

## **EU ENLARGEMENT AND NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY**

IR FALL 2016

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### **Short summary**

The objective of the course is to provide students with the analytical tools to understand the special nature of the EU neighbourhood policy. The semester is structured in two main parts: The first, general part (1-6) treats the basic features of EU foreign policy including its multi-level structure, the EU's normative requirements and EU conditionality.

The second, specific part deals with the content of the relations with the EU's neighbourhood, it is structured around four subjects:

- group to group relations of the EU with neighbouring regions and the shaping of the European Neighbourhood Policy (7-10);
- relations of the EU with the special enclave of the Western Balkans region analysing mutual interests and EU accession perspectives (11-15);
- the neighbouring east European states under the EU's Eastern Partnership project (16-19);
- the eastern 'neighbours of Europe' focusing on Turkey, Russia and post-Soviet Central Asia (20-24).

The course is based on on-going research done by the CEU Centre for EU Neighbourhood Studies (CENS).

### **Goals of the course**

The course's main aim is to provide students with a strong understanding of:

- the main political motivations behind the EU neighbourhood policy;
- the factors shaping integrated EU positions on future enlargements;
- the significance of EU conditionality in its enlargement and neighbourhood policy.

## Learning outcomes

By the end of the course students will:

- ✓ acquire a good understanding of the key political and economic motivations of the two-level foreign, neighbourhood and enlargement policy of the EU;
- ✓ apply their knowledge of the tools of policy analysis to empirical cases of EU neighbourhood relations;
- ✓ critically engage with the debates on the position of the EU and its member states concerning potential future EU accessions.

## Requirements

- Attendance and participation in class based on a good knowledge of the readings.
- An essay of a length of 1500 words, to be submitted by early November (date to be set in September) which should analyse the EU's role and activities as an international actor from a political, economic or legal aspect.
- A simulation of negotiations between the EU and one of its neighbours, following the topics 11-24. Students will take the role of either the EU or of one of its partners (country or region) and prepare and present an opening statement of bilateral negotiations between the two parties and react to each other.
- A policy brief of 3000 words to be submitted at the end of the Fall Semester analysing the relations between the EU and one particular neighbouring country or region.

## Evaluation

- |                             |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| ▪ Attendance, participation | 25% |
| ▪ Essay                     | 20% |
| ▪ Simulation of negotiation | 25% |
| ▪ Policy brief              | 30% |

## CONTENTS

### A) GENERAL PART

#### **BASIC FEATURES OF EU FOREIGN POLICY**

##### **1. Challenges for European foreign policy**

###### Reading:

Giovanni Grevi – Daniel Keohane (eds.): *Challenges for European Foreign Policy in 2014*, FRIDE, 2014. pp. 1-94.

##### **2. EU's external relations after the Lisbon Treaty**

###### Reading:

Nathalie Tocci: *Towards a European Global Strategy – The European Union in a Changing Global Environment*, 2015. pp.115-152.

Mario Telo: *The EU: A Civilian Power's Diplomatic Action after the Lisbon Treaty. Bridging International Complexity and International Convergence*, In: *The EU's Foreign Policy: What Kind of Power and Diplomatic Action*, 2013. pp. 27-63.

##### **3. The multi-level foreign policy of the EU**

###### Readings:

Stephan Keukeleire – Tom Delreux: *EU Foreign Policy and National Foreign Policies*, In: *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2014. pp. 124-147.

Marianne Riddervold: *(Not) in the Hands of the Member States: How the European Commission Influences EU Security and Defence Policies*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016. 54: 353–369.

##### **4. EU's international agreements and relations with other international organisations**

###### Readings:

Ramses A. Wessel: *The EU as a party to international agreements: shared competences, mixed responsibilities*. In: Alan Dashwood – Marc Maresceau (eds.): *Law and Practice of EU External Relations*, Cambridge University Press, 2008. pp. 152-187.

Guillaume Van der Loo – Steven Blockmans: *The Impact of Brexit on the EU's International Agreements*, CEPS 2016.

