

The EU's eastern policy

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Goals of European Integration

- **Peace in Europe** (post- WW II)

Jean Monnet (1943):

“There will be no peace in Europe, if the states are reconstituted on the basis of national sovereignty...The European states must constitute themselves into a federation.”

(Source: EU website, http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/founding-fathers/pdf/jean_monnet_en.pdf)

- **Economic interdependence as key**
- **Market economic principles** (liberalism) as motor of economic integration

Deepening and widening

- Two simultaneous processes
 - Deepening – expanding the range of authority of European institutions
 - Widening – increasing the geographic scope of the EU by adding more members.
- Widening through enlargement (adding countries)
- Deepening through expanding supranational authority

Do these two processes stand in tension with one another, i.e., does a larger EU make it harder to get agreement on an expanded scope of power?

WIDENING

Original members: Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands (6 total)

1973: UK, Denmark, and Ireland join (9)

1981: Greece joins (10)

1986: Portugal and Spain join (12)

1990: East Germany joins (through unification) (12)

COLLAPSE OF THE USSR

1995: Austria, Sweden, and Finland join (15)

2004: 8 post communist countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), plus Cyprus and Malta join (25)

2007: 2 more post-communist countries (Bulgaria, Romania) (27)

July 2013: Croatian accession (28)

Jan. 2020: Brexit (first case of NARROWING) (27 MSs left)

Current EU Map

Source: European Union, https://european-union.europa.eu/easy-read_en



EU's eastern policy

- Until 2022 defined by Eastern Partnership policy (EaP, 2009), still formally in place
- In EE, originally applied to post-Soviet states who were not EU Member states (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine)
- **No EU membership foreseen**, but close relations in all other regards: 'everything but institutions'
- Trade agreements (DCFTA), Association agreement (AA), visa facilitation/waiver offered if conditions met

Eastern partners

European parliament, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/euonst/en/about/eastern-partnership> (2013)



