



UNIVERSITATEA BABEȘ-BOLYAI  
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TRADITIO ET EXCELLENTIA

**Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai” din Cluj-Napoca**

**Facultatea de Studii Europene**

**Școala Doctorală „Paradigma Europeană”**

**TEZĂ DE ABILITARE**

**Outcomes of the EU’s institutional reform and multiannual planning amid the  
Enlargement Policy. An East-Central-European stance**

**Rezultate ale proceselor de reformă instituțională și planificare multianuală în UE. O  
perspectivă central-est-europeană**

**REZUMAT**

**Conf. univ. dr. Adrian-Gabriel Corpădean**

Prezenta lucrare surprinde principalele teme științifice abordate de autor, precum și profilul academic al acestuia și maniera în care rezultatele cercetărilor au fost diseminate. În rândurile de mai jos sunt prezentate structura, abordarea metodologică, firul argumentativ și perspectivele deschise în teza de abilitare.

Prima parte surprinde parcursul profesional al autorului, din mai multe perspective complementare. Sunt prezentate studiile de licență, master, doctorat și postdoctorat, accentul căzând și asupra dimensiunii internaționale, prilejuite îndeosebi de obținerea unor granturi cu finanțare europeană. În paralel, parcursul biografic surprinde pozițiile didactice ocupate de autor în cadrul Facultății de Studii Europene a Universității Babeș-Bolyai, precum și stagiile de predare în afara țării și tematica principalelor cursuri abordate. Activitatea sa administrativă ocupă o parte importantă a prezentării, culminând cu ocuparea postului de decan al Facultății de Studii Europene, începând cu anul 2020. Tot în acest sens, sunt indicate activitățile autorului în proiecte de cercetare și de dezvoltare instituțională, multe în calitate de manager sau investigator principal, cu finanțare nerambursabilă de la Uniunea Europeană (UE) și/sau de la Guvernul României. Aceste preocupări dau măsura unei activități bogate, pe cele trei planuri specifice unei cariere academice – producția științifică, actul de predare și relația cu societatea.

Abordarea vizată surprinde trei direcții de cercetare complementare, expuse cronologic, având drept numitor comun analiza reformei instituționale a UE în perioada actuală, îndeosebi după integrarea statelor din Europa central-răsăriteană, și a efectelor acesteia asupra scenei relațiilor internaționale. Evenimentele incluse în cele trei dosare, pe care le vom detalia mai jos, au fost surprinse adesea în timp ce erau în desfășurare, ceea ce a avut un impact simțitor asupra metodologiei și surselor utilizate și a contribuit la originalitatea cercetării. Majoritatea literaturii folosite pentru fundamentarea analizelor este internațională, iar articolele autorului care stau la baza prezentei teze au fost susținute și publicate, în cea mai mare parte, într-un context, de asemenea, internațional. Ele au constituit contribuții în domeniul relațiilor internaționale și studiilor europene, dar au inclus și elemente interdisciplinare, specifice analizei realităților din spațiul comunitar. În cele de mai jos, se explicitează modul în care a fost concepută sinergia dintre outputurile științifice identificate.

Parcursul reformelor instituționale ale UE a fost urmărit în principal prin intermediul impactului Tratatului de la Lisabona, dar punând în balanță prevederile acestuia și cele ale

predecesorului său, Tratatul Constituțional, eșuat în vara anului 2005. S-a remarcat utilitatea realizării unei paralele între cele două documente, surprinzând deopotrivă diferențele substanțiale și simbolice care au permis depășirea eșecului așa-zisei Constituții Europene, analize care lipseau în literatură la acel moment. Deoarece în spațiul central-est-european, dezbaterile politice amănunțite în jurul noului tratat au fost relativ modeste, mediul academic a suplinit această lacună și, prin mai multe conferințe științifice și evenimente publice, a reușit să deceleze motivele pentru care liderii europeni au favorizat o conversie a textului tratatului eșuat într-unul cu ambiții diferite, dar și cu numeroase similitudini. De data aceasta, rezultatul nu a fost un tratat de sine stătător, ci unul care a adus amendamente documentelor fundamentale adoptate în spațiului comunitar, prin formule complicate și prin abandonarea laturii simbolice care descria Tratatul Constituțional. Urmând un tipar descriptiv și analitic, autorul a publicat numeroase contribuții pe acest subiect în literatura internațională, susținute în cadrul unor conferințe științifice.

