

Course manual
Joint Master's Programme in
International Humanitarian Action

University of
Warsaw

EU Eastern Policy

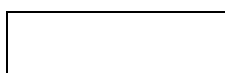
Semester 3



Aix-Marseille
université



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Credits awarded: 4 ECTS, equivalent to 100 work hours (1 ECTS = 25 hours)

Period: Third semester

Venue & hours: Room 416 Collegium Iuridicum I, Tuesdays 15:00-16:30, from 8 November 2016

1. Introduction

The module is an element of the third component (Core Course, 4 ECTS) / third component (Regional Perspective- Eastern Europe , 30 ECTS) of the NOHA Joint Master's Degree in International Humanitarian Action to be completed during the third semester. It forms a recognised part of the curriculum and is a requirement for obtaining the NOHA Master's degree.

The main objective of the module is to present the complexity of EU Eastern policy. The analysis of the Eastern dimension is proceeded by introduction of the main ideas, institutions and mechanisms of EU's external activity. The course is focused on the cases of countries – the main addressees of the EU's efforts in Eastern Europe, i.e. Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan. The EU's foreign policy in the region is compared with activity of other actors, foremost Russia but also the US and China. Through the course its participants are encouraged to look for answers to questions about the nature of the EU Eastern policy (normative or traditional power); reasons of this policy's failures as well as successes; last but not least consequences of EU's activity in the region.

2. Learning outcomes

In conformity with the learning outcomes set out by the NOHA network, students should achieve the following learning outcomes by the end of this module:

- specialised knowledge about the conceptual assumptions and political execution of the Eastern dimension of the EU policy. Shows an understanding of ideological and material basis for this policy. Builds up own awareness of geopolitical consequences of the Eastern policy of the EU on a regional as well as global scale
- critical understanding of differences in interests and goals projected for the EU Eastern policy by particular member states
- highly specialised knowledge about the Eastern European countries – addressees of the EU policy. Has a good understanding of political, economical and social processes in these countries.
- ability to evaluate efficiency of the EU policies by combining the needs of Eastern European states and means adopted by the EU. Has the ability to interpret, critically

analyse and contextualise the obtained data

- skills to give own recommendations for modification of policies and find new solutions for the EU as well as for Eastern European countries. Improves abilities to assess geopolitical risks in regard to the EU Eastern Policy

3. Course material

Course material will be provided by the module coordinator in an electronic version or are to be found in the library of NOHA. For the details see point 5.

Useful links:

<http://www.eufp.eu/about-website-0>

www.osw.waw.pl

4. Teaching and learning methodology

The course consists of four stages.

Stage I (week 1-2) includes introductory lectures on the tools for the foreign policy analysis (FPA), the EU's foreign policy (institutions and mechanisms) and the EU's external activity in the region of Eastern Europe.

Stage II (week 3-4) includes a **workshop** with an expert on how to write an analytical paper. During the first class (week 3) students take part in a lecture and get the guidelines on how to write this kind of text. For the next class (week 4) each student writes his/her analytical paper. All papers are sent 3 days in advance and are evaluated by the expert during the class.

Stage III (weeks 5-10) includes analysing EU's Eastern policy from the perspective of its addressees. Each student is to prepare **one analytical paper** (written form) on a particular state of the 'New' Eastern Europe. The paper will be sent in an electronic form to all the participants of the course 2 days in advance of the class. Next, the student **presents the paper (oral presentation)** during the class and takes the role of an expert. In the oral presentation the student refers to the following issues: the situation in the particular country, the EU's policy and the bilateral cooperation. His/her classmates are to critically assess the paper and the presentation. They should also evaluate the efficiency of the EU's policy and prospects for further bilateral relations. Thus in this stage of the course, each student prepares a paper (written form) and a presentation (oral form).

Stage IV (weeks 11-13) is dedicated to the evaluation of EU's Eastern Policy. The class during week 13 will have a form of **a student debate** in which each student is expected to prepare his opinion whether the EU is purely a "civilisational" or an imperial power.

