

**ANETREC COURSE 1:  
THE NOTION, DEVELOPMENT AND CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE  
EU POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN BALKANS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE  
PRESENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND SECURITY  
CIRCUMSTANCES**

**Syllabus of the course**

<b>Course title:</b>
<b>THE NOTION, DEVELOPMENT AND CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE EU POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN BALKANS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND SECURITY CIRCUMSTANCES</b>

<b>Lectures delivered by ANETREC professors (hours)</b>	<b>Suggested seminar (hours)</b>	<b>Suggested tutorial (hours)</b>	<b>Suggested individual work (hours)</b>	<b>Suggested ECTS</b>
<b>19 hours</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>5</b>

**Teachers delivering the virtual lectures:**

- Doc. Dr Erind Merkuri, Faculty of Law, University of Tirana
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Đana Luša, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Goran Ilik, Faculty of Law at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Bitola
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Elena Tilovska Kechegi, Faculty of Law at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Bitola
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Mladen Karadzovski, Faculty of Law at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Bitola
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Jožef Kunič, ISCOMET Institute, Maribor
- Ass. Prof. Dr Ezio Benedetti, ISCOMET Institute, Maribor

**List of potential teachers and researchers at PCU:**

- Doc. Dr Erind Merkuri, Faculty of Law, University of Tirana
- Prof. Dr Klesta Hysi, Faculty of Law, University of Tirana
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Sead Turčalo, Faculty of Political Science University of Sarajevo
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Đana Luša, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Ružica Jakešević, Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb
- Prof. Dr Iliriana Islami, Faculty of Law, University of Prishtina
- Ass. Prof. Dr Luljeta Plakolli, Faculty of Law, University of Prishtina
- Prof. Dr Boris Vukičević, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Montenegro
- Dr Marko Savić, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Montenegro
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Goran Ilik, Faculty of Law at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Bitola
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Elena Tilovska Kechegi, Faculty of Law at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Bitola
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Mladen Karadzovski, Faculty of Law at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Bitola
- Dr Elena Temelkovska – Anevka, Faculty of Law at “St. Kliment Ohridski” University Bitola
- Prof. Dr Branko Rakić, Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade
- Prof. Dr Marko Davinić, Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade
- Dr Maja Lukić Radović, Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade
- Marija Vlajković, LLM, Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade
- Assoc. Prof. Dr Jožef Kunič, ISCOMET Institute, Maribor
- Ass. Prof. Dr Ezio Benedetti, ISCOMET Institute, Maribor

## Syllabus outline:

**I. The Evolution of the EU and the EU's External Policy and Action** (lectures prepared by Assoc. Prof. Dr Đana Luša, Faculty of Political Science University of Zagreb)

1.1. Genesis and Evolution of the EU in a Political and Legal Perspective

1.1.1. The Historical and Political Evolution of the European Integration Process

1.1.1.1. The Fundamental Goal of the European Project

1.1.1.2. A Brief History of the European Union

1.1.1.3. Institutional Structure of the European Union

1.1.2. The Main Legal Principles Governing the Process of European Integration

1.1.2.1. From the Treaty of Rome to the Lisbon Treaty

1.1.2.2. Decision Making in the European Union

1.2. A General Overview of Development Cooperation and Common Foreign and Security Policy

1.2.1. Common Foreign and Security Policy: Competence(s), Instruments, Procedures

1.2.1.1. External Political Relations: Towards an EU Foreign Policy

1.2.1.2. Explaining the Foreign Policies of the EU

1.2.2. Development Cooperation: General (Indirect and Direct Development Cooperation)

**II. The EU as a Model of Regional Cooperation, Reconciliation and Integration** (lectures prepared by Assoc. Prof. Dr Goran Ilik, Faculty of Law. University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bitola and Ass. Prof. Dr Erind Merhuri, Faculty of Law, University of Tirana)

2.1. The EU and the WB: Modernism, Postnationalism and Postmodernism

2.2. The Soft, Normative and Transformative Power: EU and the Reconciliation of the WB

2.3. Differentiated Integration and the WB

2.3.1. Avant-Garde Europe

2.3.2. Core Europe / 'Kerner Europa'

2.3.3. Double-Speed Europe and Multi-Speed Europe

2.4. Berlin Process: Initiative for Regional Cooperation in the WB: Berlin 2014, Vienna 2015, Paris 2016, Trieste 2017, London 2018, Poznan 2019 Sofia Summit

2.4.1. Effectiveness and Last Development of Berlin Process in 2020

2.5. EU Strategy for the WB (2018) and Zagreb Summit 2020: Integration Stimulus or Braking point?

2.6. Macron's Vision for the New 'European Renaissance' and the Challenges for the WB

**III. The Enlargement of the EU: A Comprehensive Review on the Relations between the EU and the Western Balkans** (lectures prepared by Ass. Prof. Dr Ezio Benedetti, ISCOMET Institute, Maribor)

