

**Наталья Заславская**

**Общая внешняя политика и политика безопасности ЕС и отношения  
с Российской Федерацией в зарубежных исследованиях**

Несмотря на то, что Общая внешняя политика и политика безопасности (ОВППБ) была сформирована только в начале 90-х гг. и до сих пор остается не слишком активным направлением деятельности ЕС, не выдерживая конкуренцию с внешней политикой отдельных государств-членов, зарубежные исследователи довольно активно изучают данную политику Евросоюза, рассматривая в том числе и ее влияние на развитие отношений с третьими странами, в том числе с Российской Федерацией.

Обзор зарубежных исследований, посвященных проблемам сотрудничества между Россией и Европейским союзом в сфере безопасности базируется на публикациях в научных журналах (например, *European Security, Cooperation and Conflict, Journal of Contemporary European Studies, European Foreign Affairs Review, Europe-Asia Studies, The International Spectator*), публикациях исследовательских центров и институтов (например, Центра исследований европейской политики (CEPS) и Финского института международных отношений (FIIA)), материалов научных конференций и др.

Можно выделить несколько ключевых тем, которые рассматриваются в зарубежных исследованиях. Прежде всего, это публикации, посвященные развитию внешнеполитической деятельности Евросоюза, формированию ОВППБ, усилиям по гармонизации внешнеполитической деятельности различных государств-членов, которые затрагивают политику Евросоюза в отношении России. К таким публикациям можно отнести работы К. Арчер, К. Барыш, Р. Бенгтссона, С. Блокманса, М. Вебера, Д. Дж. Галбрита, Д. Гроса, С. Де Шпигелера, Л. Делкур, А. Ласас, Р. Линтонена, С. Медведева, Л.

Симао, А. Тойвонена, Э. Тулметс, А. Шмидт-Фелцман, Х. Хауккала и Р. Янгса<sup>1</sup>. Некоторые исследователи публикуют материалы, посвященные особенностям Европейского союза как международного актора, но при этом затрагиваются и сюжеты, связанные с влиянием Евросоюза на Россию. Среди таких авторов можно отметить М. Вебера, А. Макарычева, Н. Точки, Д. Хамильтона, Ф. Хесбура<sup>2</sup>.

Во многих зарубежных публикациях рассматривается развитие политического сотрудничества между Евросоюзом и Россией, подобная проблематика освещается в работах Н. Арбатовой, С. Блокманса, Т. Бордачева, М. Валя, Д. Гроса, С. Караганова, А. Макарычева, Ф. Тассинари, С. Фернандес, Х. Хауккала и М. Эмерсона<sup>3</sup>. Некоторые

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<sup>1</sup> Archer, C., The security governance of regional organizations (Global institutions)/European security: the role of regional organizations // *European Security*, 23(4), October 2014. P. 625-628; Barysch, K., EU-Russia Relations: The EU Perspective // D. Johnson and P. Robinson (eds), *Perspectives on EU-Russia Relations*. L.: Routledge, 2005. P. 21-34; Bengtsson, Rikard, Soft Security and the Presidency // *Cooperation and Conflict*, 37(2), June 2002. P. 212-218; Galbreath, David J., and Ainius Lašas, The 'Baltic' Factor in EU–Russian Relations: In Search of Coherence and Co-operation in an Era of Complexity // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 19 (2), June 2011. P. 261-272; Gros, D., Blockmans, S., Ukraine, Russia and the need for more flexibility in EU foreign policy-making // 25 July 2014, CEPS Policy Brief; De Spiegeleire, S., The Implementation of the EU's Common Strategy on Russia // Haukkala, H., and S. Medvedev, The EU Common Strategy on Russia: Learning the Grammar of the CFSP, Programme on the Northern Dimension of the CSFP, No 11. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2001. P. 81-116; Delcour, L., and E. Tulmets, Pioneer Europe? Testing EU foreign policy in the neighbourhood, Baden-Baden : Nomos, 2008; Haukkala, H., and S. Medvedev, The EU Common Strategy on Russia: Learning the Grammar of the CFSP, Programme on the Northern Dimension of the CSFP, No 11. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2001; Haukkala, H., and A. Toivonen, The EU Common Strategy on Russia: In Search of the Foundation of European Foreign Policy // *The Yearbook of Finnish Foreign Policy* 2002, Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2002. P. 54-65; Lintonen, Raimo, Understanding EU Crisis Decision-Making: the Case of Chechnya and the Finnish Presidency // *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 12(1), 2004. P. 29-38; Simão, Lúcia, Portuguese and Spanish Relations with Moscow: Contributions from the EU's Periphery to the CFSP // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 19 (2), June 2011. P. 213-223; Schmidt-Felzmann, A., European foreign policy towards Russia: Challenges, lessons and future avenues for research, *The SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*, 2015; Webber, M., Third-Party Inclusion in European Security and Defence Policy: A Case Study of Russia // *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 6(4), 2001. P.407-426; Youngs, R., The European security and defence policy: What impact on the EU's approach to security challenges? // *European Security*, 11(2), June 2002. P. 101-124.

