

RUSSIA & THE EU IN LIGHT OF RECENT THINKING ABOUT INTERNATIONAL REGIONS

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University
Talk to “Bridging the EU &
Russia” policy conference, May
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PIECES OF THE PUZZLE

- ❖ Place – i.e., space infused with meaning
 - ✓ Mental maps
 - ✓ Perplexing regions – porous, nested, intersecting, competing, mega, extinct
- ❖ Experience – brings regional place to life
 - ✓ Embodied in trans-border connectivity & resonance
 - ✓ Benign vs. malign
 - ✓ Shared practices
 - ✓ Weight of regional vs. global & national experience

- ❖ Choice – a platform for exercise of power, policy making, strategizing
 - ✓ Crafting cooperative regional institutions
 - ✓ Geopolitics, local hegemon & would-be hegemon, great powers
 - ✓ Linkages between regional & domestic agendas
- ❖ Ideas – constructivist approach
 - ✓ Focus on identity, the imaginary, & socialization
 - ✓ Diffusion, adaptation, & localization of ideology of regionalism
- ❖ Outcomes
 - ✓ Is there indeed a trend toward a world of regions?
 - ✓ Efficacy of regional vs. national or global approaches to problem solving

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WHAT KINDS OF REGIONS?

Orientation	Ordering principle	
	Hierarchy	Sovereign equality
Cooperation	A	D
Coexistence	B	E
Conflict	C	F

SOME DEFINING FEATURES OF THE RELATIONSHIP

- ❖ Russia is part (40%) of Europe – geography, culture, religion (Orthodoxy)
- ❖ Russian expansionism & insecurity always much more pronounced to the west
- ❖ Putin rhetoric on “civilization” has gained steam but is rather muddled
- ❖ Three-pronged relationship with Europe after 1991 – détente with NATO, cooperation with EU, membership in COE
- ❖ Russia is huge & was never colonized by the West, along with Iran, Turkey, pre-1945 Japan, China – Barry Buzan calls this “encounter/reform” pattern – desire for “sovereignty” comes naturally
- ❖ Sovereignty + size make Russia a poor candidate for membership
- ❖ Russia prefers bilateral relationships but admires the EU in certain ways
- ❖ Russia has its own regional dilemmas – “Eurasia” – CSTO 1990s, then Eurasian Economic Union 2015, modeled in part on EU – but no political integration or shared values
- ❖ Typifies the big-country problem (cf. India, Indonesia, Brazil)
- ❖ For a long time, the EU prioritized Russia over the other post-Soviet states – adjusted when Central Europeans join the club
- ❖ China – is it a real alternative to the EU?

Yeltsin & EU sign Agreement on Partnership & Cooperation, Corfu, July 1994.





Yeltsin signs Founding Act with
NATO in Paris, May 1997

KEY PROVISIONS OF 1994 AGREEMENT (IN EU SUMMARY)

The main objectives of the agreement are to:

- ❖ Enhance political dialogue to allow the development of close relations;
- ❖ Promote trade & investment & harmonious economic relations based on the principles of market economy & so foster sustainable development;
- ❖ Strengthen political & economic freedoms;
- ❖ Support Russian efforts to consolidate its democracy, develop its economy, & complete the transition into a market economy;
- ❖ Provide a basis for economic, social, financial & cultural cooperation based on the principles of mutual advantage, mutual responsibility & mutual support;
- ❖ Promote activities of joint interest;
- ❖ Provide an appropriate framework for the gradual integration between Russia & a wider area of cooperation in Europe;
- ❖ Create the necessary conditions for the future establishment of a free trade area between the EU & Russia covering substantially all trade in goods between them as well as conditions for bringing about freedom of establishment of companies, of cross-border trade in services, & of capital movements.

ROMANO PRODI (EC PRESIDENT) ON EU MEMBERSHIP, MAY 2002



“It is important that we now ask ourselves what will happen after this big expansion. Where does Europe end? The Balkan countries will join, they belong. Turkey is officially a candidate, that is clear. But Morocco or Ukraine or Moldova? I see no reason for that,” Mr Prodi told Dutch daily *de Volkskrant*.

