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Проблема преобразований в ЕС как фактор его отношений с Россией в зарубежных исследованиях

Проблемам внутренней эволюции Европейского союза (развитие концептуальных моделей интеграции, институтов ЕС, европейского права, систем принятия решений, отдельных политик) посвящено значительное количество исследований академического и экспертного характера, однако, в большинстве таких работ рассматриваются внутренние аспекты функционирования Евросоюза. Меньшее количество исследований посвящено взаимосвязи внутренней эволюции ЕС и его внешнеполитической деятельности, и очень небольшое количество работ фокусируется на изучении комплексных взаимосвязей внутренних изменений в Евросоюзе и его отношений с отдельными странами, включая Россию. В то же время существует большое количество работ посвященных эволюции акторности Европейского союза на международной арене и его внешнеполитических инструментов, а также развитию внешней политики Евросоюза.¹

Среди исследований, в которых затрагивается взаимосвязь между эволюцией Европейского союза и развитием отношений между ним и Россией можно выделить ряд

¹ Henökl, T. Conceptualizing the European Diplomatic Space: A Framework for Analysis of the European External Action Service // Journal of European Integration, 2014, Volume 36, Issue 5. P. 453-471; Larsen, H. The EU as a Normative Power and the Research on External Perceptions: The Missing Link // Journal of Common Market Studies. Jul2014, Vol. 52 Issue 4, P. 896-910; Niemann, A., Bretherton, C. EU external policy at the crossroads: The challenge of actorhood and effectiveness // International Relations, September 2013. P. 261-275; Bressand A. Between Kant and Machiavelli: EU foreign policy priorities in the 2010s. // International Affairs. Jan2011, Vol. 87, Issue 1, P. 59-85; Smith, Karen E. Can the European Union be a Pole in a Multipolar World? // The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs, 2013, Volume 48, Issue 2; Zwolski, Kamil. The EU as an international security actor after Lisbon: Finally a green light for a holistic approach? // Cooperation and Conflict, March 2012; vol. 47, 1: pp. 68-87.

работ посвященных анализу взаимодействий Евросоюза и России в отдельных секторах (отношения в торгово-экономической сфере, и особенно в области энергетики²; «общее пространство» свободы, безопасности и правосудия, в особенности, вопросы миграции;³ проблемы политических институтов и человеческого измерения⁴) или в смежных регионах (прежде всего Балтийский регион и регион «общего соседства»⁵). Также некоторые работы рассматривают формирование отношения к «российской повестке» отдельными институтами Европейского союза.⁶ В значительной части этих исследований

² Forsberg T., Seppo A. Power without Influence? The EU and Trade Disputes with Russia // *Europe-Asia Studies*. Dec2009, Vol. 61, Issue 10, P.1805-1823; Kononenko, Vadim. The EU and Russia cease to be a priority for each other: The squabble over WTO membership reveals the defunct state of the strategic partners. FIIA Comment, Published 19.12.2012; Aalto P. From Separate Policies to Dialogue? Natural Gas, Oil and Electricity on the Future Agenda of EU-Russia Energy Relations. Tartu, Centre for EU-Russia Studies. EU-Russia Papers, No. 3 (March 2012); Hazakis K. EU-Russia Energy Diplomacy: The Need for an Active Strategic Partnership. College of Europe Diplomacy Papers 2012 / 4. (July, 2012); Kazantsev, Andrey Policy networks in European–Russian gas relations: Function and dysfunction from a perspective of EU energy security // *Communist and Post-Communist studies*, 2012, No 3-4, Pages 305-313; Ziegler, Charles E. Energy Pipeline Networks and Trust: The European Union and Russia in Comparative Perspective // *International Relations*, March 2013, 27: 3-2; Bozhilova D., Hashimoto T. EU-Russia energy negotiations: a choice between rational self-interest and collective action // *European Security*. 2010, Vol. 19, Issue 4, P.627-642; Casier T. The Rise of Energy to the Top of the EU-Russia Agenda: From Interdependence to Dependence? // *Geopolitics*. 2011, Vol. 16, Issue 3, P.536-552; Kaveshnikov N. The issue of energy security in relations between Russia and the European Union // *European Security*. 2010, Vol. 19, Issue 4, P.585-605; Khrushcheva O. The Creation of an Energy Security Society as a Way to Decrease Securitization Levels between the European Union and Russia in Energy Trade // *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 2011, No 2; Leal-Arcas R. The EU and Russia as Energy Trading Partners: Friends or Foes? // *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2009, No. 3; Van Der Meulen E. F. Gas Supply and EU-Russia Relations // *Europe-Asia Studies*. Jul2009, Vol. 61, Issue 5, P.833-856; Romanova T. Russian energy in the EU market: Bolstered institutions and their effects // *Energy Policy*, Volume 74, November 2014, Pages 44–53.

