

Universitatea Babeş - Bolyai Cluj-Napoca

Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie

**EXTINDEREA EUROPEANA SI REDEFINIREA
TRANSATLANTICISMULUI**

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Conducator stiintific:

Prof. Univ. Dr. Vasile Pușcaș

Doctorand:

Cristina I. Marine

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REZUMAT

Isotria extinderii si integrarii Uniunii Europene (UE) este strans legata de relatiile transatlantice. Cercetarea originilor si a dezvoltarii treptate a conceptului Uniunii Europene scoate in evidenta o retea stransa de interconexiuni intre natiunile europene si Statele Unite ale Americii (SUA). Din punct de vedere politic, economic, social si cultural, relatiile transatlantice s-au concretizat printr-o masa impresionanta de acorduri, aranjamente, planuri, conferinte, initiative si politici care reflecta imprejurarile istorice cat si provocarile si oportunitatile de cooperare pentru americani si europeni.

Acum, in scolul XXI, istoria extinderii UE inchide un capitol de cinci decenii care au dus la maturitatea progresiva a Uniunii, iar cu Tratatul de la Lisabona au deschis un nou capitol care va defini impactul global al UE cat si noi curente in relatiile transatlantice. Atributiile crescande ale institutiilor UE si piata Uniunii Europene dovedesc ca Uniunea s-a consolidat si a devenit un concurent capabil sa provoace puterea dominanta a colosului American.¹ Pe masura ce conceptul unei Uniuni a natiunilor europene s-a dezvoltat, curand dupa cel de al doilea razboi mondial, iar amenintarea comunista era tot

¹ Nye, J.S. (2002), *The paradox of American power. Why the world's only superpower can't go it alone*. New York: OUP

mai puternica, relatiile Americano-europene au fost redefinite, iar SUA s-a afirmat ca "liderul de necontestat al lumii occidentale."² Liderşipul American, alaturi de asistenta eocnomica si financiara, a facut posibila restructurarea Europei Occidentale si a creat pe vechiul continent conditiile care vor face posibil si vor incuraja tarile din Europa Occidentala sa ia in considerare posibilitatea stabilirii unei uniuni economice si politice.

Acest secol, al XXI-lea, a consolidat puterea SUA cat si rolul sau de supra-putere mondiala. Atentatele teroriste de la 11 septembrie 2001 pe teritoriul american au creat noi dimensiuni ale hegemoniei americane, cum ar fi demonstratia indisputabila a fortei militare americane (uneori criticata), ducand la o detriorare semnificativa a relatiilor SUA cu aliatii traditionali din Europa. Pentru a continua procesul de redresare a relatiilor transatlantice, *atlanticismul* si *europenismul* vor trebui inlocuite de *tranatlanticism*; autorul acestei lucrari considera ca evolutia pozitiva a transatlanticismului va fi posibila pe masura ce SUA isi reasuma rolul conducator pe plan global si accepta parteneriatul unei Uniuni Europene puternice.

²Biedenkopf, K. (2202), *The United States and Europe: changing dimensions of transatlantic relations*. Madison: University of Wisconsin. p. 22.

Potrivit opiniilor lui Cohen-Tanugi, "complementaritatea dintre o Europa mai puternica si o America mai deschisa, si perspectivele pe care alianta lor reînnoita le ofera lumii pledeaza puternic pentru o astfel de viziune."³

Al cincilea val de extindere a UE (2004-2007) a fost un succes. Sapte si respectiv patru ani dupa largirea fara precedent a granitelor UE catre est, cele 12 noi state membre isi continua procesul de integrare, infirmând scenariile pesimiste care au precedat extinderea. "Toti castiga pe masura ce noile state membre devin mai bogate," anunta un comunicat de presa pe pagina Internet la Uniunii Europene in mai 2006.⁴

La 1 mai 2004, opt dintre fostele tari comuniste si doua natiuni mmediteranene au devenit membre UE: Cipru, Republica Ceha, Estonia, Ungaria, Letonia, Lituania, Malta, Polonia, Slovakia, si Slovenia. La 1 ianuarie 2007, li s-au alaturat Bulgaria si Romania, marind UE la 27 de state membre si creand o piata cu o populatie de 500 de milioane de locuitori. UE considera extinderea un prilej de a promova stabilitatea pe continent si de a incuraja integrarea statelor membre.