<sup>2</sup> Heisbourg François, Tocci Nathalie, Hamilton Daniel, Makarychev Andrey S. and Lanxin Xiang, What prospects for normative foreign policy in a multipolar world? // ESF Working paper No 29, July, CEPS, IISS, DCAF & GCSP, 2008; Makarychev, Andrey S., In Quest of Political Subjectivity: Russia's 'Normative Offensive' and the Triple Politicisation of Norms // What prospects for normative foreign policy in a multipolar world? // ESF Working paper No 29, July, CEPS, IISS, DCAF & GCSP, 2008. P.14-19; Tocci, Nathalie (ed.), Who is a Normative Foreign Policy Actor? The European Union and its Global Partners. CEPS, 2008; Webber, Mark, A tale of a decade: European security governance and Russia // *European Security*, 9 (2), June 2000. P. 31-60.

<sup>3</sup> Arbatova, Nadezhda, The Russia-EU 2007 Quandary // Michael Emerson (ed), *The Elephant and the Bear Try Again: Options for a New Agreement between the EU and Russia*. CEPS: Brussels, 2006. P. 41-50; Bordachev, Timofei, Russia and the European Union after 2007// Michael Emerson (ed), *The Elephant and the Bear Try Again: Options for a New Agreement between the EU and Russia*. CEPS: Brussels, 2006. P. 51-60; Emerson, Michael, Tassinari, Fabrizio, and Marius Vahl, A New Agreement between the EU and Russia: Why, what and when? // Michael Emerson (ed), *The Elephant and the Bear Try Again: Options for a New Agreement between the EU and Russia*. CEPS: Brussels, 2006. P. 62-94; Gros Daniel, Blockmans Steven, Ukraine, Russia and the need for more flexibility in EU foreign policy-making // 25 July 2014, CEPS Policy Brief; Fernandes, Sandra, EU Policies towards Russia, 1999-2007: Realpolitik Intended // Nathalie Tocci (ed.), *Who is a Normative Foreign Policy Actor? The European Union and its Global Partners*. CEPS, 2008. P. 37-40; Haukkala, H., *The EU–Russia strategic partnership: the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations*. London & New York: Routledge, 2010; Karaganov, Sergey, Bordachev, Timofei, Guseinov, Vagif, Lukyanov, Fyodor, and Dmitry Suslov, *Russia - EU Relations: The Present Situation and Prospects* // CEPS Working Document No. 225/July 2005; Makarychev, Andrey S., *Neighbours, Exceptions and the Political: A Vocabulary of EU-Russian Inter-Subjective (Dis)Connections* // Michael Emerson

авторы рассматривают политическое сотрудничество в общем контексте отношений ЕС, Европы, Запада, с одной стороны, и РФ, с другой стороны, в частности Д. Аверре, К. Барыш, Ж. ДеБарделебен, Дж. Говер, Д. Детке, А. Джоунс, А. Казанцев, Т. Казиер, М. Лайт, Д. Линч, М.Массари, С. Медведев, К. Нитойю С. Прозоров, Р. Саква, Ф. Тассинари, Г. Тимминс, Г. Фэллон, Х. Хауккала, С. Де Шпигелер, Р. Эллисон, М. Эмерсон<sup>4</sup>.

Теоретические аспекты сотрудничества Евросоюза и России в сфере безопасности исследуются в публикациях П. Аалто, Р. Заотти, Т. Казьера, Я. Маннерса, В. Морозова, К. Нитойю, И. Нойманна, С. Прозорова, Н. Точки, Т. Форсберга, Х. Хауккала<sup>5</sup>. Основным