³ Bisson, Liubov. Cooperation Between Russia and the EU in the Sphere of Migration. // *Russian Politics & Law*. Nov/Dec2014, Vol. 52 Issue 6, p76-93; Hernandez i Sagrera, R. The EU-Russia readmission-visa facilitation nexus: an exportable migration model for Eastern Europe? // *European Security*. 2010, Vol. 19, Issue 4, P.569-584; Korneev, Oleg. Deeper and Wider than a Common Space: European Union–Russia cooperation on migration management // *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2012, 17, 4, 605-624; Potemkina, O. EU-Russia cooperation on the common space of freedom, security and justice - a challenge or an opportunity? // *European Security*. 2010, Vol. 19, Issue 4, P.551-568.

⁴ Daskalova, A. To Be or Not to Be a Normative Power: The EU's Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy in Russia. College of Europe, Bruges Regional Integration & Global Governance Papers 2/2013 (September 2013).

⁵ Gänzle S., Müntel G. Europeanization 'Beyond' Europe? EU Impact on Domestic Policies in the Russian Enclave of Kaliningrad // *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 2011, No. 1; 3. Avere D. EU-Russia Relations and the Shared Neighbourhood: An Overview. A study requested by the European Parliament. 18 March. 2011. Khudoley K. Russia, the EU and the Northern Dimension // *The Flexible Frontier: Change and Continuity in Finnish–Russian Relations* / ed. by Lähteenmäki, M. Aleksanteri Series 5/2007; Sergounin A. Russia and the challenges of regional cooperation in Northern Europe / *Remaking Europe in the margins: Northern Europe after the enlargements* / ed. by C. Browning. – London : Ashgate, 2005. - P. 105-121; Aalto P., Blakkisrud H., Smith H. (eds) *The New Northern Dimension of the European Neighbourhood*. CEPS 2008; Galbreath D. J., Lasas A. The 'Baltic' Factor in EU-Russia Relations: In Search of Coherence and Co-operation in an Era of Complexity // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Jun2011, Vol. 19, Issue 2, P.261-272; 1. Khudoley K., Izotov A. Russia and the European Union: Partnership and Conflict Undefined // *Made V. and Sekarev A. (eds.) The European Neighbourhood After August 2008*. NL: Republic of Letters Publishing. 2011. P.199-232.

⁶ Raik, K., Maurer, H. Pioneers of a European Diplomatic System: EU Delegations in Moscow and Washington. FIIA Analysis, May 2014; Braghiroli, Stefano Voting on Russia in the European Parliament: The Role of National and Party Group Affiliations // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 2015, No 1, p.58-81.

рассматривается вопрос о распространении на Россию норм, правил и стандартов ЕС в процессе сотрудничества с ней. Также в этом контексте следует обратить внимание на ряд работ, исследующих ключевые аспекты (двусторонние документы, инициативы) и тенденции отношений Евросоюза и России.⁷

Влиянию отдельных стран-участниц Евросоюза на формирование отношений между ЕС и Россией⁸ посвящено большее количество исследований по сравнению с количеством работ, в которых анализируется влияние институтов Европейского союза на формирование и реализацию его политики по отношению к России. В этом контексте значительное количество исследований фокусируется на изучении двусторонних отношений между Россией и ведущими странами-участницами ЕС (прежде всего, Германия,⁹ а также Великобритания¹⁰) и их влияния как на отношения между Россией и