³ Cohen-Tanugi, L. (2003). *An alliance at risk. The United States and Europe since September 11*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.p. 128

⁴ European Commission. (2006), Press Release. Retrieved from: <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleases.do?reference=IP/07>

Procesul integrării noilor state din cel de al cincilea val a fost lansat în cadrul obiectivelor strategice de zece ani ale Uniunii adoptate la summitul de la Lisabona din luna martie 2000.⁵ UE s-a angajat "să devină cea mai competitivă și dinamică economie mondială, capabilă de a menține o economie sustenabilă și de a realiza coeziune socială."⁶ Înțelegând perfect provocarea de a accepta noi membri, oficialitățile UE au notat ulterior că "anul 2004 a fost o piatră de încercare istorică în ceea ce privește extinderea."⁷ UE a monitorizat cu atenție Bulgaria și România pentru a le asigura aderarea în 2007 și a continuat strategia de promovare a cooperării regionale. Croația și Turcia negociază cererile lor de aderare, iar națiunile din Balcanii Occidentali vor începe procesul de aderare atunci când vor fi îndeplinite condițiile riguroase ale aderării la UE.

⁵ La summitul de la Lisabona, Portugalia, în martie 2000, liderii europeni au stabilit obiectivul de a realiza o creștere economică de 3% și de a crea 20 milioane de noi locuri de muncă până în 2010. Agenda de la Lisabona a inclus o serie de obiective în diverse domenii cum ar fi angajarea forței de muncă, piața liberă, liberalizarea comerțului și probleme de mediu.

⁶ European Council. (2000), Conclusions of the Presidency. Para. 2. Retrieved from: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm

⁷ Rehn, O. (2005), Enlargement under Stress: the policy of consolidation, conditionality and communication. Retrieved from: http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/ear/publications/main/pub-speech_20050712.htm

Al cincilea val a avut o importanta deosebita si pentru ca a coincis cu extinderea NATO. Pornind de la Propunerea de la Vilnius din 2000 privind extinderea Aliantei Nord Atlantice,⁸ potrivit cu politica 'usilor deschise' si cu indemnul Statelor Unite catre o *Europa implinita, libera si pasnica*, sapte noi state au fost invitate sa adere la NATO in timpul summitului care a avut loc la Praga in noiembrie 2002. O luna mai tarziu, la summitul de la Copenhaga, in decembrie 2002, zece state au fost invitate sa adere la UE. Ambele extinderi au avut loc in 2004.⁹

In a doua jumatate a secolului XX, relatiile transatlantice au evoluat in jurul problemelor de securitate garantate de NATO, iar americanii si europenii si-au coordonat cu succes eforturile impotriva adverasului comun in timpul Razaboiului Rece. Uniunea Sovietica s-a dezintegrat in 1991, confirmand succesul deceniilor de lupta persistenta impotriva comunismului. Relatiile transatlantice au intrat intr-o perioada mai dificila in perioada urmatoare. Se vorbeste despre *ruptura tansatlantica*,

⁸ La conferinta Rolul NATO in Schimbarea Mediului de Securitate din Europa, tinuta la Vilnius, Lituania, 18-19 mai, 2000, si-au exprimat intentia de a adera la NAOT guvernele urmatoarelor tari: Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Letonia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, si Slovenia.

⁹ La 28 martie, 2004, Bulgaria, Estonia, Letonia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, si Slovenia au aderat la NATO. La 1 mai, 2004, zece noi state au devenit membre UE. Bulgaria si Romania au devenit membre UE la 1 ianuarie 2007.

divergente, diviziuni persistente in relatiile transatlantice.¹⁰ Occidentul pare sa fi pus capat Razboiului Rece cu pretul inrautatirii dialogului strategic intre aliatii traditionali.

