

Draft January 12, 2008

SPECIAL TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
THE EU AND RUSSIA:

WWS 556e Spring Semester 2009
Mondays 1-4 p.m

Instructor: George L. Bustin
Office location: 124 Corwin Hall
Office hours: By appointment (faculty assistant: Sandy Paroly, 210 Robertson,
sparoly@princeton.edu), tel. 609/258-5023
My cell phone: 609/613-1824
Email: bustin@princeton.edu, gbustin@cgsh.com - **please use both addresses when sending a message**

Course description

The seminar will examine the recent evolution and the basis in coming years for the institutional and strategic relationship between the EU and the Russian Federation. We will analyze the features of the EU's foreign/security policy machinery and the current state of EU/ Russian relations, including the existing Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and its likely replacement in 2009. We will also assess the official strategy papers produced by both Brussels and Moscow in order to articulate their respective goals for the relationship. Areas for special concentration include energy policy and reciprocal dependence of the two sides, issues arising in the "border areas" (Ukraine, Georgia -- in light of the 5-day war --, Azerbaijan, etc.), the EU's interest in encouraging democracy and civil society, reciprocal investments in private and public sectors, and the broader political dimension, including the relations of each side with the US and other international actors, and the implications of such third-party relationships for their mutual relations.

BOOKS

Books marked with the pound sign (#) are on reserve, or relevant chapters are on e-reserve.

- Books marked with an asterisk (*) are also available for purchase at Labyrinth Books and purchase is recommended because we expect to be reading significant portions of such books.

-Substantially all assignments will be available on electronic reserve through the Stokes Library.

Hill and Smith, International Relations and the European Union, Oxford, 2005*#
T. Gomart et al., Russie.NEI.,Visions 2007, IFRI, Paris, 2007 (English Version)#
(Paper)

M. Emerson et al., The Elephant and the Bear: The EU Russia and their Near Abroads, CENTER FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES, Brussels 2001 (Paper)#

M. Emerson (ed.),The Elephant and the Bear Try Again: Options for a New Agreement, CENTER FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES, Brussels, 2006 (Paper)#

- S. Batory Foundation, Putin's Empire, Warsaw, 2007#
 Lyne et al., Engaging with Russia, the Next Phase, Trilateral Commission, London, 2006#
 H. Smith (ed.) Russia and its Foreign Policy, Kikimora Publications, Helsinki, 2005#
 S. Prozorov, Understanding Conflict between Russia and the EU, Palgrave McMillian, 2006#
 D. Trenin, Getting Russia Right, Carnegie International Endowment, Moscow, 2007*#
 S. Meunier and K. McNamara (eds), Making History: European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty, Oxford, 2007#
 K. Smith, European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2006*#
 D. Johnson and R. Robinson (eds.), Perspectives on EU Russian Relations, Routledge, 2005#
 R. Allison et al. (eds), Putin's Russia and the Enlarged Europe, Blackwell Publ., Chatham House, 2006#

There are no comprehensive textbooks for this subject. We will read selectively from the above books and extensively from articles produced by major U.S., European and Russian "think tanks". Many such articles appear in the syllabus; most of these articles are relatively short (5-10 pages) and state a particular thesis or position on one of the themes to be covered in the seminar. All articles will either be on e-reserve or freely available to download from websites to be indicated. A limited number of articles can be made available in hard copy as hand-outs for students who have difficulty accessing them by other means. All required readings will be in English.

Unless otherwise indicated, there is no particular order that needs to be followed in reading the assigned materials within a given week's theme.

For students wishing to pursue particular themes or topics in more detail, please talk to me, and additional readings can be made available in English, French, Polish and/or Russian, according to language proficiency

ORGANIZATION OF CLASSES

Seminar sessions will generally begin with a short lecture introducing the subject matter, followed by class discussion.

For some sessions, student volunteers will be solicited (in advance) to prepare short oral presentations on particular topics of interest.

It will be important to stay current in the readings, because we will generally move from one broad theme to another week-to-week. I would advise against trying to read ahead, because we may revise the readings to reflect important developments over the course of the term. (It is certain that a number of important articles on EU and Russian policy issues will be published during the winter and early spring in view of the negotiations on a new PCA that were re-launched toward the end of 2008.)

