

Freie Universität Berlin
Department of Economics Institute
for East European Studies Melike
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Winter Semester 2023/ 24

Caucasus, Turkey & the EU

Seminar

Wednesdays, 08-10, Garystr. 55/105 Seminarraum, First date: 18.10.2023.

Office Hours Upon
request.

Modules

Master of Science in Economics & Master of Science in Public Economics: *Topics in Economic Policy Analysis*

Master of Arts in East European Studies: *Interdisziplinäre Vertiefung*

This course, which is offered under the auspices of the Jean Monnet Chair in External Economic Relations of the European Union (EUGLOBALECON), offers a comprehensive exploration of the economic policies, interactions, and relationships between the diverse regions of the Caucasus, Turkey, and the European Union (EU). The course provides students with a deeper understanding of the political and economic dynamics, challenges, and opportunities within these regions, focusing on the interplay between state institutions, economic policies, and societal factors. Students will delve into the economic landscape of the Caucasus, Turkey, and the EU, examining the factors that shape economic policies, trade relations, investment flows, and regional cooperation initiatives. The course provides a study of regional integration efforts within the Caucasus, Turkey, and the EU, including the EU's enlargement process, the European Neighbourhood Policy, and the Eurasian Economic Union. Students will analyse the economic and political implications of regional integration and the challenges associated with harmonising diverse national interests. Moreover, there will be discussions regarding the role of energy security, pipeline policies, and the geopolitical implications of energy dynamics in shaping economic relations. Lastly, an evaluation of the impact of conflicts, political instability, and security challenges on economic development and regional cooperation in the Caucasus, Turkey, and the EU will be held. Students will analyse the role of EU in peace-building efforts and

economic incentives in conflict resolution. This course will discuss a set of academic articles on the before-mentioned topics in-depth. Students are expected to read the articles for the seminar before class. The grade of the course will be determined by a seminar paper in the end of the semester.

Regular participation 75

percent attendance.

Active participation

Individual Presentation (20 minutes per Presentation).

Grade

Seminar Paper.

Note

Depending on the number of students, there may be minor changes in the structure of the course.

Course Content

European Union and Turkey

1. Historical development of EU-Turkey Relations
2. Theoretical Approaches to EU-Turkey Relations
3. Convergences and divergences between the EU and Turkey
4. 'Conflictual Cooperation' between EU and Turkey.
5. EU-Turkey Economic Relations I
6. EU-Turkey Economic Relations II
7. Cooperation in foreign and security policy

EU's approach, and growing strategic interest in Caucasus

8. EU engagement and policies in the Caucasus I
9. EU engagement and policies in the Caucasus II
10. The Caucasus After the Soviet Union
11. Transition Economy
12. Transition economies in Caucasus
13. Natural resources and democracy in Transition Economics

EU Energy Policy through South Caucasus

14. Russia, EU and the South Caucasus
15. Pipeline Politics and the case of the South Caucasus
16. Regional Policies and Territorial Constraints
17. Democracy and Resilience in the Eastern European Neighbourhood

European Union and Turkey

1. Historical development of EU-Turkey Relations

Hauge, H-L., Eralp, A., Wessels, W. & Bedir, N. S. (2016). Mapping Milestones and Periods of Past Turkey-EU Relations. FEUTURE Working Paper, September 2016.

Belker, A., Hefeker, C., Quaisser, W., Wood, S., & Togan, S. (2004). Turkey and the EU: Issues and Challenges. *Intereconomics*, 39(6).

Ferguson, Y. (2013). Turkey and the EU: A Changed Context. *European Review*, 21(3), 362-371.

Güney, A. (2005). The future of Turkey in the European Union. *Futures*, 37(4), 303–316.

Optional Reading:

T. L. Friedman (2012) Two worlds cracking up. New York Times, 12 June 2012.
www.nytimes.com/2012/06/13/opinion/friedman-two-worlds-cracking-up.html. Accessed 12 June 2012.

Narbone, L., & Tocci, N. (2007). Running around in circles? The cyclical relationship between Turkey and the European Union. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 9(3), 233–245.

