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MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE OF UKRAINE

State Higher Educational Institution "Uzhhorod National University" Scientific and Educational Institute of European Integration Researches

"CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE EU COUNTRIES FOREIGN POLICY"

Didactic materials

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STATE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION "UZHHOROD NATIONAL UNIVERSITY" FACULTY OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Department of International Studies and Public Communications

	46	,,
	/	/
	International	Relations
Dean o	f the Faculty of H	istory and
	"APP	ROVED"

ACADEMIC COURSE WORKING PROGRAM

CURRENT PROBLEMS OF THE EU COUNTRIES FOREIGN POLICY

Level of higher education Master's Degree

Field of knowledge 29 "International Relations"

Speciality 291 "International Relations, Public

Communications and Regional Studies"

Specialization International Relations

Educational program International Relations

Discipline status **elective**

Language of study: Ukrainian

Uzhhorod 2021

Working program of the academic cour for higher education seekers in the fiel "International Relations, Public "International Relations".	d of knowledge 29	"International l	Relations", specia	lity 291
Developer: Ivan Ivanovych	Vovkanych, Doctor	r of Historical Sc	iences, Professor	
The working program was considered a of the <i>Department of International Sta</i> Minutes No. 1 dated September "	udies and Public C	ommunications		
Approved by the Scientific and Mo International Relations Minutes No. 1 dated September "	", 2021			·

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE ACADEMIC COURSE

N 6 i 1i 4	Distribution of hours according to the curriculum			
Name of indicators	Full-time studies	Extramural form of study		
Number of ECTS credits - 4	Year of study:			
Total number of hours - 120	1			
Number of modules - 1	Semester:			
Weekly hours	1			
for full-time education:	Le	ectures:		
classroom - 2	7			
	Practical (seminar) trainings:			
independent work of students - 6	3	-		
The second secon	Laborato	ory practicals:		
Type of final control: credit	-	-		
Francis of the final control and	Indepe	ndent work:		
Form of the final control: oral	100			

2. PURPOSE OF THE ACADEMIC COURSE

The purpose of the academic course is to study theoretical and methodological fundamentals, essence, legal basis, priorities and means of implementation of the foreign policy of the European Union countries. Students have the opportunity to study the dynamics and current state of the EU's foreign policy, to find out the legal, general political, economic, humanitarian and other components of this policy. In the course of study of the subject, students analyse and compare the legal and institutional framework, differences in the formation and dynamics of EU relations with particular states and sub-regions. The course is an integrated academic discipline that covers basic knowledge of the history, policy and economy of the EU, particular countries and sub-regions beyond its borders.

As a result of studying the academic course, the student should know:

- specificity of foreign policy concepts of particular EU countries;
- fundamentals of foreign policy formation of the EU countries;
- integration trends and their impact on the development of the European region;
- role and position of the EU in world policy;
- problems and tasks in the context of the development of relations between Ukraine and the EU countries.

be able to:

- determine the role and position of the EU countries in world policy;
- be aware in the trends of formation and implementation of integration processes in Europe;
- characterize the foreign policy of the EU countries, identify common and distinctive features in the foreign policy activities of the states of the region;
- establish cause and effect relationships in the determinants, means, instruments and consequences of the foreign policy of the EU countries;
- analyse the impact of the foreign policy of the European Union on the formation of Ukraine's foreign policy foundations.

In accordance with the educational program, the study of the academic course contributes to the formation of the following general and special competencies in higher education seekers:

- 1) the ability to learn and master modern knowledge and apply it in practice;
- 2) the ability to argue the choice of ways to solve tasks of a professional nature, critically evaluate the results obtained and justify the decisions made;
- 3) the ability to act socially responsible, to demonstrate civic consciousness, to be responsible for the quality of work performed;
- 4) the ability to continuous learning and self-development, independent and autonomous work, and the use of a systematic approach to development and implementation;

- 5) the ability and willingness to use modern information and communication technologies for systematic analysis of decision-making in international relations;
- 6) the ability to purposeful professional growth, perspective planning of personal and professional development, impartiality in assessing the activities of international organizations;
- 7) the ability to analyse international processes in various contexts, in particular political, security, legal, economic, social, cultural and informational.
- 8) the ability to analyse international integration processes in the EU countries and Ukraine's place in them.
- 9) the ability to analyse international processes in different contexts, including political, security, legal, economic, social, cultural and informational.

3. PREREQUISITES FOR STUDYING THE ACADEMIC COURSE

The prerequisites for studying the academic course "Current Problems of the EU Countries Foreign Policy" are mastering the following academic courses (AC) of the educational program (EP):

04 International Relations and World Policy

09 Political History of the World

4. EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES

In accordance with the educational program "International Relations", the study of the academic course should ensure the achievement by the higher education seekers of the following program learning outcomes (PLOs):

Program study outcomes	PLOs Code
Ability to define the fundamentals of theories and concepts, choose innovative and conceptual approaches and methods of Country Studies, general scientific and special (disciplinary) research methods used in Country Studies and related disciplines.	РН Д2
Ability to select the most important information from information flows, evaluate it according to quantitative and qualitative criteria.	PH IA3
Ability to express at a sufficient level, both orally and in writing, in the native and foreign languages to carry out professional activities.	PH K1
Ability to define general scientific and disciplinary terminology and correctly use special conceptual apparatus in professional activities and popularization of the achievements of Country Studies.	РН КЗ
Knowledge about the modern information, globalized society and its requirements for the personality of a specialist in a particular environment.	PH CO3

Ability to determine the civilizational affiliation of countries of the world, their cultural, historical, religious, ideological, social and political specifics.	РН Кр2
Thorough knowledge of the fundamentals of international systems of various types, the main international legal acts governing international relations.	РН Кр5
Collect, process and analyse a significant information content on the state of international relations, world policy and foreign policy of states.	PH E1

Expected learning outcomes to be achieved by education seekers after mastering the academic course "Current Problems of the EU Countries Foreign Policy":

Expected learning outcomes of the academic course	PLOs Code
Ability to search, process and analyse information from various sources, in particular through the use of information and communication technologies.	РН ЗК
Ability to argue the choice of ways to solve tasks of a professional nature, critically assess the obtained results and justify the made decisions.	РН ЗК
Ability to continuous learning and self-development, independent and autonomous work, use of a systematic approach to project development and implementation.	РН ЗК
Demonstrate in-depth knowledge of international and national security problems, international and internationalized conflicts, approaches, methods and mechanisms for ensuring security in the international space and in the foreign policy of states.	PH CO3
Assess and analyse international and foreign policy problems and situations, propose approaches to solve such problems.	РН Кр4
Ability and willingness to identification, analysis and interpretation of complex processes of social and political life of countries and regions of the world, taking into account the specifics of their civilization, confessional, social, historical affiliation.	РН П1

5. DIAGNOSTIC TOOLS AND EVALUATION CRITERIA OF LEARNING OUTCOMES

Assessment tools and methods for the demonstration of learning outcomes

Assessment tools and methods of demonstration of learning outcomes for the academic course are:

- 1) reports and active work in seminars;
- 2) performing a number of test tasks on the topics covered;
- 3) writing reference papers;
- 4) presentations of the results of completed tasks and researches;
- 5) participation and speeches at scientific events;
- 6) other types of individual and group tasks.

Forms of control and criteria for assessing learning outcomes

Forms of *current* control include points for work in seminars, practical classes, completion of tests to topics, as well as assessment of all types of independent work planned in the working program of the academic course.

The form of *module* control is designed to assess the knowledge, skills and practical abilities acquired during the mastery of theoretical and practical material after study of a logically complete part of the academic course. The module test is conducted in written form using separate variants with three levels of difficulty.

The form of the *final* control in the discipline "International Organizations" (exam) is determined in the educational program of the speciality, reflected in the curriculum and conducted orally by previously prepared exam papers.

Distribution of points obtained by higher education seekers

Current assessment and independent work				Module test	Amount
T1	T2	Т3	Student's		
			independent		
			work		
Foreign Policy	Peculiarities of	Current	Reference	50	100
of the Italian	the Visegrad	Problems of	paper	30	100
Republic	Countries'	Spain's Foreign			
	Foreign Policy	Policy			
10	10	10	20		

Assessment of particular types of academic work in the academic course

		Module 1		
Type of activity of the higher education seekers	Number	Maximum number of points (total)		
Practical (seminar) classes	3	30		
Reference paper	1	20		
Module test	1	50		
Total		100		

Assessment criteria for module test and final semester control

Levels of	100-	Criteria for assessing academic	achievements	
academic	point	Theoretical training	Practical training	
achievement	scale	Student		
Excellent	10090	fluent in educational material, expresses his/her opinions, draws reasoned conclusions, reviews the answers of other students, creatively performs individual and collective tasks; independently finds additional information and uses it to implement the tasks assigned to him/her; freely uses new information technologies to improve his/her knowledge.	can reasonably choose a rational way to complete a task and assess the results of their own practical activities; performs the tasks provided by the program; uses knowledge to solve the tasks assigned to him/her.;	
Sufficient	8974	fluent in the educational material, applies knowledge in practice; summarises and systematises educational information, but makes minor mistakes in comparisons, formulation of conclusions, application of theoretical knowledge in practice	by sample independently performs practical tasks provided by the program; has stable skills in performing the task	
Satisfactory	7360	has a superficial, fragmentary knowledge of the educational material, at the level of memorisation reproduces a certain part of the educational material with elements of logical connections, knows the basic concepts of the educational material	has elementary, unstable skills to perform the task	
Unsatisfactory	5935	has fragmentary knowledge (less than half) with an insignificant total amount of educational material; no formed skills and abilities; significant mistakes are made during the answer	plans and performs part of the task with the help of the instructor	
Unacceptable	student does not have knowledge of the educational material elements of needs coassistance:		performs only elements of the task, needs constant assistance from the teacher	

6. PROGRAM OF THE ACADEMIC COURSE

6.1. Content of the academic course

Topic 1: Theoretical Fundamentals of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy. Domestic policy. Foreign policy theories. Passive policy. Aggressive policy. Active policy. Conservative policy. "National interests". Nation. International influential circles. Geopolitical aspect. Internal political aspect. Ideological aspect. Political means. Military means. Economic means. Ideological means. Information and propagandistic means. Principles of foreign policy. Articles of Association of the United Nations. Principle of peaceful coexistence. Principle of the non-use of force. Principle of sovereign equality of states. Principle of the inviolability of state borders (territorial integrity). Principle of non-interference in domestic affairs of a state. Principle of mutual interest. Balance of state interests.

Topic 2. Institutional Structure and Decision-Making Procedure in the European Union

EU activities. Agreements. The Lisbon Treaty. "European Community". European Union. Three "pillars" of the EU. Maastricht Treaty. Treaty of Amsterdam. Institution of European citizenship. Treaty of Nice. Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU. Composition of the European Commission. Directorates General and the Secretariat-General. Tasks of the Commission. Elections to the European Parliament. Political groups and their responsibilities. Election of the President and approval of the composition of the European Commission. Types of legislative procedures in the EU. Tasks of the Council of the EU. Composition of the Council of the EU. European Council as an authority of political leadership. Powers of the European Council. Establishment of the Court of Justice of the EU. European Council of the European Council Community in the law-making process. Council of the European Union. Decision-making procedures.

Topic 3. Foreign Policy of the Italian Republic

Foreign policy of Italy. Italy's place in the Council of Europe. Italy's activities within NATO. Italy's activities in the G8. Italian model of diplomatic service. Italy and the Balkans. Priorities of Italy's regional policy. Cultural diplomacy of Italy. Relations between Ukraine and Italy at the modern stage.

Topic 4. European External Action Service

The place of the European External Action Service in the system of authorities and officials implementing the EU security policy. High Representative of the EU. Requirements for the candidate and the procedure for the appointment of the High Representative. Functions and tasks of the EU High Representative. Diplomatic service. Role and place of Special Representatives. Daily work of Special Representatives. Key functions of Special Representatives. Procedure for appointing Special Representatives.

Topic 5. Foreign Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany: European and Global Dimension

Foreign policy of Germany after the reunification. Role of Germany in the integration processes of the European Union. German-French relations. Federal Republic of Germany and the United States

of America in the context of Euro-Atlantic relations. Relations between Germany and the countries of the Visegrad Group. Federal Republic of Germany and developing countries.

Topic. 6 Current Problems of Foreign Policy of Spain

Foreign policy legacy of the Franco regime. National interests in Spanish foreign policy. Relations between Spain and the United States of America. Spanish-Ukrainian relations. Problem of separatism in Spain. Peculiarities of relations between Spain and Portugal. Problem of Gibraltar.

Topic 7. Strategic Priorities of the Foreign Policy of the French Republic

Global vector of the foreign policy of the French Republic. Government of France. Modern diplomatic service of France. Relations between France and the United States of America and NATO. Franco-African cooperation.

Topic 8: Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU

Common foreign policy. Security policy. Strategic goals. Instruments of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. "Gray-zone". Political and Security Committee. Intergovernmental European Defence Agency. Specificity of the EU as a participant in security relations. Types of crisis management. Budget of the European Union. High Representative. Inter-Parliamentary Conference. Status of the EU in the work of international organizations. Features of the UN activities in the field of international security. EU relations with the Council of Europe. Cooperation with the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE).

Topic 9: Peculiarities of the Foreign Policy of the Visegrad Countries

Reasons for the emergence and role of the Visegrad Group in the EU. Regional policy of the Visegrad countries. Foreign policy of Poland. Foreign policy of Slovakia. Foreign policy of Hungary. Foreign policy of the Czech Republic. Cooperation between the Visegrad countries and Ukraine.

Topic 10. European Neighbourhood Policy

Neighbourhood policy of the European Union. Main instruments of the neighbourhood policy. Association or Partnership Agreements. Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations. Division of competence between the Union and the states. Political and legal prerequisites for cooperation between Ukraine and the EU. History of the development of relations between Ukraine and the EU. Personal sanctions. Targeted sanctions. Financial sanctions. Freezing of assets. Sectoral sanctions. Prohibition on the transfer of funds. Anti-Russian sanctions.

6.2. Structure of the academic course

	Number of hours						
	Form of study:						
		including					
Names of content modules and topics	Total	lectu res	pra ctic al (se min ars)	lab orat ory pra ctic als	indiv idual work	indepen dent work	
	7th semeste	r					
Topic 1. Theoretical Fundamentals of Foreign Policy	14	2	-	-	-	12	
Topic 2. Institutional Structure and Decision-Making Procedure in the European Union	14	2	-	-	-	12	
Topic 3. Foreign Policy of the Italian Republic	10	-	2	1	1	8	
Topic 4. European External Action Service	14	2	-	-	-	12	
Topic 5. Foreign Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany: European and Global Dimension	12	2	-	-	-	10	
Topic. 6 Current Problems of Foreign Policy of Spain	10			-	-	8	
Topic 7. Strategic Priorities of the Foreign Policy of the French Republic	12	2	-	-	-	10	
Topic 8. Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU	12	2	-	-	-	10	
Topic 9. Peculiarities of the Foreign Policy of the Visegrad Countries	10	-	2	-	-	8	
Topic 10. European Neighbourhood Policy	12	2	-	-	-	10	
Module test			-	-	-	-	
Total per module		14	6	-	-	100	
Total per semester	120	14	6	-	-	100	

6.3. Topics of seminars (full-time studies)

Serial			Number
number	Name of topic	full-time studies	extramural form of study
1.	Foreign Policy of the Italian Republic	8	-
2.	Peculiarities of the Foreign Policy of the Visegrad Countries	8	-
3.	Current Problems of Foreign Policy of Spain	8	-
7.	Total	24	-

6.4. Independent work

Name of topic	Number of hours (full-time studies)	Number of hours (extramural form of study)
Topic 1. Theoretical Fundamentals of Foreign Policy	12	-
Topic 2. Institutional Structure and Decision-Making Procedure in the European Union	12	-
Topic 3. Foreign Policy of the Italian Republic	8	-
Topic 4. European External Action Service	12	-
Topic 5. Foreign Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany: European and Global Dimension	10	-
Topic. 6 Current Problems of Foreign Policy of Spain	8	-
Topic 7. Strategic Priorities of the Foreign Policy of the French Republic	10	-
Topic 8. Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU	10	-

Topic 9. Peculiarities of the Foreign Policy of the Visegrad Countries	8	-
Topic 10. European Neighbourhood Policy	10	-
Total	100	-

6.5. Individual tasks

The individual work of a student in the academic course "Current Problems of the EU Countries Foreign Policy" consists of writing an essay on one of the proposed topics.

6.6. Topics of reference paper

- 1. Agreements and Treaties under which the European Union carries out its activities.
- 2. Foreign policy of the state: concept and essence, main features and goals.
- 3. International relations and foreign policy of the state: essence, types, principles and subjects.
- 4. Basic principles of domestic and foreign policy.
- 5. Principles of domestic and foreign policy.
- 6. Foreign policy of Ukraine at the current stage.
- 7. European Commission as one of the most important figures in the field of foreign relations of the European Union.
- 8. Functioning of the European Parliament committees.
- 9. European Council as an authority of political leadership.
- 10. Composition of the EU Council and peculiarities of voting in decision-making.
- 11. Legal basis of the EU decision-making procedure.
- 12. Essence and goals of the EU foreign policy.
- 13. High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and its functions.
- 14. Interaction of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs with EU institutions, authorities and agencies.
- 15. European External Action Service.
- 16. Role and place of Special Representatives of the EU Diplomatic Service.
- 17. Legal Regulation of the European Union in the field of foreign policy.
- 18. Ukrainian-German cooperation at the current stage.
- 19. German-Russian relations in the context of the Ukrainian-Russian confrontation.
- 20. Germany's role in the European Union after Brexit.
- 21. German-Turkish relations and prospects for Turkey's integration into "Greater Europe".
- 22. German-Chinese cooperation.
- 23. Participation of Germany in International Organizations.
- 24. German cultural diplomacy at the current stage.
- 25. Franco-German relations as the backbone of European security and cooperation.
- 26. The Mediterranean vector in French policy.
- 27. France's relations with the states of Southeast Asia.

- 28. France Ukraine: the evolution of political relations.
- 29. Modern Diplomatic Service of France.
- 30. Cultural diplomacy of the French Republic
- 31. Features of French diplomacy: traditional and modern aspects
- 32. Authorities and officers authorized to represent the European Union in the international arena.
- 33. Characterization of the foundations of the common foreign and security policy of the EU
- 34. Features of the Common Security and Defence Policy.
- 35. Law enforcement and security cooperation in the European Union
- 36. European Anti-Fraud Office
- 37. Importance of "common values" of the European Union for ensuring its security "values based policy".
- 38. Peculiarities of the implementation of the European security policy in the field of combating illegal migration and trafficking in human beings.
- 39. Cooperation between the EU and the UN in the field of Security Policy.
- 40. Cooperation between the EU and NATO in the field of Security Policy.
- 41. EU and OSCE cooperation in the field of Security Policy.
- 42. EU authorities and officers implementing the EU Security Policy.
- 43. Prerequisites and essence of the EU Neighbourhood Policy.
- 44. Tools for implementation of the Neighbourhood Policy.
- 45. Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU: main characteristics and content.
- 46. Prospects for Ukraine's relations with the EU.
- 47. Supporting state and social stability in neighbouring regions as a priority area for the development of the Union's foreign relations.
- 48. EU anti-Russian sanctions.
- 49. Current state of EU-Ukraine relations in the context of the Neighbourhood Policy.
- 50. Regulatory and Legal Support of the EU Neighbourhood Policy.
- 51. Formation of Italy's Foreign policy after the end of the Cold War.
- 52. Italy's activity in the Council of Europe.
- 53. Italy's activity in the "Group of Eight".
- 54. Formation of the "Italian model" of the Diplomatic Service.
- 55. Italian Diplomatic Service and New Challenges of the XXI Century.
- 56. Cultural diplomacy of Italy.
- 57. Ukrainian-Italian relations at the current stage.
- 58. Foreign policy legacy of the Franco's Regime.
- 59. Migration Policy of the Spanish State.
- 60. Spanish-British relations. Problem of Gibraltar.
- 61. Spain and the United States in the context of Euro-Atlantic relations.
- 62. Spain's foreign policy in the Interwar Period
- 63. National interests in Spanish foreign policy.
- 64. Visegrad Four. Reasons for the emergence and role in the EU
- 65. Ukraine and the Visegrad Four.
- 66. Hungary as a member of the Visegrad Four
- 67. Poland as a member of the Visegrad Four
- 68. Slovakia as a member of the Visegrad Four
- 69. Czech Republic as a member of the Visegrad Four

6. PLANS OF LECTURES AND SEMINARS

Topic 1: Theoretical Fundamentals of Foreign Policy

- 1. Concept of foreign policy and forms of its implementation.
- 2. Goal of foreign policy. Concept of national interest.
- 3. Objectives of foreign policy.
- 4. Means of implementation of foreign policy.
- 5. Modern principles of foreign policy.

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Topic 2. Institutional Structure and Decision-Making Procedure in the European Union

- 1. Agreements on which the activities of the European Union are based and its "pillars".
- 2. European Commission.
- 3. European Parliament.
- 4. Council of the European Union.
- 5. European Council.
- 6. Court of Justice of the European Union.
- 7. Decision-making procedures of the EU institutions.

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Topic 3. Foreign Policy of the Italian Republic

- 1. Foreign policy of Italy within the European Union.
- 2. Mediterranean as a priority of the regional policy of Italy.
- 3. Balkans in the foreign policy of Italy.

- 4. Activities of Italy within NATO.
- 5. Italy and countries of North and Latin America.
- 6. Africa and the Asia-Pacific region in the Italian diplomacy.

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Topic 4. European External Action Service.

1. Establishment and evolution of the European External Action Service.

- 2. Main competencies and tasks of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs.
- 3. Special Representatives of the EU Diplomatic Service.

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- 1. German foreign policy after Unification.
- 2. Role of Germany in the integration processes of the European Union.
- 3. German-French relations.
- 4. Germany and the United States in the context of Euro-Atlantic Relations.
- 5. Germany's relations with the countries of the Visegrad Group.
- 6. Germany and developing countries.

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- 1. European direction in foreign policy of Spain.
- 2. Spanish-Ukrainian relations.
- 3. Spain and the United States of America.
- 4. Spanish-Russian relations.
- 5. Problem of separatism: international aspects. The Basque Country. Catalonia.
- 6. Mediterranean direction of foreign policy.
- 7. Peculiarities of relations between Spain and Portugal.

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- 1. Internal determinants of foreign policy of France.
- 2. Global vector of the foreign policy of France.
- 3. Foreign policy activities of France within the EU.
- 4. Euro-Atlantic vector of foreign policy of France.
- 5. French Republic in relations with African states.

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- 1. Institutions for the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and their structure.
- 2. Decision-making process in the field of foreign policy and in crisis situations.
- 3. Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) within the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP): evolution and development strategy
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- 2. Foreign policy of Poland
- 3. Foreign policy of Slovakia
- 4. Foreign policy of Hungary
- 5. Foreign policy of the Czech Republic
- 6. Regional Policy of the Visegrad Four Countries

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Topic 10. European Neighbourhood Policy

- 1. Instruments of the EU Neighbourhood Policy
- 2. Association Agreements of the European Union
- 3. Features of the Eastern Partnership policy in the context of Ukraine's European integration
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7. TOOLS, EQUIPMENT AND SOFTWARE, THE USE OF WHICH ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE INVOLVES

- 1. Curriculum of the discipline.
- 2. Textbooks, study guides and manuals, reference literature.
- 3. Additional tasks for practical training.
- 4. Individual semester tasks for independent work of students in the academic discipline.

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10.QUESTIONS ON ACADEMIC COURSE

- 1. Concept of foreign policy and forms of its implementation.
- 2. Goal of foreign policy. Concept of national interest.
- 3. Means and objectives of foreign policy.
- 4. Modern principles of foreign policy.
- 5. Foreign policy of Italy within the European Union.
- 6. Mediterranean as a priority of regional policy of Italy.
- 7. The Balkans in foreign policy of Italy.

- 8. Activities of Italy within NATO.
- 9. Italy and the countries of North and Latin America.
- 10. Africa and the Asia-Pacific Region in diplomacy of Italy.
- 11. Creation and evolution of the European External Action Service.
- 12. Main competencies and tasks of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs.
- 13. Special Representatives of the EU Diplomatic Service.
- 14. German foreign policy after Unification.
- 15. Role of Germany in the integration processes of the European Union.
- 16. German-French relations.
- 17. Germany and the United States of America in the context of Euro-Atlantic relations.
- 18. Germany's relations with the countries of the Visegrad Group.
- 19. Germany and developing countries.
- 20. European direction in foreign policy of Spain.
- 21. Spanish-Ukrainian relations.
- 22. Spain and the United States of America.
- 23. Spanish-Russian relations.
- 24. Problem of Separatism: International Aspects. Basque Country. Catalonia.
- 25. Mediterranean direction of foreign policy.
- 26. Features of the relationship between Spain and Portugal.
- 27. Internal determinants of foreign policy of France.
- 28. Global Vector of the foreign policy of the French Republic.
- 29. Foreign policy activities of France within the EU.
- 30. Euro-Atlantic vector of foreign policy of France.
- 31. French Republic in relations with African States.
- 32. Institutions for the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and their structure.
- 33. Decision-making process in the field of foreign policy and in crisis situations.
- 34. Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) within the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP): evolution and development strategy.
- 35. Role and place of the EU in cooperation with international organizations
- 36. Features of the partnership between Visegrad and Ukraine
- 37. Foreign policy of Poland
- 38. Foreign policy of Slovakia
- 39. Foreign policy of Hungary
- 40. Foreign policy of the Czech Republic
- 41. Regional policy of the Visegrad countries

- 42. Instruments of the EU Neighbourhood Policy
- 43. Association Agreements of the European Union
- 44. Features of the Eastern partnership policy in the context of the European integration of Ukraine
- 45. Sanctions policy of the European Union

Results of the review of the work program of the academic course

The working program is re-approved for the academic year 20/ 20 without changes; with changes (Appendix).
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The working program is re-approved for the academic year 20/ 20 without changes; with changes (Appendix).
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The working program is re-approved for the academic year 20/ 20 without changes; with changes (Appendix). (necessary underline)
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The working program is re-approved for the academic year 20 / 20 without changes; with changes (Appendix).
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Lecture

Topic 1: Theoretical Fundamentals of Foreign Policy Plan.

