

Final Report
Europe's Parallel Foreign Policy: The Ukraine-Russia Crisis
Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski

The participants in the project, *Europe's Parallel Foreign Policy: The Ukraine-Russia Crisis*, held a workshop at Northeastern University on 13-14 April 2016, with the support of the ISA catalytic research grant and additional support from the Humanities Center and Center for International Affairs and World Cultures at Northeastern University. The workshop was part of the Controversial Issues in Security Studies Speakers' Series.

We were a very diverse and international group, coming from eight different countries and thirteen different universities across North America and Europe. At the workshop, participants showcased their research findings, and brainstormed next steps in terms of publications. Co-editors, Dr. Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Dr. Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski, have secured a special issue publication in the *Journal of Common Market Studies* (JCMS). The special issue is slated to come out in January 2017, and the article contributions benefitted from discussion at Northeastern University. Cross and Karolewski are currently serving as guest editors at the journal. The workshop also enabled discussions to plan a follow-on edited book project with a broader lens in understanding the EU's foreign policy towards Russia. It will include fresh research on cyber, maritime, Russia, NATO, and the southern neighborhood, among other dimensions. Our intention is to submit this to a top university press, and we will begin the process of contacting presses later this summer.

There were approximately 50 audience-members at the workshop throughout the day, including scholars from several universities in the Boston area as well as graduate and undergraduate students. Networking breakfasts, coffee breaks, and lunches allowed further informal discussion. We benefitted from the participation of local discussants from Harvard and Tufts, whose expertise went beyond EU foreign policy, and who brought in new ideas and perspectives as a result.

Overall, the workshop was highly successful, and enabled significant advancement in our research and thinking on these issues.

This is the cost breakdown for the workshop.

Taras Kuzio =	\$1384.68	kuziotaras@gmail.com
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NORTHEASTERN'S COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES PRESENTS

CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES IN SECURITY AND RESILIENCE STUDIES



NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY

Europe's Parallel Foreign Policy: The Ukraine- Russia Crisis

APRIL 13, 2016

FEATURING

MAI'A K. DAVIS CROSS

IRENEUSZ PAWEL KAROLEWSKI

NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY
RENAISSANCE PARK, ROOM 909

What impact has the Russia-Ukraine crisis had on the EU as a foreign policy actor?

The workshop today celebrates a gathering of the co-editors and authors for a special issue of the *Journal of Common Market Studies* on the EU's foreign policy in the Russia-Ukraine crisis. After winning a catalytic research grant from the International Studies Association, Dr. Mai'a K. Davis Cross invited 16 prominent scholars from across Europe and the US to come to Northeastern to showcase their research findings for this special issue.

Most studies examine how the EU has evolved as an actor over time of its own initiative, but tend to discount the role that the external context or structure of the international system might play in constraining or enabling the EU's exercise of power. This special issue seeks to understand the EU's influence in the world through recognizing its embeddedness in an unpredictable and uncertain international system. Specifically, we ask whether and to what extent the Russia-Ukraine crisis serves as a critical juncture and catalyst for shaping the EU's power.

We take as given the fact that the EU is somewhat of a disaggregated foreign policy actor, with many component parts, such as the member states, Commission, Council, EEAS, High Representative, and so on. Thus, each contribution to the special issue examines and compares various component-actors within EU foreign policy that all together comprise the whole. Primarily, each contribution assesses the extent to which the Russia-Ukraine crisis has constrained or enabled various dimensions of EU's power.

We draw upon various conceptions of power and acknowledge that power must typically be understood as relational, and this depends on the scope and domain in which power is exercised. These various conceptions of power include, the means of EU power — symbolic, economic statecraft, military, diplomatic, raw materials, and any forms of power liabilities (such as not being seen as a power heavy weight, fungibility of resources, and unintended consequences).

This body of research — an investigation into the parallel strands of EU foreign policy in reaction to the crisis — sheds light on future possible trajectories for the EU based on the nature of the international system and how it evolves.