“We need to talk about our criteria. The fact Ukrainians or Armenians feel European means nothing to me. Because New Zealanders feel European too,” he added.

Mr Prodi said Russian President Vladimir Putin had asked him on a recent visit to Brussels about potential Russian membership of the Union.

“I told him straight away clearly: no, you are too big,” Mr Prodi said. ...

Mr Prodi said this month that his long-term vision was for an enlarged European Union surrounded by a “ring of friends” from Russia to Morocco, with which it would share everything except membership.

11TH EU-RUSSIA SUMMIT, ST. PETERSBURG, MAY 2003



Held in restored Konstantin Palace where Putin would host G8. in 2006. Observers from 10 would-be members of EU present. All sessions open to media.

“During the talks the parties discussed many aspects of cooperation & mapped out guidelines for the development of the Russia-EU dialogue.

The participants agreed in principle on the formation of four common spaces in economics, external & internal security, science & culture & welcomed the commitment of the High-Level Group to prepare a concept for the creation of a common European economic space by the next summit. During the discussion the heads of state & government considered the possibilities of Russia joining the World Trade Organisation & agreed to continue negotiating all the outstanding issues on mutually acceptable terms. The European Commission representatives spoke in favor of a more active energy dialogue & expressed hope that Russia would join the Energy Charter.”

Negotiating the first Minsk accord, February 2015



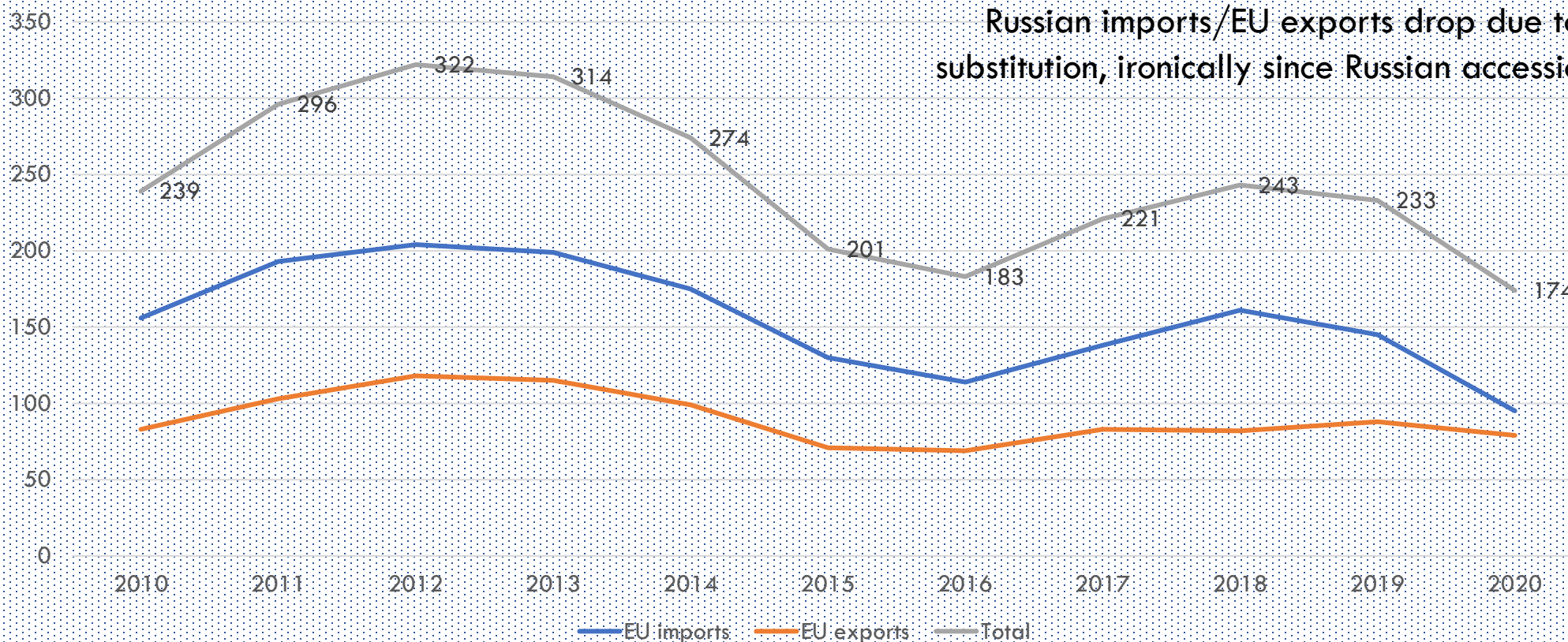
Prokofiev International
Airport, Donetsk, after
the fighting



EU-RUSSIA TRADE IN GOODS, 2010-20 (€ BILLIONS)

Value of Russian exports/EU imports hurt by drop in price of oil & depreciation of ruble.