- 1. Concept of foreign policy and forms of its implementation.
- 2. Goal of foreign policy. Concept of national interest.
- 3. Objectives of foreign policy.
- 4. Means of implementation of foreign policy.
- 5. Modern principles of foreign policy.

1. Concept of foreign policy and forms of its implementation.

1. **Foreign policy** is the activity of the state and other political institutions carried out in the international arena and goaled at establishing and maintaining relations with the international community, protecting its own national interest and spreading its influence on other figures in international relations.

One of the central theoretical issues is the *correlation between foreign policy and domestic policy*. Let's look at three approaches:

- 1. **Marxist concept** proceeds from the fact that domestic policy is decisive in this correlation, and foreign policy is the origin and continuation of domestic social and political development and historically emerges later (V. Lenin). Foreign policy is determined by domestic policy and is a reflection and continuation of internal social relations. The content of the latter is determined by the economic relations prevailing in society and the interests of the ruling classes.
- 2. American H. Morgenthau expressed his credo as follows: *international (foreign) policy is identical to domestic policy, both are a struggle for influence, i.e. they are identical.* Both domestic and foreign policy are a struggle for domination, which is modified only by different conditions in the domestic and international spheres.
- 3. Polish-Austrian sociologist L. Gumplowicz defined this correlation as follows: the internal development of a state is determined by the development of its external forces, the former is assigned a service role in relation to the latter, and domestic policy is a simple supplement to foreign policy and is conditioned by the latter.

These three approaches do not leave room for other positions and variants of analysis, and each of them has been confirmed in practice in different specific historical conditions.

There are several forms of foreign policy implementation:

The passive one consists in adapting to foreign policy circumstances. This policy is pursued by weak states. In fact, such a policy is a rejection of one's own sovereignty or part of it;

Aggressive policy is based on the formation of expansionist plans. This policy is pursued by strong states. The desire of states to achieve expansionist goals by solving internal problems through foreign policy;

Active policy is aimed at finding a balance between the state's domestic and foreign policy and successfully fulfilling its role as a subject of international politics;

Conservative aims to actively and even aggressively protect the previously achieved balance between domestic and foreign policy.

2. Goal of foreign policy. Concept of national interest.

The main goal of foreign policy is to provide favourable conditions for the realization of the interests of a particular state, to ensure national security and well-being of the people.

Each national state in its foreign policy, as a set of military and diplomatic, economic and legal means, tries to realize its national interest in the most optimal way.

Among specific foreign policy theories, the most well-known is that of the American political scientist H. Morgenthau. He defines foreign policy primarily as a policy of force, in which national interests are elevated above international norms and principles, and therefore force becomes the main means of achieving the goals. This is where his formula comes in: "The goals of foreign policy should be determined in the spirit of national interests and supported by force." H. Morgenthau believed that the foreign policy of an independent state should be based on a certain physical, political and cultural "reality" capable of realizing the nature and essence of its own national interest.

This opinion of H. Morgenthau was relevant for the times of the "Cold War", when the World Community was divided into two camps: socialist and capitalist. In today's world, for various reasons, countries are interdependent and interconnected with each other. Their survival and development can only be ensured through their cooperation and interaction. In these conditions, any state, pursuing its own national interest, must respect and take into account the interests of other states. A nation can ensure its security when it combines its own interests with the needs of other states.

The concept of "national interests" is ambiguous; it has both objective and subjective content.

In the objective sense, the concept of "national interests" is a set of conditions (internal and external) that ensure a certain geopolitical status of the state, national security, social stability, and the standard and quality of life of citizens. While the first two aspects were dominant in the recent past, at the current stage, the latter two are gaining importance in developed countries.

In a subjective sense, the concept of "national interests" has an ideological interpretation depending on the political regime, the ruling political course, the international order, and so on. Often, the interests of the state or ruling circles, international influential circles are presented as national interests. Therefore, from a subjective point of view, the concept of "national interests" often becomes an object of political speculation by various political forces.

The notion of "national interests" has a number of aspects: *geopolitical, domestic political and ideological.*

In the modern sense, the **geopolitical** aspect of national interests implies preservation of sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as one's place and role in a certain geopolitical space, or

spreading one's influence through military, economic and information expansion, ensuring the balance of power through international political, legal and economic institutions.

The **domestic political** aspect of national interests consists in ensuring political stability and maintaining the power of the ruling forces or, in addition to these goals, in raising the living standards of the social majority.

The **ideological** aspect of national interests involves the justification of various ideological versions of the interpretation of the content of these interests. National interests can be interpreted through the ideology of isolationism, planetarism, liberal internationalism and survival. Despite the different ideological interpretations of national interests, their essence in the modern sense is reduced to two important points: ensuring a high international image of the state and using benefits in the geopolitical space for national prosperity and improving the welfare of citizens.

3. Goals of foreign policy.

The goals of foreign policy are determined by the socio-political system, form of government, type of political regime, historical features, geopolitical conditions and other factors. The main goals of foreign policy are as follows:

I. National security - the condition of the state that enables it to preserve its integrity and act as an independent subject of the system of international relations. It has internal and external aspects.

National security is manifested at three levels:

- Level 1 security of the individual: consists in the formation of a set of legal and moral norms and social institutions that would enable the individual to develop and exercise socially important abilities and needs without being opposed by society and the state.
- Level 2 security of society: implies the existence of social institutions, norms and relations that make it possible to exercise the rights and wills of all social groups and to resist actions that lead to the split of society.
- Level 3 security of the state: is achieved by an effective mechanism of social governance, coordination of activities of social groups and political forces, as well as effective institutions for their protection.
- II. **Increase of the strength of the state** improving its economic, political, military, intellectual and moral potential.

A number of factors determine the strength of a state and its position in the system of international relations. Among them, the most important are: military power; geopolitical position; population; natural resources; economic (industrial) development of the state; political leadership and internal organization of power; diplomacy; will; international image.

Military power. Until quite recently, it was believed that the military power of a state was the main factor in the determination of the power formula. At the same time, the tasks for which states have always expanded military might require fundamentally new solutions at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It is no longer possible to ensure economic advantages and growth of wealth by violently seizing the resources of other states. For example, the failure of Iraq's policy to solve the problems of internal development by attacking Kuwait, the outbreak of the 1991 Gulf War. Under certain circumstances, even a nuclear weapon state may be helpless against a country that is much weaker in terms of military resources. The sad experience of the United States of America in the wars with Vietnam and Iraq and the Soviet Union in Afghanistan is proof of this. No matter how large the direct costs of the state for military operations are, their indirect costs are a hundred times higher. Military conflicts that have long since ended are still affecting state budgets. The government has to

pay off its debts and interest on them, pay pensions to veterans, widows and children of the dead. According to American experts, the Vietnam War will have a significant impact on the financial costs of the United States for at least 50 years, i.e., until 2020.

In addition, military buildup can lead to a "boomerang effect": by allocating excessive amounts of material and other resources to armament, to the detriment of the development of non-military sectors of the economy, science and culture, the state loses internal political stability and thus undermines the foundations of its power. Today, the world spends 60 times more on each soldier than on the education of one child. Military spending is growing twice as fast as the economic base of those countries, which is becoming an insurmountable obstacle to the development of their economy, social sphere and culture.

The burden of military expenditure on armament and the maintenance of large armies has made to think about reasonable sufficiency in determining the national military capability. According to European standards, the number of armed forces in a country should not exceed 1% of the population. According to these standards, Ukraine, with a population of 46 million, should have an army of less than 0.5 million.

Thus, it is fair to say that the military power of a state is a significant indicator of its strength, especially in the wartime, but this statement is questionable in peacetime. In addition, military power is not only the number of tanks, airplanes or other military equipment, but also the ability to use them both to defend the homeland and in case of possible actions on foreign territory.

Geopolitical position includes terrain and climate, as well as the consolidation of territorial space. At one time, Chamberlain wrote that geographical factors were decisive for British political history, and that they dictated the basic principles of British political history. Thus, the separation of Great Britain from the continent by the English Channel not only led the British policy to "brilliant isolation" and "balance of power" but also became an obstacle to the expansionist intentions of Julius Caesar, William the Conqueror, Napoleon, and Hitler. The position of the United States as a country "isolated" by two oceans contributed to the constant and very intense accumulation of power on the North American continent. With the aim to ensure the security of their borders, states often use not only natural barriers but also artificial ones.

Population. While talking about the population as one of the factors of the state's influence, it is necessary to characterize not only its quantitative composition, but also its health status, age structure, population growth, and social characteristics.

The national character of the nation is one of the qualification dimensions of the population. It stems from its indigenous traditional existence, historical experience and folk philosophy. Each nation has certain psychological characteristics. For example: the French are prone to academic formalism; the British are characterized by individualism; the Germans are characterized by destructive political and military tendencies, traditional brutality; for the Americans, pragmatism, idealism, and a reliance on success as a measure of truth; Ukrainians are "romantic at heart," politically naive, individual, disorganized, and prone to spreading gossips.

Natural resources are one of the elements of a nation's power. A country with large resources is potentially in a favourable position (e.g., the gas crisis between Ukraine and Russia), but only if it can exploit them. Russia, for example, is not always able to develop the natural resources of Siberia. Zaire and Zambia, which are rich in natural resources, but do not have the industrial and economic bases to develop them. Arab countries, on the other hand, have strengthened their economic potential and become an important factor in international politics due to oil reserves.

The strength of a state is determined not only by the diversity of resources, but also by the ability to utilize them. When many developing countries were experiencing a deep recession, four Asian countries (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore) managed to embark on a path of dynamic development, to achieve a modern level of production organization precisely because of organizational resources, skilful use of human potential and the country's geographical location, etc. Conversely, countries with vast territories rich in raw materials are at the stage of "catching up" development (Russia, Ukraine, India).

Economic (industrial) development of the state. All military conflicts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries confirmed the conclusion that countries with a higher industrial base won. The consequence of a country's industrial power is the achievement of a higher standard of living, which creates a situation of political stability in the country. For example, the German people supported Hitler because he nationalized industry and brought Germany out of a deep depression.

Political leadership and the internal organization of power are also important factors in the international power of a state. In a period of peace and prosperity, collective forms of leadership prevail. In periods of crisis or war, countries need centralized governance. This is equally important for both democratic and authoritarian regimes. Political factionalism reduces political stability and thus undermines the strength of the state.

Will. This indicator cannot be quantified. But without the will, without the desire to use everything in question in the interests of one's state, there can be no question of international power. For example, in 1982, when Argentina seized the Falkland Islands, the United Kingdom surprised the world with the strong will of the ruling circles and the population to return the islands to its rule.

III. Increase of the prestige of the state and strengthening its international position. A condition for the realization of this goal is the public fulfilment of two other important goals of foreign policy. All three goals are closely interrelated. Thus, the prestige and international position of a state directly depend on its strength. The strength and security of a state are largely determined by its international position.

International image of a state is its picture, its perception by other states. It matters not only to what extent this state exists objectively, but also what its leadership and population think about its capabilities, as well as how other states assess these capabilities.

Moral potential of a state in international relations is also a factor in realpolitik. A high moral prestige determines a high level of trust on the part of allies and possible partners, helps to strengthen security, and provides not only moral but also material support at critical moments.

4. Means of foreign policy implementation.

For the achievement of foreign policy goals, the means of its implementation are important. Depending on the spheres of public life, they are divided into political, economic and ideological.

Political means primarily cover the sphere of diplomatic relations - from traditional forms of diplomacy (embassies, consulates) to diplomacy at the level of heads of state. These means can be used in the form of negotiations, meetings, participation in international organizations, etc.

A special group of political means of foreign policy is made up of *military means, the main ones being war and military pressure*. Forms of military pressure may include manoeuvres, exercises, parades, public demonstrations of new types of weapons, concentration of troops in border areas, provocations at the border, participation in peacekeeping operations under the aegis of international organizations, etc.

Economic means of foreign policy means the use of the economic potential of the state to influence the economy and politics of other states. Economic potential is a particularly important means of foreign policy, as it ultimately determines the position of the state in international relations. A state with strong economic potential occupies an influential position in the world.

Ideological or information-propaganda means of foreign policy include various forms and means of propaganda, information, and cultural policy used by the state in relations with other states primarily to form a positive external image and international prestige of the state. For this purpose, cultural centres are opened in foreign countries, various exhibitions, presentations, etc. are organized.

5. Modern principles of foreign policy.

The achievement of the foreign policy goal of any state is based on principles. The principles of foreign policy are embodied in interstate agreements. The main international legal document of our time, which formulates the principles of international law and provides for measures to comply with them, is the United Peoples Charter adopted in 1945 by 50 states. Documents of the UN General Assembly contributed to the establishment of modern principles in the practice of international communication: "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" (1960), "Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Peoples" (1970), "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States" (1981), etc. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1975) played an important role in the development of the basic principles and filling them with new content. During the implementation of foreign policy, states are guided by the principles approved by the international community:

Principle of peaceful coexistence. The main idea of the principle is that states are obliged to maintain peace on the globe, show tolerance to each other, and develop cooperation regardless of their belonging to different civilizations, political, economic and social systems, and level of development.

The principle of peaceful coexistence is directly related to the principle of non-use of force or threat of force in international relations. This is the general requirement on which the UN Charter is based: "All Members of the United Peoples refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or otherwise." The UN Charter recognizes the legitimacy of the use of force in only two cases: for self-defence in the event of an armed attack on a state (Article 51) and by decision of the UN Security Council in the event of a threat to the peace, any breach of the peace or act of aggression (Articles 39 and 42). In this order, the international community used force against Iraq during its aggression against Kuwait.

Principle of sovereign equality of states. Only equals can come to an arrangement. When there is no equality in relations and positions, they are not based on agreements, but on open or hidden subordination.

Principle of inviolability of state borders is based on international legal recognition of existing borders and the rejection of any encroachment on them. This principle is the reason for the rejection of territorial expansion in any form. The problem of borders is particularly acute for the European continent. That is why the participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (1975) in the Declaration of Principles of the Final Act stated: "The participating States regard as inviolable all the borders of each other and of all States in Europe, and will therefore refrain now and in the future from any encroachment on these borders."

Principle of territorial integrity excludes the forcible acquisition or change of affiliation of foreign territories, and prohibits the unlawful use of foreign territories or cause a damage to them.

The modern era is characterized by the establishment of the principle of respect for human rights as one of the basic principles of the foreign policy of any state. The very concept of human rights was introduced into political and legal use at the end of the eighteenth century. Today, this principle is universal, i.e., it is an international legal obligation of states, regardless of their political, economic, social systems and level of development, to respect and observe human rights and freedoms of all individuals, regardless of race, gender, language, or religion.

Under modern conditions, foreign policy should be guided by the principle of mutual interest. Seems like elementary truth, but it has taken a lot of time and effort to carve its way. History has decreed that from the emergence of the first states to the present day, there has been no more effective means of regulating relations between peoples and countries than through force. The concept of the balance of power, or political equilibrium, was formed in the seventeenth century. At that time, the French prelate Fenelon put forward the idea that a state should prevent its neighbours from strengthening so that they could not cause it damage; excessive expansion of the size and power of one state "beyond certain borders" leads to a change in the general system where all states are located, to the destruction or subjugation of its neighbours. It was believed that maintaining equality and balance between neighbouring states was the very mechanism that "ensures peace for all." The concept of the balance of power was first enshrined at the Congress of Utrecht (1713, Netherlands) and over almost 300 years of its existence has become a stable characteristic of the state of international relations.

Since then, western social science has increasingly affirmed the idea that the balance of power is not only an instrument of foreign policy, but also, in a sense, its fundamental goal, the achievement of which automatically ensures the fulfilment of other important tasks of states in the international arena - their independence and national security. The effectiveness of this principle can be seen at least from the following data. Over the past 5.5 thousand years, peace on Earth has prevailed for only 300 years, and in the rest of the period there were more than 15 thousand wars. In Europe alone, wars claimed 3 million people in the XVII century, more than 5 million in the XVIII century, 6 million in the XIX century, more than 70 million in the XX century, and the count goes on. Millennia of enmity and wars have convincingly demonstrated the impossibility of further progress on the basis of forceful confrontation. The principle of the balance of power and the formula for the development of states by restricting the interests of other countries and peoples are losing their meaning in the modern world. The concept of balance of power is being replaced by the concept of balance of interests in the foreign policy of states.

The question arises: how do national interests relate to each other in an interdependent, holistic world and is it possible a balance between them? It is no secret that a certain balance of interests between countries and peoples has been achieved at earlier historical stages, and such a balance was usually limited to the achievement of some commonly important goal, and then gave way to a balance of power. The national interest reflects the interests of people living in a particular state, united by economic, social and political relations, and cultural traditions. The balance of interests in foreign policy is not the subordination of the interests of other countries to one's own interests, but the ability to include their interests in one's own.

Let's find out whether there are needs in the modern world that can be characterized as humankind and that can be reflected in the interests of all classes and social strata, reflecting the current social structure of civilization. The main need realized by humanity today is the need to preserve the human race. Preventing nuclear war and a global environmental crisis that could destroy all life on the planet is undoubtedly the main need of every person and every state, and concerns the fundamental interests of all countries. Of course, the need for the survival of the human race is perceived differently by

different countries and peoples, but it has a real meaning: preservation of life on Earth, preservation of man.

An objective need inherent in all countries and peoples is the further development of man as an intelligence being, which is possible through the accumulation of cultural wealth, the widespread dissemination and establishment of the principles of humankind's morality.

The balance of interests of states is contradictory, due to the novelty of the phenomenon itself and the specifics of the economic, socio-political and cultural development of countries and peoples. National, national-state and class egoism often continues to operate here. It is recognized at the highest levels that no country is able to solve not only international but also its own problems alone. Exploded customs and outdated stereotypes often play a negative role in the search for a balance of interests. It is not so easy to dismiss decades of confrontation and brinkmanship. It is not so easy to erase the image of the enemy, which has been created and cultivated over decades, from the memory of generations.

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Topics for reference paper

- 1. Foreign policy of the state: concept and essence, main features and goals.
- 2. International relations and foreign policy of the state: essence, types, principles and subjects.

- 3. Basic principles of domestic and foreign policy.
- 4. Principles of domestic and foreign policy.
- 5. Foreign policy of the Ukrainian state at the current stage.

Terms.

Policy (the "art of governing" the state and society) is the activity of solving issues of life of a society or a certain part of it.

State is a political form of government organization characterized by sovereign power, political and public character, and the exercise of its powers in a certain territory through a system of specially created authorities and organizations that are used to carry out political, economic and ideological governance of society and management of public rights.

Nation is an ethno-social community united by a specific name, symbols, geographical and ethnosocial origin, historical memory, a set of spiritual, cultural and political values, and an awareness of its identity.

National security is the condition of the state that enables it to preserve its integrity and act as an independent subject of the international relations system. It has internal and external aspects.

Industrialization is a historical process of technical and economic transition from agrarian to industrial methods of social production, which passes through the machine stage of production of goods and services. The concept of Industrialization is used to refer to the historical era of the European Industrial Revolution, which began in the second half of the XVIII century in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

International relations are a set of political, economic, social, cultural and other relations and interactions between participants operating in the international arena (states and unions of states, transnational corporations, ethnic and national groups, political and public organizations, social movements, individuals, etc.)

Political regime is a characteristic type of government in a country, a set of means and methods of exercising political power that reflects the nature of relations between citizens and the state.

Foreign policy is the activity of the state and other political institutions carried out in the international arena and aimed at establishing and maintaining relations with the international community, protecting its own national interest and spreading its influence on other subjects of international relations.

National security is the condition of the state that enables it to preserve its integrity and act as an independent subject of the international relations system. National security means the protection of vital interests of an individual, the state and society, state borders, territorial integrity, socio-political system, economy, and culture of a country from internal and external threats.

Increase of the strength of the state means improving its economic, political, military, intellectual and moral potential.

Test questions.

- 1. Forms of foreign policy implementation:
- a) passive, active;
- b) active, aggressive, conservative;
- c) passive, aggressive, active, conservative;
- d) there is no correct answer.

- 2. Ideological aspect of national interests involves:
- a) substantiation of various ideological versions of interpretation of the content of these interests;
- b) ensuring political stability and maintaining the power of the ruling forces or, in addition to these goals, raising the living standards of the social majority;
 - c) preservation of sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- d) a place and role in a certain geopolitical space or spreading its influence through military, economic and informational expansion, ensuring the balance of power through international political, legal and economic institutions.
 - 3. Second level of national security is:
- a) security of the individual: consists in the formation of a set of such legal and moral norms and social institutions that would enable the individual to develop and exercise socially significant abilities and needs without being opposed by society and the state;
- b) security of society: implies the existence of social institutions, norms and relations that allow to exercise the rights and freedoms of all social groups and to resist actions that lead to the division of society;
- c) state security: is achieved by the existence of an effective mechanism of social governance, coordination of activities of social groups and political forces, as well as effective institutions of their protection;
 - d) there is no correct answer.
- 4. With the aim to achieve the goals of foreign policy, the following means of their implementation are available:
 - a) political
 - b) economic;
 - c) ideological;
 - d) all answers are correct.
- 5. The main international legal document of our days, which formulates the principles of international law and provides for measures to comply with them, was adopted:
 - a) in 1942
 - b) in 1943
 - c) in 1944
 - d) in 1945

Content

Topic 1: Theoretical Fundamentals of Foreign Policy

Concept of foreign policy and forms of its implementation. Foreign policy of the state. Internal policy. International relations. Foreign policy theories. Passive policy. Aggressive policy. Active policy. Conservative policy.

Purpose of foreign policy. Concept of national interest. "National interests". Nation. International influential circles. Objective and subjective content. Geopolitical aspect. Domestic political aspect. Ideological aspect.

Goals of foreign policy. National security. Security of the individual. Security of society. Security of the state. Increasing the power of the state. Military power. Geopolitical position. Population. Natural resources. Economic development of the state. Political leadership and internal organization of power. Diplomacy. Fields. International image.

Means of implementation of foreign policy. Means of implementation. Political means. Military means. Economic means. Ideological means. Information and propaganda means.

Modern principles of foreign policy. Principles of foreign policy. Charter of the United Nations. Principle of peaceful coexistence. Principle of non-use of force. Principle of sovereign equality of states. Principle of inviolability of state borders. Principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a state. Principle of mutual interest. Balance of interests of states.

Lecture

Topic 2. Institutional structure and decision-making procedure in the European Union

Plan.

- 1. Agreements on which the activities of the European Union are based and its "pillars"
- 2. European Commission
- 3. European Parliament
- 4. Council of the European Union
- 5. European Council
- 6. Court of Justice of the European Union
- 7. Decision-making procedures of the EU institutions
- 1. Agreements on which the EU's activities are based and its "pillars".

The EU's activities are based on 5 agreements:

- Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It was signed on April 18, 1952 in Paris, entered into force on July 23, 1952, and expired on July 23, 2002.
- Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC), signed on March 25, 1957, entered into force on January 1, 1958.
- Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (Euroatom), signed in Rome along with the EEC. These two treaties are often referred to as the "*Rome Treaties*". When the term "Rome Treaty" is used, only the EEC is meant;
- Treaty on European Union (EU), signed in Maastricht on February 7, 1992, entered into force on November 1, 1993.
 - Treaty of Lisbon, signed on December 13, 2007, entered into force on December 1, 2009.

The first three treaties created the "European Community," i.e., a system of decision-making in the coal, steel, and energy industries, as well as in other leading sectors of the economy of the member states.

In addition to its economic function, the EEC has gradually taken on social, environmental and regional policy responsibilities. Since this Community was no longer exclusively economic, the Maastricht Treaty renamed it to **European Union**.

Treaty on European Union introduced new forms of cooperation between member governments, for example, in defence, justice and home affairs. By adding intergovernmental cooperation to the existing Community system, the Maastricht Treaty created a new structure with **three pillars.**

Three "pillars" of the EU represent different areas of EU policy and different decision-making systems:

- 1. Community sphere, i.e., those issues that were the subject of competence of the ECSC, EEC and Euroatom;
- 2. Common foreign and security policy (CFSP);
- 3. Cooperation in the field of justice and domestic affairs.

Maastricht Treaty defined five main objectives of the EU:

- to promote social and economic progress by creating a space without internal borders, strengthening economic and social cohesion, and establishing an economic and monetary union;
- to assert its identity in the international arena through the implementation of the CFSP and, in the future, a common defence policy;
- to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of citizens through the introduction of Union citizenship;
 - to develop close cooperation in the field of justice and domestic affairs;
 - to ensure full compliance with the acquis communautaire.

	Under the A	greement,	the EU	J operates	in	20	fields:
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agriculture	environment		
transportation	industrial policy		
competition	consumer protection		
regional policy	health care		
social policy	education and vocational training		
scientific research	youth policy		

Maastricht Treaty implemented the **institution of European citizenship**. EU citizenship effranchise every citizen of a member state a certain number of political and civil rights.

Treaty of Amsterdam, signed on October 2, 1997, entered into force on May 1, 1999:

- strengthened the legislative powers of the European Parliament;
- introduced the post of High Representative for CFSP issues;
- introduced the instrument of a common CFSP strategy;
- incorporated the Schengen agreements into the EU legal framework.

Treaty of Nice, signed on February 26, 2001, entered into force on February 1, 2003. The main purpose of this treaty is to adapt the decision-making system in the EU institutions to the enlargement of the Union by new members.

Under the agreement, there was

- agreed the formation of the European Commission in the format of up to 27 members;
- simplified the procedure for closer cooperation;
- introduced innovations in social policy, consumer protection, and the formation of the European judicial space.

Reform Treaty or Treaty of Lisbon is a new basic agreement on the principles of the European Union. It is officially called the Lisbon Treaty introducing amendments to the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community. The official signing of the Lisbon Treaty took place on December 13, 2007, after which the document was subject to ratification by the national parliaments of the 27 EU states.

European governing institutions have gained more power in handling common issues. These include security, fight against climate change, and migration problems. All diplomatic functions are now in the hands of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

2. European Commission

European Commission is the EU institution vested with the greatest executive powers, as its main function is to ensure the proper functioning and development of the common market.