5. Programme and training activities

Class 1 (Tuesday, November 8, time: 3.00-4.30)

1. How to analyse foreign policy? The case of the EU's external activity

- *The Foreign Policy Analysis: main notions and concepts*

- *The EU as an international actor: institutions, mechanisms, agenda, instruments*

Readings

Compulsory:

- Stephan Keukeleire, Tom Delreux, *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan 2014, Chapters 1-5.

Optional:

- Federiga Bindi [ed.], *The Foreign Policy of the EU. Assessing Europe's Role in the World*, Brookings Institution Press 2010, pp. 13-51.
- Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne, *Foreign Policy. Theories, Actors, Cases*, Oxford University Press 2008, pp. 85-100.
- Knud Erik Jørgensen, Katie Verlin Laatikainen [eds.], *Routledge Handbook on the European Union and International Institutions*, Routledge 2013, pp. 41-52.

Class 2 (Tuesday, November 8, time: 4.45-18.15)

Workshop with an expert: how to write an analytical paper

Class 3 (Tuesday, November 15, time: 3.00-4.30)

2. The EU's Eastern policy: ideological underpinning, interests, goals, instruments

- *The ideological foundations of EU's Eastern policy*
- *The evolution of the EU's Eastern policy: interests, goals, instruments*
- *The EU's policy and the interests of particular member states*

Readings

Compulsory:

- Stephan Keukeleire, Tom Delreux, *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan 2014, Chapter 5 & 11.
- Nikola Petrović, EU ideology, "Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research" 2016, vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 56-76.
- Ana E. Juncos & Karolina Pomorska, Invisible and unaccountable? National Representatives and Council Officials in EU foreign Policy, "Journal of European Public Policy" 2011, vol. 18, No. 8, pp. 1096-1114.
- Anke Schmidt-Felzmann, All for One? EU Member States and the Union's Common Policy Towards the Russian Federation, "Journal of Contemporary European Studies" 2008, vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 169-187.

Optional:

- Federiga Bindi [ed.], *The Foreign Policy of the EU. Assessing Europe's Role in the World*, Brookings Institution Press 2010, pp. 99-118.
- Karen Elizabeth Smith, The EU's peace-making role in Eastern Europe, "Cambridge Review of International Affairs" 1997, vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 104-121.
- Elena A. Korosteleva, Michal Naturski & Licinia Simão, The eastern dimension of the European neighbourhood policy: practices, instruments and social structures, "East European Politics" 2013, vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 257-272.
- Richard Whitman, Stefan Wolff [eds.], *The European Neighbourhood Policy in Perspective. Context, Implementation and Impact*, Palgrave MacMillan 2010.

Class 4 (Tuesday, November 15, time: 4.45-18.15)

Workshop with an expert: how to write an analytical paper

Class 5 (Tuesday, November 22, time: 3.00-4.30)

5. The New Eastern Europe: from the USRR to the EU's periphery

- *The consequences of the fall of the USSR*

- *The burden of the triple transformation*
- *Bandwagoning or balancing: a better strategy for the 'New' Eastern Europe*

Readings

Compulsory:

- Timm Beichelt, Autocracy and democracy in Belarus, Russia and Ukraine, "Democratization" 2004, vol. 11, No. 5, pp. 113-132.
- Stephen White, Margot Light & John Lowenhardt, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine: Looking east or looking west?, "Perspectives on European Politics and Society" 2001, vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 289-304.
- Julia Korosteleva & Stephen White, 'Feeling European': the view from Belarus, Russia and Ukraine, "Contemporary Politics" 2006, vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 193-205.
- Stephen R. Burant, Foreign policy and national identity: A comparison of Ukraine and Belarus, "Europe-Asia Studies" 1995, vol. 47, No. 7, pp. 1125-1144.
- Gwendolyn Sasse, Linkages and the promotion of democracy: the EU's eastern neighbourhood, "Democratization" 2013, vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 553-591.

