The End of the European Model? EU Neighborhood Policy after the Ukraine Crisis



European Neighbourhood Policy

From a Ring of Friends to a Ring of Fire

The "European Model?"

- What is it?
 - A model for the world?
 - From empire and balance of power to the exercise of "soft Power:"
 - spread of democracy, civil society and good governance
 - Which would lead to open borders
 - transformative,
 - exceptional,
 - universal, non-negotiable
 - Dominant source of security
 - No losers, no backlash
- legitimized by EU enlargement

What did Soft power look like in the "neighborhood?"

A "Ring of Friends"



In 2008-09, a new soft power initiative with six states... The Eastern Partnership



The Eastern Partnership. A more serious partnership (Than ENP) with more carrots

- Political Association with the six based on:
 - Democracy, good governance, and stability and then.....
 - Economic integration and convergence with EU Policies
 - Energy security
 - Contacts between people
- Same Premise as ENP: What happens in Europe's "neighborhood" affects the EU
- Also Excluded the possibility of membership
- But why the Eastern Partnership?
 - Security: 2008 Conflict in Georgia
 - Diverse Energy Supplies

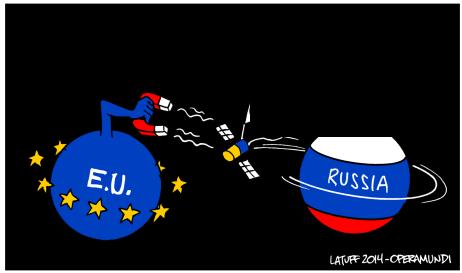
What is the Eastern Partnership offering to the six

- Association Agreements
- Visa Regimes
- Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements
- Multilateral cooperation structures
- Funding: € 2.8 billion

The Stakes were high

- For Europe
 - Signals that Europe is a serious global player
 - A new step in foreign policy vis-a vis the eastern neighborhood and Russia leading to
 - Long-term stability
 - Signal to Russia

- For the Six
 - Access to EU market
 - Development funds
 - more independence from Russia
 - A life raft for For civil society organizations



Large Obstacle to EP Progress: Russia!

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Russia's Alternative:
 Eurasian Customs Union

 Expanding to Eurasian Union

- Why? Changing Regional Dynamics
- Few Conditions
- Pressure
- Key importance of Ukraine

EU hubris of cold war victory

Realities, Miscalculations



Russian Pressure......



But Russia was not the only obstacle to success......

- Domestic Obstacles in Partner countries
 - Beliefs that the EU wasn't serious about reforms
 - Political deadlock and corruption
- EU Limitations
 - Limited Value of EU Funding
 - Too much "red tape"
 - Enlargement fatigue
 - NGOcracy

EuroMaidan Nov. 21, 2013



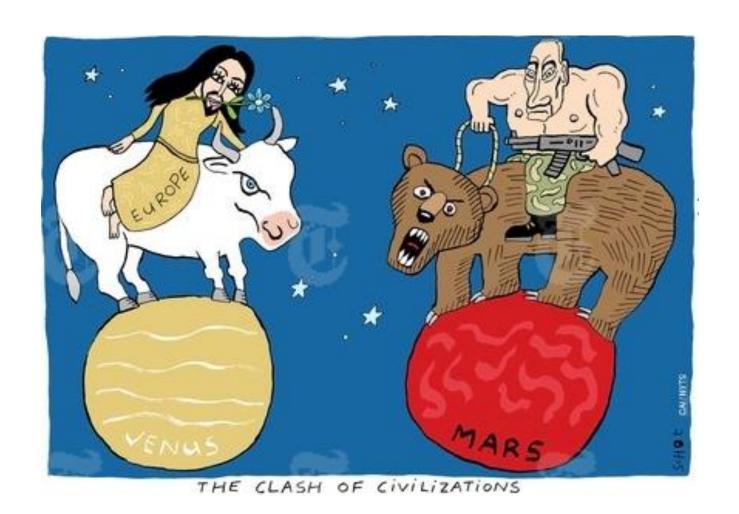
Separatism, Annexation, War







Why didn't the EU see this coming?