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<sup>4</sup> Allison, R., Light, M., and S. White, *Putin's Russia and the Enlarged Europe*. L., Royal Institute of International Affairs; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006. P. 160-180; Averde, D., *Russia and the European Union: convergence or divergence?* // *European security*, 14(2). 2005. P. 175–202; Barysh, K., *The EU and Russia: From principle to pragmatism?* // CER, Policy Brief, November, 2006; Casier, Tom, *The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument* // *Europe-Asia Studies*, 65 (7), September 2013. P. 1377-1395; DeBardeleben, J., *The end of the cold war, EU enlargement and the EU-Russian relationship*. Invited contribution to the crisis of EU enlargement, LSE ideas special report. London: London School of Economics. 2013; De Spiegeleire, S., *Recoupling Russia to Europe: Staying the Course* // *International Spectator*, 2003, 38 (3). P. 79-97; Dettke, Dieter, *Europe and Russia: from neighborhood without a shared vision to a modernization partnership* // *Journal: European Security*, 20(1). March 2011. P. 127-142; Dettke, D., *Russia and the EU: the difficult path to a new partnership* // *European affairs*, 9(3). 2008. P. 25–32; Emerson, Michael, *Russia in Europe and the West* // CEPS Commentary, 01 April 2010; Gower, Jackie, *European Union-Russia Relations at the End of the Putin Presidency* // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 16(2), August 2008. P. 161-167; Haukkala, Hiski, *Lost in Translation? Why the EU has Failed to Influence Russia's Development* // *Europe-Asia Studies* 61(10), 2009. P. 1757-1775; Jones, Alan, and Grahame Fallon, *The political economy of co-operation, trade and aid between the European Union and Russia* // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 11 (2), November 2003. P. 253-277; Kazantsev, Andrey; Sakwa, Richard. *New 'dividing lines' in Europe: A crisis of trust in European-Russian relations* // *Communist & Post-Communist Studies*. Sep-Dec 2012, Vol. 45 Issue 3-4, p289-293; Lynch, Dov, *Russia faces Europe* // *Chaillot Papers No. 60 Paris* : Institute for Security Studies, 2003; Lynch, Dov, *Russia's strategic partnership with Europe* // *The Washington Quarterly*, 27(2), March 2004. P. 99-118; Massari, Maurizio, *Russia and the EU Ten Years On: A Relationship in Search of Definition* // *The International Spectator*, 42 (1), March 2007. P. 1-15; Medvedev, Sergei , *EU-Russian Relations - Alternative futures FIIA Report 15*, 2006 ; Nitoiu, Cristian, *Reconceptualizing 'Cooperation' in EU-Russian Relations* // *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 12 (4). December 2011 P. 462-476; Prozorov, Sergei, *Understanding Conflict between Russia and the EU: The Limits of Integration*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006; Sakwa, Richard. *The cold peace: Russo-Western relations as a mimetic cold war* // *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. Mar 2013, Vol. 26 Issue 1, p203-224; Sakwa, Richard. *Russia and Europe: Whose Society?* // *Journal of European Integration*. Mar 2011, Vol. 33 Issue 2, p197-214; Tassinari, Fabrizio, *A riddle inside an enigma: Unwrapping the EU-Russian strategic partnership* // *The International Spectator*, 40(1), January 2005. P. 45-57; Timmins, G., *Strategic or pragmatic partnership? The European Union's policy towards Russia since the end of the Cold War* // *European Security*, 11(4). 2002. P. 78–95.

<sup>5</sup> Aalto, Pami, *Book Review Forum: Methodologies for the Study of EU—Russia Interaction: A Reply to Haukkala* // *Cooperation and Conflict*, March 2008; vol. 43, 1: pp. 129-131; Casier, Tom, *The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument* // *Europe-Asia Studies*, 65 (7), September 2013. P. 1377-1395; Forsberg, Tuomas, and Hiski Haukkala, *The End of an Era for Institutionalism in European Security?* // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 23(1). Special Issue: *Russia and the Major European Institutions*. 2015. P. 1-5; Haukkala, H., *Debating Recent Theories of the EU-Russian Interaction* // *Cooperation and Conflict*, 43 (1), 2008. P. 109-121; Morozov, Viatcheslav, *Russia in the Baltic Sea Region: Desecuritization or Deregionalization?* // *Cooperation and Conflict*, 39 (3), September 2004. P. 317-331; Morozov, V., *Russia and the West: Dividing Europe, Constructing Each Other*, paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, Chicago, February 28 – March 3, 2007; Neumann, Iver B., *Russia as Europe's other* // *Journal of Area Studies*, 6 (12), March 1998. P. 26-73; Nitoiu, Cristian, *Reconceptualizing 'Cooperation' in EU-Russian Relations* // *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 12 (4). December 2011 P. 462-476; Prozorov, Sergei, *Book Review Forum: The Discourse of Conflict and the Possibility of Dialogue: A Response to Haukkala* // *Cooperation and Conflict*, March 2008; vol. 43, 1: pp. 123-127; Tocci, Nathalie, and Ian Manners, *Comparating normativity in foreign policy: China, India, the EU, the US and*

