

**Course Title: “Russia-EU Relations”**

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**Target Audience:**

The Course is designed for Master students from Russia and abroad with concentrations in Political Science and International Relations, with a special interest in European Union, EU institutions, politics and foreign policy, Russian foreign policy, and EU-Russia relations. It is preferable, though not compulsory, if the students have basic knowledge of International Relations history and theory, EU Studies, as well as contemporary International Affairs and Russian history.

**Course Description** (*no less than 200 words*)

**- Aims of the course:**

This course is designed to offer an in-depth and comprehensive study of the Russia-EU relationship. European Union remains Russia’s largest economic partner and 2nd foreign policy partner (after the Post-Soviet states and integration projects). The course will explore history of the relations, analyze their legal, political, economic and analytical framework, and offer detailed analyses of the major areas of Russia-EU relations.

**- Course as a part of the study programme, brief analysis of the course in comparison to Russian and foreign academic experience.**

The course provides a logical and necessary supplement to the curricular of the Master programs “International Relations: European and Asian Studies” and “International Relations in Eurasia” offered by the Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs of the HSE.

The course aims to study the EU-Russia relations under multiple angles (such as the role of values and interests, how do the relations between Russia and individual EU member-states impact the EU-Russia relations) and in multiple spheres and dimensions (global politics, the relations on the Post-Soviet space, energy, European and International security). It also addresses the current state and prospects for development of the relations and their key issues and problems, such as the negotiations on a New Strategic Partnership Treaty, the prospects of visa-free regime and the “Partnership for Modernization” project.

The course also combines theoretical and empirical aspects. It examines the specificity of the European Union as an international actor, including the limits of its external competence, and its use of “soft” or “normative power”. Theoretical instruments of analyses of the EU foreign policy and Russia-EU relations are provided and analyzed.

The Course plays an essential part in the “European studies” master program. It allows the students to apply the knowledge they obtain through the other courses, such as those on history and theory of the European integration, EU politics, law and institutions, into a broader context, to see in which areas European and Russian interests and policies coincide and in which they diverge, and why.

One of the main particularities of the course is the fact that Russia-EU relations are analyzed neither from the point of view of Russian nor EU official foreign policy and diplomatic narratives. While both approaches are thoroughly examined students are encouraged to adopt a critical approach over both Russian and European foreign policies, to see advantages and

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disadvantages, achievements and missed opportunities of both sides. They also learn about the variety of different schools of thought on EU-Russia relations that exist in Russia and EU member-states. During the course students enjoy the opportunity to debate on a number of issues and are encouraged to formulate their own vision on the subject.

Another characteristic feature of the course is the combination of a political and legal approach, involving the studying of the functioning of the EU in the sphere of international relations and an analysis of the political and legal basis of the Russia-EU relations.

The purpose of the course is to improve understanding of the nature of the Russia-EU relationship, reflect on the notion of “strategic partnership”, and consider the perspectives and possible scenarios of its development. By the end of the course students are expected to have a firm grasp of the current state of EU-Russia relations, and of its future prospects. They will be able to consider to continue their studies (PhD) in the field or use the obtained knowledge to consult public or private companies on various issues connected with EU-Russia relations.

**- Prerequisites**

The students are required to have basic knowledge of the EU institutions and the functioning of the European Union (particularly in the foreign policy field) or International Relations history and theory, of Political Science, as well as are preferred to have a basic knowledge of the contemporary International Affairs.

**- Intended Learning Outcomes**

As a result of the study, the students should have:

Knowledge of major problems, factors, components and tendencies of the EU-Russia relations, as well as of driving factors in the Russian and EU policies towards each other.

Abilities: to search, use and critically evaluate statistical data, academic, reference, and historical literature on Russian and the EU policies towards each other, and to elaborate on the basis of this data and literature a prognosis of the EU-Russia relations development.

Skills: to explore and analyze the reasons and factors of the EU-Russia relations improvements and deteriorations, as well as their state of affairs at a particular moment, to create scenarios of the relations further development.

**- Assessment/s – formative, summative**

The course combines continuous and final methods of assessment.

Continuous: examination of students during the course of lectures; return to the given material.

Final: test (with account of previous observations and appearance in lectures).

The student’s independent work: assimilation of the theoretical material and information received in the course of the lectures, learning the works of domestic and foreign authors on the given problems.

The course concludes with an oral exam aimed to assess the students knowledge, abilities and skills acquired as a result of the course.

Final grade is calculated from grades for:

- Exam—0.7;
- Lecture attendance—0.3;

For each of the above aspects of evaluation the student receives, correspondingly, on a 10-point scale:

- For exam—0.7 x Q1;
- For lecture attendance—0.3 x Q2;

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 where Q1, Q2 are grades on a 10-point scale.

### Course Outline

№№	Topics	Course Hours	Academic/Contact Hours		Self-study Hours
			Lectures	Seminars	
1.	Introduction to the studies of Russia – EU Relations	6	2		4
2.	Methods and theories of studying Russia-EU relations	6	2		4
3.	The place of Europe and the EU in Russian development and Russian foreign policy	8	2	2	4
4.	Values and interests: the key dilemma of the Russia-EU relations	8	2	2	4
5.	External environment of the Russia-EU relations: the major external challenges for the EU and Russia and their impact on the relations	8	2	2	4
6.	Russia-EU relations in 1991-1999	6	2		4
7.	Russia-EU relations in 1999-2003	6	2		4
8.	Russia-EU relations in 2003-2008	8	2	2	4
9.	Russia-EU relations in 2009-2013	10	4	2	4
10.	Legal aspects of EU external relations	8	2	2	6
11.	Political and legal basis of the EU-Russia relations	8	2	2	4

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12.	Russia-EU negotiations on the New Strategic Agreement. The problem of new political and legal basis in the Russia-EU relations	8	2	2	4
13.	Bilateral relations between Russia and the EU member states in the Russia-EU relations	10	4	2	4
14.	The problem of the EU common and unified policy in the Russia-EU relations	8	2	2	4
15.	Russia-EU dialogue on European and International security. Development of the CFSP and ESDP and Russia-EU relations	10	4	2	4
16.	Russia-EU relations at the Post-Soviet space	8	2	2	4
17.	Russia-EU relations in the energy field	8	2	2	4
18.	General question of EU-Russia economic relations: perspectives of CEC	6	2		4
19.	EU-Russia cooperation in sphere of domestic security (justice and home affairs)	8	2	2	4
20.	Russia-EU relations in the field of transport	6	2		4
21.	Russia-EU relations in the sphere of science and technologies	6	2		4
	In sum:	162	48	28	86

### **Topic 1. Introduction to the studies of Russia – EU Relations**

**Content:** An introduction conversation with the students. A short review of the Course and its structure. Requirements and recommendations. Defining object and subject of the Russia-EU relations.