THIS EVENT IS SPONSORED BY

The International Studies Association's Catalytic Research Workshop Grant

THIS EVENT IS HOSTED AND FUNDED BY

Northeastern University's College of Social Sciences and Humanities:

- Humanities Center
- Center for International Affairs and World Cultures
- The Department of Political Science

PROGRAM APRIL 13, 2016

8:30-9:00AM BREAKFAST

**9:00-9:15 AM
WELCOME & INTRODUCTIONS**

Mai'a K. Davis Cross,
Northeastern University

Uta Poiger, Dean,
College of Social Sciences and
Humanities, Northeastern University

Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski,
University of Wroclaw, Poland

**9:15-10:15 AM
EU'S FOREIGN POLICY & POWER:
CONSTRAINED OR ENABLED?**

**"What type of power has the EU
exercised in the Ukraine-Russia
crisis: A framework for analysis"**

Mai'a K. Davis Cross, Northeastern
University, USA

Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski,
University of Wroclaw, Poland

**"Exercising power in a fiscally
constrained yet globalized
environment"**

Rosella Cappella Zielinski, Boston
University, USA

Discussant: **Jacques Rupnik,** Sciences Po,
France

10:15 AM COFFEE BREAK

**10:30-11:30 AM
EU MEMBER STATES:
TOGETHER OR APART?**

**"Not so weak and divided after all?:
Making sense of the EU's responses
to the crisis in Ukraine"**

Helene Sjursen, ARENA, University of
Oslo, Norway

Guri Rosen, University of Gothenburg,
Sweden; University of Oslo, Norway

"Trojan horses in EU foreign policy"

Mitchell Orenstein, University of
Pennsylvania, USA (co-authored with
Dan Keleman, Rutgers University, USA,
not present)

Discussant: **Dimitar Bechev,** Center for
European Studies, Harvard, USA

11:30 AM-12:20 PM LUNCH

**12:30-1:30PM
DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES
ON THE EU-RUSSIA RELATIONSHIP**

**"Ukraine between a constrained EU
and assertive Russia"**

Taras Kuzio, University of Alberta, Canada

**"Stability on the Borders":
the Ukraine Crisis and the EU's
constrained policy towards the
Eastern neighbourhood"**

Jolyon Howorth, Yale University, USA

Discussant: **Oxana Shevel,**
Tufts University, USA

**1:30-2:30 PM
SECURITY & DEFENSE
DIMENSIONS**

**"European military capabilities:
enablers and constraints
on EU power?"**

Kaija Schilde, Boston University, USA

**"Crisis and cooperation:
how the Ukraine crisis influenced
the EU's maritime security strategy"**

Marianne Riddervold, University of
California Berkeley, USA; University of
Oslo, Norway

Discussant: **Julie Garey,** Northeastern
University, USA

2:30PM COFFEE BREAK

**2:45-3:45PM
THE EU & REGIONAL DIPLOMACY**

**"Ukraine between a constrained
EU and assertive Russia"**

Jacques Rupnik, Sciences Po, France

**"The EP's diplomacy – a tool
for projecting EU power in times
of crisis?: The case of the
Cox-Kwasniewski mission"**

Cristian Nitoiu, London School of
Economics, UK (co-authored with
Monika Sus, Hertie School of Government,
Germany, not present)

Discussant: **Ioannis Livanis,**
Northeastern University, USA

**4:00-4:30PM
CONCLUSION & WRAP-UP**

**"The EU's Power in the
Russia-Ukraine Crisis:
Enabled or Constrained?"**

Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski,
University of Wroclaw, Poland

Mai'a K. Davis Cross,
Northeastern University, USA

Europe's Parallel Foreign Policy: The Ukraine-Russia Crisis

CO-EDITORS

DR. MAI'A K. DAVIS CROSS is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Northeastern University. She is also Senior Researcher at the ARENA Centre for European Studies, Oslo. She is the author of three books, including most recently, *The Politics of Crisis in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, in press). Her second book, *Security Integration in Europe: How Knowledge-based Networks are Transforming the European Union* (University of Michigan Press, 2011), is the 2012 winner of the Best Book Prize from the University Association of Contemporary European Studies. Dr. Cross holds a PhD in politics from Princeton University and a bachelor's degree in government from Harvard University.

DR. IRENEUSZ PAWEŁ KAROLEWSKI holds the Chair of Political Science at the Willy Brandt Centre for German and European Studies, University of Wrocław, Poland. Dr. Karolewski obtained his B.A., M.A and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Potsdam, where he also was assistant professor in Political Science from 1999 to 2008. His recent book publications include *Extraterritorial Citizenship in Postcommunist Europe* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2015, with T. Agarin); *European Identity Revisited* (Routledge, 2015, with V. Kaina and S. Kuhn); *Transformative Power of Europe: The Case of Poland* (with M. Sus); and *New Approaches to EU Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2014, with M. Wilga).

