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The monograph addresses a set of existing problems and current challenges faced in the process of the Eastern Partnership policy implementation both on national and regional levels. It offers a range of mechanisms and instruments of achieving the policy objectives and targets for the post-2020 Eastern Partnership agenda developed on the basis of the Joint Communication "Eastern Partnership policy beyond 2020: Reinforcing resilience – an Eastern partnership that delivers for all" and the Joint Staff Working Document "Recovery, resilience and reform: post 2020 Eastern Partnership priorities". Special attention is focused on the issues related to cross-border cooperation, sectoral cooperation, and integrated border management.

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НАЦІОНАЛЬНА АКАДЕМІЯ НАУК УКРАЇНИ

ДУ "Інститут регіональних досліджень імені М. І. Долішнього НАН України"



СПРИЯННЯ ЄВРОІНТЕГРАЦІЙНИМ ПРОЦЕСАМ У КРАЇНАХ СХІДНОГО ПАРТНЕРСТВА: ІНСТРУМЕНТИ НАЦІОНАЛЬНОЇ ТА РЕГІОНАЛЬНОЇ ПОЛІТИКИ

МОНОГРАФІЯ

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Сприяння євроінтеграційним процесам у країнах Східного партнерства: інструменти національної та регіональної політики: монографія / НАН України. ДУ "Інститут регіональних досліджень імені М.І. Долішнього НАН України"; за редакцією Христини Притули та Іоана Хорги. Львів, 2022. 224 с. (Серія "Транскордонне співробітництво").

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У монографії розглянуто комплекс сучасних проблем та викликів, що виникають у процесі реалізації політики Східного партнерства як на національному, так і на регіональному рівнях. Запропоновано низку механізмів та інструментів досягнення політичних цілей і завдань програми Східного партнерства на період після 2020 року, розроблених на основі Спільного Повідомлення «Політика Східного партнерства після 2020 року: посилення стійкості — Східне партнерство, яке приносить результати усім» та Спільного робочого документу "Відновлення, стійкість і реформи: пріоритети Східного партнерства на період після 2020 року". Особлива увага приділена питанням транскордонного співробітництва, галузевого співробітництва та інтегрованого управління кордонами.

Для представників центральних та місцевих органів влади, науковців, суб'єктів підприємництва, представників неурядових організацій та інших осіб, зацікавлених у питаннях активізації процесів економічної інтеграції країн Східного партнерства з ЄС.

Автори несуть повну відповідальність за зміст опублікованих матеріалів.



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Chernivtsi region cross-border cooperation: global challenges versus local opportunities

Abstract

Globalization brought growing differentiation and polarization worldwide. It grants unprecedented chances of economic growth and social well-being but not for all nations and people. It causes also more tensions and conflicts, wars including. Europe no way seems to be a lucky island in the storming ocean of contemporaneity. Ukraine looks around for more secure and stable environment facing Russian aggression since 2014 till now. Our country tries to follow European and Euro-Atlantic course, where good neighborhood and prosperous partnership with our neighbors are of great importance and priority. In order to achieve most important strategic goals, the central and regional authorities have to pay closer attention towards international relations, while making regions and local communities of Ukraine directly engaged in those process. Cross-border cooperation was and is amidst important venues and tools of promoting better interstate relations while considerably complementing towards local and regional economy growth and social progress. They also are important for bridging up neighboring states and their societies.

This chapter considers key challenges CBC has faced recently. The authors also regard key problems of CBC on the example of Chernivtsi oblast. They evaluate challenges and prospect of CBC and propose some practical recommendations aiming at overcoming existing barriers and shortages of bordering regions' and local communities' cooperation.

Key words: global insecurity, cross-border cooperation, Ukraine, Chernivtsi oblast.

Introduction

Globalization is a process with multidimensional characteristics. It brings about a lot of new perspectives and chances to all of mankind, like economic growth, rapid technological progress, avalanche of new information together with lifting up many of the traditional barriers in the international relations and people-to-people communication. Simultaneously, it contributes into sharpened disparity, marginalization of some countries and regions, thus, paving a way towards new conflicts and wars worldwide.