#### **Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Bordachev T., Moshes A. Is the Europeanization of Russia Over? // *Russia in Global Affairs*. № 2, April – June 2004.

*Recommended:*

Иванов И. Объединение или разъединение? Появятся ли новые барьеры в объединенной Европе // *Известия*. 11 янв. 2003.

Иванов И.Д. Общее европейское экономическое пространство // *Современная Европа*. 2003. Выпуск 1. Январь-март.

Кайзер К. Взаимоотношения крупных держав в XXI веке // *Россия в глобальной политике* № 5. Сентябрь – Октябрь 2007.

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is object of the Russia-EU relations studies?

What constitutes subject of the Russia-EU relations studies?

What are the reasons for viewing Russia-EU relations as a distinct subsystem of the International Relations system?

### **Topic 2. Methods and theories of studying Russia-EU relations**

**Content:** The main fields of research and schools. National studies. European studies. Studies on Russian policy toward EU. Structural and historical approach in the EU-Russia relations studies

#### **Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Emerson M. Time to think of a strategic bargain with Russia. Brussels, CEPS. 2008

*Recommended:*

Мау В., Новиков В. Отношения России и ЕС: Пространство выбора или выбор пространства // *Вопросы экономики*. 2002. № 6.

Монбриаль Тьерри де. Многополярность и многообразие // *Россия в глобальной политике* № 6, ноябрь - декабрь 2007

Морозов В. Европа: ориентация во времени и пространстве // *Россия в глобальной политике*" № 3, Май – Июнь 2008.

Пурсийнен К. От слов к делу (Теории интеграции и отношения ЕС–РФ) // *Современная Европа*. 2005. Выпуск 2. Апрель-июнь.

Ришар Жан – Франсуа На переломе. Двадцать глобальных проблем – двадцать лет на их решение. М.: Ладомир, 2006. С. 59

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Which theories of international relations are best applied for the EU-Russia relations analyses and in which situations?

### **Topic 3. The place of Europe and the EU in Russian development and Russian foreign policy**

**Content:** Debates on European identity of Russia. Advantages and limitations in EU-Russia relations. The concept of “strategic partnership”. The problem of democratic deficit.

#### **Reading list:**

##### *Essential:*

Bordachev T., Moshes A. Is the Europeanization of Russia Over? // Russia in Global Affairs. No. 2, April – June 2004.

Gowan D. What the EU can do for Russia. London: CER, 1999.

Towards an Alliance of Europe. Analytical Report by the Russian Group of the Valdai International Discussion Club (URL: [http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov\\_valdaj\\_eng.pdf](http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov_valdaj_eng.pdf))

##### *Recommended:*

Trenin D. Vladimir Putin’s Fourth Vector // Russia in Global Affairs. No.2 , April – June 2013

Гомар Т. Европа, Россия, США: новые величины старого уравнения РГП № 1, январь – февраль 2008 г.

Данилов, Д. Общее пространство внешней безопасности России и ЕС: амбиции и реальность // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2005. Февраль.

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the Russian national interests?

What is the rank of the relations with the EU among the priorities of the Russian foreign policy? Are there more or less important than the relations with the US, China or CIS?

Why did Russia refuse to take part in the European Neighbourhood Policy?

### **Topic 4. Values and interests: the key dilemma of the Russia-EU relations**

**Content:** Features of valuable component in EU-Russia relations. The problem of values evolution in EU-Russia political dialog. Basic values of European Union and Russia.

#### **Reading list:**

##### *Essential:*

Schuetter, R. E.U.–Russia Relations: Interests and Values— A European Perspective. Carnegie, 2004.

##### *Recommended:*

Борко Ю.Ф. От европейской идеи – к единой Европе. – М.: «Деловая литература», 2003.

Тренин Д. Интеграция и идентичность: Россия как «новый Запад» с. 41. М. : Изд-во «Европа», 2006.

Фишер С. // Евросоюз и Россия: как спасти партнерство Россия в глобальной политике. № 3, май -июнь 2008

Юргенс И. Как положить конец скрытой русско-европейской войне // Project Syndicate, США

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is the importance of common values for the European Union? Do they play a purely internal role or can they have an impact on the EU foreign policy?

Does the EU consider Russia as a strategic partner, a competitor or an opponent?

Is it possible to bypass the issue of common values in the EU-Russia political dialogue and to apply a purely pragmatic approach?

How did the role of values in the EU-Russia political dialogue evolve over time?

**Topic 5. External environment of the Russia-EU relations: the major external challenges for the EU and Russia and their impact on the relations**

**Content:** Specific features of EU and Russian international status. Role and place of Russia and EU in the world political and economic system. Common geographic and structural challenges Russia and EU facing.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Montbrial Thierry de. L'action et le systeme du monde. Paris, 2003.

Rethinking the Respective Strategies of Russia and the European Union. Special FIIA – Carnegie Moscow enter Report. 2003.

*Recommended:*

Towards an Alliance of Europe. Analytical Report by the Russian Group of the Valdai International Discussion Club (URL: [http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov\\_valdaj\\_eng.pdf](http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov_valdaj_eng.pdf))

The Russian Federation Middle Term Strategy towards the European Union (2000-2010)

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study**

How did the role of EU and Russia on the international scene evolve over the last 20 years?