Michael Emerson et al.: *Upgrading the EU's Role as Global Actor*, CEPS–EGMONT–EPC–Leuven University, 2011. pp. 65-115.

## **5. The EU as a normative power**

### Readings:

Thomas Forsberg: *Normative Power Europe, Once Again: A Conceptual Analysis of an Ideal Type*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2011. Vol. 49. No. 6. pp. 1183-1204.

Adam Fagan et al.: *Unintended Consequences of EU Conditionality on (Potential) Candidates*, Maxcap Working Papers No. 14., August 2015.

Raffaella A. Del Sarto: *Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands, and the 'Arab Spring'*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 2016. 54: 215–232.

## **6. EU accession conditionality**

### Readings:

Péter Balázs: *Enlargement conditionality of the European Union and future prospects*. In: Peter Van Elsuwege et al. (eds.): *Liber Amicorum for Marc Maresceau*, University of Ghent, 2013. pp. 523-540.

Ana Bojinovic Fenko – Ana Ulric: *Political Criteria vs. Political Conditionality: Comparative analysis of Slovenian and Croatian European Union accession processes*, *CIRR XXI (72) 2015*, pp. 107-137.

## *B) SPECIFIC PART*

## **RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBOURING REGIONS AND COUNTRIES**

### ***B1) REGIONAL COOPERATION WITH NEIGHBOURS***

## **7. Group to group relations and the European Economic Area**

### Readings:

Karen E. Smith: *Regional Cooperation*, In: *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2008. pp. 76-110.

Roman Troxler: *Switzerland and the European Union: An evaluation of three integration strategies for the upcoming decade*, *Research Paper*, 2011. pp. 1-11.

## **8. Union for the Mediterranean**

### Readings:

Richard Gillespie: *The Union for the Mediterranean: An Intergovernmentalist Challenge for the European Union?* Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 49. No. 6. 2011. pp. 1205-1225.

Jean-Claude Tourret – Vincent Wallaert: *3 Scenarios for a Mediterranean macro-regional approach*, Institut de la Méditerranée, 2010. pp. 15-32.

Battistina Cugusi: *Macro-regional dynamics in the Mediterranean area(s): The case of the Adriatic Ionian Macro-region*, EU Border Regions, 2013. pp. 1-18.

## **9. Eastern enlargement**

### Readings:

Rachel A. Epstein – Wade Jacoby: *Eastern Enlargement Ten Years On: Transcending the East-West Divide?* Journal of Common Market Studies, 2014. Vol. 52. No. 1. pp. 1-16.

Ulrich Sedelmeier: *Enlargement, From Rules for Accession to a Policy towards Europe*. In: Helen Wallace et al: *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Oxford University Press, 2010. pp. 401-429.

Dimitry Kochenov – Laurent Pech: *Upholding the Rule of Law in the EU: On the Commission's 'Pre-Article 7 Procedure' as a Timid Step in the Right Direction*, EUI Working Papers RSCAS 2015/24. pp. 1-15.

## **10. The European Neighbourhood Policy**

### Readings:

Stefan Lehne: *Time to Reset the European Neighbourhood Policy*, Carnegie Europe, Brussels, 2014. pp. 1-16.

Michael Leigh: *A New Strategy for Europe's Neighbourhood*, GMF Policy Brief, Vol. 1. No. 1. 2014. pp. 1-7.

Andrey Makarychev: *Russia-EU Competing Logics of region Building*, DGAP, 2012, pp. 1-18.

## **B2) THE WESTERN BALKANS**

### **11. State-building in the Western Balkans**

#### Readings:

Soeren Keil: *Europeanization, state-building and democratization in the Western Balkans*, Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, 2013. 41:3, pp. 343-353.

Matthias Bieri: *The Western Balkans between Europe and Russia*, ETH Zürich, 2015, pp. 1-4.

Adam Fagan – Indraneel Sircar: *Judicial Independence in the Western Balkans: Is the EU's 'New Approach' Changing Judicial Practices?* Freie Universität Berlin, 2015, pp. 1-36.

