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FEUC FACULDADE DE ECONOMIA  
UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

**FIRST DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
LOOKING EAST: EU INSTRUMENTS AND POLICIES  
2021/2022**

**Lecturer:** Maria Raquel Freire [[rfreire@fe.uc.pt](mailto:rfreire@fe.uc.pt)]

Office hours: to be arranged by email

*This course is part of the lecturing activities promoted in the framework of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence.*

**(1) Learning goals**

Focusing on the central topic of EU relations to the East, this course is broadband in terms of the way it addresses EU's external relations from a conceptualization perspective, and specialized in its approach to the topic through a regional lenses. The course starts by discussing dynamics of integration and enlargement in the process of building the EU internally and the impact it has on its dimension as an international actor. The course focuses on the Eastern neighbourhood of the EU, looking at the main issues on the agenda as well as how relations with the Russian Federation contribute to enhancing or hindering EU policies and approaches towards this neighbouring area. It also draws on potentialities and limitations and discusses challenges ahead.

The e-learning format of the course allows an innovative approach, as an open educational resource building on new technologies available for teaching/learning. The students will have access to an online platform where all resources supporting the course will be uploaded and available. They also have access to an online discussion forum, allowing a more integrated dialogue between all students enrolled in the course.

**(2) Continuous assessment evaluation**

Two essays to be handed in through the platform, the first one by May 3 (written essay) and the second one - audio and video essay - by May 17.

- The first essay question – **written essay** – will be made available on April 18, 2022 and students have to develop a well-informed, well-systematised and convincing argument to the exercise proposed. The essay should range between 2000-2500 words, and include at least 8 references from books, book chapters and scientific articles. Deadline for submission: May 3, 6pm. The submission must be done through the platform. No essays will be accepted after the deadline. **40%**
- The second essay – **audio and video essay** – will have a different format and structure: students should prepare a short video presentation of about 5 minutes where they discuss one of the issues proposed. Topics and more specific instructions for the video will be made available on May 3. The video recording should systematize well the topic, including concrete examples to illustrate the argument. You should not read your notes in front of the camera. You may use a phone to record the short video, that should be





uploaded in the platform. In case you are unable to upload the video, you can send it by wetransfer to the email: [rfreire@fe.uc.pt](mailto:rfreire@fe.uc.pt) Deadline: May 17, 6pm. No videos will be accepted after the deadline. **40%**

- **Written test:** April 4, online – **20%**

### (3) Syllabus:

1. EU dynamics of integration and enlargement and the development of relations with the EU's eastern neighbourhood
2. Issues: political and security triangulation in EU-Russia-EaP countries relations
3. New agents: business, civil society, parliamentary cooperation
4. Possibilities and limits to the development of the Eastern Partnership agenda: from decision-making to implementation
5. Challenges ahead

### (4) Note on course functioning:

All materials needed for each session will be made available on the platform, following the syllabus outline as follows.

## PLANNING

### Lecture 1

**14 February:** Syllabus, e-learning format and materials, assessment methods.  
Introduction to the EU as an international actor.

### Lecture 2

**21 February:** 1. EU dynamics of integration and enlargement: debate widening versus deepening. Theoretical approaches to integration.

### Lecture 3

**21 February:** 1. EU dynamics of integration and the development of relations with the EU's eastern neighbourhood. Mapping exercise: The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Eastern Partnership (EaP): policies, goals, instruments, actors.

### Lecture 4

**28 February:** 1. EU dynamics of integration and the development of relations with the EU's eastern neighbourhood. Case-studies: looking into practice. The ENP and the EaP possibilities and limits in Moldova and Azerbaijan.

### Lecture 5

**7 March:** 2. Issues: political and security triangulation in EU-Russia-EaP countries relations. Focus on EU-Russia relations: legal and institutional framework, partnership goals and instruments, cooperation difficulties and opportunities.



**Lecture 6**

**14 March:** 2. Issues: political and security triangulation in EU-Russia-EaP countries relations. Ukraine and Georgia as case-studies.

**Lecture 7**

**14 March:** New agents in EU-EaP relations: the role of business actors.

**21 March:** *Break – Pausa Letiva*

**Lecture 8**

**28 March:** 3. New agents in EU-EaP relations: the role of business actors.

**Lecture 9**

**28 March:** 3. New agents in EU-EaP relations: the role of civil society actors and of Parliamentary cooperation.

**Lecture 10**

**4 April:** **Written test – online.**

**11 April:** *Easter break*

**Lecture 11**

**18 April:** 4. Possibilities and limits to the development of the Eastern Partnership agenda: from decision-making to implementation. Review exercise: how do different players contribute to relations between the EU and the EaP countries?