Optional:

- Elena Korosteleva, The Eastern Partnership Initiative: A New Opportunity for Neighbours?, "Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics" 2011, vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 1-21.
- Heather Grabbe, The EU's Transformative Power, Palgrave Macmillan 2006, pp. 52-73.
- Ivan T. Berend, From the Soviet Bloc to the EU. The Economic and Social Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe since 1973, Cambridge University Press 2009.
- Martin Dangerfield, Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine: In or Out of European Regional International Society?, "Journal of European Integration" 2011, vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 215-233.
- Dmitry Trenin, Russia and the New Eastern Europe, "Russian Politics and Law" 2011, vol. 49, No. 6, pp. 38-53.

Student task: A student prepares a paper (written form) and a presentation (oral form). (For details see point 4)

Class 6 (Tuesday, November 22, time: 4.45-18.15)

6. Belarus

Readings

Compulsory:

- Federiga Bindi [ed.], The Foreign Policy of the EU. Assessing Europe's Role in the World, Brookings Institution Press 2010, pp. 133-147.
- Alina Inayeh, Joerg Forbrig, Reviewing the European Neighbourhood Policy: Eastern Perspectives, "Europe Policy Paper" 2015, pp. 18-23.
- Elena Korosteleva, The European Union and its Eastern Neighbours, Routledge 2012, pp. 61-81.
- Elena A. Korosteleva, The European Union and Belarus: democracy promotion by technocratic means?, "Democratization" 2015.
- David Rotman & Natalia Veremeeva, Belarus in the Context of the Neighbourhood Policy: Between the EU and Russia, "Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics" 2011, vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 73-98.
- Stephen White, Tania Biletskaya & Ian McAllister, Belarusians between East and West, "Post-Soviet Affairs" 2016, vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 1-27.

Optional:

- Grigory Ioffe, Understanding Belarus: Belarussian identity, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2003, vol. 55, No. 8, pp. 1241-1272.

- Larissa Titarenko, Belarus: A borderland civilization or civilization outskirts? Sociological reflection, "LIMES: Cultural Regionalistics" 2009, vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 64-81.
- Giselle Bosse, Challenges for EU governance through Neighbourhood Policy and Eastern Partnership: the values/security nexus in EU–Belarus relations, "Contemporary Politics" 2009, vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 215-227.

Student task: A student prepares a paper (written form) and a presentation (oral form). (For details see point 4)

Class 7 (Tuesday, November 29, time: 3.00-4.30)

7. Ukraine

Readings

Compulsory:

- Federiga Bindi [ed.], The Foreign Policy of the EU. Assessing Europe's Role in the World, Brookings Institution Press 2010, pp. 133-147.
- Alina Inayeh, Joerg Forbrig, Reviewing the European Neighbourhood Policy: Eastern Perspectives, "Europe Policy Paper" 2015, pp. 38-43.
- Elena Korosteleva, The European Union and its Eastern Neighbours, Routledge 2012, pp. 82-103.
- Geoffrey Pridham, EU/Ukraine Relations and the Crisis with Russia, 2013-14: A Turning Point, "The International Spectator. Italian Journal of International Affairs" 2014, vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 53-61.
- Vsevolod Samokhvalov, Ukraine between Russia and the European Union: Triangle Revisited, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2015, vol. 67, No. 9, pp. 1371-1393.

Optional:

- Anders Åslund, Why Ukraine is so poor, and what could be done to make it richer, "Eurasian Geography and Economics" 2014, vol. 55, No. 3, pp. 236-246.
- Neil MacFarlane & Anand Menon, The EU and Ukraine, "Survival. Global Politics and Strategy" 2014, vol. 56, No. 3, pp. 95-101.
- Oleksandr Stegnyy, Ukraine and the Eastern Partnership: 'Lost in Translation'?, "Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics" 2011, vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 50-72.

Student task: A student prepares a paper (written form) and a presentation (oral form). (For details see point 4)

Class 8 (Tuesday, November 29, time: 4.45-18.15)

8. Moldova

Readings

Compulsory:

- Elena Korosteleva, The European Union and its Eastern Neighbours, Routledge 2012, pp. 104-124.
- Alina Inayeh, Joerg Forbrig, Reviewing the European Neighbourhood Policy: Eastern Perspectives, "Europe Policy Paper" 2015, pp. 32-37.
- Giselle Bosse, The EU's Relations with Moldova: Governance, Partnership or Ignorance?, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2010, vol. 62, No. 8, pp. 1291-1301.