Russian imports/EU exports drop due to import substitution, ironically since Russian accession to WTO.



GRUDGING CONTACT — PUTIN & EC PRESIDENT JEAN-CLAUDE JUNCKER, JULY 2017



On sidelines of G20 in
Hamburg

WHAT RUSSIA DOESN'T LIKE ABOUT THE EU

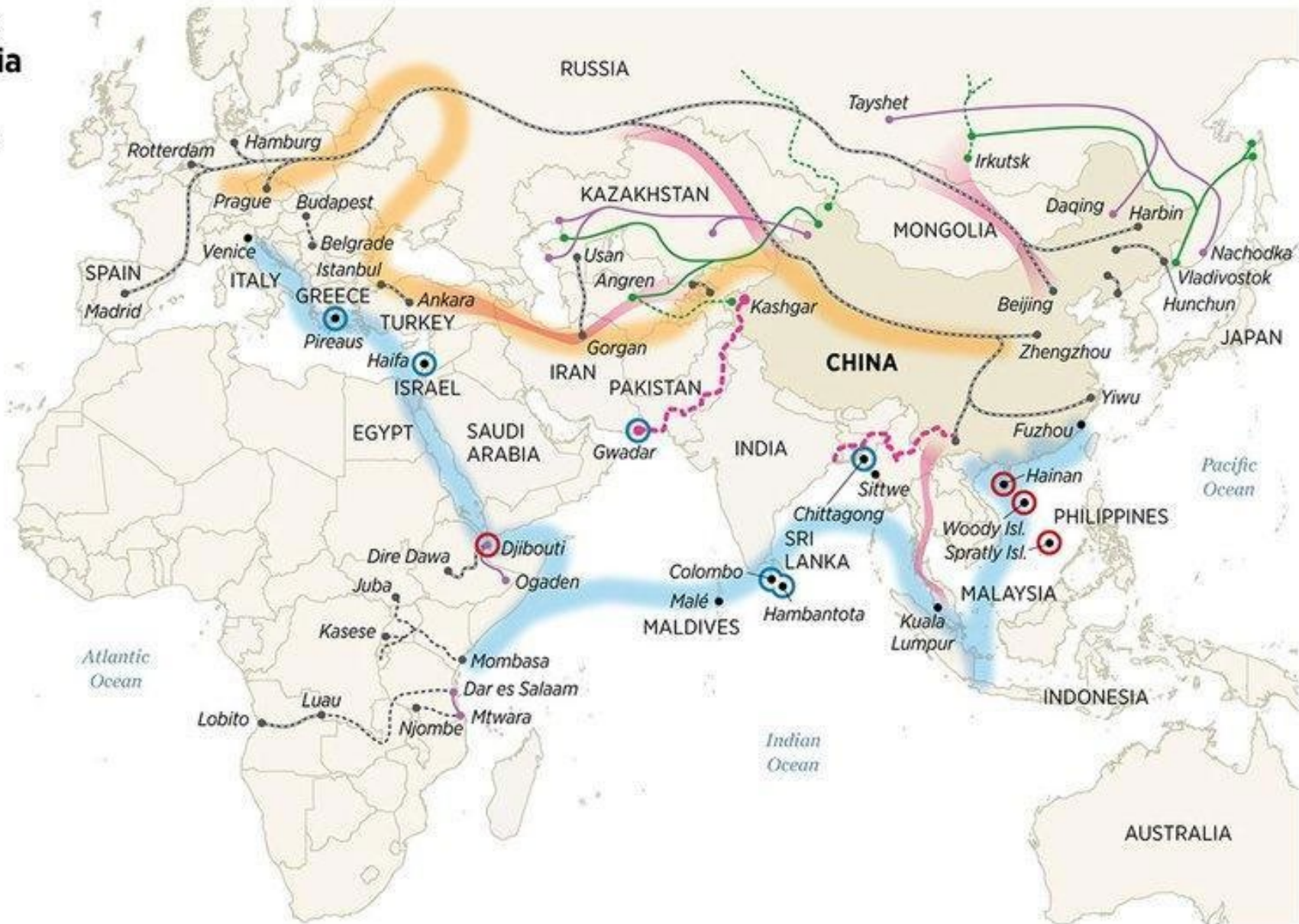
- ❖ EU disregards provisions of 1994 pact
- ❖ Treats us like an ordinary (small) country
- ❖ EU moralizing
 - ✓ “Normative hegemon” – sanctimonious
 - ✓ At same time, Europe is abandoning traditional European values – the Russians are the real Europeans
- ❖ Unwieldy to deal with: there is “no there there” in Brussels
 - ✓ Easier to deal bilaterally with individual states, esp. big ones (Germany, France, Italy)
- ❖ Double standards, e.g., Kosovo/Crimea
- ❖ Supports “color revolutions” in Eurasia, interferes in Russian internal affairs, may be seeking regime change
- ❖ Excessive role in EU decisions for former Soviet bloc members since 2004
- ❖ Neighborhood policy equates Russia with Morocco + creates “geopolitical claustrophobia” worse than Cold War
- ❖ Memory laws, denial of Soviet (Russian) contribution in WWII, equation of Communism (Stalinism?) with Nazism
- ❖ Subservient to United States in security realm
- ❖ Economics
 - ✓ Sanctions
 - ✓ Refuses to accept dual membership in economic blocs, inter-bloc negotiations & compromise
 - ✓ Energy – seeks to impose EU approach on Russia through Energy Charter