European Commission is an independent authority representing the common interests of all EU member states. The term "Commission" refers both to the College of Commissioners and to the institution itself, with its headquarter in Brussels (Belgium) and offices in Luxembourg. Commission also has offices known as "missions" in all EU member states.

Form of work. European Commission operates on the basis of collegiality and holds regular and special meetings. Committee members meet once a week - as a rule, on Wednesdays in Brussels (Belgium). If the European Parliament holds its plenary sessions in Strasbourg, the Commissioners are usually also based in the Parliament.

The agenda of each meeting is determined by the Commission's work program. Commissioner for the relevant policy is assigned to each agenda item.

The Commission's meetings and debates are not open to the public, but the agenda and time are public. The Commission also meets in special circumstances, at the request of the Council of Ministers, to discuss important issues.

Composition. Since its establishment (1958), the European Commission has consisted of one representative from each member state of the European Community, with the exception of the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, Germany and France, which had two representatives each. But the Treaty of Nice changed this order.

The Commission is composed of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, including three Executive Vice-Presidents, a High Representative of the Council for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and 18 Commissioners. Daily work of the Commission is carried out by its staff (lawyers, economists, etc.), organized into departments known as Directorates General, each responsible for a specific policy area.

The candidate for President of the Commission is nominated by national leaders to the European Council, taking into account the results of the European Parliament elections. To be elected, he or she needs the support of a majority of MEPs of the European Parliament. **The current President of the Commission is Ursula von der Leyen**.

The peak of the undisputed power of the European Commission in the institutional system was during the ten years when Jacques Delors was at the head of the EC (1985-1995). After the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty and related institutional reforms, the EC, according to experts, lost some of its former influence due to the events of redistribution of power between institutions. It is generally accepted that this is most evident in foreign policy. However, this opinion should be recognized as inaccurate, since in all areas of the EU's external relations outside the CFSP, the Commission's position has in fact not only been preserved, but (in some cases) even somewhat strengthened. However, this opinion should be recognized as inaccurate, since in all areas of the EU's external relations outside the CFSP, the Commission's position has in fact not only been preserved, but (in some cases) even somewhat strengthened.

In fact, the European Commission remains one of the most important actors in the EU's external relations, although the institutional changes introduced by the Lisbon Treaty have indeed reduced, at least formally, its influence in the CFSP remains. It is responsible for drafting the EU budget, including the funds allocated under the CFSP line. The Commission's direct responsibility remains agreed with EEAS distribution of EU funds allocated under the Neighbourhood Policy, Development Policy and humanitarian aid to third countries, as agreed with the EEAS. Among other things, the Commission also oversees how the funds allocated directly to the EEAS are spent. Thus, in June 2021, the new EU budget for foreign policy was finally adopted through the introduction of the Global Europe Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument for the period 2021-2027. With this decision, the EU will be able to use **EUR 79.5 billion** in current prices to help the global economic recovery over the next seven years.

These funds will be used for international partnerships on sustainable development, climate change, democracy, governance, human rights, peace and security in our neighbourhood and beyond.

According to the formulation contained in the Maastricht Treaty, the Commission was fully associated with the Common Foreign and Security Policy. But now the former Directorate-General for External Relations of the Commission (DGRELEX) has been merged into the EEAS, and the former Commission missions abroad have become the EU's representatives (missions).

Commission retained the right (jointly with the High Representative) to propose draft decisions to the Council concerning the EU's actions in the international environment. The Service for Foreign Policy Instruments (FPI) remains a structural unit of the Commission, but must report directly to the High Representative in his/her role as First Deputy President of the Commission. Service should support the achievement of the EU's foreign and security policy goals as they are set out in Article 21 of the TFEU, especially as regards peace and conflict prevention, and help project the EU's interests and positive image around the world. Working in close coordination with the High Representative, the EEAS and the EU Missions (embassies), it performs the following tasks:

- implementation of the budget of the CFSP;
- implementation of crisis response and prevention measures financed through the Instrument for Stability and Peace (formerly Stability Instrument EUR 2.3 billion for 2014-2020, EUR 339 million in 2016);
- application of the Partnership Instrument designed to promote the EU's strategic interests around the world (EUR 954.8 million in 2014-2020, EUR 126 million in 2016), including addressing climate change, energy security, and supporting the external dimension of the EU's efforts to increase its competitiveness and develop scientific research;
- application of the Instrument for Cooperation with Industrialized Countries (especially in North America, East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Persian Gulf countries implemented annually within the framework of the European Commission's multi-year regional or country cooperation programs, which describe projects and indicate the funds allocated for them);
- application of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights to finance election observation missions in third countries.
- preparation and implementation of sanctions proposals (the service represents the Commission in discussions with Member States on sanctions issues within the RELEX Counsellors Working Group and drafts sanctions regulations that are then adopted by the Council of the EU;
 - ensuring the Commission's Mission in the Kimberley Process;
- work to prevent trade in goods that could be used for the capital punishment or torture (the Service prepares delegated acts of the Commission for example, on lists of such goods).

In the field of trade policy, where the Commission is responsible for developing a mandate for international trade negotiations and for conducting the negotiations themselves (of course, such mandates, as well as trade agreements themselves, must be approved by the Council and the European Parliament), its position was strengthened by the transfer of certain issues to the exclusive competence of the Union (previously they were the mixed competence of the Union and the Member States). The EC's coordinating role on external aspects of internal policies (environment, transportation, judicature and justice), as well as on the Neighbourhood Policy, where the EC is responsible for the relevant programs, has been preserved. It should be noted that the CFSP is only a small part of the EU's broader foreign policy, which is increasingly intersecting with human rights, development assistance and humanitarian aid, where the Commission also retains control.

3. European Parliament

European Parliament is an elected authority that represents EU citizens and participates in the legislative process. Since 1979, the members of the European Parliament have been directly elected by general voting every five years. Prior to the 2004 elections, the number of Parliament members was 626. Subsequently, EU enlargement will lead to a further increase in this number.

The Parliament usually holds its **plenary sessions** in Strasbourg and additional sessions in Brussels. **It has 22 committees, including 2 subcommittees (705 MEPs in total). Headquarter of the General Secretariat is located in Luxembourg. The President of the European Parliament is currently David Sassoli.**

European Parliament does not form a government at the European level. In fact, there is no such government, and the executive power at the European level in the EU is mainly shared between the Council and the European Commission. But the vast majority of EU member states are parliamentary democracies.

Since the European Parliament has no "own" government, this gives it great freedom to determine its foreign policy positions in the absence of a political need to support the position of the Council, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs or the Commission, which, in aggregate, constitute the EU's executive power in terms of its foreign policy. Thus, the EP has significant political autonomy and a certain potential for developing its own foreign policy identity.

The Lisbon Treaty strengthened the legislative powers of the European Parliament and its position in the EU's foreign policy, while the European Parliament itself has achieved even greater foreign policy influence in practice than was covered by the agreement. Previously, it had no formal role in negotiating international agreements on behalf of the EU. Now, following the treaty, the European Parliament must be informed "immediately and fully" of the progress of such negotiations "at all stages of the procedure" (Article 218(10) TFEU). Formally, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs is obliged to consult the EP on the main aspects and fundamental priorities of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and to inform the EP on the development of the CFSP, taking the EP's views into account as appropriate. The EP may also ask questions (the latter are not obliged to answer them, however) or make recommendations to the Council and the High Representative. Twice a year, the EP holds parliamentary debates on foreign policy. But in practice, the Parliament most often has to rely on the goodwill of the Council to receive timely and relevant information. Thus, we see a double democratic deficit here, as the involvement of national parliaments in overseeing national foreign policy also leaves much to be desired.

Much of the Parliament's work on the CFSP is carried out in specialized committees, especially the Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET) and its two subcommittees on Security and Defence (SEDE) and Human Rights (DROI), as well as the Committee on International Trade (INTA) and the Committee on Development (DEVE). These are the main links between the EP and global governance structures (including the UN), other EU institutions, the Council Presidency and national parliaments of the member states. The Foreign Affairs Committee has 76 full members and is the largest committee in the European Parliament. Several working groups help it to define its position on specific foreign policy issues (e.g., working groups on relations with the UN, the Western Balkans, the Eastern Partnership, conflict, security and development, and various financial instruments involved in the field of EU foreign policy). The Committee on Foreign Affairs rarely engages in legislative work, except for the preparation of parliamentary consent for international agreements, as well as participation in the usual legislative procedure once every five to seven years when making decisions on foreign policy financial instruments. An essential part of this committee's work is to control or monitor the actions of the Commission, Council, High Representative and EEAS. A group of MEPs representing the major factions of the European Parliament, including the heads of AFET and SEDE, have access to confidential foreign policy information passing through the Council.

4. Council of the European Union

The Council of the EU, also informally known as the Council, is where the ministers of each EU country's government meet to discuss, amend and adopt laws and agree on policies. Ministers have the power to oblige their governments to carry out actions agreed upon at the meetings.

Together with the European Parliament, the Council is the main decision-making authority of the EU. **Its tasks are:**

- negotiation and adoption of the EU laws together with the European Parliament on the basis of proposals from the European Commission
 - coordination of the policies of the EU countries
- development of the EU's foreign and security policy based on the recommendations of the European Council
 - conclusion of agreements between the EU and other countries or international organizations
 - adoption of the annual EU budget jointly with the European Parliament.

Composition

There are no permanent members of the EU Council. Instead, the Council meets in 10 different configurations, each of which corresponds to the policy area under discussion. Depending on the configuration, each country sends a minister responsible for that policy area.

Each EU country takes turns presiding over the Council for six months. Each Council meeting is attended by one minister from each member state. The choice of ministers to participate in the meeting depends on the subject of discussion. For example, during a meeting of the Council on Economic and Financial Affairs (the "ECOFIN Council"), the minister of finance of each country is present.

The Council's work is generally planned and coordinated by the General Affairs and International Relations Council. Preparations for the Council's meetings are carried out by the Committee of Permanent Representatives (CPR), which consists of the ambassadors of the member states to the EU, assisted by officials from national ministries. The Council's administrative work is carried out by its General Secretariat, which is permanently based in Brussels.

On important issues, such as amendments to treaties, new policies, or the admission of a new state to the Union, the Council takes unanimous decisions. Most often, a qualified majority of votes is required, in other words, a decision is not adopted unless a certain minimum number of votes are cast.

The Council of the European Union makes decisions by qualified majority, which is the default voting rule under Article 16 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU). However, in some areas of EU legislation, the Council acts unanimously, and procedural decisions are taken by simple majority (where 14 out of 27 EU member states voted in favour).

Until November 01, 2014, member states with the largest populations had 27 to 29 votes, medium-sized countries had 7 to 14 votes, and small countries had 3 or 4 votes. At least 260 out of 352 votes were required for a decision to be made.

On November 01, 2014, the rules for establishing a qualified majority were changed (Article 16 TEU). When the Council acts on a proposal from the Commission or the High Representative of the EU, a qualified majority is achieved if:

- 55% of Council members voted "for" (i.e. 15 out of 27);
- these Council members represent at least 65% of the total EU population.

This rule is known as the double majority rule. A blocking minority must include at least 4 member states.

If the Council does not act on a proposal by the Commission or the High Representative, a qualifying majority is obtained if:

- at least 72% of the members of the Council vote "for" (i.e. 20 out of 27);
- they represent at least 65% of the total EU population.

5. European Council

The European Council is composed of the Presidents and Prime Ministers of all EU countries, as well as the President of the European Commission. In addition, the President of the European Parliament addresses each meeting of the European Council. The President of the European Council prepares the meetings, presides over them, and is called upon to facilitate the achievement of consensus. The Permanent President of the European Council provides external representation of the European Union. He also has the right to convene an emergency meeting of the European Council if international events require it.

The European Council determines the general political line of the European Union, identifies its strategic interests and assigns certain objectives to it. As far as foreign policy is concerned, the Lisbon Treaty gave the European Council the role of strategic leader. Article 22 of the TEU states that "the European Council lays down the strategic interests and objectives of the Union", and its decisions in this regard concern not only the CFSP, but also "other areas relating to foreign policy activities", i.e. the entire spectrum of activities at the EU international level.

The European Council was founded in 1974, when EU political leaders began to call regular meetings. This practice was made official by the Single European Act (1987). Today, the European Council usually meets four times a year. Its Head is the president or prime minister of the country currently presiding over the Council of the European Union.

According to the Maastricht Treaty, the European Council officially became the initiator of the main political decisions of the Union and received the powers to resolve the most difficult issues on which ministers could not agree.

Thus, the European Council is the highest political authority of the EU. Some states of the Union would like it to become the government of Europe, and for one of its members to represent the Union on the world arena. Should this person be elected by the European Council or should it automatically be the President of the European Commission? There is no consensus on this issue.

In 2009, the European Council became one of the official institutions of the European Union. In addition, in 2009, according to the Lisbon Treaty, the post of President of the European Council was introduced. The President of the European Council is elected by the European Council for a term of 2.5 years and can be re-elected to this position one more time. The first President of the European Council was elected on November 19, 2009. The decision to appoint Herman Van Rompuy was made unanimously by all member states. The former Belgian Prime Minister, who was elected to the post of President of the European Council, entered upon his duties on January 1, 2010. In March 2012, Herman Van Rompuy was re-elected to this position for the second time. On August 30, 2014, Donald Tusk was elected President of the European Council and came into office on December 01, 2014. Since December 01, 2019, Charles Michel has been President of the European Council.

6. Court of Justice of the European Union

Court of Justice of the European Union (also known as the European Court of Justice) is an official institution of the European Union that covers the entire judiciary of the EU.

European Court of Justice was founded in accordance with the Treaty on European Coal and Steel Community in 1952 as the European Coal and Steel Community Court. With the entry into force of the Treaties of Rome in 1958, the Court became a common institution for the three Communities (EEAS, EEC, and Euratom). With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009, the name of the Court was changed to the current one.

According to Article 19 of the Treaty on European Union, "The Court of Justice of the European Union shall comprise the Court of Justice, the General Court and the specialized courts".

Thus, the term "Court of Justice of the European Union" refers to the entire EU judicial system in its entirety and includes:

- European Court of Justice is the highest level of the European Union's judicial system;
- **General Court** (formerly the Court (Tribunal) of First Instance established in 1989 and renamed the Tribunal by the Lisbon Treaty);

The Civil Service Tribunal (established in 2004, terminated in 2016) was also an element of the judicial system, but due to the disproportionate benefits of existence and financial costs of maintenance, the Tribunal was disbanded and its functions were transferred to the General Court. The Public Service Tribunal was the only specialized court established so far.

By formalizing the abandonment of the former system of three pillars, the Lisbon Treaty did not eliminate the traditional dichotomy between the Common Foreign and Security Policy, including the Common Security and Defence Policy, and its other external competences, which had previously been attributed to the external relations of the European Community. However, the formulation of the Court of Justice's jurisdiction over the CFSP was changed.

Firstly, the EU Court of Justice, although to the limited frameworks, received the possibility of judicial control over certain acts adopted under the CFSP, i.e. the full immunity of this policy in terms of judicial review is now over. In particular, the EU Court of Justice is authorized to control the legality of restrictive restrictions imposed on individuals and legal entities. Article 24(1) TFEU states that the Court of Justice has the right to control the lawfulness of certain decisions referred to in part 2 of the Article 275 of TFEU, which, in turn, states that the Court has the right to rule on claims brought under the conditions provided for in the fourth paragraph of Article 263 TFEU. In such cases, the Court acts to control the legality of decisions taken by the Council that provide for restrictive measures against individuals or legal entities. The Court's empowerment with such opportunities is an addition to the jurisdiction it previously had over acts of the European Community implementing measures taken under the CFSP. Thus, individuals and legal entities are now able to appeal against the legality of any restrictive EU measures taken under the framework of the CFSP.

Secondly, the role of the Court of Justice was reconfigured to ensure that the boundary between the EU's external competences based on the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (formerly external relations) and the treaty provisions relating to the CFSP. The Court of EU may have a right to vote on international agreements concluded by the EU that contain aspects related to the CFSP. In particular, *if such an agreement was approved in violation of the procedural requirements under Article 218 TFEU, its adoption may be appealed in the Court of EU by the European Parliament.* The EP may also appeal against the Council's assertion that the agreement relates exclusively to the CFSP area.

Thirdly, the ability of the EU Court of Justice to ensure compliance with the principles underlying the EU legal order has been interpreted more broadly than before. As a result, it is far from being as powerless in this area as it might seem at first sight. After all, it is the Court that stands guard over constitutional norms (democracy, the rule of law, respect for fundamental rights), as well as the principles enshrined in EU primary law (primarily in the basic treaties: for example, the principles of good faith cooperation and common approach).

7. Decision-making procedures of the EU institutions.

Various institutions are involved in the decision-making process in the European Union, including:

- European Commission;
- European Parliament;
- Council of the European Union.

Role and procedure of decision-making in the EU are stated in the agreements. All European laws are based on specific articles of the treaties, which is called the "legal basis" of legislation.

Firstly, there is the "procedure of cooperation" or "consultation" introduced by the Single European Act in 1986. According to this procedure, the Parliament gives its conclusion on draft directives and regulations proposed by the European Commission, which may amend its proposal taking into account the Parliament's conclusions.

Secondly, there is an "approval procedure" ("consent", "authorization"), also introduced in 1986, according to which the Parliament must give its consent to international agreements negotiated by the Commission, any enlargement of the European Union and a number of other issues, including any changes to electoral rules.

Third, there is the "co-decision-making procedure" introduced by the Maastricht Treaty (1992). It puts the Parliament on an equal state with the Council in terms of law-making on a number of important issues, such as free movement of labour, the internal market, education, science, environment, trans-European networks, health, culture and consumer protection. The Parliament is authorized to reject legislation in these areas if a majority of members of the Parliament vote against the Council's "common position". However, the issue can be considered by a conciliation committee.

The Amsterdam Treaty added 23 and the Nice Treaty added 7 new fields to the co-decision procedure.

The Parliament and the Council are also jointly responsible for adopting the EU budget. The European Commission proposes a budget proposal, which is then discussed by the Parliament and the Council. Parliament can reject the budget proposal, which it has done several times. When this happens, the whole budget procedure starts from the beginning. The Parliament has fully utilized its budgetary powers to influence the political process in the EU.

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Topics for reference papers

- 1. Agreements and treaties under which the European Union operates.
- 2. European Commission as one of the most important actors in the field of external relations of the European Union.
 - 3. Functioning of the committees of the European Parliament.
 - 4. European Council as an authority of political leadership.
 - 5. Composition of the EU Council and peculiarities of voting in decision-making.
 - 6. Legal basis of the EU decision-making procedure.

Terms.

European Union Agencies - institutions of the European Union that are governed by European public law, differ from the Community institutions (Council of the European Union, European Parliament, European Commission, etc.) and have their own legal status.

European Commission is the supreme executive authority of the European Union, which roughly corresponds to the role and functions of the government in the systems of national states.

Council of the European Union (EU Council of Ministers) is an institution of the European Union, the main decision-making authority in the European Union. It consists of one minister from each country of the Union.

European Council is an EU institution that provides for regular meetings of the heads of state and government of the European Union.

Court of Justice of the European Union is the official institution of the European Union that covers the entire judiciary in the EU.

European Parliament is the legislative authority of the European Union, which is elected by direct vote by the citizens of the European Union.

Test questions.

- 1. The highest authority for the representation of EU citizens is:
- a) European Commission
- b) European Parliament
- c) European Council
- d) Council of the EU
- 2. Who is the current President of the European Commission since 2019?
- a) Ursula von der Leven
- b) Charles Michel
- c) David Sassoli
- d) Michele Santoro
- 3. Under which Treaty was introduced the post of President of the European Council (EU President)?
- a) Treaty of Nice
- b) Lisbon Treaty

- c) Treaty establishing the European Economic Community
- d) Treaty of Amsterdam
- 4. Since which year have members of the European Parliament been elected by general election?
- a) 1979
- b) 2000
- c) 1990
- d) 2009
- 5. What is the principle of decision-making in the Council of the European Union?
- a) the principle of qualified majority
- b) the principle of minority
- c) the principle of cooperation
- d) the principle of compromise
- 6. Who is the current President of the European Parliament since 2019?
- a) Ursula von der Leyen
- b) David Sassoli
- c) Charles Michel
- d) Antonio Tajani
- 7. In what year was the post of President of the European Council established?
- a) 2009
- b) 1988
- c) 2000
- d) 2005

Contents

Topic 2. Institutional structure and decision-making procedure in the European Union

Agreements on which the EU's activities are based and its "pillars". Activities of the EU. Agreements. The Lisbon Treaty. "European Community". European Union. Three "pillars" of the EU. Maastricht Treaty. The Treaty of Amsterdam. The institution of European citizenship. The Treaty of Nice. Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU.

European Commission. The composition of the Commission. The form of work. Responsibility of the Commission. Directorates General and the General Secretariat. Tasks of the Commission.

European Parliament. Elections to the European Parliament. Political groups and their responsibilities. Drawing-up and adoption of legislative acts. Election of the President and approval of the European Commission. Types of legislative procedures in the EU.

Council of the European Union. The main decision-making authority in the European Union. Tasks of the Council of the EU. The composition of the Council of the EU. Configurations of the Council of the EU. Voting procedures in the Council of the European Union.

European Council. European Council as a authority of political leadership. composition of the European Council. The President of the European Council. Powers vested in the European Council. The highest political authority of the EU.

Court of Justice of the European Union. Establishment of the Court of Justice of the European Union. The European Court of Justice. The General Court. Powers of the Court of Justice. The role of the CJEU in the law-making process.

Decision-making procedures of the EU institutions. Political groups. European Commission. European Parliament. Council of the European Union. "Cooperation procedure". " Procedure of approval". "Joint decision-making procedure".

Topic. 3 Foreign Policy of the Italian Republic

- 1. Foreign policy of Italy within the European Union.
- 2. Mediterranean as a priority of the regional policy of Italy.
- 3. Balkans in the foreign policy of Italy.
- 4. Activities of Italy within NATO.
- 5. Italy and the countries of North and Latin America.
- 6. Africa and the Asia-Pacific region in Italian diplomacy.

Topics for reference papers

- 1. Formation of the foreign policy of Italy after the end of the "Cold War".
- 2. Activities of Italy in the Council of Europe.
- 3. Activities of Italy in the "Group of Eight".
- 4. Formation of the "Italian model" of the diplomatic service.
- 5. Italian diplomatic service and new challenges of the XXI century.
- 6. Cultural diplomacy of Italy.
- 7. Ukrainian-Italian relations at the current stage.

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Test questions

Indicate the date when the Central European Initiative was established by a group of European countries (Italy, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia):

- a) October 14, 1992
- b) November 21, 1990
- c) November 11, 1989
- d) October 24, 1991.

Prime Minister of Italy in 1994-1995, 2001-2006, 2008-2011:

- a) Massimo D'Alema
- b) Romano Prodi.
- c) Silvio Berlusconi
- d) Giuliano Amato.

When the Italian lands were united into a single state:

- a) 1871
- b) 1865
- c) 1901
- d) 1877

Prime Minister of the Italian Republic, one of the founder-parent of the Council of Europe:

- a) Giuseppe Pella
- b) Aldice de Gasperi
- c) Fernando Tambroni
- d) Giovanni Leone

Indicate the date of signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Partnership and Cooperation between Italy and Libya:

- a) 2001
- b) 2005
- c) 2008
- d) 2011

Lecture

Topic 4. European External Action Service.

Plan

- 1. Creation and evolution of the European External Action Service.
- 2. The main competencies and tasks of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs.
- 3. Special representatives of the EU diplomatic service.

1. Establishment and evolution of the European External Action Service

According to 2019 data, the European External Action Service worked 3,400 people, of whom about 1,450 in Brussels and 1,950 in foreign missions. Of this total number, 900 were high-ranking officials. 600 of them came to the Service from the Commission or the Council Secretariat. The remaining 300 were seconded by national diplomatic services for a limited time (so-called temporary agents). For comparison, in 2019, the national diplomatic services of the 27 Member States worked in common 85,000 people. Thus, the EEAS accounts for approximately 4% of the total number of EU foreign policy professionals.

Prior to the creation of the European External Action Service, the EU's own "foreign policy" was conducted by both the European Council/Council and the Commission (since 1958, the EC Directorate-General for External Relations, which was disbanded in 2011 but was effectively incorporated into the EEAS). This duality caused institutional contradictions and negatively affected the EU's ability to develop a consolidated and consistent position on foreign policy issues. However, active work on creating a special structure that would unite the chaotic efforts of various services and departments to implement the EU's foreign policy has been underway since the beginning of the twenty-first century. This is confirmed by the draft Treaty on the Establishment of a Constitution for Europe (which never entered into force), which provided for the creation of the post of foreign minister and simultaneously created the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This treaty was signed by the heads of state on October 29, 2004, but it was not ratified due to the failure of national referendums in the Netherlands and France in May-June 2005. Later, the post of foreign minister was replaced by the (less ambitious in name and content) post of High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and instead of the Constitution Treaty, the Reform Treaty (its more modest version), i.e. the Lisbon Treaty, was adopted in Lisbon.

Officially, the European External Action Service began functioning on **January 01, 2011.** The service is headed by the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who is also the Vice-President of the European Commission and the Permanent Presidency of the Council of the EU in the format of foreign ministers (Foreign Affairs Council), as well as the formal head of the European Defence Agency (EDA) (in practice, the EDA is directly governed by the Chief Administrator of EDA). The first High Representative for Foreign Affairs in the format defined by the Lisbon Treaty in November 2009 was **Catherine Ashton**, a British citizen, who had previously

served as a member of the European Trade Commission for a year, where she proved herself quite well. However, her appointment to the new post was quite unexpected.

She proved to be a consensus figure, acceptable primarily to European socialists and social democrats. British Prime Minister Gordon Brown put in nomination Ashton for the position of High Representative after it became clear that the candidacy of former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, whose reputation in Europe suffered due to his decision on the UK's participation in the NATO military campaign in Iraq, would not receive sufficient support in Brussels and major European capitals. In 2014, Federica Mogherini replaced Ashton as the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Since December 01, 2019, this post has been held by the Spaniard Josep Borrell.