**Lecture 12**

**18 April:** 4. Possibilities and limits to the development of the Eastern Partnership agenda: from decision-making to implementation. How does the EU negotiate? How do the EaP countries develop their policies towards the EU?

**Lecture 13**

**2 May:** 4. Possibilities and limits to the development of the Eastern Partnership agenda: from decision-making to implementation. The role of propaganda and (mis)information.

**Lecture 14**

**9 May:** 5. Challenges ahead. Is the EaP moribund?

**Lecture 15**

**16 May:** 5. Challenges ahead. Which new avenues can be thought of in relations between the EU and its eastern neighbours? Conclusion.



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## SUGGESTED READINGS

**For each session and topic specific readings are made available. If you want to read further here are some suggestions.**

### Monographs

- Casier, Tom and DeBardeleben, Joan (eds.) (2018) *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis. Understanding Divergent Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Cianciara, Agnieszka K. (2020) *The Politics of the European Neighbourhood Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Hill, Christopher (2003) *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2010) *Russia's Foreign policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2nd ed.
- Freire, Maria Raquel and Kanet, Roger E. (eds) (2012) *Russia and Its Near Neighbours: Identity, Interests and Foreign Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bindi, Federiga and Angelescu, Irina (eds) (2012) *The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe's Role in the World*. Brookings Institution Press. 2nd ed.

### Articles and book chapters

- Ademmer, Esther; Laure Delcour & Kataryna Wolczuk (2016) Beyond geopolitics: exploring the impact of the EU and Russia in the “contested neighborhood”, *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 57:1, 1-18.
- Ahrens, Bettina & Thomas Diez (2015) Solidarisation and its limits: the EU and the transformation of international society, *Global Discourse*, 5:3, 341-355.
- Barbé, Esther; Oriol Costa, Anna Herranz Surrallés & Michal Natorki (2009) Which rules shape EU external governance? Patterns of rule selection in foreign and security policies, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16:6, 834-852.
- Bardi, Luciano & Eugenio Pizzimenti (2013) Old logics for new games: the appointment of the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, *Contemporary Italian Politics*, 5:1, 55-70.
- Bechev, Dimitar (2015) Understanding the Contest Between the EU and Russia in Their Shared Neighborhood, *Problems of Post-Communism*, 62:6, 340-349.
- Becker, Jeffrey J. (1998) Asserting EU cohesion: Common foreign and security policy and the relaunch of Europe, *European Security*, 7:4, 12-32.
- Bocse, Alexandra-Maria (2014) The EU's foreign policy: what kind of power and diplomatic action?, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 27:2, 391-393.
- Casier, Tom (2016) From logic of competition to conflict: understanding the dynamics of EU–Russia relations, *Contemporary Politics*, 22:3, 376-394.
- Costa, Oriol (2013) A force for and because of multilateralism: when is the EU a multilateralist actor in world society?, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20:8, 1213-1228.
- Cottey, Andrew (2012) Regionalism and the EU's neighbourhood policy: the limits of the possible, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 12:3, 375-391.





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- Christou, George (2010) European Union security logics to the east: the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership, *European Security*, 19:3, 413-430.
- Dekanozishvili, Mariam (2020) The European Union's credibility–expectations gap in its European neighbourhood policy: perspectives from Georgia and Ukraine, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 20:2, 289-305.
- Grevi, Giovanni; Daniela Manca & Gerrard Quille (2005) The EU Foreign minister: Beyond double-hatting, *The International Spectator*, 40:1, 59-75.
- Freire, Maria Raquel (2020) “EU and Russia competing projects in the neighbourhood: an ontological security approach”, *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional*, 63, 1, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/0034-7329202000113>.
- Freire, Maria Raquel (2018) European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing Geopolitical Context, *Journal of the Belarusian State University – Sociology [Журнал Белорусского государственного университета – Социология]*, 2, 20-29.
- Freire, Maria Raquel and Simão, Licínia (2019) Security Challenges in Russia-European Union Relations, in Roger E. Kanet (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Russian Security*. Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- Haukkala, Hiski (2015) From Cooperative to Contested Europe? The Conflict in Ukraine as a Culmination of a Long-Term Crisis in EU–Russia Relations, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 23:1, 25-40.
- Hebel, Kai & Tobias Lenz (2016) The identity/policy nexus in European foreign policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:4, 473-491.
- Henökl, Thomas E. (2015) How do EU Foreign Policy-Makers Decide? Institutional Orientations within the European External Action Service, *West European Politics*, 38:3, 679-708.
- Joenniemi, Pertti (2012) Turning into a Sovereign Actor? Probing the EU Through the Lens of Neighbourhood, *Geopolitics*, 17:1, 25-46.
- Keukeleire, Stephan & Tom Delreux (2015) Competing structural powers and challenges for the EU's structural foreign policy, *Global Affairs*, 1:1, 43-50.
- Koenig-Archibugi, Mathias (2002) The democratic deficit of EU foreign and security policy, *The International Spectator*, 37:4, 61-73.
- Korosteleva, Elena (2011) The Eastern Partnership Initiative: A New Opportunity for Neighbours?, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 27:1, 1-21.
- Korosteleva, Elena A.; Michal Natorski & Licínia Simão (2013) The eastern dimension of the European neighbourhood policy: practices, instruments and social structures, *East European Politics*, 29:3, 257-272.
- Kostanyan, Hrant & Jan Orbie (2013) The EEAS' discretionary power within the Eastern Partnership: in search of the highest possible denominator, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 13:1, 47-65.
- Kostanyan, Hrant & Vandecasteele, Bruno (2013) The EuroNest Parliamentary Assembly: The European Parliament as a Socializer of its Counterparts in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood?, *EU Diplomacy paper 5*, College of Europe.
- Kourtellis, Christos (2020) The role of epistemic communities and expert knowledge in the European neighbourhood policy, *Journal of European Integration*, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2020.1739031.