WHAT THE EU DOESN'T LIKE ABOUT RUSSIA

- ❖ Has failed to live up to spirit of 1994 & other agreements
- ❖ Has abandoned intersecting values
 - ❖ Amoral, unscrupulous – Skripal, Czech explosion
 - ❖ Mendacious – Putin lied to Merkel about Crimea
 - ❖ Internal repression – Navalny latest episode
 - ❖ Use of nerve agents
 - ❖ Opposes liberalization re. sexual minorities
- ❖ Incapable of atonement on historical questions
- ❖ Neo-imperial
 - ❖ Re. former Soviet bloc countries now in EU & aspirants
 - ❖ Sabotages neighborhood policy as best it can
- ❖ Ukraine
 - ✓ Crimea – annexation crossed red line for Europe – cf. Balkan wars, memories of world wars
 - ✓ Donbas – Moscow doesn't implement Minsk – but neither does Kiev
- ❖ Security
 - ✓ Russian rearmament
 - ✓ Provocative military maneuvers
 - ✓ Cyber measures
 - ✓ Moral support of separatists, far-right
 - ✓ Special ops – UK, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, etc.
 - ✓ Kaliningrad
- ❖ Economics
 - ✓ Non-tariff barriers to trade
 - ✓ Energy, esp. gas exports

