreed upon in November 2011, but due to the complicated relations between the EU and Ukraine (arrest of Yulia Tymoshenko), its signing was postponed several times, while the European Union put forward a number of preliminary conditions to the Ukrainian leadership. Only on March 30, 2012, the heads of the delegations of Ukraine and the European Union initialed the Association Agreement, and on July 19, 2012, the Agreement on an in-depth and comprehensive free trade zone. In July 2012, Ukraine and the EU agreed to amend the agreement on visa facilitation. In March-April 2013, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the European Parliament ratified these agreements. On November 29, 2013, speaking at the Vilnius Eastern Partnership Summit, President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich refused to sign an association agreement with the EU, and the decision of the Cabinet of Ministers to suspend preparations for the conclusion of an association agreement between Ukraine and the EU caused mass protests in Kiev and number of regions of Ukraine, which led to the resignation of the government, and subsequently - to a complete change of government. On 2.03.2014, the new leadership of Ukraine ordered to resume the process of preparing for the signing of the agreement. On March 21, 2014, representatives of the EU and the

Prime Minister of Ukraine Arseniy Yatsenyuk signed the political block of the Association Agreement (replacing the previous Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Communities and Ukraine) that part of the document that concerns political interaction, security issues and struggle with terrorism. According to the signed document, the political dialogue should be conducted within the framework of the council of the association at the level of foreign ministers and experts. In the sphere of foreign policy, partnership is envisaged in the area of settling regional conflicts, Ukraine's participation in EU civil and military operations to overcome crisis situations, as well as in exercises and trainings. The economic part of the Agreement was signed three months later, on June 27, 2014, by representatives of the EU and President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko. It envisages the creation of a free trade zone and addresses such issues as market access, energy trade, cooperation in agriculture, transport, metallurgy, space, scientific research, tourism, entrepreneurial activities, protection of intellectual property, dispute resolution and tax conditions. On September 16, 2014, the Verkhovna Rada approved the draft law on ratification of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, which was signed on the same day by President Petro Poroshenko. 1.09.2017 The Association of Ukraine with the EU was ratified. In July 2014, tripartite negotiations of the Russian Federation, the European Union and Ukraine began in Brussels to implement the Association Agreement of the European Union and Ukraine, where the parties began to discuss practical issues of the implementation of the free trade agreement included in the economic section of the Association Agreement, in the context of its influence on trade between Russia and Ukraine, on September 12, 2014, at the Ukraine-Russia-EU trilateral talks, an agreement was reached to postpone the implementation of the agreement on the creation of a deep comprehensive free zone. govli within the Association of Ukraine with the EU until at least the end of 2015 and to maintain during this period of free trade within the CIS. Until that time, the EU will retain the right of duty-free access for Ukraini-

an goods to the European market, and European exports to Ukraine will continue to be subject to duties. On 17 May 2017, in Strasbourg, during the working visit of Petro Poroshenko to the European Parliament, a document was signed on the introduction of a visa-free regime for the entry of Ukrainian citizens to Europe. The document came into force at the beginning of June 2017. The introduction of a visa-free regime gives the citizens of Ukraine the right to move freely across the territory of 30 states. These are the 22 countries that are members of the European Union and the Schengen Agreement, four countries of the Schengen Agreement that are not members of the European Union (Switzerland, Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein) and four countries of the European Union that are not included in the Schengen Agreement (Cyprus, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia). The exceptions are the UK and Ireland. A visa-free regime will give citizens of Ukraine the right to stay in Europe for a period of 90 days during each 180-day period. The document does not give the right to reside, work-out or study in the EU. On the prospects of Ukraine's membership in the EU, in theory any European country can join the EU. The EU Council consults with the Commission and the European Parliament and makes a decision about the start of negotiations on accession. The Board may approve the application only unanimously. To obtain approval of the application, the country must meet the necessary criteria

The main goal of the EaP in a broader sense is to strengthen and deepen integration between the EU and the countries of Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus in parallel with the process of deepening integration between the EU, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, which is also ongoing. In the short term, the Eastern Partnership should reduce the differences between the EU's activities in the Black Sea and Mediterranean regions, and the EU's policy towards Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. In the long run, the EaP plans to deepen integration between the EU and non-EU countries - representatives of the initiative, up to their full integration with the EU. The EaP can also strengthen integration by proposing the EU to begin pursuing interests

in relation to EU member states that are not yet adopted by the European Union at this stage of the integration process. The result of cooperation in the framework of the EaP for EU members from Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus is the prospect of joining the EU.