GRADING AND EVALUATION

Mid-term paper: 25% - 6-10 pages
 Final paper 50% - 15-18 pages
 Class participation and oral presentations: 25%

SCHEDULE OF STUDY AND MAJOR THEMES

Week 1 (February 2)

Introduction and Overview:

The EU in International Relations

-Hill & Smith, International Relations and the European Union

Ch. 1 Themes and Issues, pp. 3-13

2 Theory and the EU's International Relations, pp. 18-36

3 The Pattern of the EU's Global Activity, pp. 41-43,45- 48[Central and Eastern Europe]

5 Coherence and Consistency, pp. 91-111

7 The Europeanization of Foreign Policy, pp. 134-152

13 Enlargement and European Order, pp. 270-290

18 Acting for Europe, pp. 388-406

-K. Smith, European Foreign Policy in a Changing World, pp. 1-68

-N. Tocci, "When and Why does the EU act as a Normative Power in its Neighborhood", European Security Forum working Paper no 29, July 2008 (5 pages)

- *Optional* R. Youngs, "Is European Democracy Promotion on the Wane", Center for European Policy Studies (CENTER FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES) Working Doc. 292, May 2008 (14 pages).

Week 2 (February 9)

Introduction and Overview (continued):

-Lyne et al., Engaging with Russia, the Next Phase, pp. 1-74, 99-120, 143-165;

-S. Batory Foundation, Putin's Empire, pp. 7-9, 113-124, 137-151

-D. Trenin, Getting Russia Right, Ch.3. pp. 51-76

-A. Kuchins et al., "Russia's 2020 Strategic Economic Goals and the Role of International Integration", Center for Strategic International Studies (CSIS), July 2008 (21 pages)

-D. Furman, "The Fork in the Road in 2008", in *Russia in Global Affairs*, April/June 2008 (4 pages)

-Optional: T. Bordachev, "A Time to Cast Stones" in *Russia in Global Affairs*, April/June 2008 (9 pages)

[Hand-out: Materials on the Lisbon Treaty and its impact on the institutional dimensions of EU foreign and security policy]

Week 3 (February 16)

The EU and Russia Engage

-**M. Emerson**, The Elephant and the Bear: the EU, Russia and their Near Abroads (pp. 1-35, 45-55)

- "Communication from the Commission on Relations with the Russian Federation" (2004) pp. 1-7, Annex 2 (pp. 9-14)

-Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between the European Union and the Russian Federation (**Students should browse this document to get a sense of the scope and substance. See particularly** the Preamble, Arts 1-3, 6-9, 10-12, 23-30, 52, 55, 57, 65, 80, 90-91, 99-106).

- "Road Maps" for the Four Common Spaces" adopted 2005 (**Skim all texts**)

- M. Emerson, "Four Common Spaces and the Proliferation of the Fuzzy", CENTER FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES Policy Brief No. 71, pp. 1-4.

-M. Vahl "A Privileged Partnership" Danish Institute for International Affairs, pp. 2-27, 31-33

-H. Smith, "Russia and the European Union" in **H. Smith (ed.)** Russia and its Foreign Policy, pp. 125-138.

Week 4 (February 23)

The Outlines of a New Strategic Relationship

- EU Commission Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013, Russian Federation, pp. 1-37, skim Annex 2.

-Russia's Medium-term Strategy Toward the European Union 2000-2010, pp. 1-10

- **M. Emerson et al.**, The Elephant and the Bear Try Again, pp. 1-40, 51-86

- M. Menkiszak, "Russia and the European Union: A Strategic Partnership Crisis", Center for Eastern Studies, Warsaw, pp. 41-63

EU Commission, "Review of EU-Russia Relations", Brussels, November 2008, 4 pages

EU Commission Report to the-Council of the European Union, "EU-Russia Common Spaces – 2007 Progress Report", Brussels, April 2008 (**Browse selectively only**)

- European Parliament, Report on EU Trade and Economic Relations with Russia (2007), pp. 15-22 only.

- H. Haukkala, "False Premises, Sound Principles", Finnish Institute of International Relations, April 2008 (7 pages)

-T. Gomart et al., "EU-Russia Relations: Toward a Way out of Depression", Center for Strategic Studies, Paris, July 2008 (17 pages)

Optional: EU-Russia Industrialists Roundtable, "Joint Conclusions...and Recommendations", November 2008 (6 pages).