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- Krumbein, Frédéric (2014) The EU's Foreign and Security Policy in a Globalized World, *Journal of European Integration*, 36:5, 525-531.
- Lavenex, Sandra (2016) Multilevelling EU external governance: the role of international organizations in the diffusion of EU migration policies, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42:4, 554-570.
- Manners, Ian J. & Richard G. Whitman (1998) Towards identifying the international identity of the European union: A framework for analysis of the Eu's network of relationships, *Journal of European Integration*, 21:3, 231-249.
- Marangoni, Anne-Claire & Kolja Raube (2014) Virtue or Vice? The Coherence of the EU's External Policies, *Journal of European Integration*, 36:5, 473-489.
- McConnell, Allan (2016) A public policy approach to understanding the nature and causes of foreign policy failure, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23:5, 667-684.
- Müller, Patrick (2016) EU foreign policy: no major breakthrough despite multiple crises, *Journal of European Integration*, 38:3, 359-374.
- Müller, Patrick; Zdenek Kudrna & Gerda Falkner (2014) EU–global interactions: policy export, import, promotion and protection, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21:8, 1102-1119.
- Nasra, Skander (2011) Governance in EU foreign policy: exploring small state influence, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18:2, 164-180.
- Padvalkava, Katsiaryna (2014) The European Union and its Eastern Neighbours: Towards a More Ambitious Partnership?, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 66:2, 341-342.
- Schmidt-Felzmann, Anke (2008) All for One? EU Member States and the Union's Common Policy Towards the Russian Federation, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 16:2, 169-187.
- Schmidt-Felzmann, Anke (2016) The breakdown of the EU's strategic partnership with Russia: from strategic patience towards a strategic failure, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29:1, 99-127.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank (2018) Brexit: differentiated disintegration in the European Union, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25:8, 1154-1173.
- Schumacher, Tobias (2015) Uncertainty at the EU's borders: narratives of EU external relations in the revised European Neighbourhood Policy towards the southern borderlands, *European Security*, 24:3, 381-401.
- Smith, Michael E. (2000) Conforming to Europe: the domestic impact of EU foreign policy co-operation, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7:4, 613-631.
- Smith, Michael (2004) Toward a theory of EU foreign policy-making: multi-level governance, domestic politics, and national adaptation to Europe's common foreign and security policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11:4, 740-758.
- Söderbaum, Fredrik; Patrik StÅlgren & Luk Van Langenhove (2005) The EU as a Global Actor and the Dynamics of Interregionalism: a Comparative Analysis, *Journal of European Integration*, 27:3, 365-380.
- Stetter, Stephan (2004) Cross-pillar politics: functional unity and institutional fragmentation of EU foreign policies, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 11:4, 720-739.
- Söderbaum, Fredrik & Luk Van Langenhove (2005) Introduction: The EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism, *Journal of European Integration*, 27:3, 249-262.





- Stoddard, Edward (2015) Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Internal–External Legitimacy Tensions and EU Foreign Policy in the European Periphery, *Journal of European Integration*, 37:5, 553-570.
- Tomic, Nikola (2013) Coordinative Discourses in Brussels: An Agency oriented Model of EU Foreign Policy Analysis, *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 14:2, 223-239.
- Wagner, Wolfgang (2003) Why the EU's common foreign and security policy will remain intergovernmental: a rationalist institutional choice analysis of European crisis management policy, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10:4, 576-595.
- Zwartjes, Marieke; Luk Van Langenhove, Stephen Kingah & Léonie Maes (2012) Determinants of regional leadership: is the European Union a leading regional actor in peace and security?, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 12:3, 393-405.