On May 23, 2008, samples of documents on the EaP were presented, according to which the EaP is an open organization for all 27 EU member states and applies to all Eastern partners. The proposal identifies the following countries - non-EU members, such as: from Eastern Europe - Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, from the South Caucasus - Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia. The EaP covers those areas of cooperation that are in line with the current interests of non-EU countries regarding the European Union. According to the documents, the EaP cooperates in the following areas of main interest:

- social activities: deepening cooperation in the area of demarcation of borders and their demarcation, migration and visa facilitation, leading to the establishment of a visa-free process between the EU and these partners, and the creation of a better infrastructure of borders. In addition, exchange programs, seminars, joint research, etc., are increasing;
- economic: deepening cooperation towards the establishment of free trade zones, causing economic integration between eastern countries, creating transport networks;
- legal: developing new legal frameworks for cooperation between the EU and its partners, developing new Action Plans and Cooperation, as well as Cooperation Agreements - new agreements that move current documents forward. The proposal also includes cooperation in the implementation of these documents;
- political: the initiative provides for cooperation in strengthening the rule of law, cooperation in foreign security policy, state public service and local authorities.

In addition, cooperation must be conducted in accordance with European standards, policies and laws. For example, texts of

the new legal framework between the EU and its partners should correspond to deepening the reform process in non-EU countries and be related to the alignment process with EU legislation. Moreover, progress in implementing reforms will affect the amount of EU financial support to non-member countries. According to the proposal, the key point affecting cooperation is the principle of disagreement in the ENP. This principle ensures that the progress of integration of a particular country will not be related to the scale of integration between other countries and the European Union. Collaboration should be based on specific projects. In addition, the EaP should cooperate with other European regional initiatives.

With regard to project financing, they will be supported by financial resources for non-member countries, such as: the European Neighborhood Policy Instrument (ENPI), European Investment Bank (EIB, European Investment Bank) and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development loans (EBRD, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development), and also at the expense of finances from the EU budget.

Eastern Partnership	
advantages	disadvantages
Deepening the existence and creation of new regional relations outside the EU, for example, between Eastern European countries, Eastern Europe and Central Europe, or between the Baltic and Black Sea regions	The Eastern Partnership document does not include a single statement about the provision of EU membership prospects to EU neighbors.
For a separately considered country: - ensuring the gradual deepening of economic and political integration with the EU; - deepening relations between neighboring countries	The Eastern Partnership is a common proposal that does not offer any new areas of cooperation, new financial support or an extensive institutional structure.

The absence of a membership obligation does not mean that the EaP is an alternative solution to EU membership. The propos-

al, which notes that the main purpose of cooperation is to deepen integration between the EU and other participants, in no way determines the boundaries of integration. In addition, the Interim Government begins the process of strengthening and consolidating integration with the EU. Considering the controversy about further expansion relevant to the EU, integration can only move forward over time. This initiative does not involve participation in cooperation in areas such as energy or legal, which play a significant role for further integration with the EU. Also, the proposal does not contribute to cooperation in strengthening the movement of labor, cross-border cooperation, or at least common initiatives in the field of defense and security. This model of a wider range of partnerships will be developed later.

It is worth noting that Moscow considers the EaP as a regional organization directed against Russian interests. The reaction of Russian official and media sources to the EP indicates that Moscow is trying to criticize this initiative mainly emphasizing the fact that the EAP is an alternative to EU membership. All actions of Russia are aimed at ensuring that non-EU countries abandon support for the EaP.

Thus, the Eastern Partnership should be considered as a process, and not as an already formed and coordinated instrument. According to the apt expression of someone from the experts, VP - this is like a bicycle, if it stops, it will fall. It should be noted that over time, the EaP will develop and become a tool more in line with the interests of countries from Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. Also, the activities of the EaP can not only deepen the regional integration between the partners of the initiative, but also the global process. The EaP would not only be another platform for cooperation between the EU and non-EU countries, but over time it will also deepen the diversification of the ENP.

The main stages of the development of the Eastern Partnership initiative.

- Prague Summit. On May 7, 2009, a constituent summit in Prague was held, where a joint declaration on the Eastern Partnership was adopted and its official institution was held. The

main goal of the new initiative was to declare “creating the necessary conditions for accelerating political and economic integration between the European Union and interested partner countries” by promoting political and socio-economic reforms in the EaP member countries. At the same time, the Prague Declaration emphasized that in their activities the EaP will be guided by the principle of “conditionality”, that is, moving forward only if the countries participating in the program meet certain EU requirements. EaP implies the prospect of concluding a new generation association agreement, deep integration into the EU economy, concluding comprehensive agreements on free trade zones, facilitating travel to the EU for citizens, subject to the implementation of measures to improve security, the introduction of energy security measures and increased financial assistance.