Weeks 5 and 6

Russian Perspectives: How Moscow Sees It

Week 5 (March 2)

- S.Karaganov et al., "EU-Russian Relations", pp. 1-16
 - Institute for Security Studies, IFRI, Paris, Chaillot Paper No. 74: What Russia Sees, Moscow, 2005
 - D. Lynch, "Misperceptions and Divergences", pp. 7-22
 - S. Karaganov, "Russia and the International Order", pp. 23-43
 - A. Zagorski, "Russia and the Shared Neighborhood", pp. 61-78

 - N. Arbatova, "Russia-EU Beyond 2007: Russian Domestic Debates, IFRI (Paris) 2007, pp. 5-22
 - A. Arbatov, "Moscow and Munich: A New Framework for Russian Domestic and Foreign Policies", Carnegie Moscow Center, 2007, pp. 1-25.
 - S. Prozorov, Understanding Conflict Between Russia and the EU, pp. 1-20 (Moscow, 2007)
 - T. Bordachev, "The Strategic Implications of the EU's Crisis: A Russian Perspective" from Readings in European Security, 2007, pp. 27-40.
 - L. Grigoriev, "Russia's Modernization: Interests and Coalitions", *Russia in Global Affairs*, January/March 2008, (11 pages)
 - S. Karaganov, "The World Crisis – A Time for Creation", *Russia in Global Affairs*, October/December 2008 (4 pages)
- Optional:** -D. V. Trenin, Getting Russia Right, ch. 4, pp. 79-98
- Speech of V. Putin to the Munich Security Conference, February 10, 2007 (11 pp.)

Week 6 (March 9)

Russian Perspectives (continued)

- J. Lynn, "Eurasian Integration: a super-continental opportunity for Russia", pp. 1-3.
- M. Kaczmarek, "An Asian Alternative for Russia?", Center for East-West Studies, Warsaw, June 2008, pp. 31-55.
- I. Vinkovetsky, "Eurasia and its Uses: The History of an Idea and the Mental Geography of Post-Soviet Space"(Unpublished paper, 2007, 16 pages)
- E. Klitsounova, "EU-Russian Relations – The Russian Perspective" in D. Johnson and P. Robinson (eds.) Perspectives on EU-Russian Relations, pp. 35-52
- S. Lavrov, "Containing Russia: Back to the Future?", *Russia in Global Affairs*, Oct./Dec. 2007, 8 pages
- S. Karaganov, "A New Epoch of Confrontation", *Russia in Global Affairs*, Oct./Dec. 2007, 10 pages
- T. Bordachev, "The European World After 1989", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 2007, pp. 2-7
- D. Trenin, "Russia's Strategic Choices", Carnegie Moscow Center, 2007, pp. 1-7
- A. Lukin, "From a Post-Soviet to a Russian Foreign Policy", *Russia in Global Affairs*, October/December 2008 (5 pages)

Optional: Speech of D. Medvedev to the Federal Assembly, November 5, 2008.

[MARCH 13: MID-TERM PAPER DUE – to be confirmed]
[Spring Recess March 14-22]

Weeks 7 and 8

Problems on the Frontiers

Week 7 (March 23)

- European Commission, "European Neighbourhood Policy Strategy Paper" (May 2004), pp. 1-21
- European Commission, "A Strong Neighbourhood Policy", December 2007, pp. 1-11.
- European Commission, "Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in 2007", April 2008 (**Browse only, pp. 2-16**)
- K. Peczyńska-Nalecz, "The ENP in Practice: the EU's Policy Toward Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova...", Center for Eastern Studies, 2005 , pp. 27-47
- T. Gomart, "The EU and Russia: The Needed Balance Between Geopolitics and Regionalism" in Russia.NEI.Visions 2007. IFRI Paris, pp. 57-74
- European Commission (Staff Document), "Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy: **Progress Report – Ukraine**" (April 2008) 20 pages.
- European Parliament, Resolution on the European Neighborhood Policy (Skim document but see paras. 22, 25, 43, 35, 40, 52, 62-72).

- L. Freden, "Shadows of the Past in Russia and the Baltic Countries", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 2005, 7 pages
- M. Demurin, "Russia and the Baltic States: Not a Case of Flawed History", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 2005, 6 pages-

- Communication from the Commission, "**Eastern Partnership**" (December 2008) (14 pages)
- Commission Staff Working Document, "**Eastern Partnership**" (December 2008) (**Browse only, 12 pages**)

- Communication from the Commission, "**Black Sea Synergy – A New Regional Cooperation Initiative**" (April 2007), pp. 1-10.
- M. Emerson, "The EU's New Black Sea Policy : Wha Kind of Regionalism....?", Center for European Policy Studies, July 2008, (15 pages)
- N.A. Arbatova, "Troubled Strategic Partnership: the Black Sea Dimension..."in **Hamilton & Mangott, The Wider Black Sea Region in the 21st Century**, Center for Transatlantic Relations, J. Hopkins Univ., 2008 (pp. 293-318).
- A. Vlassov, "The End of Multi-Vector Policies, *Russia in Global Affairs*, October-December 2008, 6 pages.

Problems on the Frontiers (cont.)