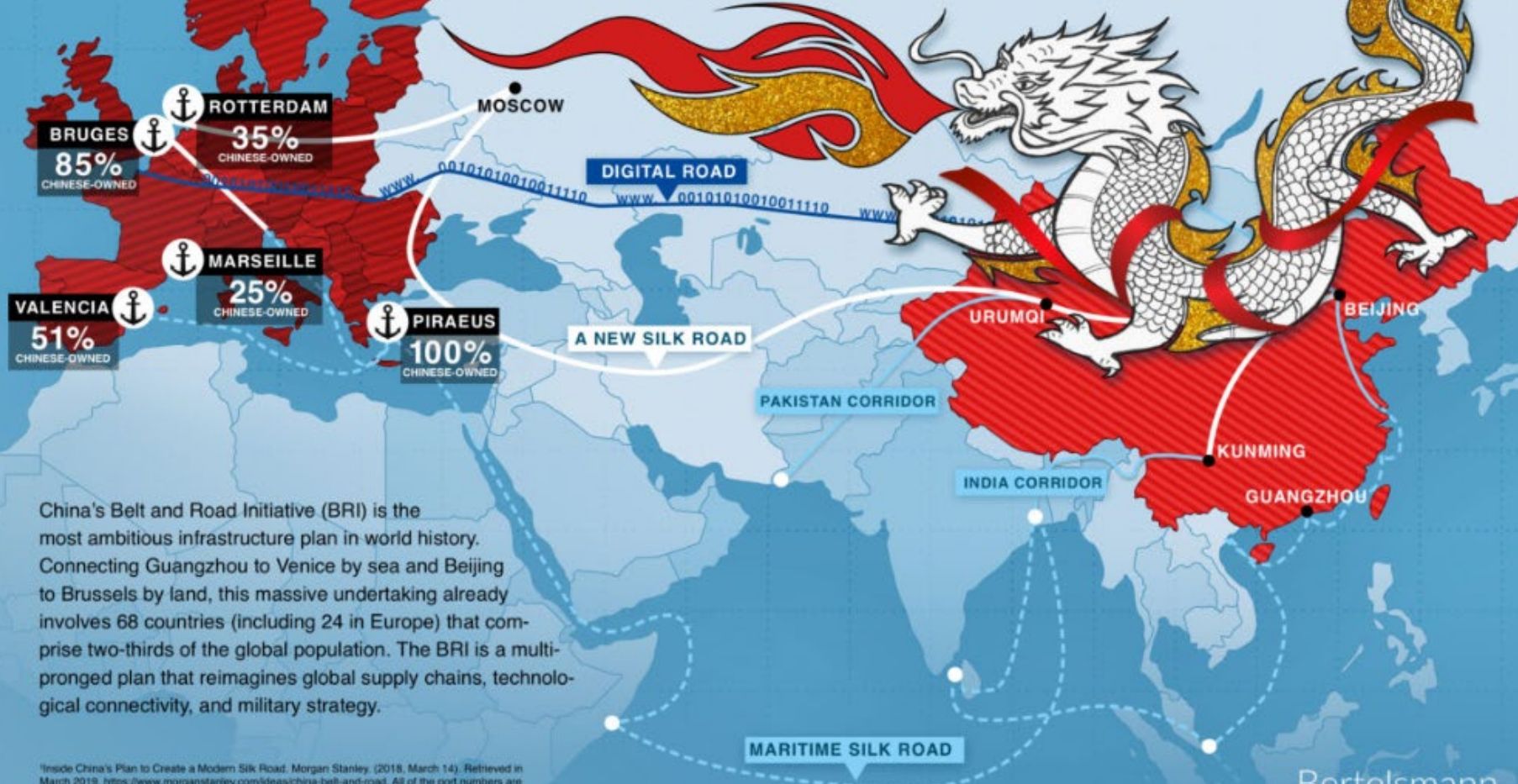
China Looks to Reshape Eurasia With Belt and Road Initiative

- Silk road economic belt
- New maritime silk road
- Proposed economic corridors
- Gas pipelines
- Oil pipelines
- Railroad
- Planned or under construction
- Ports with Chinese military presence
- Ports constructed with Chinese involvement



China will spend over
\$1 TRILLION
on the BRI by 2027.¹

CHINA'S BELT & ROAD INITIATIVE



China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is the most ambitious infrastructure plan in world history. Connecting Guangzhou to Venice by sea and Beijing to Brussels by land, this massive undertaking already involves 68 countries (including 24 in Europe) that comprise two-thirds of the global population. The BRI is a multi-pronged plan that reimagines global supply chains, technological connectivity, and military strategy.

¹Inside China's Plan to Create a Modern Silk Road. Morgan Stanley. (2018, March 14). Retrieved in March 2019. <https://www.morganstanley.com/ideas/china-belt-and-road>. All of the port numbers are from: Chinese Firms Now Hold Stakes In Over A Dozen European Ports. National Public Radio. (2018, October 9). Retrieved in June 2019. <https://www.npr.org/2018/10/09/642587456/chinese-firms-now-hold-stakes-in-over-a-dozen-european-ports>. World map vector graphics from: Vecteezy.com.