### **12. The effects of Croatia's EU accession**

#### Readings:

Visnja Samardzija: *The relevance of Croatia's EU Membership for the Western Balkans and the European Union*, In: Ernst M. Felberbauer – Predrag Jurekovic (eds.): *Croatian Membership in the EU – Implications for the Western Balkans*, Study Group Information, Vienna, 2/2014. pp. 19-35.

Theresia Töglhofer: *From the West of the Balkans to the "Rest of the Balkans"? Effects of Croatia's EU Accession on South Eastern Europe*, DGAP, 2013, pp. 1-19.

### **13. Serbia**

#### Readings:

Spyros Economides – James Ker-Lindsay: *'Pre-Accession Europeanization': The Case of Serbia and Kosovo*, Journal of Common Market Studies, 2015. pp. 1027-1044.

Heather Grabbe: *Six Lessons of Enlargement Ten Years On: The EU's Transformative Power in Retrospect and Prospect*, Journal of Common Market Studies, 2014. pp. 1-17.

### **14. Kosovo**

#### Readings:

Marko Prelec – Naim Rashiti: *Serb integration in Kosovo after the Brussels Agreement*, Balkans Policy Research Group, 2015, pp. 1-49.

Maja Bjelos – Bojan Elek: *Police Integration in North Kosovo: Progress and Remaining Challenges in Implementation of the Brussels Agreement*, BCSP-KCSS, Belgrade and Prishtina, 2014. pp. 1-18.

## **15. Bosnia and Herzegovina**

### Readings:

Outi Keranen: *International state building as contentious politics: the case of post conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity, 2014. Vol. 41. No. 3. pp. 354-370.

Aydin Babuna: *European Integration, Bosnia-Herzegovina and stability in the Western Balkans: A New Strategy*, Perceptions, Summer 2014, Volume XIX, No. 2. pp. 1-32.

### ***B3) EU EASTERN PARTNERSHIP***

## **16. EU Eastern Partnership**

### Readings:

Andrey Makarychev – Andrey Deviatkov: *Eastern Partnership: Still a missing link in EU Strategy?* CEPS Commentary, 2012. pp. 1-5.

Alina Inayah – Joerg Forbning: *Reviewing the European Neighbourhood Policy: Eastern Perspectives*, GMF Europe Policy Paper 4/2015. pp. 1-43.

Hrant Kostanyan: *The Eastern Partnership after Riga: Review and Reconfirm*, CEPS, 2015, pp. 1-3.

## **17. Ukraine**

### Readings:

Andrew Wilson (ed.): *What does Ukraine think?* ECFR, 2015, pp. 1-43.

Peter Rutland: *An Unnecessary War: The Geopolitical Roots of the Ukrainian Crisis*, In: Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska – Richard Sakwa (eds.): *Ukraine and Russia: People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspectives*, E-International Relations, Bristol, 2015. pp. 129-140.

## **18. Belarus**

### Readings:

Andrei Kazakevich et al.: *Belarus in the region of the Eastern Partnership countries (1992-2012)*, Political Sphere Institute of Political Studies, Vilnius – Centre for European Transformation, Minsk, 2014. pp. 1-35.

Giselle Bosse: *A Partnership with Dictatorship: Explaining the Paradigm Shift in European Union Policy towards Belarus*, Journal of Common Market Studies Vol. 50. No. 3. 2012. pp. 367-384.

## **19. South Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan)**

### Readings:

Amanda Paul: *The EU and the South Caucasus – Time for a stocktake*, In: *The South Caucasus between integration and fragmentation*, EPC, 2015, pp. 19-28. pp. 77-84.

Richard Giragosian: *Armenia's Strategic U-Turn*, ECFR, 2014, pp. 1-6.

Farhad Mammadov: *Azerbaijan's foreign policy – A new paradigm of careful pragmatism*, In: *The South Caucasus between integration and fragmentation*, EPC, 2015, pp. 29-36.