2. Main competences and tasks of the High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs

High Representative is appointed by the European Council, acting by a qualified majority, with the consent of the President of the Commission. But in order to take on the role in the Commission as its Vice-President, the future High Representative must also appear in the European Parliament to answer questions, and then his/her candidacy is subject to approval by the European Parliament (in the full composition of the new Commission).

The responsibilities of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy include the following:

- 1. Conducting the EU's foreign policy course.
- 2. Coordinating the work of thematic instruments for the implementation of the EU foreign policy.
 - 3. Participation in the development of a common course in the foreign policy of countries.
- 4. Regular attendance at meetings of the EU Heads of State and Government in the European Council.
 - 5. Ensuring the consistency of the EU's external actions in different areas.
- 6. Mission to represent the EU in matters related to the common foreign and security policy, conducting political dialogue with third parties on behalf of the EU, presenting the EU's positions in international organizations and at international conferences.
 - 7. Management of the EEAS and EU missions in third countries and international organizations.
- 8. Administration of the work of the European Defence Agency and the EU Institute for Security Studies.

The competences of the High Representative are as diverse as his/her structural links to the various institutions and authorities. As a member of the Commission, *he/she must obey the internal rules of the European Commission and follow the communitarian (supranational) method conducting of business*. In matters of "high" foreign policy, it must fit into the intergovernmental method.

In the interpretation of the Amsterdam Treaty, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs was associated only with the Council. He was a purely intergovernmental actor who dealt exclusively with foreign (in the narrow sense) and defence policy. Those areas of foreign relations that were included

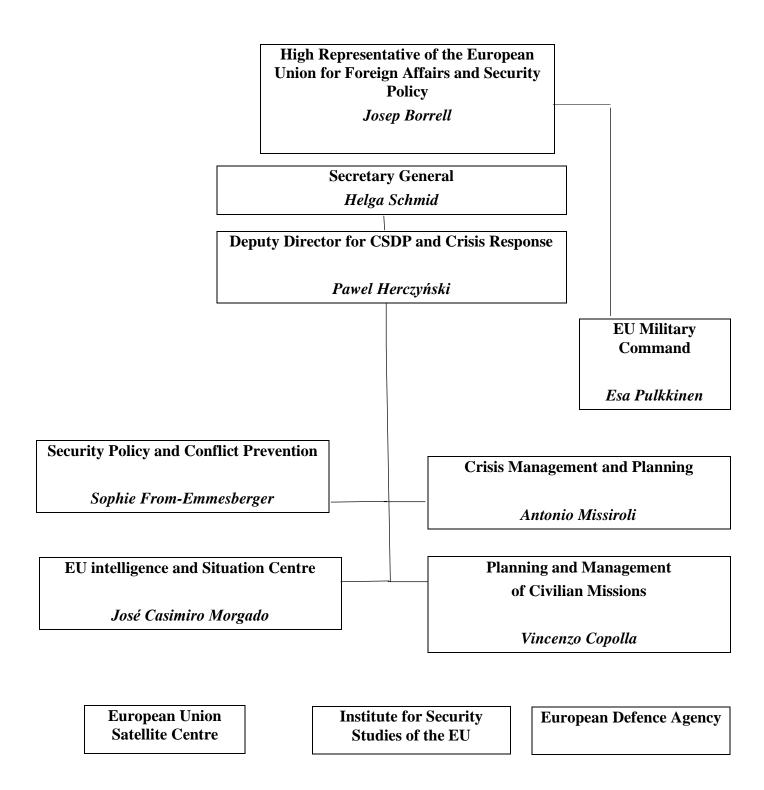
in the first pillar remained the prerogative of the Commission. The head of the EU's foreign policy service is expected to fulfil four roles, which, for the most part, are in different planes:

- the role of a leader in conducting foreign policy together with the EU member states, but without infringement of their interests, which would allow promoting the common defence policy (this is directly stated in the EU Treaty Article 18(2), Article 22(2), Article 27(1), Article 30(1));
- the role of mediator between EU countries in the event of a conflict of interest, which will facilitate the establishment of dialogue, the search for mutual understanding and compromise for this reason, the High Representative is the permanent chairman of the EU Foreign Affairs Council;
- the role of the guarantor of the stability of the EU's foreign policy course, which requires from him/her to be a good enough governor to ensure coordinated actions of all EU institutions and their units with competences in the international arena;
 - the role of a diplomat and a person representing the EU in the outside world.

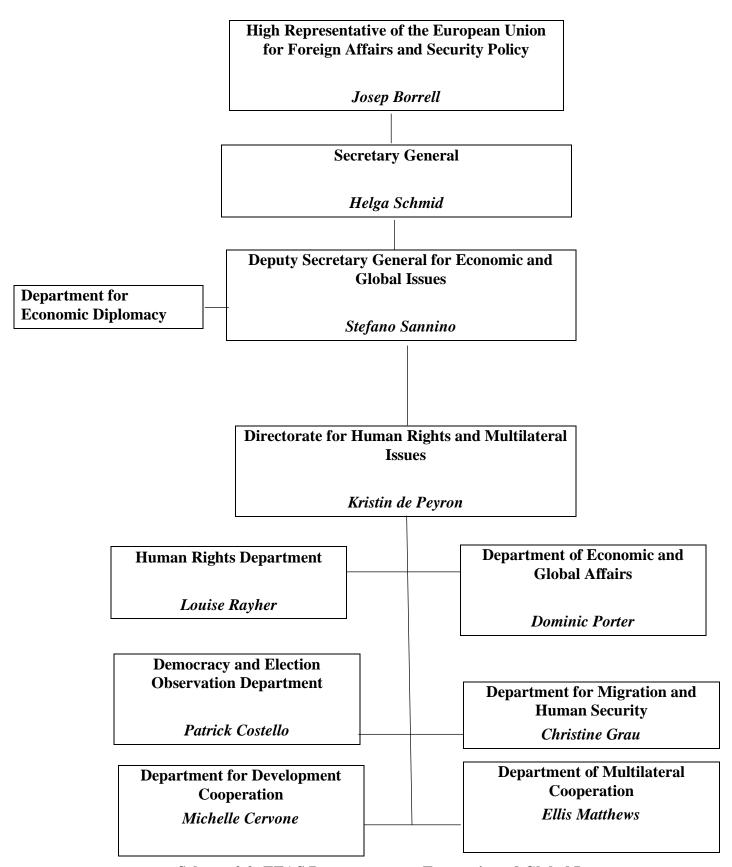
Current Secretary General of the Service is Helga Schmid.

Secretary General oversees the daily work at the EEAS headquarter. The Deputy Secretaries General oversee the main areas of work of the Service, including five major departments based on geography: Asia and the Pacific, Africa, Europe and Central Asia (with Russia included in the division that also deals with the Eastern Partnership, Central Asia, Regional Cooperation and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), the Greater Middle East and the America.

They are adjacent to the Department for Human Rights, Global and Multilateral Affairs (including the coordination of EU efforts in the field of international development and democracy promotion). A separate block is formed by authorities operating in the field of security and defence policy, as well as crisis management.



Scheme 2.1. EEAS: CSDP and Crisis Response Unit



Scheme 2.2: EEAS Departments on Economic and Global Issues

The Lisbon Treaty transformed the system of EC Delegations into EU Delegations, giving them broader (political) functions. The EU delegations operate in close cooperation with the diplomatic and consular missions of the member states. In their daily work, they emphasize their

complementarity to the efforts of national diplomatic services. But at the same time, EU **delegations** are becoming significant diplomatic actors with more importance and visibility in the host country than most national embassies. **They are called for to fulfil three tasks:**

- represent the EU in third countries on a wide range of issues;
- coordinate and assist the efforts of Member States;
- contribute to the development of the EU's foreign policy as an integral part of the EEAS.

Action Service, and the functions of the delegations were significantly expanded. Since delegations provide a direct and permanent connection between Europe and third countries, we can call them an important tool for ensuring that the EU has a common voice in the world. The mandates of the EU delegations and heads of delegations are defined in the Council Decision dated July 26, 2010 (Article 5). It states that EU delegations should assist EU institutions, in particular the European Parliament, in their activities in third countries, as well as support EU countries in their diplomatic relations and provide consular protection to European citizens in third countries. *Delegations are responsible not only for foreign policy issues, but also for those internal EU policy issues that have an international dimension but still fall within the competence of the Commission*.

Members of delegations, including the head of delegation and his or her deputies, are often overloaded with administrative work, which prevents them from concentrating on the political component of their activities. Administrative work also includes the management of financial programs, which some of the experienced mission staff simply had not encountered before (special courses and trainings on financial issues had to be organized for heads of delegations). **Another difficult task was to develop a common corporate culture (esprit de corps).** The vast majority of the heads of EU delegations are diplomats from EU countries who have not previously worked in the system of European institutions. Almost half of the EEAS staff in the delegations are diplomats of member states sent to the EEAS as "temporary agents" for a period of 4 to 10 years. The rest are former Commission staff members who joined the EEAS in December 2010. There is also a smaller number of staff members sent to the delegation on the initiative of the EU countries themselves - seconded national experts whose work is paid for by national governments.

At first sight, the decision to combine Commission and EEAS staff in the delegations seems risky. Tensions do arise, but there is no serious split between the supranational and intergovernmental spheres of the delegations' work.

Heads of delegations receive instructions from the High Representative, to whom they submit. The Commission also has the right to give the heads of delegations its own instructions on issues that go beyond the general defence and security policy. In order to mitigate any inter-institutional contradictions that may arise, the Commission also sends a copy of such instructions to the High Representative and the EEAS. Interaction between the delegations and the EEAS is limited to the fact that the delegations regularly send analytical reports to Brussels on their work and the state of affairs in the host country.

The issue of democratic accountability of the EEAS remains essentially unresolved. Meanwhile, the view that foreign policy and diplomacy are incompatible with a democratic and transparent decision-making process is becoming less and less credible in modern democratic societies. Moreover, for a foreign policy service that represents the European Union as an organization that strives to play an essentially mentoring role in state and democratic building processes in various countries around the world, ensuring democratic accountability should certainly be an important concern. After all, the difference between traditional diplomats and EU diplomatic representatives in

countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina is very significant: the latter are directly involved in the country's governance, have serious powers in this sense and manage substantial budgets.

3. Special Representatives of the EU Diplomatic Service.

Special Representatives (currently there are nine) play a special role in EU diplomacy. Special Representatives are present in such regions and countries as Central Asia, the Middle East, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, the South Caucasus and Georgia, the Horn of Africa and the Sahel. In addition, the post of EU Special Representative for Human Rights was established in 2012. There are also three special envoys: <u>for non-proliferation and disarmament in the field of nuclear weapons, for outer space, and for peace negotiations in Colombia</u>. The first two were appointed as part of the EEAS and work under the responsibility of the Secretary General of the Service. The third one works under the direct guidance of the High Representative (special envoys are less closely linked to the Council than Special Representatives). Since 2016, EC President Juncker has appointed his own envoy to promote freedom of religion or belief outside the EU.

Special Representatives are called for, first of all, to facilitate the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs in the activities aimed at resolving international conflicts in problematic countries and regions. The first Special Envoy, Aldo Ajello, was appointed to the African Great Lakes region in March 1996, followed by the appointment of another EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process in November 1996. At that time, the European Commission already had many permanent representative offices in Africa, but they were engaged in development assistance, trade and institution building, and member states did not consider them important actors in the field of "high" politics and security, which includes arrangement of a conflict. The emergence of such a post in the 1990s reflected the EU's long-standing involvement in conflict resolution processes in Central Africa and the Middle East, but the main task of Special Representatives was initially limited to collecting data on the situation in the conflict zone so that the EU could later build its policy towards a particular country or region with greater confidence.

The countries of appointment of special representatives are divided into three groups:

- Western Balkan countries that are candidates for EU accession;
- countries participating in the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP);
- countries that are not part of the ENP, but which are nevertheless affected by the EU's strategic interests.

It should be noted that not all Special Representatives are physically located in the regions of their assignment - most of them work permanently in Brussels, periodically visiting the countries of their mandate.



Figure 3.1. Countries covered by the mandates of the EU Special Representatives of geographical profile

Special Representatives are not part of the formal hierarchy of the EEAS. In fact, they are an instrument of the Council that works under the strategic guidance of the Political and Security Committee (PSC), which is part of its structure. The process of appointment of Special Representatives is set out in Article 33 of the TFEU, which states: "The Council, on the proposal of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, may appoint a Special Representative, who shall be given a mandate on specific political matters. Special Representative exercises his/her mandate under the guidance of the High Representative". The choice of a particular person for the post of Special Representative is always the result of a compromise and coordination of the positions of the participating states on different candidates. However, the formal proposal for their appointment, as we can see, is within the competence of the High Representative.

The post of Special Representative is usually held by high-ranking diplomats from the Union who have previously worked either in international organizations or EU institutions, or in the relevant foreign affairs ministries. Three Special Representatives (in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo) wear a "double hat", being at the same time heads of EU representative offices. They are located in the respective capitals. The rest of the special representative offices are based in Brussels.

The institutional ambiguity described above with the position of special representatives can provoke tension between the High Representative and the Council. For example, in July 2010, disputes between Catherine Ashton and the participating countries over the planned resignation of several Special Representatives broke out.

On the suggestion of her Chief Adviser Robert Cooper, Catherine Ashton announced the termination of the mandates of a number of Special Representatives from February 2011, without actually notifying the Member States of this decision in advance, so that their work could be continued by the EU delegations on site or by the EEAS itself in Brussels. This proposal was harshly criticized by the Council. The Baltic States, Finland, Sweden, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Bulgaria insisted on maintaining the mandate of the Special Representative for the South Caucasus conflict. As

a result, a compromise was found, and the mandate of the Special Representative for the South Caucasus was merged with the mandate of the EU Special Representative for Georgia. At that time, Ashton managed to cancel several portfolios of Special Representatives (including the first one in the African Great Lakes region) and transferred their powers to the EEAS, but further developments in Africa and the Middle East prompted the EU Council, on the contrary, to introduce new mandates for Special Representatives in the Southern Mediterranean, Horn of Africa, Sahel and Middle East regions.

In 2013. Ashton proposed that the institution of Special Representatives should be fully integrated into the EEAS, while maintaining close relation with member states through the Political and Security Committee. She was clearly suspicious of the institution of Special Representatives. Federica Mogherini took a more compromise position on this issue and recognized the usefulness of preserving this instrument. Despite the fact that the Lisbon Treaty invested the High Representative with certain powers of appointment and removal of Special Representatives, the situation of recent years confirms that if a group of member states insists on appointing a Special Representative to a certain region, High Representative is not able to resist it decisively.

The appointment of Special Representatives helps the EU to spend its budget and human resources more rationally. After all, it was initially provided for that the European External Action Service would have a larger number of employees in its staff than it actually did. As a result, the EEAS was overloaded with various tasks and insufficient quantity of personnel to solve them. With more staff, the managing directors of the EEAS could probably eventually take on the functions of EU Special Representatives. In practice, however, they have been so busy with their current work that additional peacekeeping duties and regular deployments to conflict regions have proved beyond the EEAS's powers.

The Council believes that maintaining the mandates of EU Special Representatives is reasonable. Unlike the EEAS budget, which is approved by the European Parliament, all funds of special representatives are controlled by the Foreign Policy Instruments Service, a service of the Commission. Despite the fact that this service checks the appropriateness of apply funds, Special Representatives still have a large share of autonomy in the distribution of their budgets, which makes them, in the perception of representatives of national governments in the Council, a more flexible and effective tool in mediation and arrangement of conflicts.

Among the main functions of the EU Special Representatives are **informational**, **mediational** and **financial**. Representational tasks, in turn, are assigned to the heads of EU delegations. EU delegations also deal with all issues of trade and economic cooperation. First and foremost, Special Representatives are the "eyes and ears" of a united Europe in the regions of their work. Special Representatives work closely with the EU's internal structures and act as coordinators in harmonizing the positions of all participants in the process of developing the EU's foreign policy towards a particular country or region. The information provided by special representatives directly from the field is especially important for those EU countries that do not have a wide network of diplomatic offices abroad.

The key function of Special Representatives is **mediation in the peaceful settlement of conflicts.** They take on mediating functions in negotiations between conflicting parties, offer options for resolving contradictions and use various diplomatic methods. If an EU mission operates in the region, Special Representative is automatically a member of its command staff. Based on their observations and information, they prepare reports for the Political and Security Committee. At one time, the regular reports of the Special Representative for the Great Lakes Region and his/her presence in the conflict region helped the EU develop a common vision of the situation, which was very

difficult, since the former colonial states - France, Great Britain and Belgium - had divergent interests there. Another successful example here is the development of a common EU position on the situation in the South Caucasus, where there were contradictions between EU countries.

On behalf of a united Europe, the Special Representative participates in negotiations with local authorities, maintains relations with ambassadors of third countries and international organizations. Many EU Special Representatives participate in international coordination committees in conflict zones, including Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, the South Caucasus, Georgia.

In the regions of their assignment, Special Representatives also cooperate with local authorities and civil society organizations. By supporting the processes of state-building, democratic transformation and the establishment of new institutions, they are effectively involved in local political processes. However, their influence varies from region to region. Special Representatives have the greatest influence in the Western Balkans - Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In both countries, the EU Special Representatives performed additional duties: in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the EU representative Valentin Inzko acted as a coordinator of international efforts under the 1995 Dayton Peace Accords to implement the civilian aspects of the peace settlement, and in Kosovo, the EU Special Representative simultaneously had the powers of an international civilian representative. His task was to monitor the implementation of the Ahtisaari Plan. Unlike their colleagues in the Balkans, EU Special Representatives in other regions cannot offer the countries they work in a direct opportunity to join the EU, which makes their influence on the internal policies of these countries and on supporting democratic transformation processes there less significant.

As noted above, <u>EU Foreign Affairs Council appoints the Special Representatives</u>, but in fact the Special Representatives interact with the Council through the Political and Security Committee, which provides strategic and political guidance to the Special Representatives. The EU Council's Working Groups on Foreign Affairs, composed of national diplomats and chaired by officials from the EEAS, closely monitor the work of the Special Representatives and, together with the High Representatives, can raise the issue of terminating, extending or creating new mandates.

In their daily work, Special Representatives also interact with the Commission, as the latter is still responsible for a wide range of foreign policy issues. It is the Commission that can decide to fund certain initiatives of the special representatives. In their work, special representatives pay less attention to interaction with the European Parliament: while the EEAS budget is approved by Verkhovna Rada, the Special Representatives are funded through a special Foreign Policy Instruments Service. In other words, the EP does not have such a lever as financial control over Special Representatives. However, since 2010, before taking office, the special representatives officially address the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs and regularly inform the committee about the results of their activities.

EU Special Representatives make a significant contribution to the development of a Common Foreign Policy of the EU, inform and coordinate EU member states on issues related to situations in their region, and establish contacts with other actors, including local authorities, third countries and international organizations. Special Representatives have repeatedly proved their effectiveness in conflict settlement, so for more than twenty years they have remained an important and quite flexible diplomatic tool at the disposal of the EU Council. Even after the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, Special Representatives have not lost their importance. Special Representatives are more valued by member states than by the EU institutions (their status in relation to the EEAS remains somewhat uncertain).

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Topics for reference papers

- 1. Essence and objectives of the EU foreign policy.
- 2. High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and his/her functions.
- 3. Interaction of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs with EU institutions, authorities and agencies.
 - 4. European External Action Service.
 - 5. Role and place of Special Representatives of the EU diplomatic service.
 - 6. Legal regulation of the European Union in the field of foreign policy.

Terms

European political cooperation - a mean of coordinating the foreign policy of member states and developing a common foreign policy position through conducting regular consultations.

European Communities - a collective authority that emerged in 1967 as a result of the amalgamation of the administrative apparatus of the European Atomic Energy Community, the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community.

Directorates-General are the main administrative units of the European Commission. They implement or ensure the implementation of EU policies by member states, exercise control over the allocation of funds from the budget for various strategic areas.

European Union Special Representatives is a special institution designed for settlement of international conflicts and implement priority programs of international cooperation on the part of the Union.

Test questions

- 1. Which of the above treaties is the current founding treaty of the EU?
- a) European Union as amended by the Maastricht Treaty
- b) European Economic Area
- c) Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community
- d) Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community
- 2. Who is the current High Representative for Foreign Affairs since 2019?
- a) Josep Borrell
- b) Catherine Ashton
- c) Helga Schmid
- d) Federica Mogherini
- 3. Which of the following is not one of the tasks of the High Representative?
- a) participation in the development of a common course in the foreign policy of the countries.
- b) supervising the daily work at the EEAS headquarters
- c) coordinating the work of thematic instruments for the implementation of the EU's foreign policy
- d) regular attendance at meetings of EU Heads of State and Government in the European Council.
 - 4. The first Community on which the establishment of the EU was based was the European:
 - a) Economic community;
 - b) Political community;
 - c) Coal and Steel Community;
 - d) Defence Community.

- 5. Since what year did European External Action Service officially start functioning?
- a) 2010
- b) 2011
- c) 2008
- d) 2000
- 6. Who was the first High Representative for Foreign Affairs in the format established by the Lisbon Treaty?
 - a) Federica Mogherini
 - b) Stefano Sannino
 - c) Catherine Ashton
 - d) Josep Borell

Contents.

Topic 3: European External Action Service.

Establishment and evolution of the European External Action Service. European Service. Foreign Policy Affairs. Foreign missions. Foreign policy. The Lisbon Treaty. The place of the European External Action Service in the system of authorities and officials implementing the EU security policy.

The main competencies and tasks of the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs. High Representative of the EU. Place of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in the system of authorities and officials implementing the EU security policy. General description of the position of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs. Requirements for the candidate and the procedure for the appointment of the High Representative. Functions and tasks of the High Representative.

Special Representatives of the EU Diplomatic Service. Diplomatic Service. The role and place of Special Representatives. Daily work of Special Representatives. Key functions of Special Representatives. The procedure for the appointment of Special Representatives.

Lecture

Topic 5. Foreign Policy of Germany: European and Global Dimension

Plan.

- 1. German foreign policy after Unification.
- 2. Role of Germany in the integration processes of the European Union.
- 3. German-French relations.
- 4. Germany and the United States of America in the context of Euro-Atlantic relations.
- 5. Germany's relations with the countries of the Visegrad Group.
- 6. Germany and developing countries.

1. German foreign policy after Unification.

After unification, Germany began to pursue its foreign policy in a radically changed international environment. They were caused by the unification and significant strengthening of the German state, the disruption of the former balance in the European Community, the collapse of the USSR and the socialist camp, and the formation of a political vacuum in Central and Eastern Europe. According to many foreign policy experts, Germany has successfully used these conditions to transition to a new foreign policy that adequately reflects its economic power and growing international political influence.

Germany's place in post-bipolar Europe is determined by the fact that it has gained the means of structural influence on the political and economic situation on the European continent, i.e. the ability to influence the structure of international relations within which other international actors operate. This gave Germany significant advantages over its neighbours. Therefore, Germany's foreign policy in the 1990s was marked by a number of changes and new tendencies. Among them were, in particular, the desire for a political role that would correspond to the economic power of the state, the setting of tasks for military and political operations at the global level, the transition to pragmatism in relations with neighbours, and the previously uncharacteristic for West Germany tendency to emphasize its own state interests within the framework of Western military alliances and regional associations. Germany's place in post-bipolar Europe was determined by the fact that it was no longer a medium-sized regional country, as it had been before the unification.

The peculiarity of the conceptual foundations of Germany's foreign policy at the current stage, despite the new elements in the country's military doctrine, is the use of mainly non-force means to achieve political goals. Such a policy involves a targeted search for solutions that are acceptable to other stakeholders and provide for cooperation with them; the desire to distribute funds and benefits of cooperation among partners equally; and a focus on common interests and values in interstate relations.

Germany's well-thought-out foreign policy is an example of a successful strategic concept that allows Germany to claim European leadership and greater influence on world events.

2. Role of Germany in the integration processes of the European Union.

Among the most important tasks set by the government of Helmut Kohl after the unification of Germany, Western European integration was one of the priorities. And in this area, unlike in others, the ruling CDU/CSU-FDP coalition has achieved the greatest success. Chancellor Helmut Kohl

pursued the ambitious goal of going down in history not only as the unifier of Germany, but also as the creator of European unity. Thanks to the efforts of Germany - the main engine of Western European integration - in early 1993, a single internal market of the EU, which then included 12 states, was created. At Germany's insistence, the Western European currency was called "Euro," and the Central European Bank was located in Frankfurt am Main.

Germany, despite the objections of some of its partners, strongly advocated the expansion of the EU to include the countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and Central and Eastern Europe.

However, the aggravation of socio-economic problems provoked by the 2008 financial crisis, the European migrant crisis, and the coronavirus pandemic have significantly increased scepticism in German society and political circles, which has a negative impact on the idea of a united Europe as a whole. Thus, the European vector of Germany's foreign policy strategy, given the limited options for overcoming the crisis, is transforming towards a greater focus on ensuring the national interests of the state. At the same time, the EU remains today the most influential European integration association, and Germany continues to be its informal leader. It is Germany's involvement in European integration processes that has allowed it to improve its international image and take active political steps towards the formation of a united Europe.

For many years, Germany has been considered one of the most consistent supporters of EU enlargement. However, today, due to the lack of unity within the community on strategically important issues and the growing scepticism among European citizens about the future of integration, Germany is in favour of suspending further enlargement in order to deepen the internal consolidation of member states. For the closest neighbours, including Ukraine, the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership initiative are envisaged as alternatives, which for Berlin is an instrument of economic rapprochement, but not political integration.