Many countries and nations are concerned with paradoxes and controversies of the globalized world and look around for a proper solution of too many challenges and threats they face now. Amidst them as a remedy for those problems they try prospect and means of the regional integration and as a part of them also more vivid cross-border cooperation. The latter is no way a panacea for some tensions and conflicts, still alongside with some other tools and instruments of interstate relations, CBC contributes to betterment of interrelated countries' economy, strengthens mutual trust and promotes closer partnership between states, their regions and local communities.

Ukraine ignores neither CBC potential, nor perspectives of good neighborhood with countries around. Being placed in a very vulnerable position since 2014 because of Russian aggression, we have to deal with hybrid war unprecedented and unpredictable conditions.

They moved our country on the forefront of insecurity zone in Europe, questioning its statehood, sovereignty, peace and prospect. That is why we have to analyze any aspects, which make us weaker or threatened, and find out all means, which might make us stronger and consolidated. CBC is among the mechanisms able to enhance our economy and social order and lift up national politics to a new, higher level of self-sustainable dynamic. The chapter considers main trends of Ukraine's CBC with neighboring states, taking into account a case of Chernivtsi region. This case is worthy of close consideration as far as the region itself is situated on the border with Romania and Moldova, has rich records of cross-border cooperation engagements and could exemplify both pros and cons of the current situation with this type of interstate relations duly.

While theory and practice of CBC has a long history of academic scrutiny, the case of the regional engagement in those processes remain underresearched and require new research and discussion (Kruglashov, 2013). The topics of what is the influence of the global and regional crisis on cooperation of bordering regions, how it affects CBC and what is reaction from key actors of CBC on new challenges and opportunities of the contemporaneous process are covered the least of all. Those issues are central for this chapter.

Borderland as destiny and potential to develop

Chernivtsi oblast is one of the Ukrainian borderland territories with the traditions deep-rooted in the history. They are marked with certain regional peculiarities. Most important of them are defined with multicultural and polyconfessional flavor of the region (Kruglashov, 2010). Those features contributed towards creation of the special regional identity and culture of the tolerance, founded in time of Austrian Empire and survived, though with many changes and distortions, till contemporaneous time (Kruglashov et al., 2019). In all of the historical periods, the territory of nowadays Ukraine's region has been situated on the frontier of some competing regional and European powers. It provokes a lot of military skirmishes and wars, which have deeply affected the territory of the region. Despite them active and not-stop trade and movement of goods have been actively flourishing there for centuries. So, as for a region itself, active cross-border interaction and cooperation in different spheres are of the founding and most characteristic importance, starting from local governance and management and concluding with peculiarities of trade and infrastructure.

Even if we don't take the period till 1940 into further detailed consideration, Chernivtsi oblast remained in position of the borderland after the end of the World War II. That status of the western outskirt has been preserved after the breakdown of the USSR and proclamation of Ukraine's independence. The key factors of a situation inside the region were formed by different political actors, both domestic (Ukrainian) and foreign ones (Republic of Moldova and Romania, first of all) (Bohatyrets, 2016).

During the first decades of independence, mainly cross-border interaction in frame of three neighboring states was observed. It hardly seemed to be a well-developed

cooperation. All of those states - Ukraine, Republic of Moldova and Romania, were actively building up their new foreign and domestic policy in the sharply changing realities of the post-communist countries. Their attention was concentrated on crucial political, social, economic, ethnic, cultural etc. issues and required full concentration on newly set up and reconsidered national interests. Sometimes they were confronting each other. Especially hot issues of the existing state borders and ethnic minorities' rights and duties poisoned their relationship. Fortunately for all of them, those points gradually lost their damaging and oppressing influence. Because of that, further development of political situation confirmed the importance of cross-border cooperation in the region (Kruglashov, 2011). Still the stance of neighboring countries to their diasporas abroad and respectfully ethnic minorities protection is one of the most irritating points. It leads to many intensive debates and sometimes vicious suspicions in their relations for years (Ryabinin, 2019). The idea of creating a common space for active and fruitful cross-border cooperation like Euroregions in the European Union has first emerged at time of negotiations between Ukraine and Romania concerning the signing of basic Ukrainian-Romanian political agreement in 1997 (Dohovir pro osnovy dobrosusidstva i spivrobitnytstva mizh Ukrayinovu ta Rumuniyeyu, 1997). Two new Euroregions were constituted in accordance with those legal provisions and political compromises reached by the contacting parts: "Upper Prut" and "Low Danube" Euroregions. The following up evolution of Euroregion "Upper Prut" demonstrates both benefits and challenges of such type of interstate cooperation.