Week 8 (March 30)

- Y. Tymoshenko, "Containing Russia", *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2007, pp. 69-82
- V. Samokhvalov, "Relations in the Russia-Ukraine-EU Triangle: Aero-Sum Game or Not?", EU Institute for Security Studies (Sept. 2007), pp. 5-37.
- I. Kempe, "Certainty in Ukraine's Uncertainty," Center for Applied Policy Research, Munich 2007, pp. 4-13

- K. Wolczuk, "Ukraine and its Relations with the EU in the context of the European Neighborhood Policy", in S. Fischer (ed.) **Ukraine, Quo Vadis**, Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper no. 108, February 2008, pp. 87-117.
- S. Fischer, "Executive Summary" in **Ukraine, Quo Vadis**, supra, pp. 9-24.
- D. Trenin, "Russia and Ukraine" in D. Hamilton and D. Mangott, (eds.), **The New Eastern Europe: Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova**", Center for Transatlantic Relations, J. Hopkins Univ., 2007, pp. 195-213.
- M. Emerson, "Ukraine and the European Union" in **Hamilton and Mangott, supra**, pp. 215-238.
- A. Makarychev, "Re-branding Russia: Norms, Politics and Power", Center for European Policy Studies, Brussels (2008), 31 pages
- I. Zevelev, "Russia's Policy Toward Compatriots in the Former Soviet Union", *Russia in Global Affairs*, March 2008 (8 pages).
- V. Lukin, "Russia's Global Role and European Identity", *Russia in Global Affairs* (March 2008) (6 pages).
- T. German et al., "Abkhazia and South Ossetia: Collision between Georgian and Russian Interests" in *Russia.NEI.Visions 2007*, pp. 181-198.
- S. Neil McFarlane, "The Paradoxical Regional Implications of Russia's Actions in Georgia", Chatham House, Sept. 2008 (4 pages).
- A. Moshes, "Russia and Europe in the Aftermath of the Georgia Conflict: New Challenges, Old Paradigms", Chatham House, Sept. 2008 (4 pages).
- P. Hanson, "The August 2008 Conflict: Economic Consequences for Russia", Chatham House, Sept. 2008 (4 pages).

- Optional:** -EUCAM, N. Melvin and J. Boonstra, "The EU Strategy for Central Asia @ Year One," October 2008 (9 pages)
- J. Boonstra, "Russia and Central Asia: From Disinterest to Eager Leadership", FRIDE, Madrid, 2008, pp. 70-79

Week 9 (April 6)

"European Values": Democracy, Civil Society and the Rule of Law

- EU-Russia Centre, Issue Four, "Voices from Russia", June 2007, pp. 6-33, 36-46
- EU-Russia Centre, Review VII, "Voices from Russia", June 2008, pp. 2-12, 15-16.
- D.V. Trenin, *Getting Russia Right*, ch. 1, pp. 9-29
- I. Kosachev, "Russia and the West: Where the Differences Lie", *Russia in Global Affairs*, October/December 2007
- I. Krastev, "Russia as the Other Europe", *Russia in Global Affairs*, October/December 2007.
- K. Popescu, "Russia's Soft Power Ambitions", CENTER FOR EUROPEAN POLICY STUDIES, pp. 1-3
- B. Mezhev, "Modern Russia and Postmodern Europe", *Russia in Global Affairs* (March 2008) (8 pages)
- M. McFaul, "Russian Liberalism in Retreat", in *Putin's Empire*, Stefan Batory Foundation, (Warsaw, 2007), pp. 43-54
- T. Gomart, "France's Russia Policy – Balancing Interests and Values", *Washington Quarterly*, (Spring 2007) pp. 147-155
- H. Haukkala, "The Relevance of Norms and Values in the EU's Russia Policy", Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Working Paper 52 (2005).
- R. Allison, "Russia in Europe or Russia and Europe," in R. Allison et al. (eds) *Putin's Russia and the Enlarged Europe*, pp. 160-169.
- E. Klitsounova, "Promoting Human Rights in Russia by Supporting NGOs", Center for European Policy Studies, working doc. 287, April 2008 (21 pages).

Optional: K. Hendley, "Assessing the Rule of Law in Putin's Russia," *Cardozo Int'l L. Journal* 2006, pp. 347-370 only

Week 10-(April 13) Synthesis

-C. Roberts, "Russia and the European Union: the Sources and Limits of Special Relationships", Strategic Studies Institute, 2007, pp. 1-86.

-M. Leonard and N. Popescu, "A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations", *European Council on Foreign Relations*, March 2008, pp. 1-63.

-M. Emerson, "The Struggle for a Civilised Wider European Order", *Center for European Policy Studies*, working doc. 307, October 2008 (27 pages).

