

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS NEIGHBORHOODS: STABILISATION, DEMOCRATISATION AND INTEGRATION

Teachers: Jacques RUPNIK, Pierre MIREL

Academic year 2017/2018: Paris School of International Affairs – Fall Semester

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Jacques RUPNIK, Directeur de Recherches CERI, Sciences Po

Executive director of the International Commission for the Balkans, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1995-1996) and drafter of its report *Unfinished Peace* (1996). Member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999-2000) and co-drafter of *The Kosovo Report* (Oxford UP, 2000). Among the various positions held: Member of the board of the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation in The Hague since 2010; Member of the board of directors of the European Partnership for Democracy in Brussels (2008-2013). A visiting Professor in several European universities and in the Department of Government at Harvard University where he was Visiting scholar at the Center for European Studies.

J. Rupnik has published a number of books and scholarly articles, including: *The Other Europe* (1989). Among the most recent: *Western Balkans and the EU: 'the Hour of Europe'*, Paris EUISS (2011); 1989 as a Political World Event: *Democracy, Europe and the new international system*, Routledge, London (2013); *Géopolitique de la Démocratisation: l'Europe et ses voisinages*, Presses de Sciences Po (2014).

Pierre MIREL, Honorary Director General, European Commission

PhD Public Law, Poitiers University, 1980. French ministry of Foreign affairs 1971-1976: embassies in Cairo and Saïgon. Among the various positions held at the European Commission Headquarters, Brussels (1981-2013): Trade relations and trade cooperation with emerging countries; Head of Unit for the relations with Poland, the Baltic States and the Assistance programme PHARE 1989-2000); Director for the accession negotiations with Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia (2001-2004); Relations with Croatia and Turkey (2004-2006); Director for the Western Balkans (2006-2013). Member of the board of the Roma Education Fund.

Publications: *L'Égypte des Ruptures*. Editions Sinbad (1982). *Elargissement et voisinage, les Politiques de 'UE à l'épreuve*, in *Géopolitique de la démocratisation*, Opus cité

COURSE OUTLINE

Session 1: Introduction: Legacies, Challenges, Issues

- The EU neighbours in the East, South and South East
- The three trajectories of post-1989 transition: Central Europe, Western Balkans and Eastern Europe
- The legacies of the empires, of communism, of the wars
- In the South: an unstable neighbourhood
- The lines of questioning. Course assignments and their validation.

Session 2: The Political and Legal framework

- Enlargement and Neighbourhood policies: the EU Treaty provisions
- Western Balkans additional conditionality: stabilisation and association
- A European perspective for the Balkans but not for Eastern countries
- The two policies instruments

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- Synthetic presentation of the legal and political framework of both policies: enlargement and neighbourhood

Presentation:

- Political objectives of enlargements/ENP
- The Instrument for Pre-accession assistance (IPA) and the Neighbourhood Policy Instruments (NPI)

Session 3: Protectorates, Unfinished or in Conflict States

- Unfinished States and Protectorates in the Western Balkans
- Can a transition towards democracy under international administration be successful? Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo cases
- The 'sovereignty paradox' in the accession process

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- The EULEX mission in Kosovo, Or, the role of the OHR in Bosnia Herzegovina

Presentation:

- The role of the OSCE in the Western Balkans

Session 4: Accession Negotiations: Serbia, Montenegro, Turkey

- From 'candidate' status to accession negotiations: the road to the EU
- The three pillars 'new approach': rule of law, economic governance, public administration reform
- Towards a fourth pillar: the role of the civil society
- Turkey: fully-fledged negotiations or a special case?

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- The 'new approach' in accession negotiations

Presentation:

- An alternative to accession for Turkey: a strategic Partnership?