Meltem Müftüleri-Bac (1998) The never-ending story: Turkey and the European Union, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34:4, 240-258, DOI: 10.1080/00263209808701250

2. Theoretical Approaches to EU -Turkey Relations

Torun, Z. (2021). From Convergence to Divergence: The Compatibility of Turkish and EU Foreign Policy. In: Reiners, W., Turhan, E. (eds) *EU-Turkey Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Aydın-Düzgit, S., & Kaliber, A. (2016). Encounters with Europe in an Era of Domestic and International Turmoil: Is Turkey a De-Europeanising Candidate Country? *South European Society and Politics*, 21(1), 1–14.

Optional Reading:

Yılmaz, G. (2015). From Europeanization to De-Europeanization: The Europeanization process of Turkey in 1999–2014. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 24(1), 86–100.

Müftüler-Baç, M. (2016b). The European Union and Turkey: Transforming the European Periphery into European Borderlands. *Social Science Research Network*.

3. Convergences and divergences between the EU and Turkey

Derviş, K., Emerson, M., Gros, D., & Ülgen, S. (2004). The European Transformation of Modern Turkey. *Centre for European Policy Studies*.

Scazzieri, L. (n.d.). From Partners To Rivals? The Future of EU-Turkey Relations. In *Centre for European Reform*. Centre For European Reform.

Esfahani, H. S., & Çeviker-Gürakar, E. (2013). Fading attraction: Turkey's shifting relationship with the European Union. *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*.

Optional Reading:

Yonca Özer (2020) External differentiated integration between Turkey and the European Union: the customs union and its revision, *Turkish Studies*, 21:3, 436-461.

4. 'Conflictual Cooperation' between EU and Turkey.

Colantoni, L. (2021). So Near and Yet So Far: Conflictual Cooperation for EU-Turkey Energy Relations. In *Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG eBooks* (pp. 145–166).

Saatçioğlu, B., Tekin, F., Ekim, S., & Tocci, N. (2019). The future of EU-Turkey relations: a dynamic association framework amidst conflictual cooperation.

Adar, S., & Toygür, İ. (2020). Turkey, the EU and the Eastern mediterranean crisis: militarisation of foreign policy and power rivalry. *Stiftung Wissenschaft Und Politik*, 4.

Optional Reading:

Lippert, B. (2021). Turkey as a Special and (Almost) Dead Case of EU Enlargement Policy. In: Reiners, W., Turhan, E. (eds) EU-Turkey Relations. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

5. The EU-Turkey economic relations I

Mirkina, I. (2019). Economic Challenges in Trans-Europe. In: Giusti, S., Mirkina, I. (eds) The EU in a Trans-European Space. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Gstöhl, S. (2016). The European neighbourhood policy in a comparative perspective.

Miller, J. E. (2013). Armağan Emre Çakır, ed., Fifty Years of EU–Turkey Relations: A Sisyphean Story. *European History Quarterly*, 43(1), 125–126.

6. The EU-Turkey economic relations II

Akman, M.S., Çekin, S.E. (2021). The EU as an Anchor for Turkey’s Macroeconomic and Trade Policy. In: Reiners, W., Turhan, E. (eds) EU-Turkey Relations. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Acemoğlu, D., & Üçer, M. (2015, October). *The ups and downs of Turkish growth, 2002–2015: Political dynamics, the European Union and the institutional slide* (NBER Working Paper No. 21608).

Ülgen, S. (2017). *Trade as Turkey’s EU anchor*. Carnegie Europe, 13 December. <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2017/12/13/trade-as-turkey-s-eu-anchor-pub-75002>.

Erdil, E. Economic Flows between the EU and Turkey: A Dynamic Perspective on Conflictual Cooperation.

7. Cooperation in foreign and security policy

Derviş, K., Emerson, M., Gros, D., & Ülgen, S. (2004). The European Transformation of Modern Turkey. *Centre for European Policy Studies*.