What are the main challenges that both the EU and Russia are facing?

Do the EU and Russia share the same vision of a multipolar world?

**Topic 6. The Russia-EU relations in 1991-1999**

**Content:** Historical background and the main features of EU-Russia relations at this period. The EU-Russia relations at the early stage. Structural transformation of Russia and EU and it's impact to the bilateral relations development.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Bordachev T. Russia's European Problem: Eastward Enlargement of the EU and Moscow's Policy, 1993 – 2003 / Antonenko O. (ed.) Russia and the European Union: Prospect for a new relationship. London, Routledge, 2005

Road maps for the Common Economic Space, covering economic issues and the environment; the Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice; the Common Space of External Security, including crisis management and non-proliferation; the Common Space of Research and Education, Including

cultural aspects. Adopted on the 10th of May 2005 (URL:

[http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap\\_economic\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap_economic_en.pdf))

*Recommended:*

Дерябин Ю. С. «Северное измерение» политики Европейского союза и интересы России. М.: Экслибрис-пресс, 2000.

Доклад Группы высокого уровня по Общему европейскому экономическому пространству саммиту Россия – ЕС. Материалы саммита России-ЕС. Брюссель. 11 ноября 2002.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What were the relations between the EEC and the USSR?

How did the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) of 1994 change the EU-Russia relations?

Why did the PCA only enter into force in 1997?

What were the main factors that affected the EU-Russia relations in this period?

## **Topic 7. Russia-EU relations in 1999-2003**

**Content:** Historical and structural features of EU-Russia relations – mutual strategies and approaches. EU-Russia relations and NATO-Russia relations. EU approach toward the North Caucasus conflict. Development of EU-Russia trade partnership. The problem of "European choice" of Russia and Kaliningrad transit issue.

### **Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Bordachev T. Russia and EU Enlargement: Starting the Endgame / The Strategic Implications of European Union Enlargement. E. Brimmer and St. Froelich (eds). Center for Transatlantic Relations, John Hopkins University 2005.

Bordachev T. Russia's European Problem: Eastward Enlargement of the EU and Moscow's Policy, 1993 – 2003 / Antonenko O. (ed.) Russia and the European Union: Prospect for a new relationship. London, Routledge, 2005

*Recommended:*

Potemkina O. Some Ramifications of Enlargement on the EU-Russia Relations and the Schengen Regime // European Journal of Migration and Law. 2003. Vol. 5.

Борко Ю.А. Европейскому Союзу и России необходимо Соглашение о стратегическом партнерстве. Москва: Пробел, 2004.

Буторина О. Интеграция в стиле фанк // Россия в глобальной политике № 5, Сентябрь – Октябрь 2007.

Ведрин Ю. Отказ от государств-наций – иллюзия (интервью) // Россия в глобальной политике № 6, Ноябрь-Декабрь, 2007.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

How did the NATO operation in Kosovo affect the relations between NATO and Russia? Between the EU and Russia?

What was the Russian attitude towards EU enlargement? Did it consider EU and NATO enlargements as parallel processes?



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Which concerns did Russia express towards the EU enlargement?  
What were the main factors that affected the EU-Russia relations in this period?

## **Topic 8. Russia-EU relations in 2003-2008**

**Content:** Beginning of the fundamental changing in EU-Russia relations. Values and interests: January-February of 2004. Pragmatic approach and the EU internal crisis influence. Transformation of the energy dialog. EU and the August War of 2008. Perspectives and scenarios of bilateral relations development.

### **Reading List:**

#### *Essential:*

Bordachev T. Russia and EU Enlargement: Starting the Endgame / The Strategic Implications of European Union Enlargement. E. Brimmer and St. Froelich (eds). Center for Transatlantic Relations, John Hopkins University 2005.

Romanova T. Zaslavskaya N. EU-Russia: towards the Four Spaces. In: Baltic Defence Review. 2004. Vol.2. No.12.

#### *Recommended:*

Арбатов А. Грядет ли холодная война? // Россия в глобальной политике. № 2, Март – апрель 2007.

Арбатова Н. и др. Концепция модернизации Соглашения о партнерстве и сотрудничестве между Россией и ЕС и заключения Соглашения о продвинутом партнерстве, учреждающем ассоциацию. М.: Комитет «Россия в объединенной Европе», 2005.

Арбатова Н. Проблема 2007: Что дальше // Россия в глобальной политике. 2006. No. 1.

Бордачев Т. Россия и Евросоюз: проблема европеизации // Современная Европа, № 4, декабрь 2006.

Бордачев Т. Суверенитет и интеграция // Россия в глобальной политике, № 1, Январь – февраль 2007.

Бордачев Т., Романова Т. Модель на вырост: Выбор России надолго определит ее отношения с ЕС // Россия в глобальной политике. 2003. № 2.

Борко Ю. Свет и тени европейской интеграции // Россия в глобальной политике. № 1, Январь – февраль 2007.

Энтин М.Л. // В поисках партнерских отношений II: Россия и Европейский Союз в 2006-2008 годах. М.: Зебра Е, 2009.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What were the consequences of the 2004 enlargement for the development of EU-Russia relations?

Did the two parties manage to achieve any significant results with the purely pragmatic approach towards EU-Russia relations?

What were the consequences of the 2006 gaz crisis? Which mechanism has been created between the EU and Russia as a response to the crisis?

Who did the EU held responsible for the August 2008 war? Did the EU adopt any sanctions?

What were the mid- and long-term consequences of the 2008 conflict for the EU-Russia relations?

## Topic 9. EU-Russia relations in 2009-2013

**Content:** The 2009 gas crisis and its consequences for the EU energy policy and EU-Russia energy dialogue. The non-visa free regime dialogue. The Lisbon Treaty and the transformation of the EU. The 2010 presidential elections in Ukraine and the relations on the post-soviet space. The launch of European and Russian integration projects (Eastern Partnership and the Customs Union/Eurasian Union). The Partnership for modernization project.