Optional:

- Luke March & Graeme P. Herd, Moldova Between Europe and Russia: Inoculating Against the Colored Contagion?, "Post-Soviet Affairs" 2006, vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 349-379.
- Amy Verdun & Gabriela E. Chira, From neighbourhood to membership: Moldova's persuasion

strategy towards the EU, "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies" 2008, vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 431-444.

Student task: A student prepares a paper (written form) and a presentation (oral form). (For details see point 4)

Class 9 (Tuesday, December 6, time: 4.45-6.15)

9. South Caucasus

Readings

Compulsory:

- Alina Inayeh, Joerg Forbrig, Reviewing the European Neighbourhood Policy: Eastern Perspectives, "Europe Policy Paper" 2015, pp. 7-17.
- Amanda Paul, The EU in the South Caucasus and the Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War, "The International Spectator", vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 30-42.
- Oscar B. Pardo Sierra, Shaping the Neighbourhood? The EU's Impact on Georgia, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2011, vol. 63, No. 8, pp. 1377-1398.
- Laure Delcour & Kataryna Wolczuk, The EU's Unexpected 'Ideal Neighbour'? The Perplexing Case of Armenia's Europeanisation, "Journal of European Integration" 2015, vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 491-507.

Optional:

- Gwendolyn Sasse, The European Neighbourhood Policy and Conflict Management: A Comparison of Moldova and the Caucasus, "Ethnopolitics" 2009, vol. 8, No. 3-4, pp. 369-386.
- Huseyn Aliyev, Assessing the European Union's Assistance to Civil Society in Its Eastern Neighbourhood: Lessons from the South Caucasus, "Journal of Contemporary European Studies" 2016, vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 42-60.

Student task: A student prepares a paper (written form) and a presentation (oral form). (For details see point 4)

Class 10 (Tuesday, December 13, time: 4.45-6.15)

10. Russia

Readings

Compulsory:

- Federiga Bindi [ed.], The Foreign Policy of the EU. Assessing Europe's Role in the World, Brookings Institution Press 2010, pp. 119-132.
- Hannes Adomeit, Russia and Its Near Neighbourhood: Competition and Conflict with the EU, "Natolin Research Papers" 04/2011.
- Sergey Tumanov, Alexander Gasparishvili & Ekaterina Romanova, Russia-EU Relations, or How the Russians Really View the EU, "Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics" 2011, vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 120-141.
- Jakub Kulhanek, The Fundamentals of Russia's EU Policy, "Problems of Post-Communism" 2010, vol. 57, No. 5, pp. 51-63.

Optional:

- Jackie Gower, EU-Russian relations and the eastern enlargement: Integration or isolation?, "Perspectives on European Politics and Society" 2000, vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 75-93.
- Haukkala, Hiski, The Russian Challenge to the EU Normative Power: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy, "The International Spectator" 2008, vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 35-47.
- Jakob Tolstrup, Russia vs. EU. The Competition for Influence in Post-Soviet States, FirstForumPress 2013.

Student task: A student prepares a paper (written form) and a presentation (oral form). (For details see point 4)

Class 11 (Tuesday, December 20, time: 4.45-6.15)

11. The EU as the only alternative? The other actors in Eastern Europe (US, China, Turkey)

Readings

Compulsory:

- Stephan Keukeleire, Tom Delreux, *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan 2014, Chapter 12.
- Sieglinde Gstoehl, Erward Lannon [eds.], *The Neighbours of the European Union's Neighbours*, Ashgate 2014, pp. 257-264.
- Laure Delcour, *Between the Eastern Partnership and Eurasian Integration: Explaining Post-Soviet Countries' Engagement in (Competing) Region-Building Projects*, "Problems of Post-Communism" 2015, vol. 62, No. 6, pp. 316-327.
- Richard Rousseau, *China's Growing Economic Presence in Ukraine and Belarus*, "Strategic Analysis" 2012, vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 18-22.
- Andrew Wilson & Nicu Popescu, *Russian and European neighbourhood policies compared*, "Southeast European and Black Sea Studies" 2009, vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 317-331.
- Nelli Babayan, *The In-Betweeners, The Eastern Partnership Countries and the Russia-West Conflict*, Transatlantic Academy Paper Press, April 2016.