3. German-French relations.

The development of French-West German relations in the post-war period was mainly influenced by European integration. The successes and failures on this path allowed for the development of the conceptual foundations of this process, in particular, the need for gradual integration and rapprochement of the neighbours across the Rhine as a fundamental condition for their cooperation. In 1949-1958, the initiators of relations between Bonn and Paris were mostly the leaders of France and Germany, not parties, scholars, or representatives of big business. In addition, the convergence of positions took place on the basis of countering the communist threat and under conditions of establishing economic cooperation in strategic industries, such as coal and steel production.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, constitutional changes that led to the emergence of the Fifth Republic in France, as well as intensification of contacts between the USSR and the United States as a result of the "Cuban Missile Crisis," prompted Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer to reconsider the role of French-German relations in Europe and the world. The basis of the new concept of bilateral cooperation was the reconciliation of the two peoples and the consolidation of "special relations" between Bonn and Paris on a treaty basis. The Élysée Treaty of 1963 became one of the most important milestones in relations between the two countries.

In the 1970s, under the influence of the crisis phenomena in the world economy associated with the collapse of the Breton Woods system and oil blackmail of Arab countries, German-French cooperation intensified significantly, primarily in completing, expanding and deepening integration processes in Western Europe. The main directions of interaction between Paris and Bonn were the creation of a mechanism for cooperation in the economic and financial spheres, optimization of the Community's institutional foundation, strengthening of political cooperation between member states, and the expansion of the European Union to the north and south.

In the 1980s, the efforts of François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl not only contributed to deepening economic and political cooperation in the EU, but also complemented French-West German cooperation with an intensive dialogue on security issues.

The international treaty formalization of German unification, which came to the European political agenda as a result of dramatic dislocations at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, objectively changed the political determinants of French-German cooperation. This not only led to certain contradictions between France and Germany, but also led to a revision of the concept of bilateral cooperation in the EU. In this regard, a new stage of European integration, initiated by the Maastricht Treaty, was made possible by a compromise between France and Germany, which they reached during the negotiations on the unification of the two German states.

There is a common understanding of the further development of the European Union in both countries, but their models differ: while in Germany the ruling coalition and the opposition are in favour of the European federation model, in France they believe that it is advisable to implement the "Europe of the Fatherlands" model.

Under the rule of Gerhard Schröder and Jacques Chirac, Germany and France within the EU took a united position on international development issues. The closeness of their positions was especially evident during the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Élysée Treaty (2003), when a statement was made about the creation of a German-French alliance. With the coming to power of Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy, relations between the countries have moved to a new qualitative level.

In European politics, the intensification of bilateral cooperation between France and Germany has significantly contributed to reaching a consensus within the EU on reforming the Union on the basis of the European Constitution. Another feature of the renewed format of cooperation is that both countries cooperate at the international level. The globalization of the role of the French-German partnership in the early twenty-first century was evidenced by the two countries' joint opposition to the US initiatives on Iraq in the Security Council.

Nowadays, despite the existing disagreements and contradictions, German-French cooperation is active and marked by positive dynamics. On January 22, 2019, in the western German city of Aachen, the leaders of Germany and France signed a new friendship treaty. It happened on the 56th anniversary of the historic Elysée Treaty, which is considered a model for reconciliation between neighbouring nations that have been at enmity with each other for centuries. The new treaty should deepen German-French cooperation, bring relations between the countries to a "new level" and improve the lives of ordinary French and Germans. In the new joint declaration, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Emmanuel Macron identified the main directions of cooperation in many fields: expansion of exchange programs, enhanced cooperation on political and security issues, and the topic of Europe. The agreement also provides for enhanced economic integration, particularly that concerns coordination of environmental and climate protection policies.

4. Germany and the United States of America in the context of Euro-Atlantic relations.

Allied relations between the United States and the EU are the basis of a united front of Western states, and since Germany is the "locomotive" and the main voice of Europe's interests, the pivot of Euro-Atlantic relations is US-German cooperation. However, despite the strategic importance of

Germany's cooperation with the United States, relations between the two sides have often been not only productive but also complicated

With the disappearance of such a military, political, and ideological factor as the USSR, transatlantic cooperation, which relied mainly on the NATO military and political bloc, has largely lost its inherent motivation. Against this backdrop, a debate arose about the destiny of NATO and the Euro-Atlantic community as a whole. In recognition of their common goals and interests, the European Union and the United States signed a joint document called the "New Transatlantic Agenda" on December 3, 1995, in Madrid. On the one hand, the document reflected the commitment to cooperation based on common values and goals, and on the other hand, it contained a wide range of challenges and responses to them in the field of peace and stability, trade, and in strengthening transatlantic cooperation. German Defence Minister Volker Rühe was one of the first Western politicians to raise the issue of NATO enlargement at a NATO Council meeting back in December 1992. He advocated opening the doors of the alliance to those Central and Eastern European countries that successfully implemented political reforms.

In addition to the military-political component, we should not forget about the close intertwining of the economic potentials of Europe and America. In Germany, in the mid-1990s, about 1,700 firms with American capital were registered, and approximately 2,500 German companies operate as American firms in the United States.

After September 11, 2001, the German government expressed its "unlimited solidarity" with the United States, linking this to the expectation of having a more significant voice in decision-making in Washington. However, one of the main reasons for the deterioration of relations between Germany and the United States during the Chancellorship of Gerhard Schröder was Germany's decision not to support the US military intervention in Iraq in 2003. Germany advocated diplomatic dialogue, but failed to find a consensus with the White House on the issue of using means to solve the problem. As a result of this crisis, Germany focused more on the European direction.

After her first appointment to the post of Chancellor of Germany in 2005, Angela Merkel continued the concept of her predecessors' adherence to Western values and preserved the focus on the United States as a strategic partner in German foreign policy ideology.

As for economic cooperation between the United States and Germany, it is mainly concerned with overcoming the consequences of the 2008 economic crisis and the open expansion of the world economy. In particular, in 2007, Germany was one of the initiators of the Transatlantic Economic Council, which aims to deepen cooperation between the EU and the US.

The coming to power of Democrat Barack Obama (2009-2017) opened a new page in the history of US-German economic cooperation and filled the so-called "transatlantic crack" in US-EU relations with new prospects for a US-European Free Trade Area.

Since the election of Donald Trump as US President on January 20, 2017, US-German relations have gradually moved from the stage of alliance to confrontation. The "sharp corners" of bilateral relations were the "Ukrainian issue," American tariffs on European products, and the construction of Nord Stream 2.

After Joe Biden came to power on January 20, 2021, tension in US-German relations partially eased. However, despite all the problems in bilateral relations, the United States and Germany are strategically important and interdependent partners, as the United States has a military presence in Europe thanks to the existing US military bases in Germany. At the same time, the US global influence on the strategic space and economic and energy development means that Germany is highly interested

in deliberate and harmonious cooperation with the US, which is the basis for effective transatlantic activities.

5. Germany's relations with the countries of the Visegrad Group.

One of the most striking geopolitical dislocations on the European continent that accompanied the collapse of the bloc system of international relations and the end of the Cold War was the unification of Germany with the GDR and the formation of new independent states in Central and Eastern Europe. The foreign policy challenges faced by the united Germany and the young democracies of Central and Eastern Europe in the early 1990s included the task of building an effective system of regional cooperation. Germany was objectively interested in this, since with its unification in 1990, it not only acquired a new status in world politics, but its eastern border also became the eastern border of the European Union. That is why it initiated the creation of "European regions" along its borders with Poland and the Czech Republic. On the one hand, this step secured Germany itself to a certain extent, and on the other hand, the Visegrad Four states were able to join the European integration process even before they officially joined the EU membership projects.

Among all the CEE countries, Germany's relations with Poland have been the most difficult, due to the Poles' fear of Nazi Germany and the effects of 45 years of German propaganda. Despite the existing controversies and disagreements, Poland remains a privileged partner of Germany, and German foreign policy continues to pay increased attention to it.

Germany's relations with Czechoslovakia (and later the Czech Republic and Slovakia) developed relatively smoothly shortly after the Prague "Velvet Revolution." Despite strong opposition within Czechoslovak society, Václav Havel immediately publicly apologized for the Czechs' treatment of the Sudeten Germans after 1945 and offered "historical reconciliation" with Germany within the framework of the Czechoslovak "return to Europe."

An attempt to resolve the problem of Sudeten Germans and to deal with the payment of reparations to Nazi victims in the Czech Republic was made in early 1997 with the signing of the German-Czech Declaration on Bilateral Relations and Future Development. In this document, Germany and the Czech Republic recognized that past injustices belonged to the past: Germany acknowledged its responsibility for the Munich Agreement of 1938, and the Czech Republic, in turn, apologized for the post-war expulsion of Sudeten Germans. Overall, the declaration helped revitalize German-Czech relations and secured German support for the Czech Republic's accession to the EU and NATO.

German-Slovak relations in the early twenty-first century developed on a traditionally friendly basis. An important milestone for relations between Berlin and Bratislava was the process of EU enlargement to the east and the current issue of Slovakia's European integration.

Germany has the fewest problems in its relations with Hungary. This is because West German firms have been penetrating the Hungarian economy in advance, as the Hungarian communists began preparations for the transition to the market much earlier than other socialist countries. It was also on Budapest's initiative that the Austro-Hungarian border was opened in September 1989, which brought the GDR crisis to a qualitatively new level and eventually contributed to the unification of Germany.

For the ruling elites of the CEE region, Germany is seen as a kind of exemplary country that has successfully made the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. In the 1990s, many former socialist countries reformed their state and civic institutions, using German examples as models.

After accession to the EU in 2004, the Visegrad Four turned into a powerful outpost for promoting German interests in Eastern Europe. In particular, the establishment of the EU's "Eastern Partnership" program in May 2009 became a symbol of this process.

6. Germany and developing countries.

Germany was the first EU member state to revise its policy in Asia in the context of reassessment and reinterpretation of the consequences of the country's unification and the collapse of the communist system in Europe. As a result, Germany developed a new "Asian strategy", which was published in October 1993. The new concept of the federal government explained in detail the economic and political reasons that made Asia one of the main objects of German foreign policy.

In the context of value orientation, Latin America is undoubtedly of incomparably greater interest in terms of understanding the foundations of democracy and attitudes toward human rights than the Islamic or Asian regions. In addition, Germany has an interest in preserving and expanding its national and cultural influence here, as it is known that 5 million ethnic Germans live in Latin American countries, primarily in Chile, Brazil, Argentina, and Guatemala. Latin America has traditionally been at the top of the list of geographical priorities of Germany's "cultural policy". In the field of foreign trade, the importance of Latin America for Germany in the second half of the twentieth century fell markedly. At the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the government of Gerhard Schröder made cooperation with developing countries one of the priorities of its foreign policy. Germany emphasized not only the fight against poverty, but also the improvement of the situation in the field of education, rural area development, environmental and resource protection.

The government of Gerhard Schröder declared the problem of crisis prevention to be a new focus of German aid to developing countries. It is noteworthy that back in 1997, Germany actively contributed to the creation of the EU-subordinated "Conflict Prevention Network" on the initiative of France. Its main task was to analyze conflict potentials and regions of the Third World and to provide the European Commission and the European Parliament with the necessary information in the development of relevant political decisions and recommendations. On June 28, 2000, the German Federal Security Council approved the framework concept "Crisis Prevention and Conflict Resolution", in which the federal government undertook obligations under the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with the involvement of other ministries and agencies to develop an appropriate response strategy in each case.

Angela Merkel government has paid considerable attention to the development of bilateral cooperation with developing countries. While for a long time the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development was a monopolist in the field of state aid to developing countries, recently there has been a tendency of increasing the number of actors in this field. Both federal states and communities are contributing to the expansion and deepening of relations with third world countries.

Countries that are developing rapidly but have not yet joined the "club" of post-industrial countries are of particular interest to the Germnay. From the perspective of global structural policy, they are the central players on whom the stability and dynamics of the world economy, world politics, and the future of the global ecosystem will depend to a decisive extent. Berlin pays special attention to India, Brazil, Mexico, and South Africa. Cooperation with these countries benefits primarily German firms that are actively working on their markets.

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Topics for reference papers

- 1. Ukrainian-German cooperation at the current stage.
- 2. German-Russian relations in the context of the Ukrainian-Russian confrontation.
- 3. Germany's role in the European Union after Brexit.

- 4. German-Turkish relations and prospects for Turkey's integration into "Greater Europe".
- 5. German-Chinese cooperation.
- 6. Germany's participation in international organizations.
- 7. German cultural diplomacy at the current stage.

Terms.

Auswärtiges Amt - the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany was founded in 1870. Until 1919, it was headed by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, later by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Annexation - is the unlawful annexation (seizure) by a state of territory belonging to another state. It is a gross violation of international law.

Anschluss - the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany on March 11-13, 1938.

Denunciation - is a duly executed withdrawal of a state from an international treaty it has concluded.

Prolongation - extension of the term of an international treaty.

Sanctions - in international law, means of coercion and punishment of one state by another. There are political, economic and military sanctions. Political sanctions include: severance of diplomatic relations, termination of membership or expulsion from the UN or other international organizations. Economic or trade sanctions may include a complete severance of all economic and financial relations or a selective embargo on the import or export of goods. Military sanctions are accompanied by military actions with the use of weapons.

Sovereignty of a state means the full legislative, executive and judicial power of a state on its territory; its non-subordination to the power of a foreign state in the field of international communication, except in cases of unconditional and voluntary consent of the state to the restriction of its sovereignty.

Test questions

Federal Chancellor of Germany from October 27, 1998 to November 22, 2005

- a) Angela Merkel
- b) Helmut Kohl
- c) Gerhard Schröder
- d) Helmut Schmidt

Federal Chancellor of Germany from October 01, 1982 to October 27, 1998

- a) Helmut Kohl
- b) Gerhard Schröder
- c) Helmut Schmidt
- d) Willy Brandt

Reunification of Germany - the accession of the GDR and West Berlin to the Federal Republic of Germany took place

- a) on October 3, 1990
- b) on November 3, 1990

- c) on October 3, 1991
- d) on November 3, 1991

The Élysée Treaty between Germany and France, which laid the foundations for cooperation and reconciliation between the two nations after World War II, was signed in

- a) 1949
- b) 196
- c) 1963
- d) 1967

Angela Merkel and Emmanuel Macron sign a new German-French cooperation agreement in Aachen

- a) on February 12, 2018
- b) on January 22, 2019
- c) on May 23, 2019
- d) on June 15, 2020

Seminar No. 2

Topic. Current issues of the foreign policy of Spain

- 1. European direction in the foreign policy of Spain.
- 2. Spanish-Ukrainian relations.
- 3. Spain and the United States of America.
- 4. Spanish-Russian relations.
- 5. problem of separatism: international aspects. Basque Country. Catalonia.
- 6. Mediterranean direction of foreign policy.
- 7. Peculiarities of relations between Spain and Portugal.

Topics for reference papers

- 1. Foreign policy legacy of the Franco regime.
- 2. Migration policy of the Spanish state.
- 3. Spanish-British relations. The problem of Gibraltar.
- 4. Spain and the United States of America in the context of Euro-Atlantic relations.
- 5. Foreign policy of Spain in the interwar period.
- 6. National interests in the foreign policy of Spain.

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Test questions.

1. The Moncloa Pact was signed by the main political forces of Italy:

a) in 1977
b) in 1989
c) in 1975
d) in 1991
2. In what year was Spain joined to the EU?
a) in 1975
b) in 1977
c) in 1992
d) in 1986
4. Between which countries there is a territorial dispute over Gibraltar?
a) Spain and Morocco
b) Spain and Great Britain
c) Morocco and Great Britain
d) Spain and Portugal
5. Who became King of Spain after Franco's death, effectively beginning the transition to democracy
a) Juan Carlos
b) Felipe VI
c) Alfonso XIII
d) Amadeo I

Lecture

Topic 7. Strategic priorities of the foreign policy of the French Republic Plan.

- 1. Internal determinants of the foreign policy of France.
- 2. Global vector of the foreign policy of France
- 3. Foreign policy activities of France within the EU.
- 4. Euro-Atlantic vector of the foreign policy of France.
- 5. French Republic in relations with African countries.
 - 1. Internal determinants of the foreign policy of France.

Today, the foreign policy of any state is influenced by a set of external and internal factors. In this regard, France's foreign policy is no exception. External and internal factors determine the evolution of the French foreign policy course, lead to the transformation of practical priorities and tools for the implementation of French foreign policy, while maintaining as constant its key elements - independence, greatness, attention to humanistic aspects (human rights and freedoms). Over the centuries, the French have proven themselves to be masters of the diplomatic art, able to use the possibilities of diplomacy to increase the weight and influence of their country in the international arena. In the XVII-XVIII centuries, the French set an example in diplomacy that was followed by all other European states. The French Diplomatic Service was at that time the most extensive in comparison with the diplomatic services of all other countries, and French became the common language of diplomatic communication, replacing Latin. Since the birth of the diplomatic service in France, great importance has been attached to the development and improvement of the principles of its organization, the refinement of diplomatic art, and the definition and education of the qualities required for a diplomat.

In the mid-twentieth century, there were significant changes in French foreign policy, the mechanism of its formation and implementation. 1958 brought a change of regime and the birth of the Fifth Republic, and the adoption of the Constitution (still in force today). These achievements define the main features of the country's foreign policy and diplomacy to this day. The President plays a decisive role in defining and implementing foreign policy

The president has the right not only to ratify treaties (however, this requires the consent of the parliament), but also to negotiate on their conclusion. The President must be informed about all negotiations aimed at concluding an international agreement, even if the document is not subject to ratification

The head of state negotiates with foreign heads of state who visit France and pays visits to the most important countries for France. President receives diplomatic correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and all the materials he needs

The Prime Minister is responsible for informing the Parliament about the foreign policy activities of the government, as well as for coordinating the activities of various ministries in this field. He receives the correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The National Assembly retains control over the government's activities. However, its real significance is small, since it is a control over an executive authority, not a governing one. The Parliament has the right to discuss foreign policy issues. MPs and senators have the right to make oral

and written interpellations to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Every year, the parliament considers the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which also provides an opportunity to discuss foreign policy issues. The Parliament considers ratification of the most important treaties.

The tasks of the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs of France consist in

informing the President and the Prime Minister of France about the international situation and the situation in other countries; developing the strategy of France's foreign policy; implementing and coordinating the international relations of the French Republic; protecting the interests of French citizens abroad.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs is a member of the government and the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is the main adviser to the President on foreign policy and is responsible for implementing the course chosen by the President. He or she manages the French diplomatic service on a daily basis and negotiates with foreign governments. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is tasked with ensuring unity of actions in international affairs of all French ministries and agencies, coordinating their efforts within a single foreign policy course.

2. The global vector of the French Republic's foreign policy

Currently, there is every reason to talk about the global character of France's policy. This can be confirmed by such factors as favourable geographical location, membership in international organizations, leading positions in the world economy, nuclear potential of the state, rich cultural heritage of the French people, and development of space programs.

Despite the process of decolonization, France has managed to maintain its presence in all regions of the world. France maintains its global status through active participation in international universal and regional organizations. The country is a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Maintaining a privileged position in this authoritative organization, France has actively participated and is participating in the implementation of numerous UN peace initiatives in the Middle East, Africa, Cambodia, Yugoslavia and other "hot spots" of the planet.

France is one of the main inspirers and organizers of European construction: from the European Coal and Steel Community (1951) to the European Union (1993). Together with Germany, it plays the role of the "engine" of European integration.

French Republic enters into the "Group of Seven" (created on the initiative of the French president in 1975) and plays an active role in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which replaced the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, created in due time to implement the Marshall Plan. The OECD headquarters is located in Paris, and the task of its members is to ensure sustainable global social and economic development.

French Republic is actively involved in the implementation of space programs. Since 1964, the spaceport in has been operating. French scientists created the Ariane launch vehicle and put into production its various modifications. The French space program became the basis for the European Space Agency.

The cultural heritage of the French people is of international importance. The country pursues an active foreign cultural policy, for the implementation of which significant financial resources are allocated. For centuries, French has been the language of diplomacy and is one of the six official languages of the United Nations. It is taught in education systems in all regions of the world. The headquarters of UNESCO is located in Paris.

France, as one of the world's leading nuclear powers, is consistently building up its nuclear potential, ensuring the maintenance and adaptation of its deterrent to new strategic realities. The country plans to take into account the European scale of its defence, continuing to pursue a complete ban on nuclear tests and undertaking commitments in favour of curbing the build-up of armament and disarmament.

3. Foreign policy activities of France within the EU.

In the history of European integration, France has a special place: it was France, together with Germany, that initiated the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951, the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) in 1957, and the European Union in 1992 on the basis of these European Communities. Having been one of the leaders of the EEC/EU for more than 50 years, France today acts on the world arena not only as a separate country, but also as one of the leaders of the European Union.

The transformation of the European Union into a powerful integration association that could become one of the poles of the modern international system has become the most important strategic task for France in the last decades of the twentieth century. In the mid-1990s, there was already a need to make Maastricht's creation more coherent, namely to outline the contours of Europe in the twenty-first century, which led to the convening of the EU Intergovernmental Conference in 1996. It began in Turin on March 29, then continued in Amsterdam on July 17, 1997, and ended with the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty on October 02, 1997.

Regarding the future architecture of Europe, the French government put forward the idea of "three circles": the first is the circle of EU member states, the second is the external circle of partnership, and the third is the circle of EU countries bound by relations of "enhanced solidarity." Comparing this idea with the German plan to create a "hard backbone" and peripheral circles of European unity, the French insisted on a fundamental difference between the concepts of "enhanced solidarity" and "hard backbones"

At virtually all stages of the European Union's enlargement, France consistently supported this process, believing that it should cover all European countries. The only exception was its position on the United Kingdom, which eventually managed to become a member of the EEC only in the mid-1970s, and on Turkey, which France, like other EU members, had considered for a number of years not ready to join the EU due to serious human rights violations, the army's too large role in the country's politics and its not entirely European geographical location.

France made a significant contribution to the creation of favourable conditions for EU enlargement. In the second half of 2000, it presided over the European Council and drafted the treaty signed in December of that year at the EU summit in Nice, which launched the enlargement of the Union by 10 candidate countries and provided for some institutional reforms. In this major document, not only were the EU's priorities in connection with its future enlargement set out, but also the interests of each country individually. By supporting the EU enlargement process, France hoped to find a support for expanding its influence.

France became one of the main initiators of the formation of a common European foreign and security policy.

4.Euro-Atlantic vector of the foreign policy of France (relations with the United States of America and NATO)

The beginning of US-French relations was marked by the Treaty of Alliance signed in 1778. France's assistance to the British colonies in North America in their struggle for independence led to the growth of sympathy for France in the United States. After declaring independence from Great Britain, France provided key assistance to the United States as an ally during the War of Independence. The Vichy government broke off diplomatic relations with the United States in 1942 during World War II; relations were normalized in 1944. The second half of the twentieth century was marked by significant fluctuations in US-French relations.

France's special position in NATO was initiated by President Charles de Gaulle, who, without denying the importance of the North Atlantic Alliance, called for its reorganization to limit American dominance while strengthening French positions. This problem was a constant topic of Franco-German, Franco-American, and Franco-British negotiations, during which France offered its vision of Franco-NATO relations. Having received a decisive rejection, the French leadership decided to gradually withdraw from the NATO military organization. Accordingly, in 1959, all American aviation was transferred from French territory to Great Britain and West Germany.

After the collapse of the bipolar system, France continued to insist on the autonomy of its armed forces in relation to the NATO military organization, striving to retain the ability to pursue an independent policy. However, in order not to be left out of the solution of security problems in Europe, France was forced to take steps to return to the military structures of the alliance. In 1992, it joined the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. In 1993, French representatives resumed participation in the Military Committee and the NATO Defence Ministers' Council. At the same time, Mitterrand declared his accession to the "Partnership for Peace" program, and in 1994, he agreed to the principles of NATO's eastward expansion and to participate in the NATO Multinational Inter-Army Force Group, which was being created to intervene on the EU's periphery. Thus, Paris recognized the possibility of putting French military units involved in such operations under US control.

A significant step that brought France closer to NATO was the new 2008 "White Paper on Defence and National Security", which contained additions. In particular, a new paragraph was added, "Restoring France's Relations with NATO." The same document emphasized that since General de Gaulle's decision to withdraw France from NATO's integrated military structure, international relations have undergone profound changes, the Alliance itself has evolved, and France is participating in new NATO missions.

Today, France fully participates in all military structures of the Alliance and in almost all programs, operations, missions and exercises conducted under the auspices of NATO, except for the NATO Nuclear Planning Group, defending the independence of the French nuclear forces, as enshrined in the "White Paper on Defence and National Security", and continuing the policy of independence initiated by President de Gaulle.

With the goal of EU enlargement to support and strengthen the EU's position, but with as much influence outside of Europe and Africa as within, NATO has become a military structure for France that should serve the task of ensuring transatlantic defence. The French strategy emphasizes the ability to prevent and stop hostilities by military force, to limit conflicts rather than to support protracted wars. It provides for, on the one hand, for the successful development of European defence, and, on the other hand, for France's active participation in creating a secure space across the continent.

5. French Republic in relations with African states.

France maintains relations with most African countries. There are 45 French embassies on this continent. The close relations between France and African countries are based on France's colonial past. Today, out of 279 million Francophones (3% of the world's population), more than half come from Africa. France is committed to supporting the development efforts of francophone African countries and Africa as a whole.

French Republic's new diplomatic relations with independent African countries date back to the first official visit to Africa by Hubert Védrine as Minister of Foreign Affairs in October 1997. South Africa and Ethiopia were among the states visited by the head of French diplomacy.

Franco-African cooperation also takes the form of an important component of military agreements related to conflict prevention in Africa.

The policy of the French Republic towards African countries is characterized by a form of "soft power": culture and language promotion; cooperation in education, scientific, technical and innovative cooperation; development of business relations; development of public diplomacy; promotion of international development.

Among the most prominent structures of Franco-African cooperation are: Franco-African summits; France's diplomatic network in Africa and in international organizations; armed forces arrangements and, in particular, Paris' support for peacekeeping operations.

The current French President E. Macron also named Africa among the priorities of France's foreign policy. For France, its political, economic and military presence in Africa, especially in its former colonies in the western part of the continent, has been a crucial component of its foreign policy since the second half of the nineteenth century.

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Topics for reference papers

- 1. Franco-German relations as the backbone of European security and cooperation
- 2. Mediterranean vector in French policy.
- 3. France's relations with the countries of Southeast Asia.

France - Ukraine: the evolution of political relations.