Figure 1. Euroregion "Upper Prut"

Source: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-Upper-Prut-Euroregion-1-Regional-polarisation-cores-2-Local-polarisation-cores_fig38_277713994

After uneasy completion of the legal framework and designing an institutional shape of "Upper Prut" Euroregion, there was some slow while steady progress there. The first fundamental steps in Ukrainian-Moldavian-Romanian cooperation were done in scientific sphere. From the early beginning till nowadays the academic dialog is fundamental for productive discussion of the international partners and their beneficial cooperation. Aiming at best results of them, Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University settles a number of cooperation agreements with the Moldavian (Kishinev and Belts) and Romanian universities (Suceava, Iasi, Oradea etc.) (Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University, 2021), where all sides benefit from that cooperation.

Cooperation in the sphere of business was launched also at the end of the 1990s, including international exhibitions and symbolic days of Euroregion "Upper Prut" in all of its administrative units (Hakman, 1999). Also ecological problems, problems of sustainable development are to be mentioned among the agreed priorities. In the begging of Euroregional building process, Ukraine attempts at making Upper Prut Euroregion focused on environmental issues and advocates this move as the prospective profile of the CBC in its frame (Vovkanych et al., 2014). Romania however did not accept that move as the focal point and priority for this CBC institution activity. It paid special attention to the issues of ethnic minorities rights preserving, namely Romanians in Ukraine (Yarmystyi, 2020).

Since the beginning of the XXI century, the situation in the bordering regions has changed drastically. First of all, the activity of all sides in promoting the idea of Euroregional cooperation and in realization of the common projects in its frames decreased. The last trend can be explained by different reasons, firstly, some difficulties and complications stemmed from the irregularity of institutional interaction in the framework of "Upper Prut" Euroregion (Hakman, 2021). Secondly, a change with Romania's political and geo-economical status, when this country became the member of the European Union and NATO. The last step influenced the tripartite relations Ukraine – Republic of Moldova – Romania in all spheres and affected their CBC subsequently. New programs and projects implemented by the Euroregion were mainly financed by the EU and the requirements to its implementation were due to the EU rules and laws (for example, PHARE CBC 2004-2006, Operational Program "Ukraine - Republic of Moldova - Romania" etc.). It did not correspond to Ukrainian legislature, causing delays and problems for effective projects' management and their timely implementation. There was a lack of attention to the CBC opportunities from Ukrainian central and regional authorities. It's well observed even in some official documents like 2020 Regional Development Strategy (Romanenko, 2018).

A beginning of the third decade of XXI century might be considered as a turning point of the World history, the consequences of that are not fully discovered and recognized yet. As famous political analyst, CNN expert on international relations Fareed Rafiq Zakaria stressed, humanity had crossed an extremely important boundary with the Covid-19 pandemic, the consequences of which depended both on the objective situation in the world and on people's reaction to it (Zakaria, 2021). The Covid-19 pandemic outburst

both demonstrates weaknesses and tests strengths of social-political systems in all states on one side (Storonyanska et al., 2020). Moreover, we can emphasize the growing role of innovative information technologies, which have changed the approach not only to individual or even collective communication, but also to interstate relations overall (Nechaieva-Yuriichuk, 2020). The latter plays an important role in contemporary CBC. So, the question of influence of the pandemic on the CBC, according to the authors, needs more accurate empiric research. Still in some cases it stimulates openness for closer cooperation in uncertain times for many countries and their societies. A combination of those unexpected challenges has clouded the regional and global agenda lately. At the same time, security in Europe is undermined by the consequences of ongoing Russian aggression against Ukraine. As one of many results of all socio-political upheavals against the background of the Covid-19 pandemic, the approaches to understanding and interpreting the very term security have changed recently (Troyan et al., 2021).

