

**NATO AND EU ENLARGEMENT:  
RUSSIA, UKRAINE  
Spring 2006**

**Dr. Taras Kuzio**  
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In 2004 the enlargement of NATO by seven and the EU by ten post-communist Central and East European states marks a revolutionary transformation in integration processes throughout Europe. This dual enlargement also represents an enlargement of 'Europe' (EU, NATO) and a commiserate reduction of 'post-Communist' states to only the CIS and the Western Balkans. In the course we will examine the idea of 'Europe' as a geographic, national identity and geopolitical concept and its relationship to 'Eurasia'. The course studies the enlargement debates, the factors working behind the decisions by NATO and the EU to enlarge and why the CIS has been left outside NATO and EU enlargement. Russia and Ukraine are used as country case studies to explain why some countries have been successful in Euro-Atlantic integration while others have not. We will also focus on how domestic factors influence foreign policy decisions and orientations.

**Objectives**

By the end of the research seminar, students should:

1. Appreciate the complexity and divergent understandings of 'Europe'.
2. Understand the factors promoting EU and NATO enlargement.
3. The complex inter-relationship between 'Eurasia' and 'Europe'.
4. Prospects for Euro-Atlantic integration for 'Eurasian' states such as Russia and Ukraine.
5. The impact of domestic factors on Russian and Ukrainian foreign policies.

**Class Information**

The seminar will be a lecture-based class. All students will be expected to have read the required readings each week and attend class prepared to discuss them.

**Power Points** will be used in class but these will **NOT** be sent to students.

The instructor is Dr. Taras Kuzio, Visiting Professor, George Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. **His e-mail address is** [tkuzio@gwu.edu](mailto:tkuzio@gwu.edu)

**Class Details: Mondays, 12.45-15.00, 1957 E Street, Room 601**

**Office Hours**

**16-18.00, Tuesdays,  
1957 E Street, George Washington University  
Suite 412  
202 - 994 5436**

## Guidelines and Grading

### **1.Attendance: 10%**

*An attendance record will be kept each week.*

### **2.Literature Review: 10%**

*The Literature Review should cover ALL of ONE weeks readings from the semester's Reading Pack. Any week can be chosen that has been covered up to February 15. The Review should include citations from the weeks readings that you have chosen. These can either be in an Endnote format or in the Chicago style indented in the text. Always give page numbers for quotes. **The Literature Review should not be used in your Essay.***

**Length:5 double-spaced pages, 12 point.**

**Submission: hard copy and by e-mail**

**Deadline: 15 February**

### **3.Mid-Term Tests: 30%**

*At the Professors choosing, during the course of the semester two tests will be introduced that will test your knowledge of the readings that are required to be undertaken each week. The questions in the two tests will be the 'Key Questions' that are given for each week's class. The two tests can be based on ANY of the weeks readings.*

**Dates: any two weeks in the semester.**

### **4.Essay: 50%**

The essay theme should be discussed and agreed in office hours with the Professor during the course of the semester. Alternatively, consult the Professor by e-mail. The theme can be taken from any of the weeks readings.

**Length: Minimum** of 15 double-spaced pages, 12 point, including Endnotes or Bibliography.

**References:** Essays should have a **minimum** of 7 references. A **maximum** of two thirds of the references can be from the Reading Pack. The remaining one third should be found by the student. References can be either in Endnotes or in the Chicago style indented in the essay and then presented in a Bibliography at the end. No references will be accepted if they are not cited in the essay.

**Submission:** hard copy and by e-mail in Word format.

**Deadline:** April 15.

### **5.Penalty**

**Poor English language and grammar will be penalised.**

**A penalty of 2% per day after the deadline will be deducted from the final mark.**

*An extension can be arranged with the Professor if it is discussed prior to the deadline. The primary reason for extensions are medical, which requires a certificate or doctors note, or.*

*extenuating circumstances.*

*No extensions will be given for the following excuses:*

1. *I did not understand the deadline or Guideline;*
2. *My computer broke down;*
3. *My alarm clock failed to go off;*
4. *I have other papers and exams to write;*

### **6. NOTE:**

1. Failure to strictly follow the Guidelines may result in a grade of C or lower;

2. If you quote any text it should be in quotation marks. Failure to do so constitutes PLAGIARISM. Your essay must be primarily in your own words, and not quotations.
3. At the end of your essay you must write: 'My work conforms to the Course Rules and the Code of Academic Integrity' and then sign your name.
4. ALL SUBMITTED WORK MUST BE NAMED WITH A STUDENT SURNAME AND TYPE of ASSIGNMENT (e.g. Bush\_Essay or Cheney\_Summary1)

**WEEK 1. THE IDEA OF 'EUROPE'****Key Questions**

1. Why did post-communist states emphasise 'returning to Europe'?
2. What do post-communist states understand as 'Europe'?
3. How successful have post-communist states been in 'returning to Europe'?
4. Do CIS states use the same rhetoric of 'returning to Europe'?