- Warsaw Summit. In May 2010, Poland proposed the creation of a “group of friends” within the framework of the EaP program and invited Russia to participate in this structure. Polish Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski noted that, in addition to Russia, Norway, Canada, the United States, Japan and other countries could be included in this group. It was assumed that Russia will be invited to discuss only some local initiatives, for example, relating to the Kaliningrad region. Russia, however, refused to include Kaliningrad in the scope of the EaP.

- Brussels meeting. In July 2012, a meeting of the foreign ministers of the European Union and the EaP countries was held in Brussels and was dedicated to Belarus. Earlier, the European Parliament called on ministers to discuss at the meeting the situation with human rights in this country. Representatives of the EU countries once again reminded that the condition for the active participation of Belarus in the EU programs is still the fulfillment of human rights requirements.

- Vilnius Summit. On November 28-29, 2013, the third summit of the Interim Government was held, at which it was planned to initial the agreement on the Free Trade Zone with Moldova and, if certain conditions are met, sign the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. The

summit was attended by presidents of the states of Transcaucasia and Ukraine, representatives of the governments of Belarus and Moldova, as well as the top leadership of the EU (Barroso, van Rompuy). Representatives of Georgia and Moldova were only able to initial the association agreement with the EU, Armenia and Ukraine refrained from signing it (despite the fact that Ukraine's initialing had already taken place). The EU representative Barroso rejected the proposal of the President of Ukraine Yanukovich on the participation of Russia in the negotiations, and Martin Schulz said that an agreement with Ukraine could be signed with the next president. The host of the summit, Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė, did not hide her disappointment and took a tough stance: "There will not be any practice or dealings with the Ukrainian leadership of the EU."

- Brussels Summit. In November 2017, the seventh EaP Summit was held in Brussels. For the first time, all six participating countries took part in its work. At the end of the summit, Armenia signed a comprehensive partnership agreement with the EU. The next summit will be held at the end of 2019.

The Fear of Russia. Russian experts believe that this project challenges Russian interests in the region. Since the EaP appeared as a Polish initiative, the project may hide anti-Russian geopolitical ambitions. According to Russian experts, the highest priority component of the new initiative is its energy "component" - in particular, the creation of alternative energy routes to Russia for Europe. Another obvious goal is to undermine Russia's geopolitical influence in Eastern Europe and strengthen the EU's position here. A number of Russian experts are talking about the EU's intention to finally disintegrate the post-Soviet space with the help of the Interim Government and to withdraw the CIS countries from the influence of the Russian Federation. Their politicians assert that they are against these CIS countries putting themselves in an artificial dilemma: either forward, to the bright future of the EU, or backward - with Russia. And the fact that there were such signs at the initial stage of the EP was a fact. In addition, the Ukrainian crisis led to a multitude of international

consequences - economic sanctions against Russia hampered its space for maneuver on the world market, the political resistance of Western countries buried the G8 and the prospects for new large-scale joint initiatives. In Poland and the Baltic countries, the growth of confrontation between Russia and the West fit into the general outline of an unbalanced and objective perception of the eastern neighbor and gave rise to, among other things, the emergence of scientific reports that explicitly state the need to expand the presence of American military forces in these territories of countries. In particular, such a document was published in August 2015 by the Polish Institute of International Relations (PISM), entitled "US Military Presence in Central Europe: Implications for NATO's Strategic Adaptation, Deterrence and Allied Unity". In it, the authors advocate an increase in the number of American troops on the territory of Central and Eastern Europe, taking into account the fact that after the Ukrainian conflict and the "hostile attitude" from Russia, the United States turned out to be the most decisive and capable ally of Poland and the Baltic countries. Other CEE countries reject the idea of permanently deploying an American battalion on their territory. Germany has traditionally opposed the creation of NATO military bases in Poland, proposing to reanimate the Russia-NATO Council. Dirk Wiese, in his article published on May 23, 2018 titled "Dialogue or direct speech?", speaking of relations with Russia and the EaP countries, considers unproductive a rash classification into categories like "people who understand Putin" or "foreign policy hawks". "Today one thing is clear: after the annexation of the Crimea, contrary to international law, and the destabilization of the situation in Eastern Ukraine, Russia directly challenged the foundations of the European security system, and thus the fundamental idea of the policy of detente of Willy Brandt and Egon Bar. Mutual trust as the basis of any partnership has been greatly shaken. Therefore, the EU, together with international partners, clearly stated its position and sanctions to make it clear that there is no place for a policy aimed at forcibly changing borders in Europe in the 21st century. However, from the very beginning,