The EU capacity and authority has been diminished by series of crisis, which prompted strengthening of Euroskepticism and Europhobic moods. Finally, outburst of Covid-19 also influenced the format and frames of the cross-border cooperation. It's worthy mentioning that Chernivtsi oblast was the first one in Ukraine where the first victims of Covid-19 were found (BBC, 2020). The regional authorities paid a lot of attention to the new dangerous situation. They tried imposing quarantine restrictions which had to protect the population from the further spreading of dangerous viruses. But it does not work as well as expected, unfortunately. Moreover, 2021 became the year with the greatest restrictions imposed in the region: lock-downs affected many spheres: from education institutes' functioning to some limitations imposed on peoples' mobility and infrastructural precautions in Ukraine (Hakman et al., 2021).

Also, the European Union and Romania as the Member State imply their restrictions to all categories of population, who aim at crossing the interstate border. A number of common projects, especially in educational and cultural spheres, were frozen and their implementation postponed until better times (Bebko, 2020). For instance, it negatively affected recruitment of foreign students, exchange of students and teachers via ERASMUS projects, summer schools, conferences and seminars etc. all over the world, not only in Chernivtsi region (Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, 2021). So far the educational and research activities have shifted to the on-line format. Those changes touched upon traditional trade sphere, which suffered a lot. However on-line trade and services have increased tremendously and their owners and staff prosper (Panfilova, 2020).

So, last year seemed to be wasted with regard to CBC cooperation in the region. In general, it looks like we are trying to get forward with them, but at the same time, unfortunately, are involved in a rollback-movement. Still, it does not mean that this type of the interstate relations is dead or it does not function at all, despite obviously unfavorable conditions. The driving force and very stimulus for CBC remain actual and they are in place (Kyfyak et al., 2020). They are first of all defined by well-grounded expectations of faster economic growth, supported with infrastructural betterment, bigger social stability, more robust technological advancement. Last but not least, it brings about greater security

and political stability for Ukraine's sake and not only for it.

The meaning of CBC for Ukraine in regard to the European integration should be mentioned as well (Fisanov, 2019). In our country, one should admit CBC as a part of a wider national strategy of the European and the Euro-Atlantic integration. It is important because of the engagement of the local communities and regions in the realization of both strategic goals regularly. They are deeply intertwined and have beneficial synergy as far as fundamental interests of the state and citizens are concerned. So, making our citizens mobilized for active participation in the European and Euro-Atlantic course implementation, combing their personal, societal and national aspirations with this type of cooperation helps Ukraine in reforming the country from bottom up. Moreover, good relations and fruitful cooperation with our European neighbors' regions contribute considerably into the best resolution of some deep-rooted problems of our bilateral and multilateral relations inherited from the past confrontations and trauma. They are largely originated and centered on borders and borderlands debated issues. It paves a way to creation of the mutual trust and openness towards each other, should local and regional partnerships and interaction prosper and flourish. When the EU member-states are friendly predisposed to Ukraine and their societies look to our country as desirable and trustworthy partner, the very prospect of European and Euro-Atlantic integration of Ukraine becomes more optimistic and well-grounded, for sure.

Hardships and obstacles to discover and overcome

From those general considerations let's go on with more detailed analysis of CBC in the region. What are the most important characteristics of CBC in the Chernivtsi region? First of all, we are to consider its legal foundations and their impact. Now in Ukraine experts and politicians discuss draft of the new Law on the CBC. It's well understood that the old version of the Law (Zakon Ukrayiny "Pro transkordonne spivrobitnytstvo", 2004) does not work properly and for various reasons seemes to be overtly outdated. Furthermore, one can see that despite some improvements of the legal regulation in the draft of a new Law (Ligazakon, 2015), some principal issues there remained unattained again, including lack of the provisioned competences for the local self-government, mainly with regard to the empowerment of the respectful communities to deal with their foreign partners and the role of civic society in CBC institutes respectfully. So, the existing legal foundation for CBC seems to be incomplete and it corresponds neither to the decentralization process, nor the further advancement of Ukraine towards the Western alliances and Communities. Obviously, there is some more room for expanding competences of local communities and authorities to deal with their foreign partners, and diminishment of too complicated bureaucratic control upon CBC cooperation from the central governmental bodies (Zybareva et al., 2019). Some issues of new district authority's roles and functions in the interaction with their counterparts are open question too. Finally, major part of the international activities and competences are still kept by the Regional State Administration on the level of the regions (oblast). It contradicts the very

logic of decentralization process and its conceptual ground. The actual role of the Regional Councils seems to be of secondary importance, while in the EU member states their position is quite opposite legally and functionally.