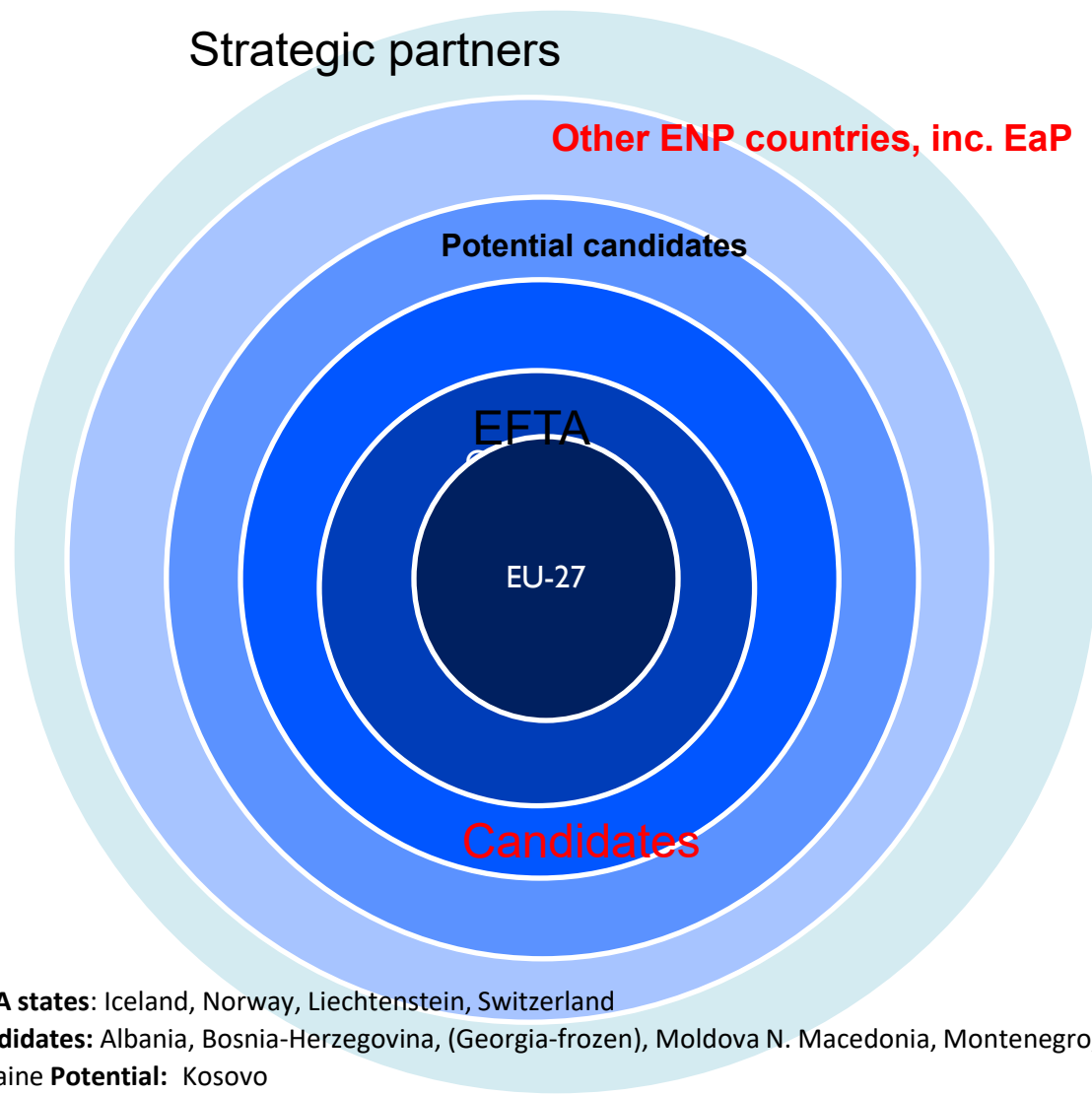
Enlargement policy

Seen as merit based

Voluntary, with mutual agreement

Required to meet certain conditions

- Copenhagen criteria
 - Democracy and human rights
 - Functioning market economy able “to cope with competitive pressures and market forces” in the EU
 - Capacity to implement EU law and aims
- Three stages (candidate, formal accession negotiations, membership). The negotiations involve candidate adopting EU law (acquis). Accession not guaranteed
- Membership requires ratification by EU institutions and each EU member states, plus candidate state



EFTA states: Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein, Switzerland

Candidates: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, (Georgia-frozen), Moldova N. Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey, Ukraine **Potential:** Kosovo

Other European Neighbourhood Policy countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus; Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria and Tunisia

Strategic Partners (definition unclear over time) : US, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, South Africa, Japan, S. Korea, China, India, **Russia (until 2014)**

2022 shift: geopolitical enlargement?

- Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia apply for membership
- Candidate status agreed 2022 for Ukraine, Moldova; Dec 2023 for Georgia
- Accession negotiations started with Ukraine and Moldova June 2024
- Process stalled with Georgia due to concerns about democratic backsliding
- ‘Geopolitical enlargement’?

Current EU candidate states

- **Turkiye** (since 1999, stalled) (NATO member 1952)
- **Northern Macedonia** (since 2005) (NATO member 2020)
- **Montenegro** (since 2010) (NATO member 2017)
- **Serbia** (since March 2, 2012) (no NATO aspiration)
- **Albania** (since June 2014) (NATO member 2009)
- **Ukraine** (since June 2022) (NATO aspiration)
- **Moldova** (since June 2022) (no NATO aspiration)
- **Georgia** (since Dec 2023, process frozen in 2024)
- **Bosnia and Herzegovina** (since Dec 2023) (NATO aspiration)

Potential candidates

- **Kosovo** (NATO aspiration)

Other EaP countries

- Belarus: shifted to Russia's orbit, withdrew from EaP in 2021, member of Eurasian Economic Union (2015)
- Armenia:
 - joined Russia led Eurasian Economic Union (2015),
 - concluded Comprehensive Enhanced Partnership Agreement CEPA with the EU (2018, provisional; 2021 formally)
 - moves to EU accession (Armenian parliament, 2025)

Other EaP countries (cont'd)

- Azerbaijan:
 - Balancing approach, no EU accession aspiration, not in the Eurasian economic union
 - Considered by many to be authoritarian government (Not free, according to Freedom House)
 - Important energy partner of the EU (natural pipeline gas 7.6%)

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=EU_imports_of_energy_products_-_latest_developments#Main_suppliers_of_petroleum_oils.2C_natural_gas_and_coal_to_the_EU

Questions

- Is geopolitical enlargement a good idea? What are its risks for the EU? What are the potential benefits for the EU?
- What are the benefits and risks for the candidate countries, esp. Ukraine, Moldova
- How would Russia react?

Risks and benefits of current enlargement process for the EU

BENEFIT:

- Secures position within the Western alliance, reduces geopolitical ambiguity
- Promotes reform in the candidate state
- Presumed to promote regional stability
- Economic benefits

RISKS

- Internal division
- Security commitment
- Reform progress uncertain, especially if accession is premature
- Cost and shift of resources
- Migration
- More complex decision-making; balance of power shifting

Costs and benefits for Ukraine, Moldova

BENEFITS:

- Perceived in increase in security
- Economic assistance and open markets/trade
- Mobility (including work mobility for citizens)
- A seat at the table and a voice in EU decisions

COSTS

- Fulfilling reform obligations can be difficult & costly
- Ceding some sovereign decision-making; being bound by EU decisions
- Could be internally contentious (esp. Moldova)

Has the EU's eastern policy been a success?

- EU viewpoint
- EaP country viewpoints
- Russian viewpoint

- Implications for regional stability?
- Possibilities for revision?
- Implications for Canada?