### Reading List:

#### *Essential:*

Arbatova N. The EU-Russia partnership: a new context. FRIDE. (URL: [http://www.fride.org/download/PB\\_5\\_EU\\_RUSSIA\\_PARTNERSHIP.pdf](http://www.fride.org/download/PB_5_EU_RUSSIA_PARTNERSHIP.pdf))

Emerson M. and Kostanyan H. Putin's grand design to destroy the EU's Eastern Partnership and replace it with a disastrous neighbourhood policy of his own. CEPS Commentary

#### *Recommended:*

Markedonov S. Ukraine's EU dream is not a guarantee of democracy. Russia beyond the headlines, 2013 (URL: [http://rbth.ru/opinion/2013/12/10/ukraines\\_eu\\_dreams\\_is\\_not\\_a\\_guarantee\\_of\\_democracy\\_32455.html](http://rbth.ru/opinion/2013/12/10/ukraines_eu_dreams_is_not_a_guarantee_of_democracy_32455.html))

Towards an Alliance of Europe. Analytical Report by the Russian Group of the Valdai International Discussion Club (URL: [http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov\\_valdaj\\_eng.pdf](http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov_valdaj_eng.pdf))

Энтин М.Л. // В поисках партнерских отношений III: Россия и Европейский Союз в 2008-2009 годах. М.: Зебра Е, 2010.

### Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:

What were the main differences between the 2006 and the 2009 gas crisis?

How did Russia react to the launch of the Eastern Partnership project?

What were the main trends of the EU-Russia relations on the post-soviet space after the election of Yanukovich?

What were the main results of the EU-Russia summit in Stockholm?

## Topic 10. Legal aspects of EU external relations

**Content:** Legal personality of the EU. European Union's external competences, concept of common commercial policy and implied powers of the EU. The problem of competence tensions appearing during negotiations or after agreement conclusion. EU as a member of international organizations. Mixed agreements and interstate agreements.

### Reading List:

#### *Essential:*

Craig P. and De Burca G., EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials, Fourth Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007. Ch. 6

Govaere, Capiu and Vermeersch, In-Between Seats: The Participation of the European Union in International Organizations

Opinion 1/76 (para 1-7)

Opinion 1/78 (para 36-62)

Opinion 1/94 (para 15-109)

*Recommended:*

Opinion 2/00 (Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety);

Opinion 1/03 (Lugano Convention);

Case 22/70 Commission v Council (ERTA) (6-31);

Joined cases 3,4 and 6/76 Kramer;

Case 281/01 Energy Star Agreement;

Case C-211/01 Commission v Council (FAO);

Case C-459/03 Commission v Ireland (Mox case);

Case C-62/98 and C-84/98, Commission v Portugal.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the main changes brought by the Lisbon Treaty in the functioning of the EU on the international field?

What are the concepts of common commercial policy and implied powers? What is the specificity of the CFSP?

Which place do international treaties occupy among the sources of EU law? What is the procedure followed by the EU to conclude an international treaty? What are mixed agreements?

How can the EU become a member of international organizations?

## **Topic 11. Political and legal basis of the EU-Russia relations**

**Content:** EU relations with non-member states: problem of forming political and legal basis. Appearance and key provisions of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement of 1994. Institutional structure and political and legal basis of EU-Russia relations: general features.

### **Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Agreement on partnership and cooperation establishing a partnership between the European Communities and their Member States, of one part, and the Russian Federation, of the other part (URL: <http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/downloadFile.do?fullText=yes&treatyTransId=643>)

Case C-265/03 Simutenkov

*Recommended:*

Potemkina O. Some Ramifications of Enlargement on the EU-Russia Relations and the Schengen Regime // European Journal of Migration and Law. 2003. Vol. 5.

Rethinking the Respective Strategies of Russia and the European Union. Special FIIA – Carnegie Moscow enter Report. 2003.

Юргенс И. Как положить конец скрытой русско-европейской войне // Project Syndicate, США

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the main characteristics of the PCA agreement?

What are the main provisions of the PCA in the field of trade and economics?

How did the institutional structure set by the PCA evolve?

## **Topic 12. Russia-EU negotiations on the New Strategic Agreement. The problem of new political and legal basis in the Russia-EU relations**

**Content:** Problems in political and legal foundations of EU-Russia relations: key issuers. "The problem of 2007" and forming of the Russian approach. Specific features of the dialog over the new general agreement. Present state and perspectives of the dialog in 2009.

### **Reading List:**

#### *Essential:*

Agreement on partnership and cooperation establishing a partnership between the European Communities and their Member States, of one part, and the Russian Federation, of the other part (URL: <http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/downloadFile.do?fullText=yes&treatyTransId=643>)

Lainela, S., Sutela, P. European Union, Russia, and TACIS. BOFIT Online Paper. 2004. No. 2.

#### *Recommended:*

Russia – European Union: Potential for partnership // Russian International Affairs Council. Moscow, 2013

По пути к договору о стратегическом партнерстве между Россией и Европейским Союзом / Энтин М., Галенская Л., Кавешников Н. (ред) // Спб.: СКФ «Россия-Нева», 2007

Энтин М.Л. // В поисках партнерских отношений III: Россия и Европейский Союз в 2008-2009 годах. М.: Зебра Е, 2010.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Why is there a need to replace the PCA?

What were the possible scenarios of solving the «2007 problem»?

What are the main obstacles to the conclusion of a new agreement?

Which provisions do you think should be included in a new agreement?

## **Topic 13. Bilateral relations between Russia and the EU member states in the Russia-EU relations**

**Content:** The main dilemma of Russian policy toward EU. Traditional Russian partners within European Union (France, Germany, Italy) and relations with them. Consequences of the EU enlargement for EU-Russia relations. The main problems of bilateral relations with Central European and Baltic countries. The influence of bilateral relations with EU-members on EU-Russian dialog. The problem of possible EU enlargement.