Next to follow: some remarks about the institutional architecture and design of the CBC. The most advanced institutional shapes of them are Euroregions amidst many others. They are multilateral and presumably most sophisticated of the rest existing in practice with certain main and secondary borders, executive apparatus, statutory documents and well elaborated procedures. It seems that for some reason, these mechanisms and procedures do not propose a venue for effective and intensive cooperation between cross-border partners. Irregularity of their meetings, lack of communication, non-obliging resolutions adoption, alienation of civil activists and experts from the managing bodies and policy-making process, in general deficit of any activity, those are short-listed symptoms of "Upper Prut" Euroregion most evident illness. So far, overcoming those institutional shortages, as well as legal ground deficiencies, should be recognized as one of the main priorities for a new functional CBC.

Whatever importance has both legal foundation and institutional design, the real dynamic and a very prospect of CBC is predetermined with their actors, who make it either prosperous or neglectable. From that point of view, researchers have to define both the actors of that cooperation and the potential and actual influence they have on the process of cooperation of partners and their interaction (Mytrayeva, 2013). The composition and interaction of some most influential local and regional CBC actors are changing in the current reforms. We mean reforms, which are legitimate result of 2014 events, both the Revolution of Dignity and Russian aggression against Ukraine. Some of these reforms are the consequence of Association Agreement of Ukraine with the EU (European Union, 2014). The administrative-territorial reform and the process of decentralization are the most influential for CBC (Pavlyuk, 2018).

On the level of the local and regional actors, we have reached an uncompleted stage of the decentralization reforms. The local communities are the most advanced, which are amalgamated for now. They are functioning more or less well in comparison to the previous situation with the local self-government of Ukraine. At least they are better financed and possess more resources than they had had before the reforms began. We have a system of the new districts, which are still in the process of awaiting a new legal provision for their proper functioning. In comparison with the local communities' legal opportunities, they are in extremely uncertain situation, especially in the sphere of budgeting. Finally, one can observe a mere prospect for completion of the administrativeterritorial reform on the regional level. So, Regional State Administrations and Regional Councils remain in an uncertain situation with regard to changes they have to undergo, and concerning their competencies on foreign activities as well. All of these are reshuffled to an extend ranks and importance of CBC actors. Presumably local actors now are most actively evolved and have a proactive stance towards CBC deals. The district authorities are not so well consolidated and seem to be less active in that respect. At the same time, there is a lot of incomprehensibility and some kind of tensions amid regional actors of CBC,

including their perception of their own importance and performance.

While looking at the case of Chernivtsi oblast, we should mention some other challenges and barriers on the way to successful CBC in the oblast and western Ukrainian regions a whole (Tymechko, 2018). First of all, it is a disparity in some crucial aspects between partners from Ukraine, Moldova and Romania. It is related not only to their economic weight and potential but administrative and political ambitions and aspirations. There we have a clear leading role, a quest to be a leading force in CBC from the Romanian side, namely from Suceava region. City of Suceava and the region have been getting a certain momentum in their progress last decades. Suceava seems to be the most advanced region from all territories belonging to "Upper Prut" Euroregion. Capital city has been advanced with some new enterprises, international trade and communication, rapid development of the International airport, etc. Thus, this region and its authorities try their best to capitalize those positioning twofold. Firstly, it is the most advanced partner in the framework of Euroregion. And secondly, Suceava has kept a key representative position in the Euroregion for years, both for Romania and the EU. Ukraine's regions, Chernivtsi oblast namely also has been trying to be more or less equal with its Romanian counterpart for some years. However, it did not succeed too much. For instance, if to take into consideration the infrastructure possibilities, Suceava airport is something like a "gate into Europe" for many Ukrainian citizens, especially in Chernivtsi region. Just to imagine: in November, 2019, Suceava airport served 385 thousand passengers, 23,000 of them - the citizens of Ukraine (Chernivtsi ray, 2019).