3.1 The Criteria for Accession

3.1.1. The Elaboration of the Accession Conditions

3.1.2. The Application of the Accession Conditions in the Enlargement Processes

3.1.3. The Copenhagen Criteria

3.1.4. The Evolution of the Accession Criteria

- 3.2. The EU Approach towards the WB6: the Stabilization and Association Process
  - 3.2.1. Regional Approach and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe
  - 3.2.2. From Stabilization Process to Association Agreement
  - 3.2.3. From Thessaloniki 2003 to Zagreb 2020. Development or Crystallization of Enlargement Policy Towards the WB6?
- 3.3. The European Integration of the Western Balkans
  - 3.3.1. Confirming the European Perspective for the WB6
  - 3.3.2. The EU More Recent Approach to the WB6: the Berlin Process and the Sofia Summit
  - 3.3.3. The EU Accession Perspective of the WB6
- 3.4. The Process of Enlargement and the State of Art of Accession Negotiations in 2020 by Country. Challenges and Obstacles.
  - 3.4.1 Bosnia and Hercegovina - EU Action Plans, Reports and Other Documents Assessing the Implementation of the EU Enlargement
  - 3.4.2. Kosovo - EU Action Plans, Reports and Other Documents Assessing the Implementation of the EU Enlargement
  - 3.4.3. Montenegro - EU Action Plans, Reports and Other Documents Assessing the Implementation of the EU Enlargement
  - 3.4.4. Serbia - EU Action Plans, Reports and Other Documents Assessing the Implementation of the EU Enlargement
  - 3.4.5. Republic of North Macedonia - EU Action Plans, Reports and Other Documents Assessing the Implementation of the EU Enlargement
  - 3.4.6 Albania - EU Action Plans, Reports and Other Documents Assessing the Implementation of the EU Enlargement

**IV. The EU as Strategic Actor in the WB and the Importance of Stable WB for the Stability of Europe in Current Security and International Political Implications** (lecture prepared by Assoc. Prof. Dr Elena Tilovska Kecheqi, Faculty of Law, University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bitola)

- 4.1. Strategic Importance of the Western Balkans
- 4.2. The Importance of Regional Cooperation Within the Neighbouring Countries
- 4.3. Current Security and Political Implications in the WB
- 4.4. Prespa Agreement
- 4.5. Montenegro and Kosovo Border Demarcation Agreement 2018
- 4.6. Future of Serbia and Kosovo - a Positive Outcome
- 4.7. The Attitude of Bulgaria Towards North Macedonia's EU Accession Process

**V. Aims, Ways, Means and Interests of External Factors in the WB 6 Region (NATO, USA, Russia, Turkey, China, Gulf Arab Countries)** (lectures prepared by Assoc. Prof. Dr Elena Tilovska Kecheqi and Assoc. Prof. Dr Goran Ilik, both Faculty of Law, University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bitola)

- 5.1. The Alliance as the Primary Guarantor of Balkans' Security
- 5.2. USA Foreign Policy in the WB due to Geopolitical Balance
- 5.3. Change and Continuity in Russia's Modus Operandi

- 5.4. The Balkans at the Centre of Turkey's Foreign Policy (Abandoning Traditional Politics and Applying New "win-win" Policies or the Gateway to Europe)
- 5.5. China's Influence in the WB: Moving From Economic Interests with Multilevel Strategy Towards Multifaceted Policies
- 5.6. Bi-regional Relations Between the Western Balkans and the Gulf Countries (prof. Tilovska)

**VI. Overview on the EU Instruments of Financial Assistance Applied to the Western Balkans** (lectures prepared by Assoc. Prof. Dr Mladen Karadzovski, Faculty of Law, University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bitola)

- 6.1. Phare Program
  - 6.1.1. General Overview: Phare, ISPA and SAPARD Programs
  - 6.1.2. Implementation of the Phare Program
  - 6.1.3. Impact of the Accession Partnership on the Phare Program
  - 6.1.4. The Enlargement Policy Review and the Reform of the Phare Program
- 6.2. CARDS Program
  - 6.2.1. General Overview
  - 6.2.2. Implementation and Objectives of the CARDS Program
  - 6.2.3. Management of the CARDS Program
  - 6.2.4. Impact of the CARDS Program on the Western Balkans
  - 6.2.5. Towards a Structured Approach
- 6.3. IPA – Instruments of Pre-Accession Assistance
  - 6.3.1. The Introduction of IPA
  - 6.3.2. The Aim of IPA
  - 6.3.3. Implementation and Management of IPA
  - 6.3.4. IPA I – a Step Ahead or Differentiation Appeared?
  - 6.3.5. IPA II – a Different Approach Taken?
  - 6.3.6. What's Next? IPA III and New Perspectives for the WB6
- 6.4. Institutions and Bodies Entitled to Manage EU Funds at National and EU Level.