- 4. Modern diplomatic service of France.
- 5. Cultural diplomacy of the French Republic.
- 6. Features of French diplomacy: traditional and modern aspects

Terms

Cultural diplomacy - is a type of public diplomacy and a tool of "soft power" that can be defined as "the exchange of ideas, information, works of art and other cultural components between states and peoples in order to strengthen mutual understanding"

Francophonie - the French-speaking space, countries where the French language is spoken. The International Organization for Cooperation of the Francophonie is an international organization of French-speaking countries that unites 54 full and 4 associate members representing different countries or parts of countries, as well as 26 observers. The main criterion for joining the organization is not the degree of French language proficiency of the population of a country, but cultural ties with France.

Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs - is the second official in the central apparatus after the Minister, acting as a coordinating link between all divisions of the Ministry. The Secretary General serves as the administrative chief of the diplomatic service, the coordinator of diplomatic activities and the main assistant and adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, both on political and organizational issues.

Minister delegate - is a minister of the French government who is responsible for a specific issue in the ministry. They are subordinated to a specific Minister of the Cabinet or the Prime Minister.

Ratification - is the approval by the highest state authority (Monarch, President, Parliament) of an international **treaty** and consent to its binding effect on the state.

Test questions

Who is the author of the following statement? "When signing treaties, one must be very careful, and after signing them, fulfil them with religious scrupulousness"?

- a) Napoleon I Bonaparte
- b) Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu
- c) Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord
- d) King Louis XIV

This statesman was an unsurpassed master of intrigue and remained at the centre of French political life and European diplomacy from 1789 to the mid-1930s.

- a) Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu
- b) Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord
- c) Jean-Jules Jusserand
- d) Jules Cambon

The decisive role in defining and implementing the modern foreign policy of the French Republic belongs to the ...

- a) Senate
- b) National Assembly
- c) Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- d) President

The second official in the central apparatus after the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, acting as a coordinating link of all divisions of the Ministry - the

- a) Deputy Minister
- b) Minister delegate for Foreign Affairs
- c) Minister delegate for Administrative Affairs
- d) Secretary General

The current Constitution of the French Republic was adopted in:

- a) 1962
- b) 1958
- c) 1974
- d) 1981

Choose the most accurate definition of "diplomacy" -

- a) conducting international relations through negotiations, a set of tools used by ambassadors and envoys to ensure the negotiation process
- b) a system of actions of an international actor aimed at gaining influence on the behaviour of other subjects of international relations and adapting to the consequences of the processes of the international system

By order of King Louis XIV, the first diplomatic academy of France was founded in ...

- a) 1712
- b) 1721
- c) 1641
- d) 1639

Which prominent French statesman issued a decree in 1626 that gave full responsibility for foreign policy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

- a) Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord
- b) King Louis XIV
- c) Cardinal Mazarin
- d) Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu

Lecture

Topic 8: Common foreign and security policy of the EU countries

Plan

- 1. Institutions for the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and their structure.
- 2. Decision-making process in the field of foreign policy and in crisis situations.
- 3. Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) within the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP): evolution and development strategy
- 4. Role and place of the EU in cooperation with international organizations

1. Institutions for the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and their structure

The series of Yugoslav wars that began in 1991 fully demonstrated the inability of an integrated Europe to take decisive foreign policy actions. At the time, this prompted the EU countries to pursue greater cohesion of their efforts. Relying on the early steps in intergovernmental coordination of foreign policy of the member states of the Western European economic communities, the 1992 Maastricht Treaty on the European Union formally established the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, which is a part of the "high" policy.

The CFSP appeared in 1993 as the EU's "own" foreign policy, which allowed the EU to assert itself on the international political arena. But from the very beginning, it suffered from serious structural flaws. The member states, each with its own foreign policy capabilities and ideas, due to the large number of differences between them, managed to agree at the European level only on an institutional framework that was characterized by administrative clumsiness and did not open loopholes for the transfer of powers to the common institutions.

The main institutions in the field of CFSP are the European Council and the Council. Each member state can address questions to the Council and make its own initiatives and proposals. At the same time, the Lisbon Treaty requires them to coordinate their actions in international organizations and international conferences.

The instruments of the CFSP in relation to the Lisbon Treaty are decisions of four types:

- on strategic goals and interests of the EU;
- on common positions;
- on joint actions;
- on the implementation of common positions and joint actions.

Common positions often remind us of the EU's goals and define a collective, coordinated diplomatic approach to a particular region or country. They may address a specific issue, such as a foreign government's violation of human rights, democracy or international law. General positions on such transnational issues as conflict prevention and resolution, non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, arms control, and the fight against terrorism are also possible.

Formally, the CSDP is the main direction of the EU's foreign policy, security and defence activities, but its budget is very small.

Commission, meanwhile, is responsible for managing the CFSP budget. Over the years, the Council has built up a sophisticated apparatus to help it prepare, implement and monitor EU foreign policy actions, which is now largely handed over to the EEAS. Within the Council, the overall monitoring of the CSDP and CSDP, as well as the political oversight and strategic guidance for crisis management operations (under Article 38 of the TFEU) is the responsibility of the *Political and Security Committee (PSC)*. In addition, there is also the *Directorate-General for Foreign Policy, Enlargement and Civil Defence*, which is located in Brussels. It formulates opinions on relevant issues at the request of the Council, the High Representative or on its own initiative. Permanent President of the PSC is directly involved in the collegial management of the EEAS. He is assisted in his work by the *Military Committee and the Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management*. Unanimity is the general rule in decision-making in the field of CSDP. However, members of the Council have the option to refrain from voting, as well as to make a formal statement of such intention.

The EU Military Staff was transferred from the Council Secretariat to the EEAS in 2011. It operates under the direction of the Military Committee Working Group and obeys to the High Representative. The Military Staff deals with early warning, situation assessment and strategic planning for CSDP missions. It includes offices for liaison with the UN and NATO, as well as a link to the Supreme Allied Command Europe for those operations that utilize NATO capabilities and capacities under the Berlin Plus arrangements.

Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVCOM) is an advisory authority that consults the PSC and receives guidance from it.

The EU Situation Center (SITCEN) is the "intelligence centre" of the European Union. It is a unit of the EEAS that serves to inform and coordinate the activities of situation centres in member states and some third countries. It monitors the international situation, focusing on specific regions and complex issues *such as terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction*. It provides expert analysis for timely decision-making under the CFSP and CSDP.

The intergovernmental European Defence Agency (EDA), established in 2004, supports member states in their efforts to improve European defence potential. The EDA is de facto under the authority of the Council, to which it reports and takes instructions. All member states participate in it, with the exception of Denmark. The EDA supports the Member States and the Council in their efforts to improve European defence potential. Member States contribute to the Agency's annual budget according to a formula linked to Gross national product. Its work plan depends on the approval of member states. The latter can decide whether or not to participate in the Agency's projects (relating to aircraft refuelling capabilities in the air, cooperation between military medical services, overcoming the shortage of helicopters for crisis management operations, etc. The EDA has signed administrative agreements with Norway (2006), Switzerland (2012), Serbia (2013) and Ukraine (2015), which enables these countries to participate in its projects and programs. To enter into force, such administrative agreements require the approval of the European Council.

2. The decision-making process in the field of foreign policy and in crisis situations.

The Lisbon Treaty clarifies the types of crisis management (civilian or military) and expands the list of "Petersberg Tasks" that form the basis of CSDP by adding the possibility of disarmament operations, conflict prevention and post-conflict stabilization, as well as military consultations and assistance. It also associates the "Petersberg Tasks" with the fight against international terrorism.

The EU's decision-making process in connection with a particular crisis is structured as follows.

Political phase.

- 1. PSC, acting with the support of various advisory bodies, as well as geographical and thematic departments of the EEAS, assesses the appropriateness of EU action in a particular situation. If the Committee decides that such action is appropriate, planning for it begins.
- 2. Directorate for Crisis Management and Planning develops a concept for resolving the crisis, which sets out the EU's political interests involved, the feasible options for action on its part and the objectives of a possible civilian mission or military operation. If necessary, a delegation may be sent to the country where the EU intends to act on a preliminary basis to familiarize itself with the state of things on site, to establish preliminary contacts with the government of that country and to develop recommendations on the forms of EU involvement in the situation there.
- 3. PSC completes work on the crisis management concept and sends it to COREPER and directly to the Council for formal approval.

Strategic phase

- 4. Depending on the assessment of the specific situation, the Military Staff develops options for military actions, and the Civilian Mission Planning Division for non-military actions, to which the Civilian Crisis Management Committee and the Military Staff offer their comments.
- 5. PSC prepares a draft decision on the various options and transmits it to the COREPER and Council.

Launch of the operation/mission

- 6. Council takes a formal decision. It contains the mandate of the mission or operation, on the grounds of which its head is appointed.
- 7. The appointed Operation Commander/Mission Chief is responsible for developing the overall concept of the operation/mission and the operational plan of action.
- 8. After approval of these documents, the Council launches the operation/mission, which is conducted under the political control and strategic direction of the PSC. Since the CSDP cooperation remains intergovernmental in its character, the function of democratic control over the implementation of relevant decisions by governments is naturally retained by national parliaments. However, these parliaments have limited access to relevant information, and MPs generally cannot boast of a good understanding of the subjects of European foreign policy. n addition, individual national parliaments in Europe have different competencies and different procedures, which makes it difficult for them to cooperate with each other, while the European Parliament has no formal basis to completely replace them in this field.

The Lisbon Treaty does not provide clear guidelines on how to tackle this problem. However, on the basis of the Protocol on the Role of National Parliaments in the EU, annexed to the Lisbon Treaty, the **Inter-Parliamentary Conference on CFSP and CSDP** was established in 2012, which brings together representatives of national parliaments of EU member states and the EP. Its main value lies in the emergence of a platform that allows organizing inter-parliamentary hearings and preparing proposals of national parliaments on foreign policy issues, addressing the EP, Council and Commission.

3. Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) within the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP): evolution and development strategy

The Common Security and Defence Policy within the CFSP has received very modest development. Out of a general understanding of the inevitable weaknesses of the CFSP, which is not capable of making quick decisions in crisis situations, the contours of a special common foreign policy are emerging.

It is aimed at a long-term perspective of forming sustainable political, legal, social and other structures that can be located at different levels (individual, public, state, regional, global) of a certain space. By pursuing such a foreign policy, the EU expects a more favourable external environment (international environment) in the future, trying to involve third countries in its approach and understanding in tackling various issues. In this sense, the eastern enlargement of the EU (the accession of Central and Eastern European countries) should be recognized, paradoxically, as the most successful foreign policy campaign in the structural sense.

But this kind of structural foreign policy, in order to be consistently successful, must be accepted as legitimate by the people it affects. The legitimacy of the EU as a global player is not very convincing from the outside, especially in recent years: presenting itself as a normative force, it has not provided a response to the crises in the Balkans and Libya that it could be proud of, and its focus on efforts to overcome the crisis in the Eurozone generally betrays an inward rather than an outward orientation.

The European Security and Defence Policy was launched in 1998-1999, but integration in this area is still at a low stage. Its development was hindered, among other things, by fears that if the EU, as a "civilian force," acquires military instruments, this will negatively affect its identity. In addition, there were doubts about the possible consequences for European countries' relations with the United States within the framework of the North Atlantic Alliance, as well as the prospects for the "penetration" of supranationalism into the CFSP as a result of the formation of a "European army".

For obvious historical reasons, Germany has so far refrained from participating in EU military interventions (operations). It opposed, as we have already mentioned, the action in Libya in 2011, abstaining from voting on the issue in the UN Security Council. Germany also showed obvious restraint over the operation of the French armed forces in Mali in 2013. On the Syrian issue, unlike France and the United Kingdom, Germany also insisted on seeking a diplomatic solution to the crisis.

Decisions related to the CFSP, as well as to the CSDP in general, are also taken by the European Council and the Council, acting unanimously - but with some notable exceptions, such as the European Defence Agency (EDA) (decisions on it are taken by the Council by qualified majority) and permanent structured cooperation. *Proposals for such decisions are usually made by the High Representative*. The Lisbon Treaty established the connection between the CFSP and other Union policies, requiring that, where necessary, the EEA should carry out its tasks in conjunction with the Commission.

In the field of foreign policy, the Council acts by a qualified majority only in the following cases:

1. When adopting a decision determining the Union's actions or position on the basis of a decision of the European Council relating to the securing of the EU's strategic interests and objectives.

- 2. Taking a decision determining the Union's action or position on the proposal of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs responding to a special request from the European Council.
- 3. Taking any decision on the implementation of a decision already taken on an action or position of the Union.
 - 4. When appointing a special representative.
- 5. European Council may unanimously adopt a decision requiring the Council to act by a qualified majority in cases other than those listed above.

Advanced or in-depth cooperation is also possible in the field, in which not all Member States, but at least nine of them, participate. The relevant decision is taken by the EU Council unanimously, but only as a last resort - when the Council finds that the objectives pursued by this cooperation cannot be achieved within a reasonable time by the Union as a whole.

EEAS has now taken over the crisis management structures that were previously part of the Council's Secretariat. They are under the direct authority of the High Representative. The Directorate for Crisis Management and Planning is responsible for political and strategic planning of civilian missions and military operations, as well as for their critical analysis.

The sphere of CSDP requires increased measures of secrecy, confidentiality and flexibility in order to make quick decisions that ensure the security interests of both the EU and its member states. It can be said that in this field, the tradition of very limited parliamentary control at the European level is reproduced at the national level. *The EP does not have a formal right to vote on the issue of giving sanction to launch operations and missions, whether military or civilian.* However, after the dissolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union in 2012, a new Inter-Parliamentary Conference was established (with 16 representatives of the EP and 6 from each of the national parliaments) for multilevel monitoring of CFSP and CSDP.

In the case C-658/11 (Parliament v. Council), which was considered by the EU Court of Justice, the European Parliament managed to annul the Council's decision on the EU naval operation against sea rovers near the coast of Somalia "Atalanta" on the grounds that the Council did not provide the EP with sufficient information about it. According to the EU Court of Justice, as a result, the EP was deprived of the opportunity to exercise democratic oversight over it. In other words, the EU Court of Justice in this case strongly defended the procedural aspect of democratic accountability at the European level. The decision adopted by the Council and subsequently reversed by the Court of Justice in this case concerned the conclusion of an agreement between the EU and the Republic of Mauritius on the conditions for the transfer of suspected persons, suspected of piracy.

In institutional terms, the EU's common defence policy is particularly weak. The problem of insufficient CSDP military capabilities has been addressed in the EU on several occasions, but little has actually been done to solve it.

Hence, the main focus in the sphere of CSDP is on conflict prevention and crisis management, rather than on building up general capabilities and functions traditionally associated with the military sphere, including territorial defence and deterrence by intimidation (the latter remain the competence of NATO).

Permanent structured cooperation is aimed at increasing flexibility in the CSDP system. Article 44 of the TEU states that the Council may entrust the implementation of EU missions to a group of two member states (at least two) that wish to do so and have the necessary military capabilities for such a mission. With the participation of the High Representative for Foreign

Affairs, such states agree among themselves on the management of the process of realization of their cooperation in the framework of such a mission. According to Article 42(6) of the TEU, such countries form a self-governing "advanced" group, which other EU states may join at some time later.

It is not about creating a new category of EU operations. The scope of possible CSDP missions is not expanded by this provision. It does not pave the way for an alternative decision-making process. Its purpose is only to facilitate the disclosure of CSDP operations by creating a framework that will help member states willing to participate to conduct a mission as efficiently as possible, based on the EU's overall capabilities. This article has never been used in practice.

Mutual Assistance Clause in the Lisbon Treaty stipulates that in the event that a Member State is subjected to armed aggression on its territory, other Member States shall render it aid and assistance by all possible means, acting in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

Solidarity clause, in turn, stipulates that the European Union must mobilize all instruments at its disposal, including military resources provided by member states, to support a member state that has been the object of a terrorist attack or a victim of a natural or man-made disaster. Together, these two provisions provide the conditions for launching a mechanism under which solidarity with other Member States in the event of a military attack or threat of mass disaster becomes mandatory and falls under the jurisdiction of the Court of Justice of the EU. The treaty provisions on "mutual assistance" and "solidarity" (Article 222 TFEU) suggest that in the future the CSDP may go beyond the framework of managing foreign (for the EU) crises and find an internal plan from the EU's point of view.

It should be emphasized once again that not all the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty have been fully implemented. For example, none of the battlegroups has ever been involved in EU operations. According to J.-C. Juncker, the situation needs to be corrected: "Over the past decade, we have participated in more than 30 EU civilian and military missions from Africa to Afghanistan. However, without a permanent structure, our actions will not be effective. Operations that are urgently needed are postponed. Parallel missions have separate leadership, even if they take place in the same country or city. It is time we had a single command for such operations."

Funds for the CFSP, including civilian CSDP missions, are allocated from the EU's supranational budget, but the costs of military operations are carried out only by the member states themselves. In this case, the so-called Athens Mechanism, established in 2004. It allows financing the associated common costs of transportation, infrastructure, medical services and other general needs for such operations as "Althea" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, "Atalanta" in the fight against maritime piracy in the Horn of Africa, "Somalia" training mission, "Sophia" operation to combat the illegal transfer of refugees across the Mediterranean Sea, and a training mission in the Central African Republic. National contributions are proportional to the Gross national income of individual states. In addition, the Lisbon Treaty allows the Council to create a seed fund of contributions from member states for quick access to funds to finance urgent initiatives that cannot be supported from the EU budget.

4. Role and place of the EU in cooperation with international organizations

The Lisbon Treaty emphasizes the European Union's commitment to the principle of multilateralism in the system of international relations. A key aspect of the EU's activities in this direction is its participation in international organizations, in building relations with which it strives

to assume the role of a leader or, at least, to set the tone for the work of these organizations. In reality, the integration formation faces serious obstacles that prevent it from putting into life its clearly overstated ambitions.

The organizations with which the EU cooperates can be divided into global, regional and informal forums.

Type of International Organization	Name of International Organization
Global	World Trade Organization (WTO)
	Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)
	United Nations Organization (UNO)
	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
	(OECD)
Regional	Andean Community of Nations (ACN)
	Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)
	African Union (AU)
	European Economic Area (EEA)
	MERCOSUR
	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)
	Council of Europe
	Gulf Cooperation Council for the Arab States (GCC),
	Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM)
	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)
Informal forums	G7/G8 G20

Table 1: Cooperation of the EU with international organizations (selectively)

The status of the European Union on international organizations varies from full membership to the absence of any official status. In most cases, the EU is satisfied with a partial membership with various additional opportunities or their full/incomplete absence, depending on the specific organization. On the one hand, the EU's position in international organizations is influenced by the distribution of powers within the EU between institutions and member states (the less powers the institutions have, the lower the corresponding status). On the other hand, the charters of most international organizations is determined that only states can be members (in this case, the level of EU delegation in an international organization depends on the degree of political loyalty to it by the leadership of that organization).

Nowadays, we can highlight the following variants of the EU's participation in the work of international organizations:

1) Full membership with the right to vote is an exceptional situation for the EU. Thus, the EU is a full member of the WTO, as international trade is the field in which it has both power resources and a large institutional capacity. The same applies to the EU's status in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and in most international fisheries management organizations (e.g., the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT), the North East Atlantic Fisheries Commission (NEAFC)). However, there is an important difference between the EU's membership in the WTO and FAO, on the one hand, and fisheries management organizations, on the other hand: while in the first case the EU is represented alongside its member states, in the second case there is no parallel membership, i.e. the EU defends the interests of the community without the participation of its own member states (perhaps this is the maximum that the EU seeks in its interaction with international organizations).

In case of parallel representation of the EU and its member states in the same organizations, disputes and disagreements often arise between them (for example, within the framework of FAO), despite the division of competences agreed upon by a special Commission opinion of 1991 (updated in 1994 and 2013). The WTO can be considered a more successful experience of parallel coexistence: there is only one precedent in the practice of dispute settlement when a country - an EU member - brought a claim against the EU and received approval - the situation concerned the "Fish Wars" between the Union and the Faroe Islands.

- 2) Observer status close to full membership, or advanced observer an illustration in this case is the EU's relations with the UN (see below) and the World Customs Organization (WCO). In the latter, the EU's status is close to full membership, but formal membership requires that all 172 WCO member states adopt an amendment to its Charter that would allow economic and customs unions to join the Organization alongside sovereign states. The WCO member states are doing their best to back off the EU's accession on the rights of a full member. Therefore, the enhancement of the status in international organizations is the result of painstaking and continuous work of the representatives of a united Europe. Although the rights of an advanced observer do not include voting, depending on the specific organization, they may be offered opportunities such as speech at a plenary session, participation in working groups, submission of an amendments, etc. However, not all EU member states are in favour of expanding the powers of the European supranational formation in those international organizations of which they are members.
- 3) Permanent observer the EU has this status, for example, at the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), etc. At the same time, EU countries are full members of these organizations, i.e., there is parallel presentation. In most cases, as a permanent observer, the EU tries in every possible way to enhance its status to an advanced observer, but it does not always succeed. An example of such political struggle is the International Maritime Organization (IMO), in which the European Commission has had observer status since 1974. In 2002, the Commission recommended that the Council seek full membership in the IMO. However, during the Council's discussions, the EC's initiative was opposed by EU member states. Since then, the Commission's status at the IMO has remained unchanged. Thus, the expansion of the EU's powers in international organizations is opposed not only by third countries, but often by the Union states themselves.
- 4) Absence of an official status is not uncommon for the EU in the practice of international cooperation. For example, despite having broad powers and supranational legislation in the field of transport, the EU has not been able to obtain even observer status at such an influential transport organization as the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). Another example is the UN Security Council, where the Union's interests are represented through the member states, according to

Article 34 of the TEU. The EU has not yet succeeded in becoming an observer at the Arctic Council, despite having applied three times. A separate case is the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), where the EU does not have formal observer status, but the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) has the corresponding status.

According to the Lisbon Treaty, the President of the European Council, the President of the European Commission, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and the Head of the EU Delegation upon the UN can represent the EU in the international arena. As a general rule, with the exception of CSDP issues and a number of other cases provided for in the constituent agreements, the Commission is responsible for representing the EU in international organizations. In practice, this means that the Directorate-General whose profile corresponds to the subject matter of the organization deal with the issues of European interaction in the international arena. The High Representative for Foreign Affairs is responsible for the EU's external representation in matters related to the CFSP. At the level of heads of state, the EU's interests are represented by the President of the European Commission, and in some cases by both (for example, at G20 summits). Of course, this dispersion of representation functions causes confusion.

European Union cooperates with the UN in almost all areas of the Organization's activities, including development policy, human rights protection, environmental policy, peacekeeping, disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, humanitarian assistance, anti-corruption, migration management, etc. EU also has its delegations in the UN agencies and structures based in Geneva, namely: The Human Rights Council, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the Conference on Disarmament and the International Organization for Migration.

It is also worth mentioning that the EU, together with its member states, makes the largest contributions to the UN system (38% of the Organization's regular budget, more than 40% of the budget for peacekeeping operations and more than 50% of all UN funds and programs are formed from EU contributions). In addition, the EC annually spends USD 1.35 billion from the European budget to finance UN foreign assistance projects. Together, the EU, EU institutions and EU countries are the largest donors to UN on provision of humanitarian and development assistance.

Despite this, there are serious limitations to further strengthening the EU's position in the UN system. First of all, this is due to the state-cantered nature of the UN, which practically gives no opportunity to revise the Charter, which provides for membership in the Organization only for sovereign states.

Cooperation relations between the <u>Council of Europe (CoE)</u> and the European Economic Community were established in 1957. However, the first joint programs in the field of human rights and education were launched only in 1992. Today, the cooperation between the two organizations is based on the principles and values set out in 2006 by J.-C. Juncker, then Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who was charged with negotiating with the Council of Europe on behalf of the EU, in his message on "The Common Aspiration of the European Continent."

In its foreign policy, the European Union relies on the Council of Europe's standards on fundamental rights. A new stage of cooperation between the EU and the Council of Europe was marked by the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in 2007. The EU does not have formal observer status at the Council of Europe, although the EU delegation upon the Council of Europe began its work on September 1, 2010. Both organizations are actively developing political cooperation. Since 2012,

the EU has been publishing documents that define priorities in cooperation with the Council of Europe. For 2020-2021, the following priority directions were chosen: protection of human rights and gender equality, ensuring peace and security, development of fair globalization, accelerating the global transition to a more sustainable and climate-neutral future, and transition to a new digital world.

Currently, cooperation between the EU and the Council of Europe is also based on the "Declaration of Intent" signed in April 2014. "Declaration of Intent", which covers the Eastern Partnership and Southern Mediterranean countries. Dozens of joint programs are being implemented, constituting the largest source of financing for the Council of Europe's technical assistance and cooperation projects in support of democratic reforms in the countries of South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus and Turkey. Within the framework of the EU's Eastern Partnership initiative, the Council of Europe was invited to participate in the multilateral platforms on "Democracy, Good Governance and Stability" and "People-to-people contacts".

EU cooperates with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in the fields of conflict prevention, crisis management and democratization (including election monitoring). All EU countries are participants in the OSCE, providing up to 70% of the latter's budget, as well as a significant part of extra-budgetary revenues and 80% of the personnel. It should be noted that according to the rules of the Organization, the EU itself cannot be a donor to its single budget, so the EU actively finances extra-budgetary programs and projects.

EU and the OSCE pursue a number of common goals and interests, including maintaining peace and security in Europe and preventing conflicts. Both organizations maintain a constant political dialogue and hold regular meetings (the highest level is the EU-OSCE "Ministerial Troika"). At the same time, the EU's status within the OSCE is not formally defined. According to the current procedural rules, the European Commission, as part of the delegation of the EU presidency, may participate in meetings of the OSCE bodies, on the condition that the given issue falls within the competence of the European Union (mostly issues related to the Common Security and Defence Policy of the EU). In fields that fall within the exclusive and mixed competence of the European level of government, the Commission may participate in the discussion on an equal footing with the EU member states on behalf of all EU countries.