⁷ Emerson M. EU-Russia Four Common Spaces and the Proliferation of the Fuzzy. Brussels, 2005. CEPS Policy Brief. No. 71; 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*, 2015, No 1, pp.25-40; Klinke I. Postmodern Geopolitics? The European Union Eyes Russia // *Europe-Asia Studies*. Jul2012, Vol. 64, Issue 5, P. 929-947; Nitoiu, C. EU-Russia relations: Between conflict and cooperation // *International Politics*, Mar 2014, P.234-253; Casier, T. The EU-Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument // *Europe-Asia Studies*. Sep2013, Vol. 65 Issue 7, p1377-1395; Debardeleben J. Applying constructivism to understanding EU-Russian relations // *International Politics*, Special Issue: Russia in the New International Order: 49. 4 (Jul 2012); Emerson M., Tassinari, F., Vahl, M. A New Agreement between the EU and Russia: Why, what and when. Brussels: CEPS, 33 of May, 2006; 13. Haukkala H. Lost in Translation? Why the EU has Failed to Influence Russia's Development // *Europe-Asia Studies*. Dec2009, Vol. 61, Issue 10, P.1757-1775; Haukkala H. The Relevance of Norms and Values in the EU'S Russia Policy. UPI Working Papers 52 (2005); 18. Kazantsev, Andrey; Sakwa, Richard New 'dividing lines' in Europe: A crisis of trust in European–Russian relations // *Communist and Post-Communist studies*, 2012, No 3-4, Pages 289-293; Nitoiu C. Reconceptualizing 'Cooperation' in EU-Russia Relations. // *Perspectives on European Politics & Society*. Dec2011, Vol. 12, Issue 4, P.462-476; 22; Romanova T., Pavlova E. What Modernisation? The Case of Russian Partnerships for Modernisation with the European Union and Its Member States // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 2014, No.4, p.499-517; The Elephant and the Bear Try Again: Options for a New Agreement between EU and Russia. CEPS 2006; Vahl A. Privileged Partnership? EU – Russian Relations in Comparative Perspective. DIIS Working Paper. N 2006/3. <http://www.fiaa.org/Commentary/Commentary-19-12-2012>; Gerrits A. (ed) The EU and Russia Perceptions and Interest in Shaping Relations. Clingendael, November 2008; Hogenauer A-L., Friedel M., The EU and Russia: Strategic or Short-sighted Partnership // Mahncke, D., Gstohl, S. (eds.) *Europe's Near Abroad*. Brussels, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008, College of Europe Studies, Vol. 4, P. 257-279; Medvedev S. EU – Russia Relations. Alternative Futures. FIIA Report 2006; Morgado Dos Santos A-M. How to Rebalance the EU-Russia Relationship: Potential and Limits // *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 2010, No. 3; Fernandes S. European Security through EU-Russian Relations: Towards A New Multilateral Order // *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 2011, No 2; Romanova T. The Level-of-Analysis Problem in the Past, Present and Future of EU-Russian Relations // Tartu, Centre for EU-Russian Studies. EU-Russian Papers No. 2 (Nov. 2011); Van Elsuwege P. Towards a Modernisation of EU-Russian Legal Relations? Tartu, Centre for EU-Russian Studies, EU-Russian Papers No. 5 (June 2012).

⁸ Roth M. Bilateral Disputes between EU Member-states and Russia. CEPS. 20 of August, 2009; EU-Russian Watch 2012 by Lobjakas A., Molder M. (eds.) Centre for EU-Russian Studies, University of Tartu, 2012.

⁹ Chivvis C. S., Rid, T. The Roots of Germany's Russia Policy // *Survival*, Apr-May2009, Vol. 51, Issue 2, P.105-122; Jensen, Victor Waldemar. Germany in the New Europe. German–Russian Relations in European and Transatlantic Perspective. NUPI Report, 2013; Timmins G. German-Russian Bilateral Relations and EU Policy on Russia: Between Normalisation and the 'Multilateral Reflex' // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Jun2011, Vol. 19, Issue 2, P.189-199; Kleuters J. Between Continuity and Change: Ostpolitik and the Constructivist Approach Revisited // *German Politics*. Dec2009, Vol. 18, Issue 4, P.519-535; Meister S. An alienated partnership: German-Russian relations after Putin's return. FIIA Briefing Paper, May 2012; Meister, S. Reframing Germany's Russia policy - an opportunity for the EU. European Council on Foreign Relations. Policy Briefs, 24 Apr. 2014; Spanger H.-J. German-Russian relations. A Pan-European mission as national interest // *Studia*

Европейским союзом, в целом, так и на формирование институтами Евросоюза политики по отношению к России.

Также можно выделить ряд работ посвященных отношениям между Россией и странами Центральной и Восточной Европы (прежде всего, страны «Вишеградской группы» и, в особенности, Польша).¹¹ В некоторых из этих исследований ставится вопрос о необходимости большей согласованности и интегрированности политик стран Центральной и Восточной Европы по отношению к России в контексте их членства в Евросоюзе и евроатлантических институтах.

Некоторые исследования посвящены отношениям между Россией и странами балтийского и северо-европейского регионов¹² (в особенности, страны Балтии)¹³ и их влиянию на отношения между Европейским союзом и Россией, в целом.

Diplomatica, 2012, No 1; Szabo S. F. Can Berlin and Washington Agree on Russia? // Washington Quarterly. Autumn2009, Vol. 32, Issue 4, P.23-41; Salminen M.-M. German-Russian Relations: Will there be Changes after German Elections. UPI Briefing Paper No 40. 23 September 2009; Verhoef E. C., Niemann A. National Preferences and the European Union Presidency: The Case of German Energy Policy towards Russia // Journal of Common Market Studies. Nov2011, Vol. 49, Issue 6, P.1271-1293.