Moldavia's regions are lagging behind all of them. That happened because those administrative units ("raion" corresponding to "districts" in English) are much smaller than Romanian "judets" and Ukrainian "oblasts". So far their ability and capacity of generating some important initiatives are rather limited. Historically, the North of Moldova is really poor territory. Despite the fact that all "Upper Prut" Euroregion participants are peripheral and they are not economically the best developed in their respected countries, this similarity changes when we deal with the scope of the Euroregion itself. Comparing all three countries, Romania has the best position for providing activity in frames of CBC. It is a member of the EU and NATO, which makes it's geopolitical and economical status and potential the highest one amid two other countries (Verstyak, Verstyak, 2018). With all reservations possible, it is better advanced now in sense of political and economic development. So, Moldova and Ukraine and their border regions are lagging behind in a comparative perspective (Mikhel, 2021). That is why we have a clear disparity of statuses, potential, preparedness and even dominant approaches towards the very prospect of cooperation in all three countries' bordering regions.

While that unfavorable combination of negative factors is sometimes of temporal character and could be resolved with certain elaborated and united efforts, here we have another obstructing of the right way towards healthier CBC reason, which looks to be predominantly subjective one by its nature. A deadlock situation with the Euroregion "Upper Prut" activity is the most problematic for fostering our cooperation. Since 2018, this foundation seems to have been mostly ossifying and does now show up symptoms of

being whatever active. The leaders of all Euroregion members do not make visible and viable attempts of breaking through that protracted stagnation. Sure, there are plenty of factors that might create that tacit neglect of the energy and time investments of regional political and administrative elite into CBC prospect. The result is obvious, however. Euroregion Upper Prut is rather dead than alive. Rehabilitation might take a long period and be too costly.

Fortunately, Chernivtsi oblast authorities try to pay certain attention towards regional strategic interests concerning international cooperation. One can witness it because some formal indicators have been met for now. So, last years some principal documents have been drafted and then approved, which are important as far as CBC is concerned. For example, Regional State Administration proposed and Regional Council adopted the new program on International cooperation, designed for 2021 - 2023 (Chernivetska Oblast State Administration, 2021a). Much more general aims and tasks of interregional cooperation are outlined in the Regional Strategy as well (Chernivetska Oblast State Administration, 2021b). Also, many local communities adopted their respective Strategies, where they make some accent on CBC issues. Those documents cover in general terms the CBC agenda and both regional documents seem to be better than nothing. Some points there could be criticized for the lack of concrete and logic steps towards achievement of proclaimed goals. At the same time, when dealing with the financial aspect of the program, they do not seem suitable and duly complying with the needs and expectation of the local regional actors, who are eager to be actively engaged in the CBC:

Table 1. Resource provision of the Program on International Cooperation

The amount of funds to be attracted for the program implementation	2021 (thousands of UAH)	2022 (thousands of UAH)	2023 (thousands of UAH)	Total program implementation costs (thousands of UAH)
The amount of regional budget resources	1750.00	1860.00	1825.00	5435.00

Source: https://bukoda.gov.ua/storage/app/sites/23/Prohramy/dep%20comm/rehionalna-prohrama-rozvytku-mizhnarodnoho-spivrobitnytstva-chernivetskoyi-oblasti-na-2021-2023-roky.pdf

The attention there is paid mostly to the meetings of the regional leaders, "round tables", negotiations, international scientific events, celebrations, participation of delegations from "Upper Prut" Euroregion in different events, etc. (Chernivetska Oblast State Administration, 2021a). It is a hampering problem. So, on the one hand, we have got the new legal platform for CBC development, the new strategy on international cooperation. But on the other hand, the program itself is not well detailed and corresponds only partly to actual CBC challenges and chances available over there.