EU delegation in Vienna cooperates with the OSCE institutions on a regular basis. The EU has an ambassador/permanent representative accredited upon the OSCE. In general, according to the protocol, the EU delegation is subject to the same rules and procedures as the delegations of individual countries. At meetings of the Permanent Council (where the EU has a reserved separate place), the EU usually makes a single statement. Individual EU member states have the right to express their dissent, but they rarely do so. The EU Council of Ministers' working group on the OSCE in Brussels meets once a month, but the main work is done by European delegations in Vienna. In the framework of this work, the EU is constantly holding consultations with its candidate countries, as well as with Norway, Switzerland, and Canada. The EU's positions are often supported by the majority. The President of the European Commission participates in OSCE summits, and the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy participates in the annual meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

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Topics for reference papers

- 1. Institutions and officials authorized to represent the European Union in the international arena.
- 2. Characterization of the fundamentals of the common foreign and security policy of the EU
- 3. Features of the common security and defence policy.
- 4. Law enforcement and security cooperation in the European Union
- 5. European Anti-Fraud Office
- 6. The importance of "common values" of the European Union for ensuring its security "values based policy".
- 7. Features of the implementation of the European security policy in the field of combating illegal migration and human trafficking.
 - 8. Cooperation between the EU and the UN in the field of security policy.
 - 9. Cooperation between the EU and NATO in the field of security policy.
 - 10. Cooperation between the EU and the OSCE in the field of security policy.
 - 11. EU bodies and officials implementing the EU security policy.

Terms

Common Foreign and Security Policy - is one of the two constituent parts of the European Union's intergovernmental relations, formulated and defined in Title V of the Treaty on the European Union. Its tasks are to ensure the protection of the EU's common values, interests and security, to protect

peace and strengthen international security, to promote international cooperation and the development of democracy, the rule of law and human rights.

European political cooperation - is a mean of coordinating the foreign policy of member states and developing a common foreign policy position through holding regular consultations. It is officially recognized in the Single European Act; in the Treaty on European Union, it is replaced by the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Common Defence Policy - the common foreign and security policy of the European Union includes the definition of common features of a common defence policy, which may eventually lead to common defence.

Threshold price - a minimum guaranteed price set for crops, dairy products and sugar under the Common Agricultural Policy.

Common Transport Policy - a policy whose task is to define common rules to be applied to international transport going to or from the territory of the Member States or crossing the territory of one or several such countries.

Test questions

- 1. EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy is an ex officio member of:
 - a) European Commission
 - b) European Council
 - c) Council of the EU
 - d) is a separate sole body
 - 2. In what year was the Intergovernmental European Defence Agency established?
 - a) 2010
 - b) 2000
 - c) **2004**
 - d) 2005
- 3. During which stage of the decision-making process does the Political and Security Committee finalize the crisis management concept and send it to the COREPER and directly to the Council for formal approval?
 - a) political phase
 - b) strategic phase
 - c) launch of the operation
 - d) launch of the mission
 - 4. What type of organization is MERCOSUR?
 - a) global
 - b) regional
 - c) formal

- d) informal
- 5) In the field of foreign policy, the Council acts by a qualified majority only in the following cases:
 - a) when taking any decision on the implementation of a decision already taken on an action or position of the Union;
 - b) when appointing a special representative;
 - c) the European Council may unanimously adopt a decision on the basis of which the Council will have to act by a qualified majority in cases other than the ones listed above;
 - d) all of the above.
- 6. At the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the EU has the status of:
 - a) full membership with voting rights
 - b) observer status close to full membership, or advanced observer
 - c) permanent observer
 - d) absence of official status

Content

Topic 6. Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU

Institutions for the implementation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and their structure. Common foreign policy. Security policy. Strategic goals. Instruments of the Common Security Policy. The "Gray-zone". Policy and Security Committee. Foreign policy. Strategic interests. Military Staff. Situation Center. Intergovernmental European Defence Agency. Specificity of the EU as a participant in security relations.

Decision-making process in the field of foreign policy and in crisis situations Political phase. "Petersberg tasks". Types of crisis management. COREPER. A subsidiary instance of the Council. Strategic phase. Launching an operation/mission. Operational action plan.

Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in the framework of the Common Foreign Security Policy (CFSP): Evolution and Development Strategy. International environment. Legitimacy of the EU. The budget of the European Union. High Representative. Interparliamentary conference. Interventionism. Institutional attitude. Democratic development. Common defence policy.

Role and place of the EU in cooperation with international organizations. The status of the EU in the work of international organizations. Peculiarities of the UN activities in the field of international security. EU relations with the Council of Europe. Cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Seminar No. 3

Topic 9: Peculiarities of foreign policy of the Visegrad countries

- 1. Features of the partnership between Visegrad and Ukraine
- 2. Foreign policy of Poland
- 3. Foreign policy of Slovakia
- 4. Foreign policy of Hungary
- 5. Foreign policy of the Czech Republic
- 6. Regional policy of the Visegrad countries

Topics for reference papers

- 1. Visegrad Four. Reasons for its emergence and role in the EU
- 2. Ukraine and the Visegrad Four
- 3. Hungary as a member of the Visegrad Four
- 4. Poland as a member of the Visegrad Four
- 5. Slovakia as a member of the Visegrad Four
- 6. Czech Republic as a member of the Visegrad Four
- 7. Post-communist transformations in the Visegrad countries

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Test questions

- 1. The city of which country is included in the name "Visegrad Group"?
 - a) **Hungary**
 - b) Slovakia
 - c) Czech Republic
 - d) Poland
- 2. When was the Visegrad Declaration adopted?
 - a) October 15, 1990
 - b) December 1, 1999
 - c) February 15, 1991
 - d) February 01, 1996
- 3. Which country was the last to join the Visegrad Group?
 - a) Hungary
 - b) Slovakia
 - c) Czech Republic
 - d) Poland
- 4. In order to financially support cooperation between the G4 members and other countries, there was established:
 - a) International Visegrad Fund
 - b) Visegrad Youth Conference
 - c) Maastricht Treaty
 - d) European Development Fund
- 5. How is the chairmanship of the Group changed?
 - a) The country presiding over the Group changes every 4 years
 - b) The country presiding over the Group changes every year in the first month of the year
 - c) The country presiding over the Group changes every year in July
 - d) There is no such notion as a presiding country in the Group

Lecture

Topic 10. European Neighbourhood Policy Plan.

- 1. Instruments of the EU neighbourhood policy
- 2. Association Agreements of the European Union
- 3. Features of the Eastern Partnership policy in the context of Ukraine's European integration
- 4. Sanctions policy of the European Union

1. Instruments of the EU Neighbourhood Policy

The European Neighbourhood Policy has been operating since May 2004. Its launch was associated with the process of massive EU enlargement in the 2000s, which was accompanied by a major change in its external borders, which created a problem of building the EU's relations with the countries of the new neighbourhood. In the words of Karel de Gucht, then Belgian Foreign Minister, the EU has already reached the limits of its ability to "absorb new member states." In the context of the growing fatigue of Europeans from the rapid growth of the integration association in width, the ENP was intended to put an end to further EU enlargement in the short and medium term.

It should be noted that the very name of this policy with the prefix "European" in the English version (European Neighbourhood Policy) looks like a deliberate attempt by the EU to appropriate the "brand" of belonging to Europe primarily to itself, which contradicts the concept of the Council of Europe, all members of which, including non-EU members, are European countries. At the same time, the Neighbourhood Policy does not include Russia (Russia refused to join this initiative, preferring a bilateral format of relations with the EU).

The ENP was extended to 6 eastern (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine) and 10 southern (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia) countries, which are defined as "neighbours" in terms of their location in relation to the EU. Not all of them share territorial borders with the EU (by sea or land) - for example, Jordan and Azerbaijan are not immediate neighbours of the EU in the geographical sense. In general, without taking into account the geographical proximity of these countries to the EU, as well as problems with conflicts, stability and human rights, they have little in common.

Official Brussels suspended cooperation with Minsk after the 2010 presidential elections in Belarus, which were recognized in Europe as undemocratic. Libya initially did not sign an association agreement with the EU, but received financial assistance under the framework of thematic programs to support the civilian population. The EU's relations with Damascus have been frozen since 2011 due to the escalation of violence by the Bashar al-Assad regime against the Syrian population and numerous human rights violations.



ENP member states

- ** Temporarily suspended
- ** The mention of Palestine should not be interpreted as formal recognition by the EU of the State of Palestine

The following main instruments are used in the neighbourhood policy:

- **1.European Union** (and its member states) conclude either Partnership and Cooperation Agreements (PCAs) or Association Agreements (AAs). In particular, in recent years, the EU has concluded Association and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements with Georgia, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine, conducted negotiations on a new framework agreement with Armenia, and authorized the EU to start negotiations on a new comprehensive agreement with Azerbaijan.
- 2.On March 27, 2019, the European Parliament adopted a legislative resolution on the **new EU Multiannual Financial Framework for 2021-2027** (MFF), which defines the financing of the external dimension of the EU's activities for 2021-2027. The new MFF combines most of the EU's external financing instruments into one global instrument called Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation (NDICI). Thus, the European Neighbourhood Instrument, within the scope of which funding for the Southern and Eastern Neighbourhood is provided, will be dissolved and become part of the NDICI. According to the European Parliament's resolution, the seven-year budget of the new financial instrument will amount to **93.154 billion euros**, of which 45% will be used to

support climate and environmental goals, and 22 billion euros will be allocated to the European Neighbourhood Policy countries.

- 3 . For each neighbourhood country, **strategic reports and action plans** (the Association Agenda for the EaP countries) are developed with short- and medium-term priorities reflecting the needs and capabilities of the country and the EU's interests for a period of three to five years. Annually, the Commission and the High Representative publish a report on progress in achieving the goals set out in these documents.
- 4. Visa facilitation and readmission agreements or mobility partnership agreements have become a standard foreign policy instrument within the European Neighbourhood Policy.
- 5. The EU applies the **macro-financial assistance instrument** to countries experiencing a balance of payments crisis. Assistance is provided in the form of medium- and long-term loans, credits, and grants. This advanced instrument was created specifically for countries that are close to the EU geographically, economically and/or politically.

It is, therefore, primarily about the relations of the European Union and its member states with each individual partner country in the "28+1" format (28 EU countries + 1 partner country). These "bilateral" relations are complemented by regional and multilateral initiatives, such as the Mediterranean Partnership Union (formerly known as the Barcelona Process), the Eastern Partnership, and the Black Sea Synergy. It cannot be denied that such a complex, intricate structure itself is capable of provoking some confusion.

Initially, the ENP was based on the institutions that emerged within the framework of the EU's partnership and cooperation agreements with the former Soviet republics in the first half of the 1990s, i.e., the approach to the institutional aspects of this policy was extremely conservative. Only as an exception and to resolve specific security issues, and initially on a temporary basis, were structures such as the EU Monitoring Mission to Georgia (established in 2008 with 200 personnel initially for a year, but since then its mandate has been regularly prolonged, and its work is supervised by the EU Council), the EU Special Representative for the Transnistrian conflict, or the EU Border Assistance Advisory Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (launched in 2005, the EC is responsible for the work of the mission).

The ENP is sometimes called a hybrid policy, arguing that it is difficult to classify it into any particular category. As judged by the set of instruments, there are clear similarity with the EU enlargement process. In conceptual sense, it can be interpreted as a form of externalization (transfer of action from the internal to the external plan). The application of the ENP was based on Brussels' belief that if a country has achieved entry into an open and integrated market of the European level, functioning on the basis of compatible or harmonized rules, it has become closer to the European Union to the maximum extent available to those states that are not full members, and will in fact be able to enjoy the benefits of its new status, which is interpreted as membership in the EU without the right to vote. The original intention was to transfer the values and norms of the European Union to the neighbourhood countries, which is being implemented within the framework of the overall process of Europeanization.

Although political conditionality was not invented in the EU, it is used by it more often than other international actors. Conditionality implies linking expected benefits for the other party to the fulfilment of conditions related to the protection of human rights and the promotion of democracy. In the 1980s, international financial institutions began to impose conditions related to the promotion of liberal economic reforms on the provision of macro-financial assistance to individual countries. Some

EU countries (the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden) have traditionally governed their assistance to developing countries on political requirements based on ethical considerations. The Commission, for its part, followed a technocratic line and avoided conditionality in this regard until the 1990s, but then changed its position and began to take a more active care about compliance in developing countries.

But conditionality gained its greatest significance during the EU enlargement in the 1990s and 2000s. In this case, political transformation in Central European countries was directly related with the prospect of joining the EU. The EU established principles and criteria for assessing the success of the respective countries in political and economic reforms (Copenhagen criteria of 1993), introduced methods of "screening" the situation there, annual reports on the implementation of EU legislation in these countries (aquis communautaire), and addressed them with instructions, targets and priorities that they had to follow.

Over the years of its neighbourhood policy, the EU has gained tremendous experience in interacting with its neighbouring countries, from which the EU has learned several important lessons. Firstly, official Brussels realized that *not all partners are equally interested in deepening relations based on the model of political pluralism and integration*. Moreover, in a number of directions, the EU faced competition of interests and struggle for spheres of influence, which also became an important foreign policy signal for the EU, a kind of "feedback".

Secondly, as the EU experienced the worst economic crisis in recent years, it realized that its resources are finite, and with it a certain limit in the spread of common European values, beyond which it is not ready to go. Thirdly, carrying out the neighbourhood policy helped the EU to get to know its neighbours better and to correlate its own interests and ambitions with theirs. The dose of disappointment that the EU has experienced motivates it to look for more effective foreign policy instruments.

The mentioned above, in particular, encourages the EU to move from a multilateral "architecture" to a bilateral format in relations with neighbouring countries and to place less emphasis on conditionality. However, all this does not mean that the EU has completely abandoned its previous value-based approach to relations with neighbouring states. On the contrary, the lessons learned have only strengthened the intention of a united Europe to engage its neighbours in dialogue and cooperation through civil society, but now only to the extent and in the forms that the partners themselves are ready for (individually). At the same time, due to the different levels of ambition of its partners (Eastern and Southern), the EU reserves the right to make their own choices, which shows the Union as a balanced player in the foreign policy arena.

It is important to emphasize that the Neighbourhood Policy has not received any controversial assessments, however, this mechanism forces changes in the national legislation of the countries to which it extends, which is a rare precedent in foreign policy. In the future, the EU plans to integrate its neighbourhood policy more closely with its overall foreign policy, as stated by EC President J.-C. Juncker, who called on EU member states to submit new proposals for reforming the ENP. In parallel, the Commission is reviewing the goals and prospects for further EU enlargement. It should be noted that in his political program, Juncker stated that no new countries are expected to join the EU in the next five years.

In general, it is difficult to find objective criteria for assessing the effectiveness of the European Neighbourhood Policy, as traditional state-cantered approaches are hardly applicable to the EU. It should not be forgotten that the EU includes states that actively and consistently carry out their own

foreign policy course. The European Union is a fundamentally different entity that requires a different approach to assessing its foreign policy activities.

The main thing that the EU presents as proof of its effectiveness is 70 years of peace. The significance of this achievement should not be underestimated for a continent that has never known such a long period of absence of wars in its long history.

2. EU Association Agreements

The EU's policy of transforming Central Europe through the accession of the region's countries to the EU, which was carried out in the 1990s and 2000s, was later regarded as the most successful part of its foreign policy, while political conditionality was considered an important element of this success that should not be abandoned in the future. In the neighbourhood policy, most of the instruments were borrowed from the arsenal that was developed in the enlargement process. However, according to Annalisa Meloni, such an emphasis on the political component in the ENP created more problems than it solved. As another expert, Rosa Balfour, rightly points out, the borrowing of the logic and tools of enlargement was done without taking into account the principal differences between Central Europe and the neighbouring countries:

- the absence in the latter case of a guaranteed prospect of accession to the EU as an incentive to comply with the conditions set by the EU;
 - absence of consensus on the necessity of "returning to Europe";
- a fundamentally different understanding of sovereignty and the permissible limits of interference in internal affairs.

In view of this, the Commission subsequently softened its position somewhat, turning to the idea of "co-ownership" of the neighbourhood policy and to forms of interaction with partners that more closely reflect "a horizontal, interactive, flexible and inclusive governance structure, often referred to as 'network governance'. It began to give more attention to the *method of socialization*. It was recognized that the issue of priorities, as well as the terms of achieving the set goals, should now be resolved in the interaction of both parties. However, socialization can only bring tangible results in the long-run perspective.

Association or partnership agreements that link the EU with neighbouring countries necessarily contain a clause that, in principle, allows the EU resort to negative measures towards neighbouring countries, starting from a temporary interruption of assistance and ending with a complete termination of relations, if the latter violate fundamental principles. Too much attention is given to bilateral relations, while many of the neighbourhood's problems require a regional approach to their solution.

Conditionality is the main instrument for achieving convergence with European standards in legislation, but the ambiguity of the ultimate goal of deepening cooperation (the absence of a clear prospect of further accession to the EU for the neighbouring countries) in this case undermines the effectiveness of its use. While in the case of EU candidate countries this goal is quite clear, the neighbouring countries are in a fundamentally different situation.

The methodology used in the ENP, as already mentioned, is borrowed from the experience of EU enlargement, but this policy does not formally promise full EU membership to the neighbouring countries.

From an institutional point of view, the European Commission plays a very important role in the ENP. It carries out daily management, prepares draft strategic reports and action plans. This policy is handled by the **Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations (DG**

NEAR), which is also responsible for coordinating relations with the countries of the European Economic Area (Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein) and the European Free Trade Association (which, in addition to these countries, also includes Switzerland). In ENP matters, it cooperates with the EEAS and a number of "thematic" Directorates-General (Trade, Development, Energy, Mobility and Transport). **The current Director-General of the EC's Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations is Maciej Popowski (since 2016).**

Formally, the EU's intention is to support the structural transformation of its eastern and southern neighbours, to promote democracy, the rule of law and market economy institutions. But so far, most observers agree that this policy has not lived up to expectations. Both conceptual flaws and inconsistent implementation pose a serious problem.

In terms of concept, this policy is Eurocentric. The role of third countries in the EU's neighbourhood is often simply ignored. Meanwhile, some of these countries provide substantial financial resources to the countries of the region, without attaching Western-style political conditions to their assistance. Designed for long-term cooperation in a stable environment, ENP instruments do not work in the context of radical changes that most of the EU's neighbours are currently experiencing.

3. Peculiarities of the Eastern Partnership policy in the context of Ukraine's European integration.

Ukrainian events provide a relevant example of the strengths and weaknesses of the ENP. The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement is a new model of association based on two elements:

- 1. an advanced political association (political dialogue, cooperation in foreign and security policy, as well as in internal affairs and justice);
- 2. far-reaching economic integration (a Free Trade Agreement that provides Ukraine with access to the EU's single internal market and extends European legislation to Ukraine).

Gradual economic integration is envisaged, including the creation of a deep and comprehensive free trade area, and convergence in legislation and regulation. The planned merger of not only economic, but also legal orders, in fact, turns Ukraine into a part of the EU legal system. This is a legal instrument of integration through association.

This means *four market freedoms* (their possible implementation has limited scope, except for the freedom of movement of goods), as well *as economic and regulatory convergence in a number of sectors, including energy*. The freedom of movement of services, payments and capital, as well as of Ukrainian labour legally employed in the territory of any of the member states, is subject to certain restrictions. In the context of the political crisis, the Ukrainian authorities were forced to resort to the assistance of their international partners, mainly the EU and the IMF. At the same time, the Commission has clearly described the conditions under which financial assistance to Ukraine can be provided and the terms of such assistance. Trying to comply with European standards and with the hope of receiving the next tranches of macro-financial assistance from the EU, the Ukrainian authorities in a fast-track mode are implementing reforms that are quite positive in themselves, but, when viewed in the context of Ukrainian reality, will they have the desired effect in practice.

At the 15th EU-Ukraine Summit in Kyiv on December 19, 2011, negotiations on the future Association Agreement were completed, and on March 30, 2012, the text of the future Agreement was initialled by the heads of the EU and Ukraine's negotiating teams.

The political part of the Association Agreement was signed on March 21, 2014, and the economic part - on June 27, 2014. On September 16, 2014, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and the

European Parliament simultaneously ratified the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. On November 01, 2014, it was provisionally applied.

The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement entered into full force on September 01, 2017. It is an international legal document that enshrines at the contractual legal level the transition of relations between Ukraine and the EU from partnership and cooperation to political association and economic integration.

Among the conditions set by the EU and the IMF are the anti-corruption and reforms in Ukraine's energy sector, which is considered extremely inefficient and one of the main sources of oligarchic corruption. The latter is based on a complicated system of mutual settlements, combined with different gas prices for different consumers and state compensation for price differences, which led to abuse. Plans to reform Ukraine's energy sector with international support, formulated several years ago, have not been implemented. The IMF demanded a reduction of subsidies in the energy sector, while the EU demanded that Ukraine fulfil its commitments to liberalize the gas market.

These conditions include the main aspects of the so-called Third Energy Package - the fragmentation of National Joint Stock Company "Naftogaz of Ukraine" by certain types of activities and demonopolization in the interests of consumers. On April 06, 2016, a referendum was held in the Netherlands on the issue of support for the EU-Ukraine agreement, which had been previously approved by the Parliament of the country. During the referendum, 61% of the votes were cast against such support (by this time, the EU itself, EU member states and Ukraine had already ratified the agreement). Opponents of the agreement in the Dutch Parliament expressed fears that it would require taxpayers to continue to pay for the growing financial support for Ukraine and that the wave of immigration from that country would increase further. The referendum was advisory, meaning that, from a formal point of view, it merely postponed the entry into force of a national act approving the agreement until the results of the vote were received. The Netherlands government was not obliged to take these results into account. The attendance at the referendum was 32% (with the required minimum of 30%). It is clear that this event did not add stability or consistency to the EU's foreign policy decision-making process. Nevertheless, Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte said that his government would take into account the results of the April referendum, which called into question the final entry into force of the Agreement.

When the EU launched its Neighbourhood Policy in 2004, it intended to surround itself with a circle of friends, to create a space of prosperity, stability and security, but political events and crises faced by Europe's neighbours have shown that the ENP is not an effective mechanism for responding to emergency situations or preventing them. Already in 2011, the ENP fully demonstrated its meaninglessness in relation to the changes that took place in the Middle East and North Africa. The EU and its partners faced economic and social pressures, an influx of refugees and migrants, and security threats. All these difficult-to-predict events have been layered on top of the ENP's weaknesses, which were inherent in it from the very beginning. In other words, in its architectural forms, the ENP was based on enlargement policy, but it did not contain equally convincing incentives for the countries it was aimed at so that they would obey the EU's instructions. As a result, this has led to frustration and dissatisfaction both in the partner countries and in the EU itself.

4. Sanctions policy of the European Union

The EU has been applying sanctions since the 1980s. Currently, it uses them extremely widely. Their application is within the field of the CFSP. The Council plays a key role, even if the implementation of the relevant decision requires direct involvement of the Commission, when the implementation of sanctions affects the operation of the Single Internal Market. The Lisbon Treaty

additionally emphasized the Council's role in this regard. However, it is clear that the initial political decision always comes from the European Council. Starting in the mid-1990s, the EU gradually moved from applying comprehensive embargoes to targeted or "smart" sanctions, in which the object of influence is the country's elite, responsible for steps and decisions that have caused the EU's disapproval, rather than its population as a whole. Targeted sanctions are applied in such a way as to affect only certain individuals, elite groups and economic sectors, and not the entire economy of the country as a whole. The implementation of EU trade and financial sanctions requires a Council regulation.

The sanctions applied by the EU largely look like a political alternative to the use of military force, material incentives and diplomacy in a situation where some kind of reaction to the actions of an object in the international environment is required, and other actions are difficult or even impossible for the EU to take (including due to disagreement in the ranks of member states). While the EU does not have any serious military force capabilities of its own, it can be convincingly called an economic superpower. Therefore, the use or threat of economic and financial sanctions by the EU is very significant. Economic sanctions may include not only trade embargoes but also asset freezes. However, in international relations in general, sanctions that do not have economic content, such as diplomatic sanctions, are also possible.

Sanctions are applied in cases where positive conditioning is not seen as an appropriate or permissible option. However, sanctions are only applicable within the EU's jurisdiction, namely:

- within its territory, including its airspace;
- in relation to EU citizens, wherever they are located;
- for companies and organizations incorporated under the legislation of the Member States in relation to any business activity that is fully or partially carried out in the EU;
 - on board of ships and airplanes under the jurisdiction of Member States.

In this regard, the European Union emphasizes that the EU, unlike the United States, does not resort to legal norms with extraterritorial application, which would violate international law. Sanctions "are applied only if there is a connection with the EU: on its territory, in its courts and in relation to citizens and legal entities of EU member states, as well as businesses conducted fully or partially on the territory of the EU".

EU sanctions can also be defined as a form of negative conditionality (as opposed to positive causality/conditionality, which we discussed above). They are used to force a state to abandon some economic, political or military steps that can be expected from it by the threat of enhanced punishment. From this point of view, it is always important for the sanctioning party to precisely outline the requirements (criteria) that must be fulfilled by the state in order to lift sanctions. Changes in behaviour are expected as a result of material damage caused by the sanctions, which the opposing party would like to avoid. In other words, the country under sanctions should have an idea of what it should do to avoid increasing its losses.

The EU sanctions imposed on Syria, Russia, Myanmar, Zimbabwe, Belarus, China, Uzbekistan, and the Comoros are examples of **fully autonomous EU sanctions.** They are usually imposed in unison with unilateral sanctions by the United States or other countries and regional organizations. It is these sanctions that have been consistently criticized by the UN Human Rights Council.

<u>Personal sanctions</u> forbid blacklisted individuals to enter into the EU (issue them visas) and freeze their financial assets or prohibit them from having bank accounts in the EU.

<u>Selective sanctions</u> may include partial embargoes, a ban on export or import of certain goods, such as timber, oil, precious stones, cocoa, weapons or luxury goods.

<u>Financial sanctions</u> (bans on investments and payments or freezing of funds of state-owned enterprises), bans on airplane flights are also part of the repertoire of selective sanctions. They can have a broader impact on the economy than personal sanctions.

<u>Targeted sanctions</u>, for principled reasons, do not include food and medical products (medicines) in order to deliberately exclude vulnerable social groups in countries imposed by the EU sanctions.