### **Reading List:**

#### *Essential:*

Mark Leonard & Nicu Popescu. A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations (URL: [http://ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR-02\\_A\\_POWER\\_AUDIT\\_OF\\_EU-RUSSIA\\_RELATIONS.pdf](http://ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR-02_A_POWER_AUDIT_OF_EU-RUSSIA_RELATIONS.pdf))

#### *Recommended:*

Романова Т. Институциональные особенности экономических отношений Россия – Европейский Союз // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2004. №5.

Романова Т. Россия и ЕС: диалог на разных языках // Россия в глобальной политике № 6. ноябрь - декабрь 2006

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the factors that made Russia focus on its bilateral relations with member-states rather than on its relations with Brussels?

What were the consequences of EU enlargement for the development of EU-Russia relations?

How did the Smolensk plane crash affect the relations between Russia and Poland?

**Topic 14. The problem of the EU common and unified policy in the Russia-EU relations**

**Content:** Structure and mechanism of the EU external policy forming. The main problems of forming the EU common approach toward Russia. Overcoming the European dissociation in policy toward Russia: potential and possible formats.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Relations with Russia. Brussels, 2004. COM(2004)106.

*Recommended:*

Emerson Michael. Time to think of a strategic bargain with Russia. Brussels, CEPS. 2008

Лавров С. Россия и мир в XXI веке // Россия в глобальной политике, № 4, Июль – август 2008 г.

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the advantages/disadvantages for Russia of the absence of a common policy of the EU towards Russia?

What is the position of the EU member-states on the perspective of a non-visa regime with Russia?

**Topic 15. Russia-EU dialogue on European and International security. Development of the CFSP and ESDP and Russia-EU relations**

**Content:** Russian external and military policy, European defense policy: political and legal foundations of interaction. Experience and problems of interaction: common interests, transformation of NATO, rivalry in the post-Soviet space. New formats of the European security structure: minimal interaction, limited partnership, advanced cooperation, political and military alliance.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Philip Remler. Negotiation Gone Bad: Russia, Germany, and Crossed Communications. (URL: <http://carnegieeurope.eu/publications/?fa=52712>)

FORSBERG, T. The EU–Russia Security Partnership: Why the Opportunity was Missed // European Foreign Affairs Review. 2004. Vol. 9.

*Recommended:*

Безвизовый режим между Россией и ЕС: «Дорожная карта». Ред. Арбатова Н.К. М.: Комитет «Россия в объединенной Европе», 2004.

Бордачев Т. На пути к стратегическому союзу // Россия в глобальной политике. 2006. No.1

Бордачев Т. Пределы Европеизации. Россия и Европейский союз в 1991 – 2007 годах: теория и практика отношений. М.: Издательский дом ГУ – ВШЭ. 2007.

Данилов, Д. Общее пространство внешней безопасности России и ЕС: амбиции и реальность // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2005. Февраль.

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What was the official reaction of the EU to the proposal for a new European security agreement made by president Medvedev?

What were the main objectives of the Meseberg initiative for Germany and Russia?

What are the main obstacles to the EU-Russia cooperation in the conduct of peacekeeping operations?

## **Topic 16. Russia-EU relations at the Post-Soviet space**

**Content:** The main interests of Russia and EU in the post-Soviet space. Influence of Russian and EU policy toward former USSR republics on EU-Russia relations. The impact of the US enlargement on Russia-EU relations at the Post-Soviet space. EU Neighborhood policy. EU Eastern Partnership program. The case of Ukraine in the Russia-EU relations.

### **Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Statement on the pressure exercised by Russia on countries of the Eastern Partnership ([http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_SPEECH-13-687\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-13-687_en.htm))

Stanislav Tkachenko. Crisis in Ukraine: A catalyst for long-overdue change? (URL: [http://rbth.ru/opinion/2014/01/23/crisis\\_in\\_ukraine\\_a\\_catalyst\\_for\\_long-overdue\\_change\\_33485.html](http://rbth.ru/opinion/2014/01/23/crisis_in_ukraine_a_catalyst_for_long-overdue_change_33485.html))

*Recommended:*

Association agreement between the European Union and its Member states, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part (URL:

[http://glavcom.ua/pub/2012\\_11\\_19\\_EU\\_Ukraine\\_Association\\_Agreement\\_English.pdf](http://glavcom.ua/pub/2012_11_19_EU_Ukraine_Association_Agreement_English.pdf))

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the main objectives of the Eastern Partnership program?

What would be the consequences of the signature of the Association agreement between the EU and Ukraine?

## **Topic 17. Russia-EU relations in the energy field**

**Content:** Establishment of the Energy dialog. Main stages of development and institutions, investment opportunities. Difference in conceptual approaches toward the dialog, the problem of EU regulatory policy. EU-Russia tensions over energy, energy problem in the negotiations over the new general agreement.

### **Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Rusnak U. Modernization of the Energy Charter. Russia in Global Affairs No.4, 2013

Umbach M. Diversification vs Monopoly. Russia in Global Affairs No.3, 2012

*Recommended:*

Roadmap EU-Russia Energy Cooperation until 2050 (URL:

[http://ec.europa.eu/energy/international/russia/doc/2013\\_03\\_eu\\_russia\\_roadmap\\_2050\\_signed.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/energy/international/russia/doc/2013_03_eu_russia_roadmap_2050_signed.pdf))

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the Russian biggest concerns regarding the Third energy package?

Why did Russia refuse to ratify the Energy Charter Treaty?

What are the main characteristics of the Roadmap EU-Russia Energy Cooperation until 2050?