Turning to a bit more optimistic tunes, we would like to state that recently local

communities have been amidst the most proactive actors and agents of CBC in Ukraine. They look around for foreign partners for Chernivtsi oblast, mostly from the EU, Romania, also Poland, Austria, Germany and some other countries in order to get local entrepreneurship involved in more developed international trade. They are looking for new resources of their self-sustainable development. Of those, Voloka, Novoselytsia, Hlyboka, Nedoboivtsi and some other local communities of Chernivtsi oblast are most prone and advanced to the international cooperation. These examples of local leaders' success stories motivate other territorial communities to move forward, encouraging their heads and local councilors to take part in whatever available programs of CBC cooperation, in the framework of Eastern Partnership, some other instruments provided by the EU support. The newly founded local communities become more and more active with the search for reliable partners from abroad nearby. Their activity is growing with regard to the applications in the framework of Ukraine – Romania, Ukraine – Moldova programs, Eastern Partnership instruments and so on (Hakman, 2021).

For last years the number of new initiatives caused mainly by the Covid-19 pandemic have emerged in CBC in the region. For example, in July 2021, the new cross-border project "Improving the quality of medical services for minimally invasive procedures in the Romania-Ukraine border region" was presented in Chernivtsi regional clinical hospital. It was introduced in frames of Common Operational program "Romania – Ukraine 2014-2020" (Territorial communities of Chernivetska oblast, 2021). This is the example of one of the projects, which has been implemented in spite of hardships of the pandemic time. The attention to the health insurance and medicine problems get increased and we can ascertain the growing role of CBC (at least between Ukraine and Romania) in solving them.

Traditionally, ethnic minorities issues remain crucial for Upper Prut Euroregion, while sometimes irritating for CBC of Chernivtsi region (Sokolovskyy, 2020). There have been some conflict moments recently, some of them originated from outside players, presumably Russia to spark inter-ethnic conflicts in Chernivtsi oblast, while provoking minorities to take non-loyal actions against Ukraine. Some of those attempts were disguised as fake news and obvious provocation. The educational policy of Ukraine after 2014 also made certain contribution into intensification of some tensions between Romania and Ukraine in that realm. In general, Romania and Ukraine try to avoid concentration on dividing issues on the national and regional level, while keeping their positions to interethnic relations different.

From the point of view of positive changes, Chernivtsi oblast territorial communities seem to be very active. Still, on the other hand, one has to state that in the recent years, in general, the investment climate in the region has not been progressing till now and real investments are not attracted to the region. Many of potentially prospective projects as well as possibilities of much more fruitful cooperation are not realized there (Kyfiak et al., 2019). It is a clear message to regional and central authorities and an indicator of business trust to them.

Also, we would like to touch upon the civil society role and impact on the international cooperation in the region. The chronic disease for the CBC remains the same

year by year. Civil society and its institutions are still regarded as a minor partner for the authorities, especially for the executives' bodies and to some extent for self-government too. They are alienated from both agenda-setting and policy-making process. With regard to the example of Chernivtsi Oblast State Administration, the cooperation with civil society does not look like a true priority. The mirror of the Regional State Administration demonstrates marginal role of NGO's by and large. The sphere of CBC and international cooperation is no way an exception there. The records of the activity of the Regional Council and Chernivtsi City Council are hardly more impressive. The lower is the level of authority, the less visible is their cooperation and partnership with NGO's and civil society. Finally, no representative of third sector have been the member of Euroregion Upper Prut commissions for many years. It paves a way to make those bodies formal and overtly bureaucratic, and leads towards growing gap between local communities' and regional NGO's expectations and a process of every CBC institution and structure functioning.

To make CBC advanced, all parties concerned need more cooperation with the civil society institutes. They have to inform citizens about actual gains, pros and cons of the CBC, how they could realize their interests with regard to and through active participation in CBC. Contrary to those expectations, a low activity of the authorities might be registered regarding this type of communication. Sure, lacking channels and tools of participation, so-called ordinary people are ignorant of those issues outright. It revolves in the framework of vicious circle once and again.

So, general balance of the CBC in the region comprises good and bad sides at the present time. In general, it looks like negative trends prevail upon promising ones. There are a lot of problems that remain unresolved and require full attention of all CBC actors and stakeholders. It's a pity that some of them are even unnoticed by the authorities, local political actors and by the central governmental bodies. Those issues are out of priority set for them.