Pentru început, a fost evaluat conținutul Tratatelor Constituțional și de la Lisabona, din perspectiva schimbărilor instituționale și funcționale țintite de cele două documente, dar și pentru a surprinde prezența simbolurilor – adesea contestate – în primul tratat. Domeniile de competență ale UE, definite de acest cadrul legal, au fost expuse conform principiilor care stau la baza funcționării acestora și a schimbărilor intervenite în implementarea politicilor comune. Accentul a căzut și asupra procesului de ratificare a Tratatului de la Lisabona, pentru a arăta obstacolele cu care acesta s-a confruntat în Europa central-răsăriteană, unde noile state membre participau activ pentru prima oară în istorie într-un demers de reformă al UE. Analizele tehnice ale cursului ratificării au inclus și problemele întâlnite în celelalte state membre, referendumul irlandez, spre exemplu, riscând să pună în pericol întregul proces. Ulterior, au fost analizate în paralel implicațiile punerii în aplicare a documentului în vechea și în noua Europă, ceea ce a reprezentat o contribuție binevenită la literatura de specialitate.

În contextul implementării celui mai recent tratat de reformă al UE, care a intrat în vigoare la 1 decembrie 2009, autorul s-a concentrat asupra manierei în care instituțiile comunitare au stabilit ținte pe termen mediu și lung, a căror îndeplinire depindea de noul cadru de luare a deciziilor. O Uniune extinsă, cu noi domenii de competență, țintea să își fructifice avantajele competitive la nivel internațional, în termeni de educație, cercetare-inovare, angajabilitate, luptă împotriva pauperității și, mai ales, protecția mediului. Teza urmărește tranziția de la finalizarea

reforme instituționale, în anul 2009, până la stabilirea și monitorizarea noii agende multianuale, Europa 2020. Primul nivel de analiză a vizat fezabilitatea, prin explicitarea cadrului propus de recomandările specifice de țară, pregătite de Comisia Europeană. Au fost stabilite o serie de paralele între rezultatele și contextul Agendei Lisabona și Strategia Europa 2020, pentru a evalua sustenabilitatea acesteia din urmă și a dovedi că a fost adaptată cu mai multă precizie potențialului statelor membre, având o implementare similară celei a unui proiect cu finanțare, bazat pe metodologia SMART.

Agenda Europa 2020 a fost pusă în aplicare de un set de instituții și proceduri care au corespuns sistemului guvernantei multi-nivel a UE, în cadrul așa-numitului Semestru European. În cercetările întreprinse, autorul a căutat să prezinte importanța demersului prin focalizarea asupra actorilor implicați și a impactului asupra Europei Centrale și de Est. Obiectivul a fost de a dovedi că măsurile vizate de Agendă au fost menite să combată deficitul democratic perceput de cetățeni în relație cu UE, printr-o comunicare intensă pe diverse canale. Importanța Strategiei 2020 pentru țările membre UE a fost descrisă ținând cont de aceeași dihotomie între statele cu experiență și cele recent integrate. S-a arătat că indicatorii naționali au fost stabiliți ținându-se cont de potențialul ambelor categorii de state, deși prioritățile sectoriale analizate de-a lungul punerii în aplicare a Agendei au revelat limitări majore ale unora dintre acestea.

Mai concret, cercetarea a monitorizat prioritățile Agendei cu privire la educație, alocări bugetare pentru cercetare-inovare și aspecte sociale, unde s-au indicat incompatibilități dintre indicatorii adoptați de unele țări membre – îndeosebi România – și contextul național care afecta în mod negativ îndeplinirea acestora. Pe măsură ce studiile pe care autorul le-a publicat pe tema Agendei au devenit mai avansate, datorită disponibilității unor date tot mai consistente privind implementarea acesteia, s-au realizat anumite predicții vizând succesul demersului și posibile continuări după bilanțul final din 2020. Astfel, pe lângă o prezentare a contextului în care a fost concepută Strategia, descris de actorii care urmau să asigure punerea sa în aplicare, s-a considerat util să se urmărească dezbaterile de la Bruxelles pe teme strategice conectate de specificul cadrelor de finanțare multianuale. Așadar, ținând cont de agenda de mediu a Uniunii și de aspectele sociale și legate de sistemul educațional propuse în context post-2020, s-au construit argumente în favoarea unei noi agende multianuale, având drept termen de implementare ipotetic anul 2030. Acest lucru s-a realizat prin indicarea viziunilor adesea divergente prezentate de guvernele statelor

membre din Europa centrală și de est, conturate în jurul priorităților socio-economice naționale și potențialului de dezvoltare al fiecăruia.