the pressure was constantly accompanied by proposals of a constructive dialogue. We must continue to communicate with the Russian Federation and probe the islands for cooperation not only with the aim of resolving conflicts that take place in Syria and Ukraine, but also opposing the alienation between the societies of our countries. “

The election of opposition leader Nikol Pashinyan as prime minister of Armenia gives hope for the possibility of a reset, and not only in EU-Armenia relations. It is important that he stay true to his promises. This may be another proof of Armenia's commitment to democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights, as well as its desire to implement them. The new large-scale agreement between the EU and Armenia, signed last autumn, provides an excellent basis for this, opens up new possibilities for future cooperation with Belarus, which plays an important role as a party hosting the participants in difficult negotiations to resolve the conflict in Eastern Ukraine, demonstrates its willingness constructive participation in efforts to stabilize the situation in the region, to act as a bridge for settling relations with Russia. Thanks to special relations with Russia, on the one hand, and good relations with other EaP countries - Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan - on the other hand, Belarus, of course, will also play a significant role in this region in the future.

The six EaP countries have different foreign policy goals and orientations, while they are closely interrelated in geopolitical and security terms. Transnistria, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, the Crimea and the Donbass, Nagorno-Karabakh - each country is under different pressure from Russia, seeking to preserve its interests and spheres of influence in the region. So far, only Belarus has managed to avoid a territorial conflict, but Minsk pays its high price for Moscow. It is therefore not surprising that 98 percent of experts from six EaP countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine) and from five Central and Eastern European countries (Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia) surveyed by the East European Security

Research Initiative (EESRI) in December 2017, called Russia's aggressive policy as the biggest external threat to the security of the EaP countries, - writes N. Eremin's articles. Of course, external assistance, especially from the EU and NATO, is of indisputable importance for strengthening the security of the EaP region and the importance of arms and money should not be underestimated. However, the main work must be carried out by the EaP countries themselves, - many scientists and specialists speak about it. The ability to counter current threats to security largely depends on the willingness of countries to effectively implement reforms, primarily anti-corruption, political and economic, and not only in the sphere of security and defense.

As a general conclusion, we can offer an opinion that the authors of the article Knut Flekenstein and Julia Vanninger expressed on this issue. Anyone who considers an EaP program to be an EU accession candidate reduces the chances of success of this policy, which provides for much more. The meaning of this partnership is to support the EU's eastern neighbors in carrying out political, economic and social transformations so that they benefit from EU achievements and regional cooperation, and the EU itself has secured a stable and safe environment. We are talking about the maximum mutual exchange without membership in EU institutions in order to avoid the emergence of new lines of division. As part of the European Neighborhood Policy, the EaP also combines two approaches: EU support for specific reforms at the bilateral level, combined with proposals for close cooperation, and the creation of incentives to improve multilateral cooperation in the region, both between the Eastern neighbors and the EU . Therefore, at the moment, the EAP is facing two challenges. First, the EaP needs to succeed in supporting the start of reforms and their effective implementation in the neighboring states, in particular, in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, which have concluded ambitious association agreements in the areas of political cooperation and economic integration, as well as in-depth agreements and a comprehensive free trade area. The EU is obliged to neutralize the conviction that a certain stage has

been completed with the conclusion of these agreements, and also to resist the demands of the earliest possible proposal to move to the next level of cooperation. On the contrary, thanks to these agreements, the opportunities for a closer partnership with a long-term perspective were created. Secondly, the EaP was faced with the challenge of dividing the partners into countries that have entered into association agreements with the EU, and countries that do not have such. For example, Georgia, and with it both Moldova and Ukraine, are making every effort, on the basis of an association agreement, to get the EU to become even more willing to meet them. Despite repeated calls for a policy precisely tailored to individual neighbors, the EU should not deviate from its goals to improve multilateral cooperation between Eastern partners. This can be achieved only by maintaining at least the minimum level of consolidation within the Eastern Partnership and avoiding permanent separation of associate and non-associated partners in each forum. In the final analysis, the key to long-term stability and security is precisely the partnership between all the neighbors. In addition, it is in the interest of the EU to stimulate the spread of the spillover effect by countries that successfully implement the reforms associated with the Association Agreement. The European Union should continue to avoid feeding unrealistic expectations from the EaP and false hopes for the prospect of joining the EU. Obviously, N. Eremin believes that the EaP is used to strengthen the EU's positions in the field of energy and security, and also is intended to confirm the role of the EU as a global player. However, this configuration leads to an increase in tension with the Russian Federation and the EAEU.