PARTICIPANTS

DR. DIMITAR BECHEV is Adjunct Professor at the University of Sofia where he teaches European Studies and International Relations. He is also affiliated with the European Institute at the London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom. Previously, he headed the Sofia office of the European Council on Foreign Relations, where he had been a Senior Policy Fellow. Dr. Bechev has written extensively on the politics and history of modern Turkey and the Balkans, EU external affairs, and Russian foreign policy. He frequently contributes to Al Jazeera, CNN, Foreign Policy and openDemocracy. Dr. Bechev received his D.Phil. in International Relations from Oxford University.

DR. JOLYON HOWORTH has been full-time Visiting Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at Yale University since 2002. He is also Jean Monnet Professor ad personam and Professor Emeritus of European Politics at the University of Bath, United Kingdom. He has published extensively in the field of European politics and history, especially security and defense policy and transatlantic relations, with fifteen books and several hundred journal articles and chapters in books. Recent books include: *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union* (Palgrave, 2014); *Defending Europe: the EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy* (Palgrave, 2003; edited with John Keeler); *European Integration and Defence: the Ultimate Challenge?* (Paris, WEU-ISS, 2000).

DR. TARAS KUZIO received a BA in Economics from the University of Sussex, an MA in Soviet and Eastern European Studies from the University of London, and PhD in political science from the University of Birmingham in the United

Kingdom. Currently a Senior Research Associate at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, he is author and editor of fifteen books, including *From Kuchmagate to Orange Revolution* (2009), *Ukraine: Democratization, Corruption, and the New Russian Imperialism* (2015); and *Russia's War Against Ukraine: Nationalism, Identity and Crime* (Central European University Press, forthcoming).

DR. CRISTIAN NITOIU is the Dahrendorf Postdoctoral Fellow in EU-Russia Relations at the London School of Economics. He joined the College of Europe as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the European Neighbourhood Policy Chair in February 2014, and he holds a PhD from Loughborough University in the United Kingdom. He published *The EU foreign policy analysis: democracy, legitimacy, media and change* (Palgrave, 2015) and edited (with Nikola Tomic) a special issue on "Europe, Discourse, and Institutions: Challenging the Mainstream in European Studies" in the journal *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*.

DR. MITCHELL A. ORENSTEIN is Professor of Central and East European politics in the Slavic department at the University of Pennsylvania and an associate of the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University. Dr. Orenstein's first book, *Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe* (University of Michigan Press, 2001), won the 1997 Gabriel A. Almond Award of the American Political Science Association for the best dissertation in comparative politics. His second book, *Privatizing Pensions: The Transnational Campaign for Social Security Reform* (Princeton University Press, 2008), won the 2009 Charles H. Levine Prize of the International Political Science Association. *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle*, co-authored with Dena Ringold and Erika Wilkens, won the Voter's Choice Award for the most innovative analytical and advisory activity and the World Bank Europe/Central Asia Knowledge Fair in 2004.

DR. MARIANNE RIDDERVOLD is a postdoctoral fellow at ARENA—Center for European Studies at the University of Oslo, Norway. She is currently a visiting scholar at the University of California Berkeley's Institute of European Studies. Dr. Riddervold's main areas of academic interest include theory development within the field of international relations and European integration, the Common Foreign and Security policy of the EU, EU maritime security policies, and the EU as an international actor. She has published in a wide number of different international

journals and edited books, including *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, *Governance and Politics*, *European Foreign Affairs Review* and *European Security*.

DR. GURI ROSÉN is currently a postdoctoral fellow at ARENA—Center for European Studies at the University of Oslo, Norway. She is also guest researcher at CERGU Centre for European Research, University of Gothenburg in Sweden. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Oslo, Norway; an MSc in Sociology from the University of Oxford, England; and an MA in Political Science from the University of Oslo. She has published numerous articles and book chapters, including in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, and *Comparative European Politics*.

DR. JACQUES RUPNIK is Director of Research at the Centre de Recherches Internationales (CERI) at Sciences Po, France, where he also serves as Professor of Political Science. In addition, he is a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. Beyond academia, Rupnik has held numerous positions advising on Eastern and Southeastern Europe. During the Balkan crisis, he was Executive Director of the International Commission for the Balkans and drafted its report *Unfinished Peace*. As member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo, he co-drafted The Kosovo Report. Rupnik was an advisor to Vaclav Havel, former President of the Czech Republic. He is currently a member of the scientific council of the Prague Institute of International Relations, the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation in The Hague and the International Forum for Democracy Studies in Washington.