Studierea Agendei 2020 și a schimbărilor substanțiale pe care aceasta le-a prilejuit s-a dovedit semnificativă și din perspectiva relațiilor internaționale. Pentru a verifica măsura în care setul comun de priorități al acesteia a încurajat colaborarea între statele UE, autorul a optat pentru două studii de caz, unul din interiorul Uniunii și un altul dedicat cooperării dintre un stat membru și unul potențial candidat. Astfel, focalizarea asupra relațiilor româno-maghiare a permis realizarea unor analize ale modului în care cele două țări au folosit resursele europene, uneori în comun, în noul cadru al integrării întărit de reforma instituțională, încercând să urmărească o serie de țeluri comune. Disponibilitatea fondurilor structurale s-a dovedit esențială în acest sens. În contextul cultural și istoric aparte care descrie relațiile româno-maghiare, s-au identificat suficiente premise pentru studierea rezultatelor parteneriatului bilateral, prin prisma disponibilității mecanismelor de cooperare transfrontalieră. Concluziile autorului constituie contribuții științifice importante în zona relațiilor internaționale și indică mecanisme de soluționare a conflictelor și de creștere a schimburilor comerciale sub auspiciile UE.

În aceeași logică, definită de agenda post-Lisabona, s-a efectuat o analiză a capacităților unui stat din afara cadrului comunitar, dar cu aspirații europene, de a se conforma priorităților Agendei Europa 2020, și anume Republica Moldova. În contextul relațiilor diplomatice româno-moldave și al particularităților acestora, a fost realizat un studiu care aduce în discuție conformitatea dintre prioritățile Republicii Moldova și setul de indicatori multianuali adoptat la nivelul UE, îndeosebi după semnarea Acordului de Asociere dintre cele două. Rezultatele cercetării sunt importante pentru îmbunătățirea relațiilor dintre București și Chișinău, dar și pentru progresul dosarului de candidatură al Republicii Moldova la UE, aflat într-o stare incipientă. Literatura de specialitate este, de asemenea, îmbogățită prin scenariile propuse și ipotezele formulate în jurul analizelor privind capacitatea economiei moldovene de a atinge standardele UE.

Cea de-a treia direcție propusă de cercetarea de față urmărește cursul procesului de integrare în Europa central-răsăriteană, cu o focalizare aparte asupra statelor candidate din zona Balcanilor de Vest. S-a procedat la o examinare a reformelor instituționale prilejuite de ranforsarea rolului UE ca putere normativă în regiune și s-a urmărit măsura în care acestea au accelerat politica de extindere. Astfel, au fost efectuate analize ale unora dintre dosarele de candidatură, îndeosebi

ale Muntenegrului și Macedoniei de Nord. Folosind un instrumentar metodologic complex, ce cuprinde disecări ale rapoartelor anuale venite de la Comisia Europeană, dar și ale altor documente programatice și analize ale discursului decidenților de ambele părți ale mesei negocierilor, autorul s-a concentrat asupra progresului celor două țări în procesul de dobândire a calității de membre UE. Anumite dosare specifice au fost individualizate, precum disputa sinuoasă dintre Skopje și Atena în jurul numelui „Macedonia”, adoptarea unilaterală a monedei euro de către Muntenegru, sau conformarea cu exigențele capitolelor de negociere din domeniul justiției.

Rolul UE în Balcanii de Vest în contextul candidaturii celor patru state din regiune, dar și implicațiile acesteia asupra Bosniei și Herțegovinei sau Kosovo, au constituit puncte de interes în cercetarea întreprinsă. S-a inclus în prezenta teză de abilitare o analiză detaliată a implicării UE în rezoluția disputei dintre Serbia și Kosovo, ca condiție a integrării celor două. Studiul de caz s-a dovedit o ocazie propice de a indica limitele puterii normative a UE, dar și de a respinge unele clișee care au afectat dialogul dintre UE, Belgrad și Priștina, precum aluziile peiorative la balcanism, Balcanii ca zonă de conflict și balcanizare. S-a ținut cont de aspecte tehnice precum situația fondurilor de pre-aderare, reformele constituționale, medierea internațională, percepțiile asupra integrării europene și auto-percepțiile, într-o zonă care a oscilat între est și vest. Socio-constructivismul a oferit cadrul teoretic prin intermediul căruia au fost explicate intervențiile UE în Balcanii de Vest, motiv pentru care conținutul analitic este filtrat prin preceptele acestei teorii.

Una dintre ipotezele confirmate în cercetările autorului dedicate statelor din Balcanii de Vest a fost aceea că reducerea ritmului politicii de extindere ar afecta negativ imaginea UE, inclusiv sub aspectul creșterii deficitului democratic perceput intern. Așadar, s-a arătat că întârzierile înregistrate în demararea negocierilor cu Albania și Macedonia de Nord, contrar recomandărilor Comisiei Europene, dar favorizate de președintele Emmanuel Macron, au afectat credibilitatea Uniunii pe plan internațional. Coroborând acest aspect cu ritmul lent al negocierilor vizând capitolele complicate deschise deja de Serbia și Muntenegru, au fost subliniate efectele negative ale ezitărilor UE inclusiv în zona Parteneriatului Estic și a politicii de vecinătate. În tentativa de a descoperi căi de a depăși situația descrisă, autorul s-a concentrat asupra rolului statelor membre în stabilirea agendei privind extinderea, prin intermediul președinției române a Consiliului UE. A fost urmărită prezența temelor regionale în cadrul acestui prim mandat al României în fruntea Consiliului, în contextul unui nivel precar al credibilității guvernului de la