Under those circumstances, it became obvious that Euroregion as the traditional European form of cross-border cooperation needs a new revival impulse for further development in Ukraine, and in Chernivtsi region in particular. From the early beginning of their functioning till nowadays, the activity of those establishments has been limited by the lack of constructive cross-border cooperation experience on the part of administrative staff, representatives of business structures and NGOs of the region. The coordination of their interests and actions is not only poor or bad. It does not exist at all and is far from being set down and properly institutionalized. The move of Regional Council to create that coordinating body in a triangle of Chernivtsi Regional State Administration, Regional Council and City Council did not meet appreciation. No other body could serve as a vehicle or a platform for closer cooperation among public bodies in the region. The content of the Chernivtsi Oblast Regional Development Strategy can be considered as indirect evidence of secondary importance attributed to CBC by the regional authorities.

Conclusions

Making some generalizations, we are to state that the cross-border cooperation in spite of its huge potential in the region is not developing as fast as possible and does not bring up good and feasible fruits. The main challenges for it remain as follow:

- ✓ Lack of an elaborated legal framework for the overall financing of projects (lending, concentration of local, regional and budgetary allocations, etc.) (Parkhomenko, 2020). The issue of legal basis of cross-border cooperation has been open for more than 20 years of Euroregion "Upper Prut" functioning. The legislation of the Euroregion's participants in some issues differs considerably and the difficulty of reaching the mutual agreement in procedures and mechanisms for cooperation in the legal field is one of the challenges of effective cross-border cooperation.
- ✓ Lack of funds for co-financing the projects implemented by local (Ukrainian, for example) authorities, institutions and organizations, NGOs including. Even in the conditions of administrative-territorial reform in Ukraine, regional and local authorities have no necessary financial funds for implementing different European projects: obligatory 10 or 15% of co-financing in some cases are unaffordable financial burden for them.
- ✓ Closer and effective cooperation between the EU and non-EU member states is complicated by different approaches to the project activities of Euroregion participants and by differentiation of socio-economic development of regions, which are participants of CBC. Some differences in the levels of decentralization in the EU, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Romania, respectively, are also worthy of attention.
- ✓ The CBC partners do not practice joint planning for the development of borderland, which, in general, slows down the progress of other economic initiatives, including the improvement of border infrastructure. Key activities in the region are mainly initiated by individual actors like NGOs, in some cases regional authorities, etc., but there is no strategic vision of cross-border cooperation in the region at least for the next five years.
- ✓ Involvement of business circles in the development of cross-border cooperation (at least at the level of Euroregion "Upper Prut") remains critically low and with marginal outcomes reached (Yarmystyi, 2020).

The current situation with CBC and especially with regard to "Upper Prut" activity looks gloomy and disappointing. Principal regional actors stand aside of this activity publicly, they do not cooperate regularly with the local business, and they are not interested in stable and regular interaction with civic society activists as well as experts. Being alienated from principal actors and stakeholders of CBC, these tools and instruments of the interstate relations are forgotten and have gone out of use recently. The security concerns and pandemic threats are not pardoning current pitiful situation with CBC. Those issues should be regarded with regional authorities together with all the rest of stakeholders as soon as possible.

Some hopes should be attributed to the adoption of new national legislation on CBC.

However, regional and subregional authorities should reconsider their inept positioning towards interregional interaction and communication with foreign partners. Business circles as well as local and regional traders should be recognized and invited to the process of Upper Prut rehabilitation and reconsideration of all CBC shapes and tools.

Promising signals emerged from some local communities, which got more competences and incentives to move forwards with international ties and CBC in a process of decentralization. Some early birds on the level of newly established districts (raions) have also begun to look around their role in CBC recently.

The resolution of aforementioned and left behind problems and challenges is not a short-term prospect. The cross-border cooperation nowadays is not regarded as the formal institutional interaction. It's the multilevel teamwork, which includes different actors and covers various areas. In the XXI century, it needs more vivid and stable both vertical and horizontal communication as well as openness and preparedness from all parties concerned for real partnership promotion and maintenance.

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