Optional:

- Martin Nilsson & Daniel Silander, *Democracy and Security in the EU's Eastern Neighborhood? Assessing the ENP in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine*, "Democracy and Security" 2016, vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 44-61.
- Sven Biscop, *Game of zones: power struggles in the EU's neighbourhood*, "Global Affairs" 2015, vol. 1, No. 4-5, pp. 369-379.
- Katlijn Malfliet, Lien Verpoest, Evgeny Vinokurov [eds.], *The CIS, the EU and Russia: Challenges of Integration*, Palgrave Macmillan 2007.

Class 12 (Tuesday, January 10, time: 4.45-6.15)

12. What should be done about Eastern Europe: the Polish perspective

- *Jerzy Giedroyc's ideas as foundation of Polish Eastern policy after 1989*
- *Polish Eastern policy: interests, goals, instruments*
- *The factor of Polish minority living in the New Eastern Europe*
- *Polish-Russian relations: the story of unsuccessful reconciliation*

Readings

Compulsory:

- Krzysztof Fedorowicz, *National Identity and National Interest in Polish Eastern Policy, 1989–2004*, "Nationalities Papers" 2007, vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 537-553.
- Stephen R. Burant, *Poland's Eastern Policy, 1990-95: The Limits of the Possible*, "Problems of Post-Communism" 1996, vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 48-55.
- Nathaniel Copey & Karolina Pomorska, *The Influence of Newer Member States in the European Union: The Case of Poland and the Eastern Partnership*, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2014, vol. 66, No. 3, pp. 421-443.

Optional:

- Martin Dangerfield, *The Contribution of the Visegrad Group to the European Union's 'Eastern' Policy: Rhetoric or Reality?*, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2009, vol. 61, No. 10, pp. 1735-1755.

Class 13 (Tuesday, January 24, time: 3.00-5.00)**13. The EU – a saviour or an imperial power of Eastern Europe? (student debate)**

- *Notions of normative imperialism and civilisational power*

Readings**Compulsory:**

- Julian Pänke, The Fallout of the EU's Normative Imperialism in the Eastern Neighborhood, "Problems of Post-Communism" 2015, vol. 62, No. 6, pp. 350-363.
- Ingrid Hudabiunigg, The Otherness of Eastern Europe, "Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development" 2004, vol. 25, No. 5-6, pp. 369-388.

Optional:

- Alessandro Rotta, Promoting Regional Cooperation: The EU in South Eastern Europe, "The International Spectator" 2008, vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 57-72.
- Jan Zielonka, Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union, Oxford University Press 2007.

Student task: Each student is expected to prepare his opinion whether the EU is a "civilisational" or an imperial power.

Class 14 (Tuesday, January 24, time: 5.00-5.30)

The evaluation of the semester performance

6. Workload

The approximate total workload (including compulsory readings, preparing presentations and simulations) is around 100 hours. The workload is smaller in the introductory classes and more intensive in the weeks 3-10, which involve more reading and a preparation of a written paper.

7. Assessment methods

The fundamental condition of receiving a graded pass is the presence during classes. A student has a right to be absent twice and only during these weeks when she/he does not perform a presentation (!).

Furthermore, in order to be able to fulfil the required tasks, each students has to take part in the workshop.

During the course students are expected to prepare 3 different tasks, differing in form and difficulty:

- preparing an analytical paper (30% of the final mark)
- presentation of the analytical paper (30% of the final mark)
- participation in a debate (10% of the final mark)

By being active (preparing compulsory readings, asking questions, comments, participating in discussions) during classes a student can improve their final mark by 30%

System of grades:

- 55% - 3 (pass)
- 75% - 4 (good)
- 90% - 5 (very good)

8. Assessment criteria

While assessing the overall performance of a student, the coordinator takes into account the number of absences, activity during classes (preparing compulsory readings) and the quality of tasks (analytical paper, presentation of this paper and participation in the debate).

9. Appendices

[Any supporting documents to explain parts of the module more in detail.]