**VII. A Comprehensive and Comparative Overview on Stabilization and Association Agreements (SAA) and on the Economic Agreements (EA) in the WB6**

- 7.1. Stabilization and Association Agreements – Key Components
  - 7.1.1. Political Dialogue
  - 7.1.2. Regional Cooperation
  - 7.1.3. Legal Approximation and Law Enforcement
  - 7.1.4. Justice, Freedom and Security
- 7.2. Economic Cooperation and Economic Agreements (EA) in the WB6
  - 7.2.1. Establishing Economic Cooperation Among WB6: Specific Aid Programs and Agreements Facilitating Market Access
  - 7.2.2. Nature and Effects of Economic Agreement in the WB6 (SAAs)
  - 7.2.3. Challenges Towards the Implementation of the Economic Agreements in the WB
    - 7.2.3.1. The Implementation of the Association Agreements

- 7.2.3.2. The Regional Integration and Economic Cooperation Among the WB6  
 7.2.4. Free Trade Agreements (FTA): Characteristics of the FTA and Trade Relations Between the Western Balkans  
 7.2.5. The Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA)

**VIII. The Role of Slovenia and Croatia in the Realization of EU Enlargement** (lecture prepared by Assoc. Prof. Dr Jožef Kunič, ISCOMET Institute, Maribor)

- 8.1. Learn, Teach, Encourage and Support (Slovenia's Experiences on Its Road to EU Membership)  
 8.2. Learn, Teach, Encourage and Support (Croatia's experiences on Its Road to EU Membership)

**IX. Assessment of Achievements and Shortcomings to Overcome in the EU Accession Process of WB6** (lecture prepared by Assoc. Prof. Dr Jožef Kunič, ISCOMET Institute, Maribor)

- 9.1. Consideration of the Impact of EU Accession Policy on WB6  
 9.2. Consistency and Effectiveness of the EU Enlargement Policy Towards the WB6  
 9.3. Development of EU Enlargement Process to the WB6 and Its Main Challenges  
 9.4. What is the Future of EU Enlargement to the WB6?

**Readings:**

*Mandatory reading:*

- Keukeleire, Stephen, Delreux, Tom 2014. The Foreign Policy of the European Union, 2nd Edition, London: Palgrave-McMillan.
- Tota, Elton, 2019. EU Enlargement and Its Impact to the Western Balkans. Berlin: Logos Verlag Berlin.

*Recommended literature:*

- Devetak, Silvo 2019. Reconciliation - A Prerequisite for the Integration of Western Balkans in the EU Stream of Values, Balkan Social Science Review 14: 179-203  
<http://js.ugd.edu.mk/index.php/BSSR/article/view/3345/3035>.
- Džankić, J., Keil, Soeren and Kmezić, Marko 2019. The Europeanisation of Western Balkans: A Failure of EU Conditionality? London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- European Parliament 2020. The EU's External Relations: External Relations Policies, External Trade Relations, Development Policy, Human Rights and Democracy, The Union's Enlargement and Neighbourhood, Relations Beyond the Neighbourhood -  
<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/chapter/213/the-eu-s-external-relations>.
- Ilik, Goran 2019. Restoring the Memory: The European Union as a Post-national Agent for Reconciliation of the Balkans, in Apryshchenko, Victor and Karnaukhova, Oxana (eds.) Memory, Identity, and Nationalism in European Regions, Hershey, Pennsylvania, USA: IGI Global, Chapter II, 30-49 <https://www.igi-global.com/chapter/restoring-the-memory/226024>.
- Hillion, Christopher 2018. Withdrawal Under Article 50 TEU: An Integration-Friendly

Process. Common Market Law Review 55(3): 29-56  
[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3156289](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3156289).  
 - Hillion, Christopher 2003. Enlargement of the European Union – The Discrepancy Between Membership Obligations and Accession Conditions as Regards the Protection of Minorities. Fordham International Law Journal 27(2): 715-740  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/ilj/vol27/iss2/7/>.  
 - Huszka, Beata 2020. The Power of Perspective: Why EU Membership Still Matters in the Western Balkans. European Council of Foreign Affairs Policy Brief.  
[https://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/the\\_power\\_of\\_perspective\\_why\\_eu\\_membership\\_still\\_matters\\_in\\_western\\_balkans](https://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/the_power_of_perspective_why_eu_membership_still_matters_in_western_balkans).  
 - Ilik, Goran 2020. International Relations and the European Union: Values Before Power, Bitola: Law faculty, University “St. Kliment Ohridski”.  
 - Piris, Jean-Claude 2012. The Future of Europe: Towards a Two-Speed EU?, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, June 2012, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139108836>.  
 - