

## **Europe and its Eastern Neighborhood**

Instructor: Prof. Mitchell A Orenstein

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Office: European Studies, R523

Classroom: R202

Time: Tuesdays 215-415pm

The European Union (EU) faces a growing dilemma in relations with the countries of its Eastern neighborhood. Europe's foreign policy towards its Eastern neighbors has been based on the carrot of membership. With the application of this powerful incentive, Central and Southeastern European countries have progressed rapidly towards integration with the EU (and NATO). Yet, the carrot of membership is off the table for countries to the East, including Russia, Turkey, Ukraine, and others in an emerging buffer zone between Russia and the EU. Russia and Turkey, in particular, have other geostrategic interests and capabilities beyond EU integration. In this context, the EU must balance its energy dependence on Russia and need for new markets with its concern for human rights, democratic governance, and self-determination in Eastern Europe and the non-Baltic former Soviet Union. What are the trade-offs implicit in Europe's Eastern policy? What are the best policy approaches? What are the main opportunities and obstacles? Guest lecturers from Washington, DC embassies and think tanks will offer a wide range of perspectives that will enable students to better understand the multiple dimensions of Europe's Eastern policy. As a result, a few sessions will take place in conjunction with the European Studies Lecture Series that runs Tuesdays from 500-630pm in R806 instead of the official class time.

**Course Requirements: Research Paper (65%), Class Attendance (20%), Reaction Papers (15%)**

The research paper will be on a topic chosen by the student and approved by the instructor. It may be on any topic within the range of topics emphasized in this course. Students should develop a short synopsis of their research idea and email or discuss it with the instructor for approval. Four one-page reaction papers must be written and posted on the Blackboard course site under "discussions" during the course term. In addition, students are required to read and comment upon other students' reaction papers in at least four weeks. These postings and comments must take place at least three hours prior to class meetings. Reaction papers may be in any format students deem useful, whether a summary, a bullet-point list, or a critical essay.

## Topics and Invited Speakers

### Week 1: January 31

#### The European Union's Eastern Dilemma

How does the EU deal with its energy dependence and the legacies of backwardness on its Eastern periphery? Are these countries part of Europe? What are the problems of integrating them into the European Union? Is there an emerging buffer zone between the EU and Russia?

#### Required Readings:

F. Stephen Larrabee, Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe, Foreign Affairs, 2006.

#### Recommended Readings:

Edward Lucas, The New Cold War.

Alan Mayhew, The European Union's Policy Towards Central and Eastern Europe. Cambridge University Press.

Ron Asmus and Bruce Jackson, The Black Sea and the Frontiers of Freedom. Policy Review, 2004.

### Week 2: February 7 (500pm in R806)

#### Europe's Eastern Neighborhood Policy

Confirmed Speaker: Dan Hamilton, Center for Transatlantic Relations

What are the instruments of Europe's Eastern policy? What is the history of the European Neighborhood Policy? What objectives are it meant to achieve? Is it a sufficient mechanism? What have been the obstacles so far?

#### Required Readings:

Karen Smith. The Outsiders: The European Neighborhood Policy. International Affairs 81:4, 2005.

Judith Kelley. New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political Reform through the European Neighborhood Policy. Journal of Common Market Studies, 2006.

R. Aliboni. The Geopolitical Implications of the European Neighborhood Policy. European Foreign Affairs Review, 2005.

Gwendolyn Sasse. The European Neighborhood Policy: Conditionality Revisited for the EU's Eastern Neighbors. Europe-Asia Studies 60:2, 2008.

Elena Korosteleva. The Eastern Partnership Initiative: A New Opportunity for Neighbors? Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics 27:1, March 2011.

### **Week 3: February 14**

#### **Russian Foreign Policy: Neo-Imperial or Post-Imperial?**

What is Russian foreign policy towards the countries of the former Soviet Union? Does Russia have a foreign policy? Is it unified? What are its instruments? Can it be characterized as neo-imperialist? Post-imperialist?

Required Readings:

Celeste Wallander, Russian Transimperialism and its Implications. Washington Quarterly, Spring 2007.

Lilia Shevtsova, The Temporary Return of Putin Co., Foreign Affairs, October 2010.

Dmitri Trenin, Russia Reborn, Foreign Affairs, 2009.