Session 5: EU Eastern Neighbourhood Policy: from a 'ring of friends' to a 'ring of fires'

- From the 2003 golden age to the Vilnius and Riga summits
- The Eastern Partnership and the Eurasian Economic Union
- A shared neighborhood: Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova between the EU and the Russian Federation
- Achievements: visa liberalisation, trade, cooperation
- Towards a new Neighbourhood policy
- States in conflict: Ukraine/Donbass; Nagorno-Karabakh: Armenia between Brussels and Moscow
- The role of the OSCE in transition countries (East and South East)

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- The Eurasian Economic Union and the Eastern Partnership

Presentation

- Lessons from the Neighbourhood policy / New Concept of ENP
- The role of the OSCE in the Donbass conflict

Session 6: The EU response to the migration wave: borders, refugees, economic migrants

- Migrations from conflict zones and under developed countries
- The EU at Turkey's mercy: a fool's bargain?
- The Western Balkans and the refugee crisis
- The challenge of a mobility policy with South neighbours
- European divides on migration from the South: East/West?

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- Migrations to the EU: current situation and predictions
- The Balkans road into the EU

Presentation:

- The reinforcement of the Schengen area

Session 7: The Neighborhood policy in the South after the 'Arab Springs': from association to diversification

- The Barcelona Process, the neighborhood policy and the 'Arab Springs'
- A 'europeanised' bilateral initiative: the Union for the Mediterranean
- From association to a DCFTA with Morocco, Tunisia and Jordan?
- A fragile and not enough supported transition in Tunisia
- The new Neighborhood policy: stabilisation, security and differentiation

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- EU-Morocco: from cooperation to economic integration?

Presentation:

- Tunisia 2011-2015 and the EU support
- Or, EU-Israel privileged relations: state of play, constraints

Session 8: The Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements (DCFTA): from Cooperation to Economic integration

- The DCFTA with Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova: principles, provisions and challenges
- The classical Association Agreements (AAs) and the DCFTAs: similarities and differences
- Transition assistance from the Neighborhood Instrument and the International Financial Institutions (IFIs)
- A difficult transition in Ukraine: limited reforms, unlimited assistance?

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- The main features of the EU-Ukraine DCFTA

Presentation:

- Ukraine's reform path: constraints, achievements, challenges

Session 9: EU's Common Foreign and Security policy and the emerging Common Security and Defense policy

- The Balkans, a catalyst for the CFSP?
- The EU Treaty provisions on CSFP and CSDP
- CFSP in action: difficult in Brussels, contradictory in the neighborhood
- Crisis, NATO and CSDP: how to reconcile EU security and EU member's divergent interests?
- The 'Global strategy': a difficult implementation; towards 'structured cooperation' initiatives

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- EU civilian missions in its neighborhood

Presentation:

- The EUNAVFOR MED mission
- NATO and EU: The 2016 Warsaw agreement

Session 10: The European Energy Union: strategy put to the test

- The energy problematic: security, diversification and de-carbonisation
- Member states between solidarity and sovereignty
- EU-Russia energy relations
- The EU-Balkans Energy Community
- Euro-Mediterranean energy dialogue

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- Dependency and diversification: options, risks, perspectives

Presentation:

- The EU-Balkans Energy Community

Session 11: The effectiveness of EU "transformative power"

- 'State capture', authoritarianism and counter-powers
- Conditionality before EU accession, no controls afterwards?
- Conditionality and soft power: the conditions for its effectiveness
- The 'illiberal' discourse of Orban, Kaczynski, Erdogan and Putin

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- The common features in 'illiberal' discourses

Presentation:

- The OSF goals and programmes

Session 12: Conclusions: the Centre-Periphery Dialectic

- From the golden time 2003-2005 to 'enlargement fatigue' and to disillusion on Europe
- The new context: the financial crisis, the euro, Schengen, migration
- The Centre is tired, the periphery is impatient but the neighbourhood is perceived as 'bad'
- EU external policies and public opinion: the Dutch referendum on the EU-Ukraine agreement

Assignments for this session

Presentation:

- Far-right and euro-skeptic parties opposition to the EU: how to
- Restore the EU credibility?

Presentation:

- On the EU-Ukraine Agreement: reasons, Consequences and solutions
- The new scapegoat: Georges Soros and his Open Society Fund