Eastern Partnership Now: One step forward, two steps back

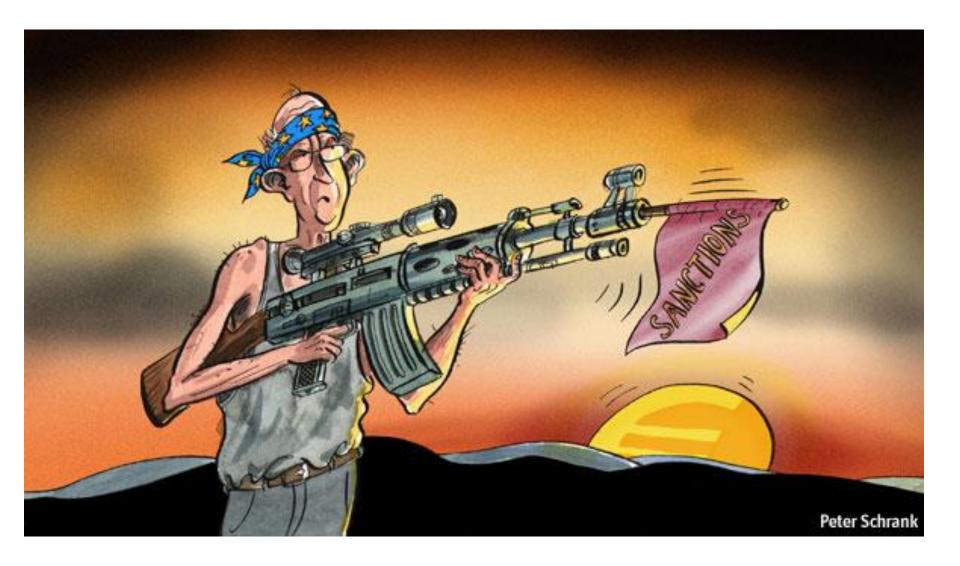
- Larger ENP is moribund
 - EaP Now undergoing a thorough review
 - Still in operation (on paper) for Moldova and Georgia
 - But crisis for EU's
 international role of
 promoting soft power



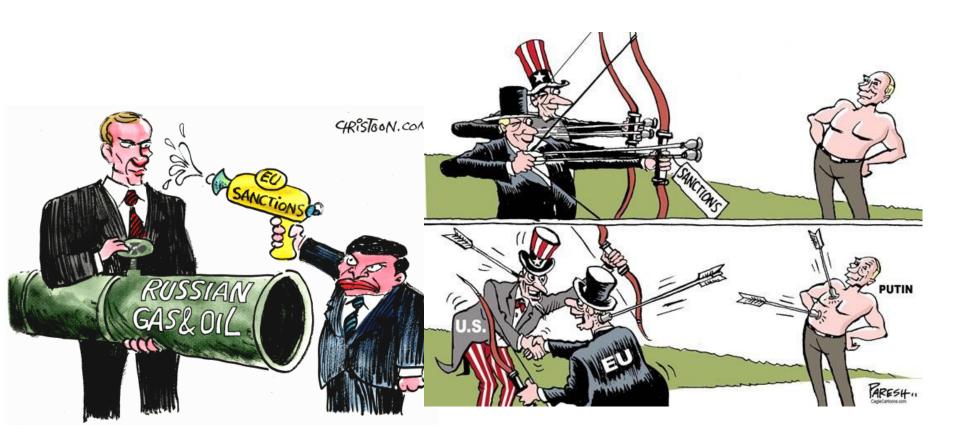
EU uses "Harder Power:" Salvaging an international role?



Will Sanctions Work?



Russia is no basket case



Who will sanctions hurt more?



Member states are divided





EU needs a New Strategy

- Toward EaP countries
 - Civil society support
 - differentiation
- Toward Russia
 - Seek long term energy independence
 - Treat Russia as a Great Power but
 - Refuse to recognize annexation of Crimea
 - Engage and balance
 - Accept differences, refrain from threats
- Toward its members—

Don't try to multitask



Or the EU is endangered.....



Conclusions

- The export of the "European Model" through soft power may be at an end
 - That policy was supposed to show EU neighbors a "better world"
- But Europe is not back in the Cold war either
 - It needs to acknowledge the "real world" beyond its borders
- The EU needs to consolidate its own political space
- Abandon hope of transforming Russia....
- but don't exclude Russia either.





Member states are divided by







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