The EU's economic and financial sanctions can be functionally divided into three categories.

Asset freezing - is the most commonly used restrictive measure. It is applied to individuals and companies designated by the EU in accordance with established criteria. Such measures have two practical consequences:

- (1) it is forbidden to transfer funds and economic resources belonging to the designated persons or companies;
 - (2) it is forbidden to provide them, directly or indirectly, with other funds or economic resources.

These restrictions may have some unexpected results: for example, writing off the debt of a person from the sanctions list may itself constitute a prohibited act. Under certain circumstances, there is a chance to obtain an official permit for limited commercial transactions with a person from the list (for example, if such a person needs to make a payment in connection with a contract concluded before the person was sanctioned). Such permits are usually issued at the discretion of the competent authorities of the EU member states.

Sectoral sanctions - targeted at entire industries, which may have the following goals:

- (1) to impede a country from purchasing goods and services that are necessary to continue its actions that the EU considers illegal;
- (2) to exert indirect pressure on such a country by shutting down access to financial resources and investments from the EU for players in its key industries.

Prohibitions on the transfer of funds. European measures represent a minimum standard from which national measures for their implementation may differ, but only in the direction of greater tightening.

The basis for the imposition of autonomous restrictive measures by the EU is a decision of the Foreign Affairs Council, which is adopted unanimously on the proposal of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs or any of the Member States. Some exceptions to the unanimity rule applicable in this case are provided for in Article 31(2) of the TEU (the Council may adopt a decision by a qualified majority if there is a previous decision of the European Council to that effect or a specific proposal of the High Representative made at the specific request of the European Council). In principle, the mechanism of constructive abstention described above may also apply here.

Let us consider the EU's sanctions policy on the practical example of anti-Russian sanctions.

The EU imposed targeted sanctions against Russia on March 31, 2014, after the illegal annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation. The EU's anti-Russian sanctions have been strengthened over time and fall into three main areas. These are personal visa restrictions, economic sanctions targeting a number of Russian state-owned companies in the oil, defence and financial sectors, and restrictive measures on Crimea. Economic sanctions, in turn, include four important elements:

- import and export embargo on arms trade;
- restrictions on the export of dual-use goods to Russia (export authorization procedure is applied), as well as the provision of financial and technical assistance related to such goods, which affects exports from the EU for nine Russian companies, including "Sirius", "Kalashnikov" and "Stankoinstrument" association;
- restriction of Russia's access to technologies and services of strategic importance that can be used for oil development and production (such exports are subject to prior authorization by the competent authorities of the EU member states, and export licenses must be unequivocally denied if the exported goods are intended for the development and production of oil in the Arctic, deep-water shelf, and shale oil);
 - a ban on transactions with shares and bonds.

At a meeting of the European Council on March 19, 2015, EU leaders agreed on the prospect of termination of sectoral economic sanctions against Russia with the full implementation of the Minsk agreements. The Minsk agreements were supposed to be implemented by December 31, 2015. Given that this deadline was not met, the EU Council extended the sectoral sanctions, which include financial and trade restrictions.

In addition to the EU countries, Montenegro, Albania, Liechtenstein, Norway and Ukraine joined the extension. In this case, we are talking about the so-called blacklist, which includes 146 people and 37 organizations. The individuals on the list are banned from entering the European Union, and their assets are frozen in the bloc. Restrictions on economic relations with Crimea and Sevastopol (including a ban on imports to the EU of goods that do not have Ukrainian certificates) have been prolonged to date. In addition, the EU countries supported the suspension of negotiations on Russia's membership in the OECD and bilateral EU-Russia talks on visa issues and a new basic agreement. Nevertheless, the sanctions did not directly affect the most sensitive area - Russian exports of oil, gas and other raw materials.

On July 05, 2018, the Council of the European Union announced the prolongation of economic sanctions against Russia for another six months. Economic sanctions include:

- restricting access to the EU's primary and secondary capital markets for 5 Russian financial institutions with a majority share of the state in the authorized capital and their subsidiaries in which these organizations have a majority share and which are established outside the EU, as well as for three large Russian energy companies and three defence companies;
 - an export and import ban on arms trade;
 - a ban on exports to Russia of dual-use goods for military purposes or for the Russian army;
- restricting Russia's access to certain technologies and services of strategic importance that can be used for oil development and production.

On June 18, 2020, the EU Council prolonged the ban on European companies investing in the temporarily occupied Crimea and importing goods from the peninsula until June 2021.

We should agree with Francesco Giumelli that "the signalling aspect of certain sanctions should not be relegated to the residual category of ineffective sanctions". The expected recipients of such a signal can be not only the country directly subject to sanctions, but also the international community as a whole, some third countries, including the EU's closest allies, and even member states. A positive result includes projecting the normative image of the sanctioning party (in this case, the EU) in the world.

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Topics for reference papers

- 1. Pre-conditions and essence of the EU Neighbourhood Policy.
- 2. Tools for implementing the neighbourhood policy.
- 3. Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU: main characteristics and content.
- 4. Prospects for Ukraine's relations with the EU.

- 5. Supporting state and social stability in neighbouring regions as a priority for the development of the Union's foreign relations.
 - 6. EU anti-Russian sanctions.
 - 7. Current state of EU-Ukraine relations in the context of the neighbourhood policy.
 - 8. Regulatory and legal support of the EU Neighbourhood Policy.

Terms

Eastern Partnership - is the European Union's policy aimed at strengthening relations with the EU's eastern neighbours and is a continuation of the eastern direction of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

Population migration - is the mechanical movement of people across the borders of certain territories with a change of residence for a permanent, more or less long-lasting period or with regular return to it.

Cross-border cooperation - means joint actions aimed at establishing and deepening economic, social, scientific, technical, environmental, cultural and other relations between territorial communities, their representative authorities, local executive authorities of Ukraine and territorial communities, and relevant authorities of other states within the competence defined by their national legislation.

Integration - means combination, interpenetration. It is the process of combining any elements into a single whole. It is the process of convergence and formation of interconnections.

Readmission - is the mutual obligation of states, which is enshrined in international agreements, to take back their own citizens, as well as third-country nationals and stateless persons who have illegally entered the territory of one of the Contracting Parties, or who, having arrived legally, have lost the grounds for legal residence permit.

Sanction - is an element of a legal provision that establishes unfavourable consequences in case of violation of a rule determined by a disposition.

Test questions

- 1. Since what year has the European Neighbourhood Policy been in force?
 - a) 1990
 - b) 2000
 - c) 2004
 - d) 2001
- 2. The largest foreign economic partner of Ukraine is:
 - a) European Union;
 - b) Russian Federation;
 - c) USA
 - d) China.
- 3. In relation to which of the following countries is the neighbourhood policy currently suspended?
 - a) Libya

- b) Moldova
- c) Belarus
- d) Algeria
- 4. Ukraine and the EU cooperate in the energy sector on the basis of the Treaty on:
 - a) Establishment of the Energy Community
 - b) Establishment of the European Atomic Energy Community;
 - c) Euroatom;
 - d) all of the above mentioned.
- 5. Who is the current Director General of the EC's Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations (since 2015)? (exactly?, it's just very long) we need to check it)
 - a) Kristin de Peyron
 - b) Christian Danielsson
 - c) Rosa Balfour
 - d) Annalise Maloney
- 6. The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement has entered into force:
 - a) on March 01, 2014
 - b) on September 01, 2017
 - c) on December 01, 2016
 - d) has not yet fully entered into force
- 7. Which sanctions prohibit blacklisted individuals from entering the EU (issuing them visas) and freeze their financial assets or prohibit them from having bank accounts in the EU?
 - a) selective
 - b) targeted
 - c) sectoral
 - d) personal
- 8. Which EU country held a referendum on the ratification of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement?
 - a) France
 - b) Netherlands
 - c) Denmark
 - d) Germany

Content

Topic 7. European Neighbourhood Policy

Instruments of the EU Neighbourhood Policy. Neighbourhood Policy of the European Union. Main instruments of the neighbourhood policy. Members of the European Union. Procedure of enlargement

of the European Union. Copenhagen criteria. Objective and subjective criteria for membership in the European Union.

Association Agreements of the European Union. Association or Partnership Agreements. Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations. Division of competence between the Union and the states. Exclusive competence.

Features of the Eastern Partnership policy in the context of the European integration of Ukraine. Political and legal prerequisites for cooperation between Ukraine and the EU. Problems of choosing between membership and neighbourhood strategies in relations between Ukraine and the EU. History of the development of relations between Ukraine and the EU.

Sanctions policy of the European Union. Personal sanctions. Targeted sanctions. Financial sanctions. Freezing of assets. Sectoral sanctions. Prohibition on the transfer of funds. Anti-Russian sanctions.

Glossary

European Union Agencies - institutions of the European Union that are governed by European public law, differ from the Community institutions (Council of the European Union, European Parliament, European Commission, etc.) and have their own legal status.

Annexation (accession) - is the unlawful annexation (seizure) by a state of a territory belonging to another state. It is a gross violation of international law.

Anschluss - the annexation of Austria to Nazi Germany on March 11-13, 1938.

Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France - is the second official in the central apparatus after the Minister, acting as a coordinating link between all divisions of the Ministry. The Secretary General serves as the administrative head of the diplomatic service, coordinator of diplomatic activities and the main assistant and adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, both on political and organizational issues.

Directorates-General - are the main administrative units of the European Commission. They implement or ensure the implementation of EU policies by member states, and manage the allocation of funds from the budget for various strategic areas.

Denunciation - is a duly executed withdrawal of a state from an international treaty it has concluded.

State - is a political form of government organization characterized by sovereign power, political and public character, exercise of its powers in a certain territory through a system of specially created authorities and organizations, which are used to carry out political, economic and ideological management of society and management of public rights.

European Commission - is the supreme executive authority of the European Union, which roughly corresponds to the role and functions of the government in the systems of national states.

European political cooperation - is a mean of coordinating the foreign policy of member states and developing a common foreign policy position through regular consultations.

European political cooperation - is a mean of coordinating the foreign policy of member states and developing a common foreign policy position through regular consultations. It is officially recognized in the Single European Act; in the Treaty on European Union, it is replaced by the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

European Council - is an EU institution that provides for regular meetings of the heads of state and governments of the European Union.

European Parliament - the legislative authority of the European Union, which is elected by direct vote by the citizens of the European Union.

European Communities - a collective authority that emerged in 1967 as a result of the merger of the administrative apparatus of the European Atomic Energy Community, the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community.

Increasing the strength of the state - means improving its economic, political, military, intellectual and moral potential.

Foreign policy - is the activity of the state and other political institutions in the international arena aimed at establishing and maintaining relations with the international community, protecting its own national interest and spreading its influence on other subjects of international relations.

Industrialization - is a historical process of technical and economic transition from agrarian to industrial methods of social production, which passes through the machine stage of production of goods and services. The concept of Industrialization is used to refer to the historical era of the European Industrial Revolution, which began in the second half of the 18th century in the Kingdom of Great Britain.

Integration - is a combination, interpenetration. It is the process of combining any elements into a single whole. It is the process of convergence and formation of interconnections.

Cultural diplomacy - is a type of public diplomacy and a soft power tool that can be defined as "the exchange of ideas, information, works of art and other cultural components between states and peoples to strengthen mutual understanding."

Population migration - is the mechanical movement of people across the borders of certain territories with a change of residence forever, or for a more or less long time, or with regular return to it.

International relations - is a set of political, economic, social, cultural and other ties and relationships between participants operating in the international arena (states and unions of states, transnational corporations, ethnic and national groups, political and public organizations, social movements, individuals, etc.)

Minister delegate - is a minister of the French government who is responsible for a specific issue in a ministry. They are subordinated to a specific cabinet minister or the prime minister.

National Security - is a state of the state that enables it to preserve its integrity and act as an independent subject of the system of international relations. National security means the protection of vital interests of an individual, the state and society, state borders, territorial integrity, socio-political system, economy, and culture of the country from internal and external threats.

Nation is an ethno-social community united by a certain self-name, symbols, geographical and ethnosocial origin, historical memory, a set of spiritual, cultural and political values, and an awareness of its identity.

Politics (the "art of governing" the state and society) - is the activity of solving issues of life of a society or a certain part of it.

Political regime - a characteristic type of government in a country, a set of means and methods of exercising political power that reflects the nature of the relationship between citizens and the state.

Threshold price - is the minimum guaranteed price set for cereals, dairy products, and sugar under the Common Agricultural Policy.

Prolongation - is an extension of the term of an international agreement.

Council of the European Union (EU Council of Ministers) - an institution of the European Union, the main decision-making body in the European Union. It consists of one minister from each country of the Union.

Ratification - is the approval of an international treaty by the supreme body of state power (monarch, president, parliament) and consent to its binding effect on the state.

Readmission - is the mutual obligations of states, which are enshrined in international agreements, to take back their own citizens, as well as third-country nationals and stateless persons who have illegally entered the territory of one of the Contracting Parties, or who have legally lost the grounds for legal residence.

Sanctions - are international law's means of coercion and punishment of one state by another. There are political, economic and military sanctions. Political sanctions include the severance of diplomatic relations, termination of membership or expulsion from the UN or other international organizations. Economic or trade sanctions may include a complete severance of all economic and financial relations or a selective embargo on the import or export of goods. Military sanctions are accompanied by military actions with the use of weapons.

Sanction - is an element of a legal rule that establishes unfavourable consequences in case of violation of a rule defined by a disposition.

European Union Special Representatives - is a special institution designed to resolve international conflicts and implement priority programs of international cooperation on the part of the Union.

Common Foreign and Security Policy - is one of the two pillars of the European Union's intergovernmental relations, formulated and defined in Title V of the Treaty on the European Union. Its tasks are to ensure the protection of the EU's common values, interests and security, to protect peace and strengthen international security, to promote international cooperation and democracy, the rule of law and human rights.

Common Defence Policy - the common foreign and security policy of the European Union includes the definition of common features of a common defence policy, which may eventually lead to common defence.

Common Transport Policy - a policy whose task is to determine the common rules to be applied to international transport going to or from the territory of the Member States or crossing the territory of one or more of them.

Sovereignty of a state - is the full legislative, executive and judicial power of a state on its territory; its non-subordination to the power of a foreign state in the field of international communication, except in cases of unconditionally expressed and voluntary consent of the state to restrict its sovereignty.

Court of Justice of the EU - the official institution of the European Union, covering the entire judiciary in the EU.

Eastern Partnership - is a policy of the European Union aimed at strengthening relations with the EU's eastern neighbours and is a continuation of the eastern direction of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

Cross-border cooperation - joint actions aimed at establishing and deepening economic, social, scientific, technical, environmental, cultural and other relations between territorial communities, their representative bodies, local executive authorities of Ukraine and territorial communities, relevant authorities of other states within the competence defined by their national legislation.

Francophonie - is a French-speaking area, countries where the French language is spoken. The International Organization for Cooperation of the Francophone Countries of the World, which unites 54 full and 4 associate members representing different countries or parts of countries, as well as 26 observers. The main criterion for joining the organization is not the level of French language proficiency of the population of a country, but cultural ties with France.

Auswärtiges Amt - Federal Foreign Office of Germany which was founded in 1870. Until 1919, it was headed by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and later by the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Test tasks

- 1. Forms of foreign policy implementation:
- a) passive, active;
- b) active, aggressive, conservative;
- c) passive, aggressive, active, conservative;
- d) there is no correct answer.
- 2. Ideological aspect of national interests involves:
- a) substantiation of various ideological versions of interpretation of the content of these interests;
- b) ensuring political stability and maintaining the power of the ruling forces or, in addition to these goals, raising the living standards of the social majority;
 - c) preservation of sovereignty and territorial integrity;
- d) a place and role in a certain geopolitical space or spreading its influence through military, economic and informational expansion, ensuring the balance of power through international political, legal and economic institutions.
 - 3. Second level of national security is:
- a) security of the individual: consists in the formation of a set of such legal and moral norms and social institutions that would enable the individual to develop and exercise socially significant abilities and needs without being opposed by society and the state;
- b) security of society: implies the existence of social institutions, norms and relations that allow to exercise the rights and freedoms of all social groups and to resist actions that lead to the division of society;
- c) state security: is achieved by the existence of an effective mechanism of social governance, coordination of activities of social groups and political forces, as well as effective institutions of their protection;
 - d) there is no correct answer.
- 4. With the aim to achieve the goals of foreign policy, the following means of their implementation are available:
 - a) political
 - b) economic;
 - c) ideological;
 - d) all answers are correct.

5. The main international legal document of our days, which formulates the principles of international law and provides for measures to comply with them, was adopted:
a) in 1942
b) in 1943
c) in 1944
d) in 1945
6. The external competence of the EU is:
a) exclusive
b) mixed
c) exclusive
d) complementary
Topic 2
7. The highest authority for the representation of EU citizens is:
a) European Commission
b) European Parliament
c) European Council
d) Council of the EU
 8. Who is the current President of the European Commission since 2019? a) Ursula von der Leyen b) Charles Michel c) David Sassoli d) Michele Santoro
9. Under which Treaty was introduced the post of President of the European Council (EU President)? a) Treaty of Nice
b) Lisbon Treaty
c) Treaty establishing the European Economic Community d) Treaty of Amsterdam
10. Since which year have members of the European Parliament been elected by general election?a) 1979b) 2000
c) 1990 d) 2009
11. What is the principle of decision-making in the Council of the European Union?a) the principle of qualified majorityb) the principle of minorityc) the principle of cooperation

- d) the principle of compromise
- 12. Who is the current President of the European Parliament since 2019?
- a) Ursula von der Leyen
- b) David Sassoli
- c) Charles Michel
- d) Antonio Tajani
- 13. In what year was the post of President of the European Council established?
- a) 2009
- b) 1988
- c) 2000
- d) 2005

- 14. Which of the above treaties is the current founding treaty of the EU?
- a) European Union as amended by the Maastricht Treaty
- b) European Economic Area
- c) Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community
- d) Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community
- 15. Who is the current High Representative for Foreign Affairs since 2019?
- a) Josep Borrell
- b) Catherine Ashton
- c) Helga Schmid
- d) Federica Mogherini
- 16. Which of the following is not one of the tasks of the High Representative?
- a) participation in the development of a common course in the foreign policy of the countries.
- b) supervising the daily work at the EEAS headquarters
- c) coordinating the work of thematic instruments for the implementation of the EU's foreign policy
- d) regular attendance at meetings of EU Heads of State and Government in the European Council.
- 17. The first Community on which the establishment of the EU was based was the European:
- a) Economic community;
- b) Political community;
- c) Coal and Steel Community;
- d) Defence Community.

 18 Since what year did European External Action Service officially start functioning? a) 2010 b) 2011 c) 2008 d) 2000
 19. Who was the first High Representative for Foreign Affairs in the format established by the Lisbon Treaty? a) Federica Mogherini b) Stefano Sannino c) Catherine Ashton d) Josep Borell
Topic 4 20. Federal Chancellor of Germany from October 27, 1998 to November 22, 2005 a) Angela Merkel b) Helmut Kohl c) Gerhard Schröder d) Helmut Schmidt 21. Federal Chancellor of Germany from October 01, 1982 to October 27, 1998 a) Helmut Kohl b) Gerhard Schröder c) Helmut Schmidt d) Willy Brandt
 22. Reunification of Germany - the accession of the GDR and West Berlin to the Federal Republic of Germany took place a) on October 3, 1990 b) on November 3, 1990 c) on October 3, 1991 d) on November 3, 1991
23. The Élysée Treaty between Germany and France, which laid the foundations for cooperation and reconciliation between the two nations after World War II, was signed in

a) 1949

- b) 1961
- c) 1963
- d) 1967
- 24. Angela Merkel and Emmanuel Macron sign a new German-French cooperation agreement in Aachen -.
 - a) on February 12, 2018
 - b) on January 22, 2019
 - c) on May 23, 2019
 - d) on June 15, 2020

- 25. Who is the author of the following statement? "When signing treaties, one must be very careful, and after signing them, fulfil them with religious scrupulousness"?
 - a) Napoleon I Bonaparte
 - b) Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu
 - c) Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord
 - d) King Louis XIV
- 26. This statesman was an unsurpassed master of intrigue and remained at the centre of French political life and European diplomacy from 1789 to the mid-1930s.
 - a) Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu
 - b) Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord
 - c) Jean-Jules Jusserand
 - d) Jules Cambon
- 27. The decisive role in defining and implementing the modern foreign policy of the French Republic belongs to the ...
 - a) Senate
 - b) National Assembly
 - c) Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 - d) President
- 28. The second official in the central apparatus after the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, acting as a coordinating link of all divisions of the Ministry the
 - a) Deputy Minister
 - b) Minister delegate for Foreign Affairs
 - c) Minister delegate for Administrative Affairs
 - d) Secretary General
- 29. The current Constitution of the French Republic was adopted in:

- a) 1962
- b) 1958
- c) 1974
- d) 1981
- 30. Choose the most accurate definition of "diplomacy"
 - a) conducting international relations through negotiations, a set of tools used by ambassadors and envoys to ensure the negotiation process
 - b) a system of actions of an international actor aimed at gaining influence on the behaviour of other subjects of international relations and adapting to the consequences of the processes of the international system
- 31. By order of King Louis XIV, the first diplomatic academy of France was founded in ...
 - a) 1712
 - b) 1721
 - c) 1641
 - d) 1639
- 32. Which prominent French statesman issued a decree in 1626 that gave full responsibility for foreign policy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
 - a) Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord
 - b) King Louis XIV
 - c) Cardinal Mazarin
 - d) Armand-Jean du Plessis, duc de Richelieu

- 33. EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy is an ex officio member of:
 - a) European Commission
 - b) European Council
 - c) Council of the EU
 - d) is a separate sole body
- 34. In what year was the Intergovernmental European Defence Agency established?
 - a) 2010
 - b) 2000
 - c) 2004
 - d) 2005

- 35. During which stage of the decision-making process does the Political and Security Committee finalize the crisis management concept and send it to the COREPER and directly to the Council for formal approval?
 - a) political phase
 - b) strategic phase
 - c) launch of the operation
 - d) launch of the mission
- 36. What type of organization is MERCOSUR?
 - a) global
 - b) regional
 - c) formal
 - d) informal
- 37. In the field of foreign policy, the Council acts by a qualified majority only in the following cases:
 - a) when taking any decision on the implementation of a decision already taken on an action or position of the Union;
 - b) when appointing a special representative;
 - c) the European Council may unanimously adopt a decision on the basis of which the Council will have to act by a qualified majority in cases other than the ones listed above;
 - d) all of the above.
- 38. At the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the EU has the status of:
 - a) full membership with voting rights
 - b) observer status close to full membership, or advanced observer
 - c) permanent observer
 - d) absence of official status

- 39. Which EU country held a referendum on the ratification of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement?
 - a) France
 - b) Netherlands
 - c) Denmark
 - d) Germany
- 40. Since what year has the European Neighbourhood Policy been in force?

- a) 1990b) 2000c) 2004d) 2001
- 41. The largest foreign economic partner of Ukraine is:
- a) European Union;
- b) Russian Federation;
- c) USA
- d) China.
- 42. In relation to which of the following countries is the neighbourhood policy currently suspended?
- a) Libya
- b) Moldova
- c) Belarus
- d) Algeria
- 43. Ukraine and the EU cooperate in the energy sector on the basis of the Treaty on:
- a) Establishment of the Energy Community
- b) Establishment of the European Atomic Energy Community;
- c) Euroatom;
- d) all of the above mentioned.
- 44. Who is the current Director-General of the EC's Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations (since 2016)?
- a) Kristin de Peyron
- b) Christian Danielson
- c) Maciej Popowski
- d) Annalise Maloney
- 45. The EU-Ukraine Association Agreement has entered into force:
- a) March 01, 2014
- b) September 01, 2017
- c) December 01, 2016
- d) has not yet fully entered into force

	anctions prohibit blacklisted individuals from entering the EU (issuing them visas) and inancial assets or prohibit them from having bank accounts in the EU?		
Seminar 1			
47. Indicate	the date when the Central European Initiative was established by a group of European aly, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia):		
a) Octo	ber 14, 1992		
b) Nove	ember 21, 1990		
c) Nov	rember 11, 1989		
d) Octo	ber 24, 1991.		
a) Massb) Romc) Silvid) Giuli			
c) 190			
d) 187	7		
50. Prime Mi	inister of the Italian Republic, one of the founder-parent of the Council of Europe:		
a)	Giuseppe Pella		
b)	Aldice de Gasperi		
c)	Fernando Tambroni		
d)	Giovanni Leone		
51. Indicate the date of signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Partnership and Cooperation between Italy and Libya:			
a)	2001		
b)	2005		
c)	2008		

d) 2011

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- 52. The Moncloa Pact was signed by the main political forces in Spain:
- a) 1977
- b) 1989
- c) 1975
- d) 1991
- 53. In what year was Spain admitted to the EU?
- a) 1975
- b) 1977
- c) 1992
- d) 1986
- 54. Between which countries there is a territorial dispute over Gibraltar?
- a) Spain and Morocco
- b) Spain and Great Britain
- c) Morocco and Great Britain
- d) Spain and Portugal
- 55. Who became King of Spain after Franco's death, effectively beginning the transition to democracy?
- a) Juan Carlos
- b) Philip VI
- c) Alfonso XIII
- d) Amadeo I

Seminar 3

- 56. The city of which country is included in the name "Visegrad Group"?
- a) Hungary
- b) Slovakia
- c) Czech Republic
- d) Poland

- 57. When was the Visegrad Declaration adopted?
- a) October 15, 1990
- b) December 1, 1999
- c) February 15, 1991
- d) February 1, 1996
- 58. Which country was the last to join the Visegrad Group?
- a) Hungary
- б) Slovakia
- c) Czech Republic
- d) Poland
- 59. In order to financially support cooperation between the members of the G4 and other countries, was established:
- a) International Visegrad Fund
- b) Visegrad Youth Conference
- c) Maastricht Treaty
- d) European Development Fund
- 60. How is the chairmanship of the Group changed?
- a) The country presiding over the Group changes every 4 years
- b) The country presiding over the Group changes every year in the first month of the year
- c) The country presiding over the Group changes every year in July
- d) There is no such notion as a presiding country in the Group