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

From a Ring of Friends to a Ring of Fire

Ukraine
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
• legitimimized 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!

- 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?

- Sanctions—a hardening of power
  - What are they supposed to achieve?
  - They will play into Putin's hands
  - European Business will likely resist them in the long run
  - Escalation of sanctions regime is not viable
  - But possible new foreign policy role for EU
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.....

The “Neighborhood”
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 sanctions