Obiectivele tezei si intrebari de cercetare

Pornind de la consideratiile prezentate anterior, teza urmareste trei obiective. Primul obiectiv este sa demonstreze ca, prin evenimente care au dus la infiintarea si progresul proiectului european, cel de al cincilea val de extindere a contribuit la consolidarea UE. Cercetarea dovedeste ca aderarile la UE si NATO au fost factori decisivi in implementarea programelor accelerate de reforma in noile state membre din fostul bloc comunist. Demonstram de asemenea ca adoptarea Tratatului de la Lisabona este un moment important care intareste pozitia UE ca actor mondial.

Al doilea obiectiv al lucrarii este sa demonstreze ca aderarea Romaniei la UE a fost un proces plin de provocari, marcat alternativ de succes si lipsuri. Acest proces este in continuare in curs de desfasurare si depinde de vointa

¹⁰ Vezi Cohen-Tanugi, L. (2003), *An alliance at risk. The United States and Europe since September 11*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University; si Serfaty, S. (2005), *The vital partnership. Power and order. America and Europe beyond Iraq*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

cetatenilor romani si oficialitatilor romane ca Romania sa devina un participant activ la procesul decizional din UE.

Al treilea obiectiv al tezei este sa contruiasca un rationament care sprijina ideea ca, in secolul XXI, SUA si UE au facut eforturi sustinute pentru a depasi majoritatea momentelor tensionate din relatiile transatlantice. Impactul direct al *restului lumii* asupra pozitiei conducatoare a SUA intr-o lume multipolara schimba fundamental relatiile transatlantice. SUA, UE si NATO sunt factori de decizie pe plan mondial si teza demonstreaza necesitatea stabilirii unui nou Forum SUA-NATO-UE care sa dea posibilitatea membrilor celor doua organizatii sa participe la procesul decizional.

Ne concentram asupra urmatoarelor intrebari: Este posibil ca tensiunea din relatiile transatlantice sa fi generat o ruptura de lunga durata? Care sunt cauzele acestei tensiuni? Mai este NATO o organizatie cu impact actual? Cum au reactionat factorii decizionali americani la perspectiva unei Uniuni Europene consolidate care devine un concurent pe plan mondial? Care sunt radacinile conceptului UE? Care sunt momentele semnificative in procesul care duce infiintarea si consolidarea Uniunii? Care sunt cauzele evenimentelor asincrone care au dus la definitivarea uniunii politice, economice si monetare? Care este impactul istoriei europene si americane asupra relatiilor

transatlantice? Care sunt alternativele in gasirea unor optiuni realiste pentru redefinirea transatlantismului in secolul XXI?

