

Table of Contents

I. Introduction	15
1. The problématique of the Kaliningrad Oblast	15
2. The objective and relevance of the analysis	19
3. Theoretical and analytical framework	21
a) The concept of “inside” and “outside” the EU in academic discourse	21
b) The Kaliningrad Oblast in the academic discourse on the “inside/outside” dichotomy	24
c) The institutional/legal border of the EU: Forms of integration with the EU	28
d) Kaliningrad’s integration with the EU in academic discourse and a review of literature	41
4. Methodology and analytical approach	49
5. Summary and overview of Chapters	55
II. The legal and political status of the Kaliningrad Oblast	60
1. The Kaliningrad Oblast in the context of EU Eastern enlargement: a historical, geopolitical and economic perspective	60
a) The Kaliningrad Oblast and its historical background	60
b) The Kaliningrad Oblast and its geopolitical significance in the context of the EU enlargement	64
c) The Kaliningrad Oblast and its economy ante and post the EU enlargement	69
d) Summary	78
2. The legal capacity of the Kaliningrad Oblast in international relations	80
a) The Kaliningrad Oblast as a subject of the Russian Federation	80
b) The Kaliningrad Oblast in the system of Russian federalism	84
c) Russian federal legislation on the external legal capacity of the subjects of the Russian Federation	90
d) The external legal capacity of the Kaliningrad Oblast and its international activities	100
e) The political status of the Kaliningrad Oblast in academic and political discourse	105
f) Summary	108
3. The status of the Kaliningrad Oblast in the framework of Russian federal policy	111

a) On the status of the Kaliningrad Oblast	111
b) The Russian federal policy towards the Kaliningrad Oblast	112
c) The status of the Kaliningrad Oblast as a Special Economic Zone ..	117
d) The Kaliningrad regional strategy	125
e) The status of the Kaliningrad Oblast as a pilot region	128
f) Summary	133
III. Overview of EU-Russia relations and their implications for Kaliningrad	135
1. The dynamics of the development of EU-Russia relations	135
a) The formation of EU-Russia cooperation	135
b) The EU and Russia in the context of the EU Eastern enlargement ..	141
c) The building of the EU-Russia strategic partnership	151
d) Disparities and controversies between the EU and Russia	155
e) Summary	166
2. The Kaliningrad Oblast in EU-Russia relations	170
a) The outset of the EU-Russia dialogue on Kaliningrad	170
b) The EU-Russia negotiations on Kaliningrad transit in 2002	178
c) The Kaliningrad compromise	182
d) Summary	188
3. The political and legal foundation of EU-Russia relations	190
a) Russia in the system of the EU's external policies	190
b) The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement: Objectives and an institutional set-up	193
c) The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement: A critical assessment	201
d) The Kaliningrad Oblast in the institutional and legal framework of EU-Russia relations	203
e) The four Common Spaces in the long-term perspective of the EU-Russia strategic partnership	210
f) The place of the Kaliningrad Oblast in the four Common Spaces ..	215
g) Perspectives on a new bilateral agreement and Kaliningrad's place in it	223
h) Summary	228
IV. The involvement of the Kaliningrad Oblast in EU policies	231
1. The political position of the EU towards the Kaliningrad Oblast	231
a) The European Parliament	231
aa) General remarks on the European Parliament	231
bb) The European Parliament on the Kaliningrad Oblast	233
cc) Summary	240
b) The Council of the European Union	241
aa) General remarks on the Council of the European Union	241
bb) The Council of the European Union on the Kaliningrad Oblast	243

cc) Summary	250
c) The European Council	252
aa) General remarks on the European Council	252
bb) The European Council on the Kaliningrad Oblast	254
cc) Summary	256
d) The European Commission	256
aa) General remarks on the European Commission	256
bb) The European Commission on the Kaliningrad Oblast	258
cc) Summary	264
e) Other institutions	264
aa) The Economic and Social Committee on the Kaliningrad Oblast	264
bb) The Committee of the Regions on the Kaliningrad Oblast	268
cc) Summary	270
f) Summary	271
2. The EU's policy towards the Kaliningrad Oblast	274
a) The general framework of the EU's Kaliningrad policy	274
aa) The European Commission's country programmes	274
bb) The cross-border cooperation component of the EU's Kaliningrad policy	279
cc) The Northern Dimension policy	285
dd) Summary	291
b) Policy dimensions	292
aa) The political and human dimension	292
(1) Democracy and human rights	292
(2) Education and training, culture and research	298
(3) Public health and social policy	308
bb) Economic dimension	315
(1) Economy sector	315
(2) Economic infrastructure (transport and energy)	321
(3) The environment	326
cc) The security dimension	330
(1) Justice and home affairs	330
dd) Summary	339
V. Conclusion	343
VI. Bibliography	352
1. Literature	352
2. Primary sources	375
a) Documents	375
b) Statements, press releases and other official sources	389
Index	393