**Topic 18. General questions of EU-Russia economic relations: perspectives of CEC**

**Content:** The main trends and features of EU-Russia economic relations, evolution of economic interdependence. Political and legal basis of cooperation: dual nature of economic relations – national and supranational factors. Identification and widening of common economic interests, forming foundations for new economic agreement. Stimulation of sectoral cooperation, institutional development and new role of business-community; free-trade area question.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Romanova T. EU-Russian Legal Harmonisation as the Basis for Deepening Relations: Political and Legal Aspects // New Europe 2020 – Visions and Strategies for Wider Europe. Turku: Esa Print Oy, 2005.

EU - Russia Trade and Investment: Practical Barriers : Survey/ Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Brussels: Eurochambres, 2003.

*Recommended:*

Romanova T. Zaslavskaya N. EU-Russia: towards the Four Spaces. In: Baltic Defence Review. 2004. Vol.2. No.12.

Schuetz, R. E.U.–Russia Relations: Interests and Values— A European Perspective. Carnegie, 2004.

Иванов И.Д. Общее европейское экономическое пространство // Современная Европа. 2003. Выпуск 1. Январь-март.

Романова Т. Институциональные особенности экономических отношений Россия – Европейский Союз // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2004. №5.

Романова Т.А. Эволюция концепции экономического сотрудничества России и Европейского союза и будущее Северного измерения // Россия и Европейский союз после расширения: Новые перспективы и новые проблемы СПб, 2007. Библиотека европейских исследований. Выпуск 20.

Доклад Группы высокого уровня по Общему европейскому экономическому пространству саммиту Россия – ЕС. Материалы саммита России-ЕС. Брюссель. 11 ноября 2002.

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is the current legal basis for the EU-Russia cooperation in the field of trade and investments?

What are the possible scenarios of cooperation in the economic field between the EU and Russia/the Customs Union?

### **Topic 19. EU-Russia cooperation in sphere of domestic security (justice and home affairs)**

**Content:** The main issuers, structural and external limitations of partnership. Political and legal basis of cooperation. The visa-free regime issue in EU-Russia relations. Potential and perspectives of partnership in the sphere of domestic security.

#### **Reading List:**

##### *Essential:*

Common steps towards visa free short-term travel of Russian and EU citizen [http://visa-free-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/common\\_steps\\_towards\\_visa\\_free\\_short\\_term\\_travel\\_en.pdf](http://visa-free-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/common_steps_towards_visa_free_short_term_travel_en.pdf)

Road map for the the Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice. Adopted on the 10th of May 2005 (URL: [http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap\\_economic\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap_economic_en.pdf))

##### *Recommended:*

Towards an Alliance of Europe. Analytical Report by the Russian Group of the Valdai International Discussion Club (URL: [http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov\\_valdaj\\_eng.pdf](http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov_valdaj_eng.pdf))

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the principal concerns expressed by the EU and its member-states regarding the establishment of a visa-free regime with Russia?

What are the measures envisaged by the Common steps towards the establishment of a visa-free regime?

### **Topic 20. Russia-EU relations in the field of transport**

**Content:** Unique features of EU-Russia transport relations. Political and legal basis of cooperation. The problem of trans-Siberian flights, the problem of "roping" in sectoral EU-Russia relations. Potential opportunities and limitations in the process of transport markets integration of EU and Russia.

#### **Reading List:**

##### *Essential:*

Laurila, J. Transit Transport Between the European Union and Russia in Light of Russian Geopolitics and Economics // Emerging Markets Finance and Trade. 2003. Vol. 39. No. 5.

##### *Recommended:*

Romanova T. Energy and Transport into the Northern Dimension? Russian Perspectives // Baltic Rim Economies. Estonia-Latvia-Lithuania-Poland- Baltic Russia Bimonthly Review. 2008. February, 29. No.1.

#### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is the legal basis for the EU-Russia cooperation in the field of transport?

How did the issue of trans-Siberian flight affect EU-Russia relations?

### **Topic 21. Russia-EU relations in the sphere of science and technologies**



**Content:** EU science policy and cooperation with non-member countries. Russian interest in developing science and technological cooperation with EU, Bologna process and EU-Russia cooperation within FP7. Political and legal basis of cooperation.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Road maps for the Common Space of Research and Education, Including cultural aspects. Adopted on the 10th of May 2005 (URL: [http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap\\_economic\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap_economic_en.pdf))

*Recommended:*

Romanova T. Towards a New Political Theory of Legal Approximation between the EU and a Third Country? The Case of EU-Russian Cooperation in Nanotechnology. Moscow: Higher School of Economics, 2013

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the main differences between FP7 and Horizon 2020? Does Russia take part in these programs?

How did the Partnership for Modernisation project change Russia-EU cooperation in the field of science and technologies?

**Teaching and Learning Activities**

Teaching and learning activities include lectures, providing the central focal points of the material discussed, reading of the provided essential and recommended literature, discussion of the central problems of the EU-Russia relations based on the data and knowledge provided in the lectures and on the readings, and, finally, individual online communication with students beyond the classroom.

Typically, the class will meet twice a week. Each meeting will be devoted to a relevant topic among the list provided above. Students will be supposed to study essential readings for each of the topics in advance of each classroom meeting. These readings will be distributed by e-mail among the students, if necessary. Then central problems of the topic discussed will be covered by the instructor in an interactive lecture (involving questions and answers to the lecturer from the audience and vice versa), to be followed by discussion of the central problems and issues of each of the topic. In some cases, Power Point presentations will be prepared by the instructor to structure and optimize comprehension of the materials by the students. Finally, the students will be invited to enquire about additional readings and discuss items of interest of the relevant topics of the EU-Russia relations with the instructor individually by e-mail and /or in person at the instructor's office at the special appointments.

The course will end with a verbal (oral) exam. Each of the students will be provided with two questions based on the Syllabus and lectures. Plus, some additional questions on the topics covered at the lectures and strictly based on the Syllabus will be asked..