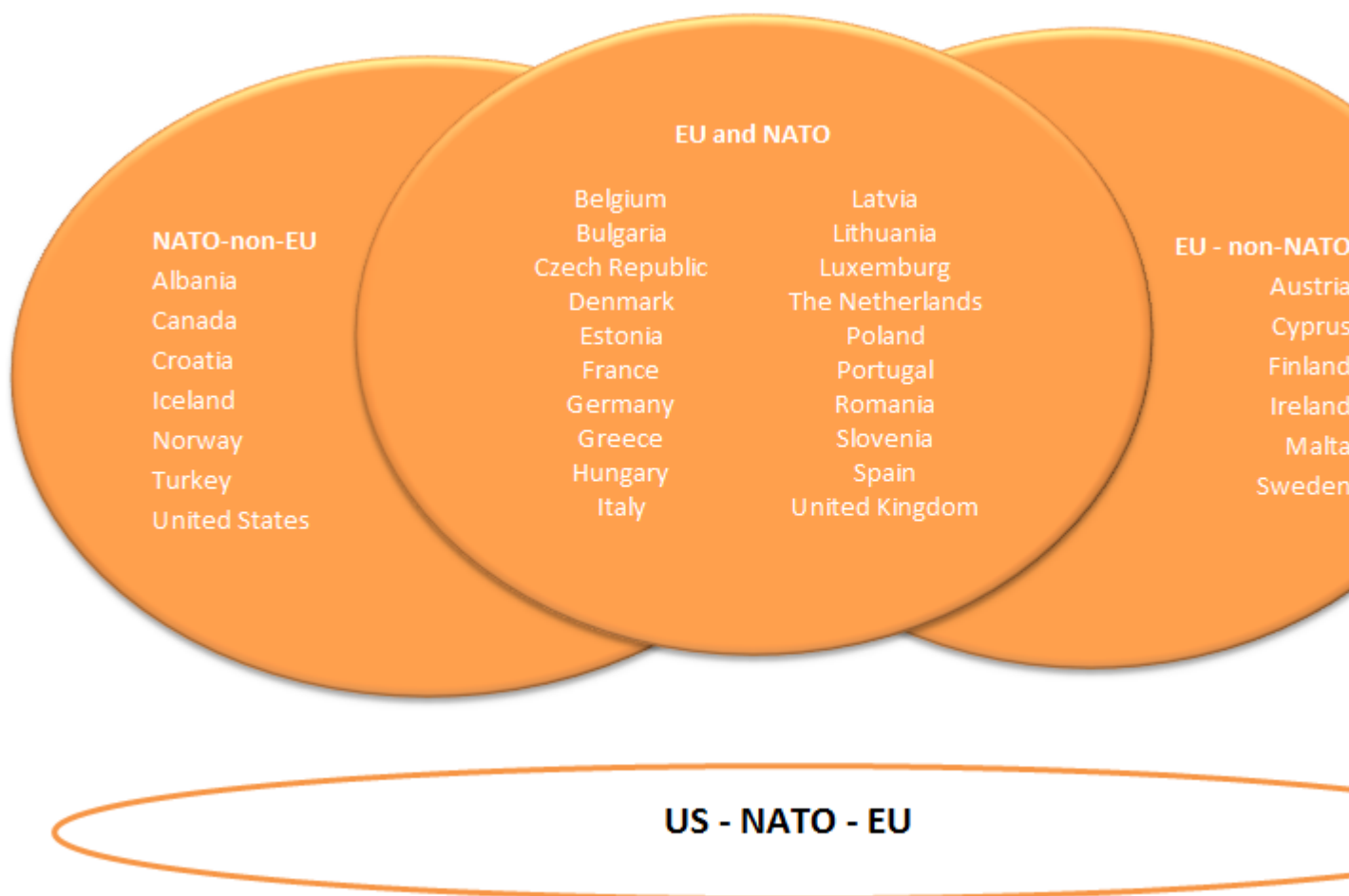
Contributia tezei

Cu o trecere in revista a momentelor principale ale istoriei europene pe baza literaturii de specialitate, a documentelor UE, a surselor credibile din presa, realizam o sinteza a desfasurarilor cheie ale proiectului UE. Desi ne concentram in primul rand asupra celui de al cincilea val de extindere europeana, teza discuta si evenimente curente care au relevanta directa pentru intrebarile cercetarii.

Studiul de caz Romania analizeaza procesul de aderare cu accent pe rezultatele obtinute in timpul procesului de negociere. Folosind surse academice si interviuri cu participanti la process, cercetarea contribuie la o mai buna intelegere a cazului special al Romaniei ca tara candidata si apoi ca nou membru al Uniunii Europene din ianuarie 2007.

Pentru secolul XXI, recomandam ca SUA si UE sa adopte o politica de stransa cooperare, in contextul in care SUA continua sa sprijine integrarea europeana. Asociindu-ne sugestiei facute de Simon Serfaty, distins om de stiinta si expert in relatii internationale, sugeram infiintarea unui nou forum SUA-NATO-UE care sa inlesneasca o mai buna coordonare UE - NATO. Acest

forum va da posibilitatea Uniunii sa isi exprime un punct de vedere comun, in conditiile in care statele europene, separat, nu pot indeplini un rol major pe plan international - opinie validata prin recente desfasurari in Africa de Nord.



Acest Forum Nou va include sapte state membre NATO care nu sunt membre in UE si sase state membre in UE care nu sunt membre in NATO.

