


[*European Union and Its Nearest Neighbourhood*]

ROLAND DANNREUTHER

16 **Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy**

This article provides an overview of the emergent ENP and assesses its significance and future prospects for success. The argument is that the ENP does represent a significant advance. This is, though, partly a reflection of the failure of earlier EU policies to promote transformation in the absence of some offer of future membership. Nevertheless, it is far from evident that the ENP, as currently constructed, will be able to act as an instrument of the EU's desired ambitions for promoting its "transformational diplomacy" and strengthening its claim as an international actor. The article sets out a number of the challenges that the ENP will face. Central to these challenges is, though, the need for a significant reconceptualization of its perceived interests and policies, most notably over immigration, energy and terrorism, which consistently obstruct the prospects for promoting a transformative agenda in the EU's neighbourhood. In addition, there are substantial external challenges.





ROBERTO ALIBONI

47 **The Geopolitical Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy**

What is new about the ENP from a geopolitical point of view is that the two distinctive regions encompassed by the initiative – the Eastern European and the Mediterranean areas – are brought into the same policy framework. These regions comprise very different political, cultural and socio-economic realities, not only on a country-by-country but also on a regional and sub-regional basis. This means that implications may be global, regional or even sub-regional. The paper discusses a set of geopolitical implications of the ENP, as for example more direct and intense EU involvement in regional and local crises. It also comments on the EPS impact on EU relations with the Arab world, the Russian Federation and on transatlantic relations.

TOMASZ GRZEGORZ GROSSE

74 **EU Geopolitics? A Case of an Eastern Dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy**

The article author analyzes the EPS eastern dimension so as to characterize the EU geopolitical approach. Is the EU creating a new international relations paradigm based on the dissemination of European values and standards of operation as well as network partner relations? Or perhaps the EU geopolitics towards its nearest neighbours is closer to the traditional realistic model founded on the asymmetry of power and interests between the EU (and its member states) and its neighbours? What is the practical meaning of the idea of Europe as a normative power which creates and popularizes values as a source of influence and power in international relations? Is the concept of a normative power a consequence of strength or weakness of the EU on the global stage?

MAREK A. CICHOCKI

103 **European Neighbourhood Policy or Neighbourhood Policies?**

This article focuses on security and foreign policy regionalization in the EU. The evolution of the Eastern Dimension of the ENP serves as perhaps the best illustration of this tendency. The article elaborates on the causes for the regionalization shift, including the changed attitude to enlargement, the growing role of geopolitical calculations in the East, "securitization" of relations with the eastern neighbours, and the new balance between member states and community institutions established by the new treaty. Is this shift to a regional definition of the eastern neighbourhood an inevitable process which will eventually result in the fragmentation of the eastern policy, or will the European Commission regain its initiative and give direction to the future of the ENP East?

ANDERS ÅSLUND

130 Ukraine and the European Union

Ukraine has gone through 18 turbulent years of independence, recording many achievements. The greatest triumph is the sovereignty and integrity of its state. Another feat is that Ukraine has become a democracy, and a third accomplishment is that the country has a market economy. Still many tasks remain incomplete. At present, three big clouds darken Ukraine's path forward: domestic political instability; a renewed, explicit Russian threat to Ukraine's sovereignty; and a severe financial crisis. The answer to these challenges lies in confidence, that Ukraine is a European nation and that it is going to join the European Union. As yet, however, the EU has not recognized Ukraine's long-expressed desire to become a member.

MICHAŁ ŁUSZCZUK

156 The Arctic in EU Dealings

The prospects emerging as a result of climate change for potential oil and natural gas exploitation as well as for wielding control over sea routes "opening up" through the Arctic Ocean are a reason why many international actors wish to intensify their presence in the High North. The EU does not want to be left out and is also attempting to increase its sway. What has its approach to the Arctic been like up until now? The author seeks to answer that question by means of analyzing EU undertakings in three dimensions: EU sectoral policies, its transnational activity, relations with Arctic states that are not members of the EU as well as EU involvement in international organizations dealing with the Arctic.





[*The History of Integration*]

JAKUB LUBELSKI

183 **The Baltic Union and The Third Europe. Central Europe Reorganization Concepts in the Foreign Policy of Poland's Second Republic**

Polish diplomacy in the interwar years strived to lend a lasting form to the politico-military cooperation in the Baltic Sea and Central and Eastern Europe subregion. The concepts of the Baltic Union and the Third Europe can be interpreted as attempts to create a counterbalance both to Moscow and to Berlin. Therein one could also discern political will to reconstruct the areas between Germany and Russia, a way to bring the Jagiellonian idea in Polish politics up to date. Although neither concept has been carried through, tracing their histories can inspire contemporary Poles to drive sovereign policy in their part of Europe.

[Reviews]

MARTA KOŁODZIEJCZYK

218 **The European Union at the United Nations –
Searching for a Common Position**

MAXIMILIAN B. RASCH, *The European Union at the United Nations. The Functioning and Coherence of EU External Representation in a State-centric Environment*, Leiden-Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2008.

JAKUB LUBELSKI

221 **Us and Her?**

ANDRZEJ WIERZBICKI, *Europa w polskiej myśli historycznej i politycznej XIX i XX wieku*, Warszawa: Centrum Europejskie Natolin, Wydawnictwo TRIO, 2009.

JERZY UKLAŃSKI

224 **Propaedeutics of Russian Policy**

EDWARD LUCAS, *Nowa Zimna Wojna. Jak Kreml zagraża Rosji i Zachodowi*, Poznań: Rebis, 2008.

228 [Contributors]