**Resources**

National Research University Higher School of Economics  
School of World Economy and International Affairs  
Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies"

1. Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne (Eds.). Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases. Oxford University Press, 2012.
2. Romanova T. Towards a New Political Theory of Legal Approximation between the EU and a Third Country? The Case of EU-Russian Cooperation in Nanotechnology. Moscow: Higher School of Economics, 2013
3. Road maps for the Common Space of Research and Education, Including cultural aspects. Adopted on the 10th of May 2005 (URL: [http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap\\_economic\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/roadmap_economic_en.pdf))
4. Romanova T. Energy and Transport into the Northern Dimension? Russian Perspectives // Baltic Rim Economies. Estonia-Latvia-Lithuania-Poland- Baltic Russia Bimonthly Review. 2008. February, 29. No.1.
5. Laurila, J. Transit Transport Between the European Union and Russia in Light of Russian Geopolitics and Economics // Emerging Markets Finance and Trade. 2003. Vol. 39. No. 5.
6. Towards an Alliance of Europe. Analytical Report by the Russian Group of the Valdai International Discussion Club (URL: [http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov\\_valdaj\\_eng.pdf](http://www.karaganov.ru/docs/Karaganov_valdaj_eng.pdf))
7. Common steps towards visa free short-term travel of Russian and EU citizen [http://visa-free-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/common\\_steps\\_towards\\_visa\\_free\\_short\\_term\\_travel\\_en.pdf](http://visa-free-europe.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/common_steps_towards_visa_free_short_term_travel_en.pdf)
8. Romanova T. Zaslavskaya N. EU-Russia: towards the Four Spaces. In: Baltic Defence Review. 2004. Vol.2. No.12.
9. Romanova T. EU-Russian Legal Harmonisation as the Basis for Deepening Relations: Political and Legal Aspects // New Europe 2020 – Visions and Strategies for Wider Europe. Turku: Esa Print Oy, 2005.
10. Rusnak U. Modernization of the Energy Charter. Russia in Global Affairs No.4, 2013
11. Umbach M. Diversification vs Monopoly. Russia in Global Affairs No.3, 2012
12. Roadmap EU-Russia Energy Cooperation until 2050 (URL: [http://ec.europa.eu/energy/international/russia/doc/2013\\_03\\_eu\\_russia\\_roadmap\\_2050\\_signed.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/energy/international/russia/doc/2013_03_eu_russia_roadmap_2050_signed.pdf))
13. Association agreement between the European Union and its Member states, of the one part, and Ukraine, of the other part (URL: [http://glavcom.ua/pub/2012\\_11\\_19\\_EU\\_Ukraine\\_Association\\_Agreement\\_English.pdf](http://glavcom.ua/pub/2012_11_19_EU_Ukraine_Association_Agreement_English.pdf))
14. Statement on the pressure exercised by Russia on countries of the Eastern Partnership ([http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_SPEECH-13-687\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-13-687_en.htm))
15. Stanislav Tkachenko. Crisis in Ukraine: A catalyst for long-overdue change? (URL: [http://rbth.ru/opinion/2014/01/23/crisis\\_in\\_ukraine\\_a\\_catalyst\\_for\\_long-overdue\\_change\\_33485.html](http://rbth.ru/opinion/2014/01/23/crisis_in_ukraine_a_catalyst_for_long-overdue_change_33485.html))
16. Markedonov S. Ukraine's EU dream is not a guarantee of democracy. Russia beyond the headlines, 2013 (URL: [http://rbth.ru/opinion/2013/12/10/ukraines\\_eu\\_dreams\\_is\\_not\\_a\\_guarantee\\_of\\_democracy\\_32455.html](http://rbth.ru/opinion/2013/12/10/ukraines_eu_dreams_is_not_a_guarantee_of_democracy_32455.html))
17. Arbatova N. The EU-Russia partnership: a new context. FRIDE. (URL: [http://www.fride.org/download/PB\\_5\\_EU\\_RUSSIA\\_PARTNERSHIP.pdf](http://www.fride.org/download/PB_5_EU_RUSSIA_PARTNERSHIP.pdf))
18. Emerson M. and Kostanyan H. Putin's grand design to destroy the EU's Eastern Partnership and replace it with a disastrous neighbourhood policy of his own. CEPS Commentary
19. Bordachev T. Russia and EU Enlargement: Starting the Endgame / The Strategic Implications of European Union Enlargement. E. Brimmer and St. Froelich (eds). Center for Transatlantic Relations, John Hopkins University 2005.

20. Bordachev T. Russia's European Problem: Eastward Enlargement of the EU and Moscow's Policy, 1993 – 2003 / Antonenko O. (ed.) Russia and the European Union: Prospect for a new relationship. London, Routledge, 2005;
21. Bordachev T., Moshes A. Is the Europeanization of Russia Over? // Russia in Global Affairs. № 2, April – June 2004.
22. Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on Relations with Russia. Brussels, 2004. COM(2004)106.
23. Emerson Michael Time to think of a strategic bargain with Russia. Brussels, CEPS. 2008
24. EMERSON, M. EU-Russia Four Common Spaces and the Proliferation of the Fuzzy. Brussels, 2005. CEPS Policy Brief. No. 71.
25. EMERSON, M., TASSINARI, F., VAHL, M. A New Agreement between the EU and Russia: Why, what and when. Brussels: CEPS, 2006. Policy Brief No. 103.
26. EU - Russia Trade and Investment: Practical Barriers : Survey/ Russian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Brussels: Eurochambres, 2003.
27. FORSBERG, T. The EU–Russia Security Partnership: Why the Opportunity was Missed // European Foreign Affairs Review. 2004. Vol. 9.
28. Gowan D. What the EU can do for Russia. London: CER, 1999.
29. Grabbe H. Profiting from EU enlargement. London. CER, 2001
30. Kagan R. Power and Weakness // Policy Review. No 113. 2002.
31. Kosachev K. Russia and the West: Where the Differences Lie // Russian in Global Affairs. 2007. No. 4.
32. LAINELA, S., SUTELA, P. European Union, Russia, and TACIS. BOFIT Online Paper. 2004. No. 2.
33. LAURILA, J. Transit Transport Between the European Union and Russia in Light of Russian Geopolitics and Economics // Emerging Markets Finance and Trade. 2003. Vol. 39. No. 5.
34. Montbrial Thierry de. L'action et le systeme du monde. Paris, 2003.
35. POTEKINA O. Some Ramifications of Enlargement on the EU-Russia Relations and the Schengen Regime // European Journal of Migration and Law. 2003. Vol. 5.
36. Rethinking the Respective Strategies of Russia and the European Union. Special FIIA – Carnegie Moscow Center Report. 2003.
37. ROMANOVA T. EU-Russian Legal Harmonisation as the Basis for Deepening Relations: Political and Legal Aspects // New Europe 2020 – Visions and Strategies for Wider Europe. Turku: Esa Print Oy, 2005.
38. Romanova T. Zaslavskaya N. EU-Russia: towards the Four Spaces. In: Baltic Defence Review. 2004. Vol.2. No.12.
39. SCHUETTE, R. E.U.–Russia Relations: Interests and Values— A European Perspective. Carnegie, 2004.
40. Арбатов А. Грядет ли холодная война? // Россия в глобальной политике. № 2, Март – апрель 2007.
41. Арбатова Н. и др. Концепция модернизации Соглашения о партнерстве и сотрудничестве между Россией и ЕС и заключения Соглашения о продвинутом партнерстве, учреждающем ассоциацию. М.: Комитет «Россия в объединенной Европе», 2005.