Andrey Makarychev: *Russia's policies in the South Caucasus after the crisis in Ukraine: the vulnerabilities of realism*, In: *The South Caucasus between integration and fragmentation*, EPC, 2015, pp. 19-28.

## **B4) RELATIONS WITH SPECIFIC 'NEIGHBOURS OF EUROPE'**

## **20. Turkey – obstacles to EU accession**

### Readings:

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis: *Turkey between EU Membership and Global Aspirations*, Bilkent University, Ankara (draft), 2015, pp. 1-28.

Senem Aydin-Düzgit – E. Fuat Keyman: *EU-Turkey Relations and the Stagnation of Turkish Democracy*, Stiftung Mercator–IAI–IPC Working Paper, 2013. pp. 1-24.

Emre Gür: *Turkey in the changing world; what to expect in 2016*, CIFE Policy Paper No. 31. March 2016. pp. 1-7.

## **21. Turkey – effects of potential EU membership**

### Readings:

Secil Pacaci Elitok: *Turkey's Prospective EU Membership from a Migration Perspective: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back? Perceptions*, Autumn 2013. Volume XVIII. No. 3. pp. 1-11.

Adnan Cimen – Sadik Yildirim: *The Likely Economic Effects of Turkish Membership on the European Union (EU): A Short Term Analysis*, *Yönetim Bilimleri Dergisi*, 2012. Vol. 10. No. 20. pp. 157-180.

William Chislett: *Turkey's 10 years of EU accession negotiations: no end in sight*, ELCANO Working Paper 14/2015, October 2015. pp. 1-29.



## **22. Russia – geopolitical aspects**

### Readings:

Sergey Markedonov: *Russia, the West and Ukraine: A View from Moscow*, Russian Analytical Digest No. 162, 2015. pp. 2-5.

Ulrich Kühn: *Understanding Russia*, Russian Analytical Digest No. 162, 2015. pp. 5-8.

Mark Galeotti: *'Hybrid War' and 'Little Green Men': How It Works and How It Doesn't*, In: Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska – Richard Sakwa (eds.): *Ukraine and Russia: People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspectives*, E-International Relations, Bristol, 2015. pp. 156-164.

Kadri Liik (ed.): *Russia's "Pivot" to Eurasia*, European Council on Foreign Relations, 2014. pp. 1-31, 36-47.

## **23. Russia-EU relations**

### Readings:

Roderic Lyne: *Russia's Changed Outlook on the West: From Convergence to Confrontation*, In: *The Russian Challenge*, Chatham House, 2015. pp. 2-13.

James Nixey: *Russian Foreign Policy towards the West and Western Responses*, In: *The Russian Challenge*, Chatham House, 2015. pp. 33-39.

Andrew Wood: *Russian and Western Expectations*, In: *The Russian Challenge*, Chatham House, 2015. pp. 50-57.

Philip Hanson: *An Enfeebled Economy*, In: *The Russian Challenge*, Chatham House, 2015. pp. 14-22.

## **24. Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan)**

### Readings:

Nate Schenkkan: *Impact of the Economic Crisis in Russia on Central Asia*, Russian Analytical Digest, No. 165, 17 March 2015, pp. 3-6.

Marlene Laruelle: *Kazakhstan's Posture in the Eurasian Union: In Search of Serene Sovereignty*, Russian Analytical Digest, No. 165, 17 March 2015, pp. 7-10.

Sebastien Peyrouse: *Kyrgyzstan's Membership in the Eurasian Economic Union: A Marriage of Convenience?* Russian Analytical Digest, No. 165, 17 March 2015, pp. 10-12.

Saodat Olimova: *Tajikistan's Prospect of Joining the Eurasian Economic Union*, Russian Analytical Digest, No. 165, 17 March 2015, pp. 13-16.

Neil Melvin: *The EU Needs a New Values-Based Realism for its Central Asia Strategy*, EUCAM, 2012, pp. 1-6.