**Required Reading**

- Nicolas Boisgrollier, 'The European disunion', *Survival*, vol.47, no.3 (2005), pp.55-62
- Parag Khanna, 'The Metrosexual Superpower', *Foreign Policy*, no.143 (July-August 2004), pp.66-69.
- 'European unity. The history of an idea', *The Economist*, 30 December 2003.

**WEEK 2. EU INTEGRATION and ENLARGEMENT****Key Questions**

1. Why is 'Europe' often seen as analogous to the EU?
2. What are the arguments for widening versus deepening the EU?
3. How were the post-communist states chosen who were invited to join the EU?
4. Why were CIS states not considered for EU membership?

**Required Reading**

- Mette E. Sangiovanni, 'Why a Common Security and Defence Policy is Bad for Europe', *Survival*, vol.45, no.3 (Autumn 2003), pp.193-206.
- Ronald Asmus, 'Rethinking the EU: Why Washington needs to support European integration', *Survival*, vol.47, no.3 (2005), pp.93-102.

**WEEK 3. 'EUROPE' and 'EURASIA'****Key Questions**

1. How do 'Europe' and 'Eurasia' relate to one another?
2. Where does 'Europe' end and 'Eurasia' begin?
3. Is Russia a 'European' state?
4. How does 'Europe' see Ukraine? As a 'European' or a 'Eurasian' state?

**Required Reading**

- Stephen White, Ian M. McAllister, Margo Light, Margo, John Lowenhardt, 'A European or a Slavic Choice? Foreign Policy and Public Attitudes in Post-Soviet Europe', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol.54, no.2 (March 2002), pp.181-202.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, 'International Linkage and Democratization', *Journal of Democracy*, vol.16, no.3 (July 2005), pp.20-34.

**WEEK 4. EU INTEGRATION and ENLARGEMENT: RUSSIA and UKRAINE****Key Questions**

1. Why is Russia disinterested in NATO and EU membership?
2. Why is Ukraine seeking NATO and EU membership?
3. Compare and contrast Russia and Ukraine's relationship with 'Europe'.

**Required Reading**

- Dov Lynch, 'Russia's Strategic Partnership With Europe', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol.27, no.2 (Winter 2003-2004), pp88-118.
- Katarzyna Wolczuk, *Integration without Europeanisation: Ukraine and its Policy towards the European Union*, *EIU Working Papers*, RSCAS no.2004/15 (Florence: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, 2004).

**WEEK 5. NATO ENLARGEMENT: RUSSIA and UKRAINE**

**Key Questions**

1. Is 'Expand or Die' the best way to explain NATO's enlargement?
2. How has NATO enlargement differed from EU enlargement?
3. Compare and contrast the requirements for candidate members to join the EU and NATO.
4. How do Ukraine and Russia's views on NATO enlargement differ?

**Required Reading**

- Mark N. Katz, 'An Assessment of Putin's Foreign Policy Approach', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52, no.3 (May-June 2005), pp.25-36.
- James Sherr, 'The Dual Enlargements and Ukraine', in Anatol Lieven and Dmitri Trenin, eds., *Ambivalent Neighbors: The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), pp.108-144.

**WEEK 6: RUSSIA AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AFTER 9/11****Key Questions**

1. How have international relations changed after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the USA?
2. Can terrorism, separatism and national liberation struggles be defined as different phenomenon?
3. What was the basis for the US-Russian anti-terrorist partnership?
4. How did Central Europe, Russia and the CIS react to the Iraqi conflict?

**Required Reading**

- John O'Loughlin, Gearoid O Tuathail, Vladimir Kolosov, 'Russian geopolitical storylines and public opinion in the wake of 9-11: a critical geopolitical analysis and national survey', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol.37, no.3 (September 2004), pp.281-318.
- Thomas Ambrosio, *Challenging America's Global Preeminence. Russia's Quest for Multipolarity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), Ch. 7, 'Russian-American Relations after September 11<sup>th</sup>', pp.129-148.

**WEEK 7. RUSSIA-WEST RELATIONS: DOMESTIC INFLUENCES****Key Questions**

1. Describe the pros and cons of describing Russia as a Great power?
2. What drives Russia's desire to cooperate with the US and the West?
3. Russia failed to support the US over Iraq. Why?
4. What lies behind Russia's cooperation with 'old Europe' (France-Germany-Belgium-Luxembourg)?