Müftüler-Baç, M. (2016). Turkey and the European Foreign policy. In *Divergent Pathways: Turkey and the European Union: Re-Thinking the Dynamics of Turkish-European Union Relations* (1st ed., pp. 129–142). Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Sartori, N. (2021). EU–Turkey Energy Dialogue: Moving Beyond the Accession Negotiations Framework. In: Reiners, W., Turhan, E. (eds) EU-Turkey Relations. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Turhan, E., Wessels, W. (2021). The European Council as a Key Driver of EU–Turkey Relations: Central Functions, Internal Dynamics, and Evolving Preferences. In: Reiners, W., Turhan, E. (eds) EU-Turkey Relations. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Baracani, E., Çalımlı, M. (2019). Shifting Dynamics in Turkish Foreign Policy in the Trans-European Space. In: Giusti, S., Mirkina, I. (eds) The EU in a Trans-European Space. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

EU’s approach, and growing strategic interest in Caucasus

8. EU engagement and EU policies in the Caucasus I

Simão, L. (2018). The EU’s Neighbourhood Policy towards the South Caucasus. In *Springer eBooks*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65792-9>

Laruelle, M. (2016). The European Union in a reconnecting Eurasia: Foreign Economic and Security Interests : a Report of the CSIS Russia and Eurasia Program.

Delcour, L. & Hoffmann, K. (2018). The EU’s Policy in the South Caucasus. *L’Europe en Formation*, 385, 7-25. <https://doi.org/10.3917/eufor.385.0007>

Optional Reading:

Agadjanian, A., Jödicke, A., & van der Zweerde, E. (Eds.). (2014). Religion, Nation and Democracy in the South Caucasus (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315776804>

9. EU engagement and EU policies in the Caucasus II

Delcour, L. (2011). Shaping the Post-Soviet Space?: EU Policies and Approaches to Region-Building (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315608846>

Lussac, S. (2010). Ensuring European energy security in Russian ‘Near Abroad’: the case of the South Caucasus. *European Security*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2010.526939>

Lebanidze, B. (2020). Resilience and democracy: Can a pragmatic EU still promote democracy in Georgia?. *Georgian Institute of Politics*, 21, 1-7.

Optional Reading:

Aram, T. (2019). Bringing Armenia Closer to Europe? Challenges to the EU-Armenia Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement Implementation. *Romanian Journal of European Affairs*, 19(1), 97–110.

Sean Roberts & Ulrike Ziemer (2018) Explaining the pattern of Russian authoritarian diffusion in Armenia, *East European Politics*, 34:2, 152-172, DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2018.1457525

10. The Caucasus After the Soviet Union

Lankina, T., Libman, A., & Obydenkova, A. (2016). Authoritarian and Democratic Diffusion in Post-Communist Regions. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(12), 1599-1629. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016628270>

Ulfelder, J. (2007). Natural-Resource Wealth and the Survival of Autocracy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(8), 995-1018. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414006287238>

Haggard, S., & Kaufman, R. R. (1997). The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions. *Comparative Politics*, 29(3), 263–283. <https://doi.org/10.2307/422121>

Optional Reading:

Mirimanova, N. (1969). *From War Economies to Peace Economies in the South Caucasus*. <https://scar.gmu.edu/book/war-economies-peace-economies-south-caucasus>

11. Transition Economy

G. Roland (2000): *Transition and Economics: Politics, Markets and Firms*. MIT Press 2000. Ch. 1.

H.-G. Petersen (2009): *Public Economics for Countries in Transition*, Academy of Management , Ulanbataar 2009.

B. Levy and F. Fukuyama (2010): *Development Strategies: Integrating Governance and Growth* (2010). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5196.

12. Transition economies in Caucasus

G. Roland (2002): The political economy of transition, *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16(1), 29-50.

Hale, H. E. (2007). Correlates of clientelism: political economy, politicized ethnicity, and post-communist transition. *Patrons, clients, and policies: Patterns of democratic accountability and political competition*, 227-250.

Hale, H. E. (2014). *Patronal politics: Eurasian regime dynamics in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

13. Natural resources and democracy in Transition Economics

Ibadoghlu, G., & Sadigov, R. (2023). The economics of petro-authoritarianism: Post-soviet transitions and democratization. *Resources Policy*, 85, 103752. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2023.103752>

Bayramov, V., & Abbas, G. (2017). Oil shock in the Caspian Basin: Diversification policy and subsidized economies. *Resources Policy*, 54, 149–156. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2017.10.006>

Haber, S., & Menaldo, V. (2011). Do natural resources fuel authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the resource curse. *American Political Science Review*, 105(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0003055410000584>

Dunning, T. (2008). Does Oil Promote Democracy? In *Cambridge University Press eBooks* (pp. 1–36). <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511510052.003>