DR. KAIJA SCHILDE is Assistant Professor at the Pardee School of Global Studies at Boston University. Her book manuscript, *Embedded in Brussels: the Political Economy of European Security*, investigates the relationship between EU institutions and interest groups, with a focus on security and defense interests, including the formation of EU internal and external security policies such as Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and immigration and border security. She has a policy background in defense reform and transatlantic security.

DR. HELENE SJURSEN's fields of expertise include the role of norms in foreign policy, the EU as an international actor, transatlantic relations, and EU enlargement. She directs ARENA's research group on EU foreign policy and is scientific coordinator of the GLOBUS

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(CONTINUED FROM INTERIOR)

(Reconsidering European Contributions to Global Justice) project, financed by the EU's H2020 programme. She is author of more than 60 academic publications. She received the 2006 Anna Lindh Award for outstanding contributions to research in the field of European Foreign and Security Policy Studies, and received prizes for most downloaded special issues of *Journal of European Public Policy* twice.

DR. ROSELLA CAPPELLA ZIELINSKI is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Boston University who specializes in study the political economy of national security. Her book, *How States Pay for Wars*, is forthcoming with Cornell University Press (2016). Her other works, published in Conflict Management and Peace Science, explore the relationship between war taxation and public opinion. She is also the founder and co-director of the Boston University's Pardee School Project for the Political Economy of Security.

CONTRIBUTORS NOT IN ATTENDANCE

DR. DAN KELEMEN is Professor of Political Science and Jean Monnet Chair in European Union Politics at Rutgers University. Dr. Kelemen's research interests include the politics of the European Union, law and politics, comparative political economy, and comparative public policy. His most recent book, *Eurolegalism: The Transformation of Law and Regulation in the European Union* (Harvard University Press, 2011), won the Best Book Award from the European Union Studies Association. He serves on the editorial boards of the *Journal of European Public Policy* and *West European Politics*. He was educated at the University of Berkeley (A.B. in Sociology) and Stanford University (M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science).

DR. MICHAL NATORSKI is Marie Curie Research Fellow at the University of Liege, Department of Political Science (Centre for International Relations Studies) and associate member of the research group Observatory of European Foreign Policy at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals. His recent book is *EU Policies in the Eastern Neighbourhood: The practices approach* (Londres, Routledge, 2014) co-edited with Elena Korosteleva and Licinia Simão.

DR. KAROLINA POMORSKA is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Politics at Maastricht University and an Affiliated Research Fellow of the Department of

Politics and International Studies and the European Centre at the University of Cambridge. She holds a PhD from Loughborough University; a Masters degree in Politics from the University of Gdansk in Poland; and a MA in European Public Affairs from the University of Maastricht and the European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA).

DR. MONIKA SUS is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Hertie School of Governance and works in the Dahrendorf Forum, which is a joint initiative by the Hertie School, the London School of Economics and Political Science, and Stiftung Mercator. She has published several monographs and edited books, including most recently, *The Transformative Power of Europe: The Case of Poland* (with I.P. Karolewski). Her articles have appeared in the *Journal of European Integration* and *Yearbook of Polish European Studies*.

DISCUSSANTS

DR. JULIE GAREY is a visiting lecturer in the department of Political Science at Northeastern University. Her current research examines the role of NATO in post-Cold War military engagements to explain the alliance's persistence over the past two decades. Dr. Garey holds a Ph.D. in political science from Northeastern University, and an M.A. and B.A. in political science from Ohio University.

DR. IOANNIS LIVANIS is a Lecturer in Political Science and International Affairs at Northeastern University. He received his PhD in political science from the University of Florida. He writes and teaches about intergovernmental relations and governance with a particular focus on compliance with agreements at the local (intra-organizational) and systemic (international) levels.

DR. OXANA SHEVEL is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Tufts University. She is the author of *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe* (Cambridge 2011), which received the 2012 American Association of Ukrainian Studies (AAUS) book prize. Dr. Shevel holds a PhD in Government from Harvard University, an M.Phil in International Relations from the University of Cambridge in England, and a BA in English and French from Kyiv State University in Ukraine.