¹⁰ David M. A Less than Special Relationship: The UK's Russia Experience // Journal of Contemporary European Studies. Jun2011, Vol. 19, Issue 2, P.201-212; Wood A. Britain and Russia. Chatham House Programme Paper, July 2011.

¹¹ Rácz, R. Divided Stands the Visegrad? The V4 have been united towards the Ukraine crisis but remain split concerning Russia. FIIA Briefing Paper, June 2014; Bouzarovski S., Konieczny M. Landscapes of Paradox: Public Discourses and Policies in Poland's Relationship With the Nord Stream Pipeline // Geopolitics. 2010, Vol. 15, Issue 1, P.1-21; Braun, Aurel. Resetting Russian–Eastern European relations for the 21st century // Communist and Post-Communist studies, 2012, No 3-4, Pages 389-400; Copey N., Pomorska K. Poland's power and influence in the European Union: The case of its eastern policy // Comparative European Politics (Sep 2010); Kałan, Dariusz East of Centre: Can the Visegrad Group Speak with One Voice on Eastern Policy? PISM Policy Paper no. 5 (53), February, 2013; Levintova E. Good Neighbours?: Dominant Narratives about the 'Other' in Contemporary Polish and Russian Newspapers // Europe-Asia Studies. Oct2010, Vol. 62, Issue 8, P.1339-1361; Rácz, András. The Greatest Common Divisor: Russia's Role in Visegrad Foreign Policies // The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs, 4/2012; Taras, Raymond. Russia Resurgent, Russophobia in Decline? Polish Perceptions of Relations with the Russian Federation 2004–2012 // Europe-Asia Studies. Jul2014, Vol. 66 Issue 5, p710-734; Zieliński, Miłosz J. Cross-border Cooperation between Poland and Kaliningrad Oblast in the Context of Polish-Russian Relations in 2004–2011 // Lithuanian foreign Policy review, 2012, No. 28; Roth M. Poland as a Policy Entrepreneur in European External Energy Policy: Towards Greater Energy Solidarity vis-a-vis Russia? // Geopolitics. 2011, Vol. 16, Issue 3, P.600-625.

¹² Etzold T., Haukkala H. Is There a Nordic Russia Policy? Swedish, Finnish and Danish Relations with Russia in the Context of the European Union // Journal of Contemporary European Studies. Jun2011, Vol. 19, Issue 2, P.249-260; Lödén H. Reaching a vanishing point? Reflections on the future of neutrality norms in Sweden and Finland // Cooperation and Conflict, June 2012; Möller U., Bjereld U. From Nordic neutrals to post-neutral Europeans: Differences in Finnish and Swedish policy transformation // Cooperation and Conflict, December 2010; Kangas A. Beyond Russophobia: A practice-based interpretation of Finnish–Russian/Soviet relations // Cooperation and Conflict, March 2011; Aalto P., Blakkisrud H., Gebhard, C. Soft Competition: Finland, Sweden and the Northern Dimension of the European Union // Scandinavian Political Studies. Dec2013, Vol. 36 Issue 4, p365-390.

¹³ Galbreath D. J., Lasas A. The 'Baltic' Factor in EU-Russian Relations: In Search of Coherence and Co-operation in an Era of Complexity // Journal of Contemporary European Studies. Jun2011, Vol. 19, Issue 2, P.261-272; Nielsen K. L. Opportunities and Limitations for the Baltic States of the EU-Russia Strategic Partnership // Baltic Security & Defence Review. 2007, Vol. 9, P.109-130; Berg E., Ehin P. (eds). Identity and Foreign Policy: Baltic–Russian Relations and European Integration. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009; Bukovskis K. Will Vladimir Putin's Return

Также можно выделить работы посвященные проблематике двусторонних отношений России и средиземноморских стран¹⁴ и их влиянию на динамику развития отношений между Россией и Евросоюзом, в целом.

Помимо этого, большое количество исследований посвящено анализу внешних политик отдельных стран-участниц Европейского союза в контексте их членства в европейских и евроатлантических институтах.¹⁵

De-pragmatize Latvian - Russian Relations? - Riga: Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012; Haukkala H. A Close Encounter of The Worst Kind? The Logic of Situated Actors and the Statue Crisis Between Estonia and Russia // *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 2009, No. 2; Roll G. Civil Society Cooperation in the Face of Territorial Adversity: The Estonian-Russian Case // *Journal of European Integration*. Sep2010, Vol. 32, Issue 5, P.475-490.