Dmitri Trenin, Russia, the EU, and the Common Neighborhood, 2005. Center for European Reform.

[http://leader.viitorul.org/public/620/en/essay\\_russia\\_trenin\\_sept05.pdf](http://leader.viitorul.org/public/620/en/essay_russia_trenin_sept05.pdf)

Sergey Tumanov, Alexander Gasparishvili, and Ekaterina Romanova, Russia-EU Relations, or How the Russians Really View the EU. Journal of Communist and Transition Politics 27:1, March 2011.

Recommended:

Andrei Tsygankov. 2010. Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity. Second Edition. Rowman and Littlefield.

### **Week 4: February 21**

#### **Pipeline Politics**

Confirmed Speaker: Robert Ortung, George Washington University

How does the shifting pipeline politics of Eastern Europe affect relations between Russia, the EU and the transit countries in between? Is there a new great game afoot in Eastern Europe? Will the EU ever have an energy policy? Will Russia and the EU reach a stable concord? Or will energy be a constant source of contention?

Required Readings:

Daniel Freifeld, "The Great Pipeline Opera," Foreign Policy, 2009.

Yulia Tymoshenko, "Containing Russia," Foreign Affairs, 2007.

Mark Leonard and Nicu Popescu, "A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations." European Council on Foreign Relations, 2007.

Edward L. Morse and James Richard, "The Battle for Energy Dominance," Foreign Affairs 81:2, 2002.

Jan H. Kalicki, "Caspian Energy at a Crossroads," Foreign Affairs 2002.

Kononenko, Vadim, "'Normal Neighbors' or 'Troublemakers'? The Baltic States in the Context of Russia-EU Relations," Estonian Foreign Policy Yearbook 2006.

### **Week 5: February 28 (500pm in R806)**

#### **German Foreign Policy and the East**

Confirmed Speaker: Steve Szabo, Transatlantic Academy

What is German policy towards the East? How Russia-focused is it? How business-focused is it? How does Germany balance its own relations with Russian, Central Europe, and the European Partnership countries?

Required Readings:

Constanza Stelzenmuller, "German's Russia Question: A New Ostpolitik for Europe?," Foreign Affairs, 2009.

Steve Szabo, "Germany Inc.," unpublished manuscript.

Lily Gardner Feldman, The Principle and Practice of 'Reconciliation' in German Foreign Policy: Relations with France, Israel, Poland and the Czech Republic. International Affairs 75:2, 1999.

Akan Malici, *Germans as Venetians: The Culture of German Foreign Policy Behavior*. Foreign Policy Analysis 2:1, 2006.

**Week 6: March 6 (500pm in R806)**

**Polish Foreign Policy Between East and West**

Confirmed Speaker: Wess Mitchell, Center for European Policy Analysis

How has Poland found a new balance in its foreign policy between Germany and Russia? Can Poland play a broker role for the Eastern Partnership countries? What are the medium and long term challenges Poland faces?

Required Readings:

Jan Cienski, "The Polish Tiger," Foreign Policy, November 27, 2011.

"For Our Freedom and Yours," Economist Blog, July 7, 2011.

<http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproaches/2011/07/polands-foreign-policy>

Heather Grabbe, "The Sharp Edges of Europe: Extending Schengen Eastwards," International Affairs, 76:3, July 2000.

Karolina Pomorska, *The Impact of Enlargement: Europeanization of Polish Foreign Policy: Tracking Adaptation and Change in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 2:1, April 2007.

**Week 7: March 13 (500pm in R806)**

**Russia and Europe after the Presidential Elections**

Confirmed Speaker: Fiona Hill, Brookings Institution

How have the results of Russia's Duma and Presidential elections in 2012 altered the balance of power in Russia, its international relations, and its relations with Europe and the former Soviet Union states?

Required Readings: TBA

**Week 9: March 27 (500pm in R806)**

**Belarus-EU Relations: Short on Carrots, Short on Sticks**

Confirmed Speaker: Matt Rojansky, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Why does European policy towards Belarus revolve between isolation and engagement, with no results? What is Russia's policy towards Belarus? Will Belarus remain under the Lukashenko dictatorship for the foreseeable future? Is it falling more and more under Russia's control?

Required Readings:

Stephen R. Burant, Foreign Policy and National Identity: A Comparison of Belarus and Ukraine. Europe-Asia Studies 47:7, 1995.