42. Арбатова Н. Проблема 2007: Что дальше // Россия в глобальной политике. 2006. No. 1.
43. Безвизовый режим между Россией и ЕС: «Дорожная карта». Ред. Арбатова Н.К. М.: Комитет «Россия в объединенной Европе», 2004.
44. Бордачев Т. На пути к стратегическому союзу // Россия в глобальной политике. 2006. No.1
45. Бордачев Т. Пределы Европеизации. Россия и Европейский союз в 1991 – 2007 годах: теория и практика отношений. М.: Издательский дом ГУ – ВШЭ. 2007.
46. Бордачев Т. Россия и Евросоюз: проблема европеизации // Современная Европа, № 4, декабрь 2006.
47. Бордачев Т. Суверенитет и интеграция // Россия в глобальной политике, № 1, Январь – февраль 2007.
48. Бордачев Т., Романова Т. Модель на вырост: Выбор России надолго определит ее отношения с ЕС // Россия в глобальной политике. 2003. № 2.
49. Борко Ю. Свет и тени европейской интеграции // Россия в глобальной политике. № 1, Январь – февраль 2007.
50. Борко Ю.А. Европейскому Союзу и России необходимо Соглашение о стратегическом партнерстве. Москва: Пробел, 2004.
51. Буторина О. Интеграция в стиле фанк // Россия в глобальной политике № 5, Сентябрь – Октябрь 2007.
52. Ведрин Ю. Отказ от государств-наций – иллюзия (интервью) // Россия в глобальной политике № 6, Ноябрь-Декабрь, 2007.
53. Воронов, К. Калининградская область в отношениях России и ЕС: медленный дрейф // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2005. Март.
54. Гомар Т. Европа, Россия, США: новые величины старого уравнения РГП № 1, январь – февраль 2008 г.
55. Данилов, Д. Общее пространство внешней безопасности России и ЕС: амбиции и реальность // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2005. Февраль.
56. Дерябин Ю. С. «Северное измерение» политики Европейского союза и интересы России. М.: Экслибрис-пресс, 2000.
57. Доклад Группы высокого уровня по Общему европейскому экономическому пространству саммиту Россия – ЕС. Материалы саммита России-ЕС. Брюссель. 11 ноября 2002.
58. Дорожные карты по общему экономическому пространству, по общему пространству свободы, безопасности и правосудия, по общему пространству внешней безопасности, по общему пространству науки и образования, включая культурные аспекты. Утверждены 10 мая 2005 года в Москве Президентом России В.Путиным, Премьер-министром Люксембурга Ж.-К.Юнкером, Председателем Комиссии Европейских сообществ Ж.М.Дурау-Баррозу и Верховным представителем ЕС по внешней политике и безопасности Х.Соланой. <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/articles/2005/05/87950/152811.shtml>
59. Иванов И. Объединение или разъединение? Появятся ли новые барьеры в объединенной Европе// Известия. 11 янв. 2003.
60. Иванов И.Д. Общее европейское экономическое пространство // Современная Европа. 2003. Выпуск 1. Январь-март.

61. Кайзер К. Взаимоотношения крупных держав в XXI веке // Россия в глобальной политике № 5. Сентябрь – Октябрь 2007.
62. Караганов С. Вперед в Азию? // Российская газета. 22.07.2008.
63. Караганов С. Ханты-Мансийск: новый этап? Российская газета. 26.06.2008
64. Коллективная стратегия Европейского союза по отношению к России. 1999.
65. Лавров С. Россия и мир в XXI веке // Россия в глобальной политике, № 4, Июль – август 2008 г.
66. Мау В., Новиков В. Отношения России и ЕС: Пространство выбора или выбор пространства // Вопросы экономики. 2002. № 6.
67. Монбриаль Тьерри де. Многополярность и многообразие // Россия в глобальной политике № 6, ноябрь - декабрь 2007
68. Морозов В. Европа: ориентация во времени и пространстве // Россия в глобальной политике". № 3, Май – Июнь 2008.
69. Пурсийнен К. От слов к делу (Теории интеграции и отношения ЕС–РФ) // Современная Европа. 2005. Выпуск 2. Апрель-июнь.
70. Ришар Жан – Франсуа На переломе. Двадцать глобальных проблем – двадцать лет на их решение. М.: Ладомир, 2006. С. 59
71. Романова Т. Институциональные особенности экономических отношений Россия – Европейский Союз // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. 2004. №5.
72. Романова Т. Россия и ЕС: диалог на разных языках // Россия в глобальной политике № 6. ноябрь - декабрь 2006
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