București la momentul 1 ianuarie 2019. Bilanțul celor șase luni a fost pozitiv și a surprins prezența dosarului de extindere în dezbaterile organizate, motiv pentru care s-a folosit cercetarea întreprinsă asupra președinției ca studiu de caz asupra capacității statelor recent integrate de a promova rolul UE în vecinătatea sa estică. Metodologia utilizată poate servi drept suport pentru analizele altor președinții ale Consiliului UE, după cum s-a ilustrat prin referirile la mandatului Bulgariei în fruntea instituției.

În partea de final a lucrării, a fost indicată experiența autorului în activități cu doctoranzii, precum și direcții de cercetare viitoare și posibile tematici ale tezelor de doctorat care vor fi propuse. Explorarea strategiilor UE vizând integrarea Balcanilor de Vest reprezintă un subiect care lipsește din profilul științific al școlii doctorale „Paradigma Europeană”, a Facultății de Studii Europene, iar includerea statelor potențial candidate comportă un potențial de inovare semnificativ. Aceleași teme vor face obiectul unor publicații viitoare, dar și a prezentărilor autorului la conferințe internaționale, constituind totodată puncte de plecare solide în vederea pregătirii unor noi proiecte de cercetare.

În paralel cu explorarea dosarului de integrare a Balcanilor de Vest, autorul propune continuarea analizelor privind reforma instituțională a UE, din perspectiva statelor central-estice. Euroscepticismul, reforme ale justiției eșuate sau incomplete și ascensiunea populismului sunt câteva dintre aspectele care vor fi luate în considerare în vederea creionării rolului noilor țări membre în promovarea extinderii. O idee forte o reprezintă măsura în care poate exista un transfer de cunoștințe și competențe între state precum România și Bulgaria și țările candidate, pentru facilitarea adaptării acestora din urmă la exigențele negocierilor cu Comisia Europeană.

Alături de posibilele reforme ale politicii de extindere, autorul intenționează să exploreze noile agende multianuale promovate de UE, pentru a cuantifica impactul acestora asupra Europei central-estice. Subiectul merită studiat în paralel cu cel al utilizării finanțărilor europene, fie ele fonduri structurale sau de pre-aderare, venite în sprijinul noilor indicatori la nivel macro propuși de UE. Pentru a evalua potențialul de integrare al Balcanilor de Vest, se dorește utilizarea aceleiași metodologii comparative, vizând paralele atât cu statele membre, cât și între cele din zona balcanică. De asemenea, autorul are în vedere continuarea proiectului de cercetare PCE dedicat transferabilității experienței de integrare dinspre Europa central-răsăriteană către noile state

candidate sau potențial candidate. Acest lucru se va realiza în relație cu decidenții implicați în procesul de integrare și cu reprezentanți ai mediului academic și ai societății civile.

O altă direcție de dezvoltare a carierei este plasată sub auspiciile programului Jean Monnet, al Comisiei Europene, parte a cadrului de finanțare Erasmus Plus. Beneficiind deja, în trecut, de un modul Jean Monnet, autorul își propune să candideze pentru o catedră dedicată integrării europene, cu un impact pronunțat asupra dezvoltării curriculare și a mobilităților internaționale, inclusiv la nivel doctoral. Au fost arătate, totodată, modalități de diseminare a rezultatelor științifice prin stagiile de predare internaționale ale autorului, care vor fi orientate în viitor nu doar către spațiul comunitar, ci și către universități din state aparținând Balcanilor de Vest și spațiului Parteneriatului Estic.

În încheiere, se reiterează și se detaliază interesul autorului pentru școala doctorală „Paradigma Europeană”, prin prisma caracterului multilingv al acesteia, dar și a metodologiei de cercetare și a tematicilor vizate, toate fiind elemente aflate în consonanță cu profilul academic prezentat. Experiența autorului în domeniul cotutelelor internaționale, publicațiile coordonate și parteneriatele extinse cultivate de-a lungul carierei academice sunt prezentate ca argumente în favoarea conducerii doctoratelor în domeniul Relații Internaționale și Studii Europene în cadrul acestei școli. Colaborarea dintre autor și școala doctorală vizată este consistentă și s-a materializat în numeroase participări în comisiile de îndrumare a studenților doctoranzi și de susținere a tezelor, dar și în proiecte cu finanțare europeană, publicații și conferințe internaționale realizate sub auspiciile școlii. Experiența administrativă a autorului, atât în proiecte, cât și în management universitar, este prezentată succint, pentru a dovedi capacitatea acestuia de a îndeplini toate obligațiile unui coordonator de doctorat.



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