Lucan Way, "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine," World Politics 57, 2005.

### **Week 10: April 3**

#### **Ukraine and Europe**

Confirmed Speaker: Roberta Feldman Brzezinski, Abris Capital

What are Ukraine's prospects within Europe? What is the EU's policy towards Ukraine? Can it continue to pivot between Russia and Europe? Will this have any effect on needed political and economic reforms in Ukraine?

John Edwin Mroz and Oleksandr Pavliuk, "Ukraine: Europe's Lynchpin," Foreign Affairs, 1996.

Andrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," Foreign Affairs, 2005.

Alexander Motyl, Ukrainian Blues: Yanukovich's Rise, Democracy's Fall. Foreign Affairs, July/August 2010.

### **Week 11: April 10**

#### **Moldova: Poorest Country in Europe**

Invited Speaker: Peter Doran, Center for European Policy Analysis

Why is the EU interested in Moldova? What are the prospects for resolution of the Transnistria issue? Will Moldova ever get on a track to EU membership and why?

Required Readings:

EuObserver, "Russian Decision Boosts Moldova Entry Prospects," <http://euobserver.com/24/32095>

EU, "Progress Report: Moldova," 2010.

[http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=moldova%20eu&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CDEQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fec.europa.eu%2Fworld%2Fenp%2Fpdf%2Fprogress2010%2Fsec10\\_523\\_en.pdf&ei=2qTSTtaLj8Oa0QGo\\_92eBA&usq=AFQjCNGKyaHiaty5Z4KOd9kkMmjoP3PrbA&cad=rja](http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=moldova%20eu&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CDEQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fec.europa.eu%2Fworld%2Fenp%2Fpdf%2Fprogress2010%2Fsec10_523_en.pdf&ei=2qTSTtaLj8Oa0QGo_92eBA&usq=AFQjCNGKyaHiaty5Z4KOd9kkMmjoP3PrbA&cad=rja)

Matthew Rojansky and Lyndon Allin, "Why Moldova Matters," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2010/08/31/why-moldova-matters/3s8>

Recommended Readings:

Christopher J. Borgen, "Thawing a Frozen Conflict: Legal Aspects of the Separatist Crisis in Moldova," St. Johns University Legal Studies Research Paper Series 06-0045, July 2006.

### **Week 12: April 17 (500pm in R806)**

#### **Turkey: A Period of Frustration**

Invited Speaker: Omer Taspinar, National Defense University

Have Turkey's EU prospects been thwarted? Will Turkey be better off orienting its foreign policy towards the Middle East? What will a frustrated Turkey mean for Europe?

Required Readings:

Michael S. Teitelbaum and Philip L. Martin, "Is Turkey Ready for Europe," Foreign Affairs 82:3, 2003.

Wolfgang Schauble, "Talking Turkey: Is Europe Ready for a Muslim Member?," Foreign Affairs, 2004.

Ahmet Davutoglu, "Turkey's Zero-Problem Foreign Policy," Foreign Policy, 2010.

### **Week 13: April 24**

#### **Georgia: Frozen Conflict**

Invited Speaker: TBA

Has the EU proven to be an effective mediator in the frozen conflict in Georgia? What is the fate of that country? What is Russian policy towards Georgia? Is there a peaceful solution on the horizon?

Required Readings:

Mark Leonard, Nico Popescu, and Andrew Wilson, "Can the EU Win the Peace in Georgia?," ECPR Policy Brief.

Charles King, "The Five Day War," Foreign Affairs, 2008.

BBC Georgia-Russia Conflict Website

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in\\_depth/europe/2008/georgia\\_russia\\_conflict/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/europe/2008/georgia_russia_conflict/default.stm)

**Week 14: May 1**

**After Enlargement: Wherefore EU Eastern Policy?**

What are the achievements and failures of the EU's Eastern policy? What are the most important agenda items moving forward? Is there a grand vision of EU policy towards the East? Is there an emerging buffer zone between the EU and Russia? What are the foreign policy tools of Europe as it faces its Eastern dilemmas? Are these sufficient?

Required Reading:

Ron Asmus, "Europe's Eastern Promise: Rethinking NATO and EU Enlargement," Foreign Affairs, 2008.

Charles Kupchan, "NATO's Final Frontier," Foreign Affairs, 2010.