EU Energy Policy through South Caucasus

14. Russia, the EU and the South Caucasus

Nuriyev, E. (2015). Russia, the EU and the South Caucasus: Forging an Efficient Over-Arching Cooperative Regional Security Scheme. *Connections*, 14(2), 51–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26326397>

Börzel, T.A., Pamuk, Y., Stahn, A. (2009). Democracy or Stability? EU and US Engagement in the Southern Caucasus. In: Magen, A., Risse, T., McFaul, M.A. (eds) *Promoting Democracy and*

the Rule of Law. Governance and Limited Statehood Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230244528_6

Lebanidze, B. (2020). European and Russian strategies in the post-Soviet space. In: Russia, EU and the Post-Soviet Democratic Failure. *Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*. Springer VS, Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-26446-8_8

Delcour, L. (2017). Dealing with the elephant in the room: the EU, its 'Eastern neighbourhood' and Russia. *Contemporary Politics*, 24(1), 14–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2017.1408169>

15. Pipeline Politics and the case of the South Caucasus

Monshipouri, M. (2017). Pipeline politics in Iran, Turkey, and the South Caucasus. In *Oxford University Press eBooks*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190673604.003.0003>

Rondeli, A. (2004). The South Caucasus: Pipeline Politics and Regional Economic Interests. In J. Dufourcq & L. Ponsard (Eds.), *The South Caucasus: Promoting Values Through Cooperation* (pp. 43–52). NATO Defense College. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep10466.10>

Raszewski, S. (2022). When one door closes, another opens: How the failure of the Turkey - Austria natural gas pipeline project has led to recovery, resilience and scalability of successor projects. *Energy Policy*, 167, 112978. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.enpol.2022.112978>

Terterov, M. (2017). The energy charter as a framework for intergovernmental cooperation in the energy markets of the South Caucasus states. In *The South Caucasus - Security, Energy and Europeanization*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315717821-13>

German, T. (2012). Regional Cooperation in the South Caucasus: Good Neighbours or Distant Relatives? (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315604404>

Optional Reading:

Lussac, S. (2010). Ensuring European energy security in Russian 'Near Abroad': the case of the South Caucasus. *European Security*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2010.526939>

Tibold, A., & Cillessen, V. (2006). Geopolitics, energy security and the South Caucasus. In M. de Haas (Ed.), *Geo-strategy in the South Caucasus: Power Play and Energy Security of States and Organisations* (pp. 9–16). Clingendael Institute. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05462.5>

16. Democracy and Resilience in the Eastern European Neighbourhood

Stewart, E.J. (2011). Mind the Normative Gap? The EU in the South Caucasus. In: Whitman, R.G. (eds) *Normative Power Europe*. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230305601_4

Tom Theuns (2017) Promoting democracy through economic conditionality in the ENP: a normative critique, *Journal of European Integration*, 39:3, 287-302, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2016.1263625

Diez, T., Pace, M. (2011). Normative Power Europe and Conflict Transformation. In: Whitman, R.G. (eds) *Normative Power Europe*. Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230305601_11

Optional Reading:

Resilience and the EU's eastern neighbourhood countries. (2019). In *Springer eBooks*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25606-7>

Börzel, T. A., & Lebanidze, B. (2017). “The transformative power of Europe” beyond enlargement: the EU's performance in promoting democracy in its neighbourhood. *East European Politics*, 33(1), 17–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2017.1280473>

16. EU and US Engagement in the Southern Caucasus

17. Regional Policies and Territorial Constraints

Börzel, T. A., & Pamuk, Y. (2020). Pathologies of Europeanisation: fighting corruption in the Southern Caucasus. In *From Europeanisation to Diffusion* (pp. 79-97). Routledge.

Mariam Dekanozishvili (2020) The European Union's credibility–expectations gap in its European neighbourhood policy: perspectives from Georgia and Ukraine, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 20:2, 289-305, DOI: 10.1080/14683857.2020.1767467

Vasilyan, S. (2020). "Moral Power" of the EU through its Conflict Resolution Policy in the South Caucasus. In: 'Moral Power' of the European Union in the South Caucasus. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-60198-8_6

Kristi Raik (2006) Promoting democracy in the eastern neighbourhood – the limits and potential of the ENP, *The International Spectator*, 41:3, 31-45, DOI: 10.1080/03932720608459426