Metodologia si structura tezei

Paradigma teoretica dominanta in studiul si practica relatiilor internationale dupa cel de al doilea Razboi Mondial a fost realismul. Realismul politic promovat de Hans Morgenthau si Henry Kissinger trebuie sa fie in mod sistematic complementat de o abordare tinand cont de interdependentele complexe recomandata de Joseph Nye si Robert Keohane pentru a pune intelege si anticipa desfasurarea evenimentelor. Aceasta cercetare aduce o contributie la descrierea noului transatlanticism ca rezultat al interdependentelor globale.

Folosim o abordare calitativa pentru atingerea obiectivelor tezei si structuram argumentele lucrarii in sapte capitole. Capitolul 1 include momentele principale ale procesului dezvoltarii Uniunii Europene. Pornind de la o selectare subiectiva a materialului de cercetare, acest capitol curpinde o prezentare din punct de vedere istoric a Comunitatii Europene si face o prezentare substantiala a principalelor tratate care au culminat cu Tratatul Uniunii Europene.

Capitolul 2 include o prezentare amanuntita a celui de al cincilea val de extindere a UE. Folosind documente UE, analizam trasaturile principale ale acestei extinderi si discutam criteriile de aderare si prioritatea de democratizare din cadrul

procesului. Discutam de asemenea complementaritatea extinderii UE si NATO.

Aderarea Romaniei la UE este subiectul Capitolului 3. Cercetarea se concentreaza asupra a trei perioade distincte in procesul aderarii, scotind in evidenta principalele obstacole din timpul perioadei de negociere (2000-2004), provocarile perioadei de monitorizare, si drumul inegal urmat de Romania dupa ce a devenit membra UE.

Inovatiile, slabiciunile, si primele rezultate ale Tratatului de la Lisabona sunt discutate in Capitolul 4. Analiza se bazeaza atat pe intelegerea noastra a Tratatului cat si pe concluzii trase din discutii purtate cu oficialitati UE si americane.

Capitolul 5 face o sinteza a punctelor cheie ale perspectivei americane asupra extinderii europene. Bazandu-ne pe surse de specialitate, facem o prezentare paralela a extinderii americane si europene, discutam dinamica care a dus la formarea perspectivei americane asupra extinderii, si subliniem contributia principalilor factori de decizie asupra relatiilor transatlantice.

Capitolele 6 si 7 ofera o evaluare a relatiilor transatlantice, concentrandu-se asupra transatlanticismului.

Capitolul 6 face o inventariere a faptelor si perceptiilor privind relatiile transatlantice, subliniaza provocarile care pot fi transformate in oportunitati pentru imbunatatirea relatiilor si include o prezentare de ansamblu a economiei transatlantice.

Unltimul capitol, Capitolul 7, include o analiza a politicii de vecinatate UE si a intereselor americane in zona. Puterea militara americana, NATO si ESDP sunt alte sub-sectiuni ale acstui capitol care se concentraza asupra transatlanticismului si a impactului pe care *restul lumii* il are asupra relatiilor celor doi aliati traditionali, SUA si UE. O discutie asupra relatiilor SUA si UE cu China, Rusia, si tari din Orientul Mijlociu, Arica de Nord si America Latina furnizeaza argumente folosite pentru formularea unor recomandari privind imbunatatirea relatiilor transatlantice si redefinirea transatlanticismului.

Concluziile fac un sumar al principalelor rezultate ale cercetarii si scot in evidenta caracteristicile distinctive ale UE dupa cel de al cincilea val de extindere. Importanta studiului de caz, Romania, este prezentata in contextul procesului de aderare. Transatlaticismul care modalitate superioara de cooperare in secolul XXI este considerat ca fiind cea mai potrivita modalitate pentru asigurarea unei pozitii de

conducere americane si europene in contextul lumii multi-polare a secolului XXI.

CUVINTE CHEIE: extindere europeana, Uniunea Europeana, relatii transatlantice, transatlanticism, globalizare, NATO, interdependente globale, politica externa SUA, Tratatul de la Lisabona, aderarea Romaniei.

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