-T. Bordachev, "The Limits of Rational Choice", in *Russia in Global Affairs*, October/December 2008, 7 pages.

Optional: D. Trenin, "Towards a New Euro-Atlantic Hard Security Agenda", *IFRI/CSIS*, July 2008 (17 pages)

Weeks 11-12 Energy Policy

Interdependence or Precarious Gamble?

Week 11 (April 20)

-Brookings Institution, "Energy Security Series: The Russian Federation", 2006, pp. 1-24

-European Commission Green Paper "A European Strategy for Sustainable, Competitive and Secure Energy", 2006, pp. 3-10, 14-20

-European Commission, "An Energy Policy for Europe", January 2007, pp. 1-11 (through para. 3.2), pp.1 18-19 (through para. 3.9) and Annex 1 (pp. 24-25).

-European Commission, "An External Policy to Serve Europe's Energy Interests" (March 2006), pp. 1-6

-European Commission, "An EU Energy Security and Solidarity Action Plan" (November 2008), pp. 2-10 (up to para. 2.3).

-A. Mastepanov, *Energy Strategy of the Russian Federation to the Year 2020*, (slides)(Browse only)

-P. Noel, "Beyond Dependence: How to Deal with Russian Gas", *European Council on Foreign Relations*, October 2008 (17 pages)

-R. Youngs, "Europe's External Energy Policy: Between Geopolitics and the Market", *Center for European Policy Studies*, November 2007, pp. 1-15

-C. Locatelli, "EU Gas Liberalization as a Driver of Gazprom's Strategies?" *IFRI, Russie.NEI Visions* No. 26, February 2008, pp. 5-16 and 19.

-V. Milov, "Russia-EU Energy Dialogue: Filling a Vacuum", *Russia in Global Affairs* (December 2007), 7 pages

-P. Hanson, "Russia and Europe are Doomed to Cooperate", *Russia in Global Affairs* (March 2008) 5 pages

-A. Denisov, "The Gains and Failures of the Energy Superpower", *Russia in Global Affairs* (June 2008) 7 pages

-V. Milov, "Russia and the West: the Energy Factor", *IFRI/CSIS* (July 2008) 20 pages

-A. Konoplyanik, "What is the Energy Charter" and "Regulating Energy Relations: Acquis or

Energy Charter” in **Center for European Reform, Pipelines, Politics and Power**., October 2008, pages 103-112.

Week 12 (April 27) Energy Policy (cont.)

- M. Delyagin, "Assessing Russia's Energy Doctrine", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 2006, pp. 134-144
- C. Egenhofer, L. Grigoriev and V. Socor, "European Energy Security – What should it mean? What to do? In European Security Forum, Paper no. 23, 2006, pp. 1-29
- A. Riley, "The Coming of the Russian Gas Deficit", Center for European Policy Studies, 2006, pp. 1-8
- K. Kosachev, “Do We Have a Shared Future in Energy?” in **Center for European Reform, Pipelines, Politics and Power**, October 2008, pp. 45-53
- R. Larsson, "Russia's Energy Policy: Security Dimensions and Russia's Reliability as an Energy Supplier", Swedish Defence Research Agency, 2006, pp. 3-7, 12-15, 44-60, 65-69, 172-184, 289-297
- V. Milov, "The EU-Russia Energy Dialogue: Competition vs. Monopolies”, IFRI, Paris (September 2006). Pp. 4-12.
- M. Dmitriev, "Russia's Energy Key Strategy", *Russia in Global Affairs*, 2006, pp. 120-123
- V. Milov, "The Power of Oil and Energy Insecurity", Moscow Institute of Energy Policy, (January 2006), pp.1-19
- K. Smith, “Russian Energy Policy and its Challenge to Western Policy Makers”, Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 2008, pp. 1-11
- A. Dellecker, “Kremlin, Inc.: Gaming the Energy Landscape“, IFRI Policy Paper, Paris (January 2008), pp. 1-13.
- T. Mitrova, “Gazprom’s Perspective on International Markets”, Russian Analytical Digest no. 41, May 2008, pp. 2-7.
- G. Mangott and K. Westphal, “The Relevance of the Wider Black Sea Region to EU and Russian Energy Issues”, in Mangott (ed.), *The Black Sea Region in the 21st Century*, pp. 147-176.
- R. Goetz, *EU Energy Foreign Policy and the Relationship with Russia*” in **Lesourne, J. (ed.) The External Energy Policy of the EU**, Paris, IFRI (2008), pp. 43-76

[FINAL PAPER DUE MAY 15 - to be confirmed]