**Required Reading**

- Eugene B. Rumer and Celeste A. Wallander, 'Russia: Power in Weakness?', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol.27, no.2 (Winter 2003-2004), pp.88-118.
- Tor Bukkvoll, 'Putin's Strategic Partnership with the West: The Domestic Politics of Russian Foreign Policy', *Comparative Strategy*, vol.22, no. 3(July-September 2003), pp.223-242.
- Anders Aslund, 'Putin's Decline and America's Response', *Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief*, August 2005.

**WEEK 8 . UKRAINE-WEST RELATIONS****Key Questions**

1. Compare and contrast Ukraine's relations with the West in Kuchma's decade in office.
2. Why did Ukraine's relations with the West deteriorate in Kuchma's second term?

3. Analyse Ukraine's support for NATO enlargement and interest in security cooperation with NATO and the US.
4. What purpose did sending Ukrainian troops to Iraq play?

#### **Required Reading**

- Taras Kuzio, 'Ukraine's Relations with the West: Disinterest, Partnership, Disillusionment', *European Security*, vol.12, no.2 (Summer 2003), pp.21-44.
- Katherina W. Gonzales, 'Good Fences Make Good Neighbors. Ukrainian Border Security and Western Assistance', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.51, no.1 (January-February 2004), pp.43-54.

### **WEEK 9. RUSSIAN SECURITY POLICY: CIS**

#### **Key Questions**

1. Why did Russia prioritise its relations with the 'Near abroad' (CIS)?
2. How does Russian security policy differ towards the 'Near Abroad' and the 'Far Abroad'?
3. What are Russia's objectives in the CIS?
4. How is Russia attempting to pursue these objectives and are its policies successful?

#### **Required Reading**

- A.P.Tsygankov, 'Mastering space in Eurasia: Russia's geopolitical thinking after the Soviet break-up', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol.36, no.1 (March 2003), pp.101-127.????
- Graeme P. Herd, 'Colorful Revolutions and the CIS. "Manufactured" Versus "Managed" Democracy?', *Problems of Post Communism*, vol.52, no.2 (March-April 2005), pp.3-18.

### **WEEK 10. UKRAINIAN SECURITY POLICY: CIS**

#### **Key Questions**

1. Why did Ukraine revive an interest in the CIS after Kuchma was elected in 1994?
2. What have been the maximum limits that Ukraine has allowed itself to become involved in the CIS?
3. How do Ukraine's policies to the CIS continue to differ from Russia's?
4. Why has Kuchma continued to reject Ukraine's membership of the Russian-Belarusian union?

#### **Required Reading**

- Margarita M. Balmaceda, 'Ukraine's Persistent Energy Crisis', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.51, no.4 (July-August 2004), pp.40-50.
- Tor Bukkvoll, 'Private Interests, Public Policy. Ukraine and the Common Economic Space Agreement', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.51, no.5 (September-October 2004), pp.11-22.

### **WEEK 11. RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS**

#### **Key Questions**

1. What are the reasons for the poor state of Russian-Ukrainian relations?
2. Why do Russians see Ukrainians and Belarusians as not separate ethnic groups?
3. Why did it take so long for Russia to recognise the Russian-Ukrainian border?
4. Does Ukraine's Russian minority and Russian speakers play any role in Russian-Ukrainian relations?

#### **Required Reading**

- Tor Bukkvoll, 'Off the Cuff Politics – Explaining Russia's Lack of a Ukraine Strategy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol.53, no.8 (December 2001), pp.1141-1157.
- Rosaria Puglisi, 'Clashing Agenda's? Economic Interests, Elite Coalitions and Prospects for Co-operation between Russia and Ukraine', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol.55,no.6 (September 2003): 827-845.
- Taras Kuzio, 'Russian Policy to Ukraine During Elections', *Demokratizatsiya*, vol.13, no.4 (Winter 2005), pp.

## **WEEK 12. UKRAINIAN SECURITY POLICY**

### **Key Questions**

1. Define Ukraine's 'multi-vector' foreign policy?
2. Why has Ukraine prioritised defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity? Has it been successful in this endeavour?
3. What were the key aspects of Ukraine's foreign and defence policy in the Kravchuk and Kuchma eras?
4. What changes have taken place in Ukrainian foreign policy in the Kuchma era's?

### **Required Reading**

- Tor Bukkvoll, 'Defining a Ukrainian Foreign Policy Identity: Business Interests and Geopolitics in the Formulation of Ukrainian Foreign Policy 1994-1999', in Jennifer D.P. Moroney, Taras Kuzio and Mikhail Molchanov, eds., *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), pp.131-154.
- Taras Kuzio, 'Ukraine's New Foreign Policy Since the Orange Revolution: Origins and Projections', School Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, Paper, April 2005.