14 Christou G. Bilateral Relations with Russia and the Impact on EU Policy: The Cases of Cyprus and Greece // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Jun2011, Vol. 19, Issue 2, P.225-236; Simao L. Portuguese and Spanish Relations with Moscow: Contributions from the EU's Periphery to the CFSP // *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Jun2011, Vol. 19, Issue 2, P.213-223; Grigoriadis, Theocharis; Iordanidis, Vlantis. Greek-Russian Relations: Foreign Policy and Diplomacy. LIAMEP Working Paper 54/2014; Lutterbeck D., Engelbertch G. The West and Russia in the Mediterranean: Towards a Renewed Rivalry? // *Mediterranean Politics*. Nov2009, Vol. 14, Issue 3, P.385-406.

¹⁵ Cladi L., Webber M. Italian foreign policy in the post-cold war period: a neoclassical realist approach // *European Security*. 2011, Vol. 20, Issue 2, P.205-219; Beech M. British Conservatism and Foreign Policy: Traditions and Ideas Shaping Cameron's Global View // *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. Aug2011, Vol. 13, Issue 3, P.348-363; Harnisch S. 'The Politics of Domestication': A New Paradigm in German Foreign Policy // *German Politics*. Dec2009, Vol. 18, Issue 4, P.455-468; Malici A. Germans as Venetians: The Culture of German Foreign Policy Behavior // *Foreign Policy Analysis*, January 2006, Vol. 2, Issue 1; McCourt, D. Has Britain Found its Role? // *Survival*, Apr/May2014, Vol. 56 Issue 2, p159-178; McCourt D. Rethinking Britain's Role in the World for a New Decade: The Limits of Discursive Therapy and the Promise of Field Theory // *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. May2011, Vol. 13, Issue 2, P.145-164; Micu M. Romanian Foreign Policy in the Context of Transatlantic Divergences // *Romanian Journal of Political Science*. Winter2007, Vol. 7, Issue 2, P.103-130; Morris J. How Great is Britain? Power, Responsibility and Britain's Future Global Role // *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. Aug2011, Vol. 13, Issue 3, P.326-347; Oppermann, Kai. National Role Conceptions, Domestic Constraints and the New 'Normalcy' in German Foreign Policy: the Eurozone Crisis, Libya and Beyond // *German Politics*. Dec2012, Vol. 21 Issue 4, p502-519; Paterson W. E. Foreign Policy in the Grand Coalition // *German Politics*. Sep-Dec2010, Vol. 19, Issue 3/4, P.497-514; Pedersen, Rasmus Brun. Danish foreign policy activism: Differences in kind or degree? // *Cooperation and Conflict* September 2012 (No.3) Pp. 331-349; Reeves C. Reopening the Wounds of History? The Foreign Policy of the 'Fourth' Polish Republic // *Journal of Communist Studies & Transition Politics*. Dec2010, Vol. 26, Issue 4, P.518-541; Reifler J., Scotto T. J., Clarke H. D. Foreign Policy Beliefs in Contemporary Britain: Structure and Relevance // *International Studies Quarterly*. Mar2011, Vol. 55, Issue 1, P.245-266; Schild J. Mission Impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU // *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Nov2010, Vol. 48, Issue 5, P.1367-1390; Tertrais, B. Leading on the Cheap? French Security Policy in Austerity // *Washington Quarterly*. Summer2013, Vol. 36 Issue 3, p47-61; Tunsjø Ø. Geopolitical shifts, great power relations and Norway's foreign policy // *Cooperation and Conflict*, March 2011; Weiss M. Powers and signals: Explaining the German approach to European security // *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 2009, № 3; Yoder J. An Intersectional Approach to Angela Merkel's Foreign Policy // *German Politics*. Sep2011, Vol. 20, Issue 3, P.360-375; Powell C. A Second Transition, or More of the Same? Spanish Foreign Policy under Zapatero // *South European Society and Politics*, 2009, №4; Klinke I. Geopolitics in Germany - the Return of the Living Dead? // *Geopolitics*. 2011, Vol. 16, Issue 3, P.707-726; Larsen H. Danish Foreign Policy and the Balance between the EU and the US: The Choice between Brussels and Washington after 2001 // *Cooperation and Conflict*, June 2009; Strachan H. The Strategic Gap in British Defence Policy // *Survival*, Aug/Sep2009, Vol. 51, Issue 4, P.49-70.

В заключение следует отметить, что упомянутые в обзоре работы, безусловно, не исчерпывают исследовательскую повестку по тематике отношений между Россией и Европейским союзом в контексте его внутренней эволюции, однако, они дают представление об основных направлениях и характере зарубежных исследований в этой области.