On October 25, 2017, the Head of the European External Relations Service (EEAS), Federica Mogherini, spoke in the Estonian capital Tallinn at the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Conference, which is anticipating the summit of the heads of EaP states in Brussels on November 24. The conference was attended by 469 delegates from the post-Soviet republics and other countries. She said that the EaP countries can always be sure that the

EU is on their side. "You better support the reforms necessary for your countries and monitor their effectiveness." Mogherini announced 20 proposals on the development of civil society until 2020, which are to be discussed at the end of autumn. She noted that the EaP project refers "not to geopolitics and spheres of influence", but to improving living standards, "to the economy, trade, and above all to democracy, human rights and civil society." Indeed, from 2014 to 2016. With the support of the EU, 260 projects were launched in six post-Soviet republics, covering more than 600 organizations. The program of EU general financing in the EaP countries - Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, through the European Neighborhood Policy (EPS) is several billion euros, according to the plan for 2014-2020. For individual countries, assistance varies from approximately € 150 million over 7 years for Azerbaijan and Belarus to € 1 billion for Ukraine, which occupies about a third of all EU-planned expenditures for the EAP.

EU relations with Central Asian countries, with Kazakhstan. On the edge of the ASEM summit (an international organization uniting the countries of East Asia and Europe) with the participation of Nursultan Nazarbayev in the EU, they announced a new strategy for the development of close relations with the Central Asian countries. In particular, from Kazakhstan, located at the crossroads of two continents, in Brussels they expect serious initiatives to create new transport lines, seaports and terminals. "Today, relations between the two continents are reaching an unprecedented level. Asian markets account for over a third of EU exports. Almost half of the goods and services imported by the EU come from Asian countries. Every year thousands of students, scientists, researchers move between the EU and Asia. While the relationship with Asia has always been part of EU policy, we have not yet fully used our potential in this area. It is for this reason that earlier this week we proposed a new political framework for the revitalization of the EU, namely, a strategy to expand relations between Europe and Asia," Federica Mogherini, head of EU diplomacy, said in her political article on September 19, 2018

According to her, the EU is ready to offer Asian countries their experience in the field of regulation, technical knowledge and funding opportunities for projects that promote greater interaction and rapprochement, and will ensure financial and environmental growth. "Within the framework of the EU approach, the relationship can only be built on the basis of partnership. Many partnerships already exist. Kazakhstan, as a state located at the crossroads of continental transport and logistics lines, does change its status from a landlocked country to a connecting bridge. Especially in light of its membership in ASEM since 2014, the transit potential in the form of Kazakhstan's initiatives to create new transport lines, seaports and terminals is extremely important. China is also promoting several transport initiatives and projects related to Europe in the framework of the Belt project and the route. Japan focuses on linking infrastructure investments with support for Japanese exports to Southeast Asia" states F. Mogherini. In addition, the EU wants to work on establishing relationships based on common principles: transparency, non-discriminatory market practices, equal conditions for economic entities, protection of intellectual property rights. "Finally, we mobilize all our levers to support projects by providing the necessary funding, using the full potential of the European Investment Bank and new instruments for foreign investment policy available within the EU budget. According to the Asian Development Bank, Asia will need more than 1.3 trillion euros per year of infrastructure investment in the coming decades. The EU is ready to support Asian countries in overcoming this challenge, using public and private funding through a combination of tools such as grants, guarantees, credit and blending," says the head of EU diplomacy. At the same time, she says that investments must be financially viable and sustainable. In other words, the EU will support exclusively those projects that mobilize domestic resources, create value for local communities and be sustainable in the long term. "In total, Europe and Asia account for almost 70% of the world population and more than 60% of world GDP. We have the opportunity to make our ties stronger and

mutually beneficial. Sustainable cooperation based on strong partnerships and transparent rules is the best way to move the EU, Europe and Asia forward”, – F. Mogherini said. The ASEM Summit took place on October 18–19, 2018 in Brussels.

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