направлениям сотрудничества в сфере безопасности между Евросоюзом и России посвящены публикации Д.Аверре, В. Барановского, М. Вебера, Дж. Воскопулоса, Л. Делкур, С. Диас Фернандес, Д. Линча, С. Марша, Э. Норина, Л. Симао, М.А. Смита, Г. Тимминса, Т. Форсберга, М.Р. Фрер, Р. Эллисона, М. Эмерсона<sup>6</sup>. Конкретные примеры сотрудничества в области безопасности рассматриваются в публикациях Д. Аверре, К. Браунинга, Т. Долидзе, Р. Линтонена, О. Реута, Ф. Тассинари<sup>7</sup>.

Следует также отметить, что вопросы политического сотрудничества и проблемы безопасности в отношениях ЕС и России затрагиваются в зарубежных публикациях, исследующих политику ЕС в отношении восточных соседей и отношения Евросоюза с различными пост-советскими государствами. Таких публикаций чрезвычайно много, но в качестве примеров можно вспомнить работы Д. Аверре, В. Амаро Диаса, К. Браунинга, Л.

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<sup>7</sup> Avere, D., and O. Reut, EU-Russia Security Relations and the Republic of Karelia // O. Antonenko and K. Pinnick (eds.), Russia and the European Union: Prospects for a New Relationship. L.: Routledge and International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2005. P. 155-172; Browning, C.S. The Internal/External Security Paradox and the Reconstruction of Boundaries in the Baltic: The Case of Kaliningrad', CIAO Working Papers, 2003; Dolidze Tatia, EU Sanctions Policy towards Russia: The Sanctioner-Sanctionee's Game of Thrones, 2015; Lintonen, Raimo, Understanding EU Crisis Decision-Making: the Case of Chechnya and the Finnish Presidency // Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management, 12(1), 2004. P. 29-38; Tassinari, Fabrizio, The European sea: Lessons from the Baltic Sea region for security and cooperation in the European neighborhood // Journal of Baltic Studies, 36 (4), December 2005. P. 387-407.

Делкур, И. Иоаннидес, П. Йоэнниemi, Д. Линча, Ч. Пентленда, Ф. Тассинари, С. Тулметс, П. Фленли, Х. Хауккала, К. Хранта, М. Эмерсона<sup>8</sup>.

Особо следует выделить авторов, которые в своих публикациях делают акцент на проблемах безопасности, вызванных противоречиями между Евросоюзом и Россией в частности, Дж. Говера, Л. Делкур, Д. Линча, Л. Марша, В. Морозова, С. Прозорова, Ф. Тассинари, Ф. Умбача, Х. Хауккала, Р. Эллисона<sup>9</sup>.

Безусловно, вопросы взаимодействия России и Евросоюза в области безопасности представляются актуальным и важным направлением зарубежных научных исследований. Список публикаций, проанализированных в данном обзоре, не является исчерпывающим, но он позволяет сделать выводы о ключевых проблемах, затрагиваемых в зарубежных научных публикациях.

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<sup>9</sup> Allison, R., *Russia, the west, and military intervention*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013; Delcour, Laure, *The European Union, a security provider in the eastern neighbourhood?* // *European Security*, 19(4), 2010. P. 535-549; Gower, Jackie, *European Union-Russia Relations at the End of the Putin Presidency* // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 16(2), August 2008. P. 161-167; Haukkala, Hiski, *From Cooperative to Contested Europe? The Conflict in Ukraine as a Culmination of a Long-Term Crisis in EU-Russia Relations* // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 23 (1), Special Issue: *Russia and the Major European Institutions*. 2015. P. 25-40; Lintonen, Raimo, *Understanding EU Crisis Decision-Making: the Case of Chechnya and the Finnish Presidency* // *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, 12(1), 2004. P. 29-38; Lynch, Dov, *The security dimension of the European neighbourhood policy* // *The International Spectator*, 40 (1), January 2005. P. 33-43; March, L., *Security strategy and the "Russia problem"* // Dannreuther, R. and Peterson, J. (eds.), *Security strategy and transatlantic relations*, New York, Routledge, 2006. P. 98-103; Morozov, V., *Russia and the West: Dividing Europe, Constructing Each Other*, paper presented at the ISA Annual Convention, Chicago, February 28 - March 3, 2007; Tassinari, Fabrizio, *Why Europe fears its neighbors*, Praeger Security International Series, 2009; Umbach, Frank, *Russia as a 'virtual great power': Implications for its declining role in European and Eurasian security* // *European Security*, 9 (3), Sept. 2000. P. 87-122.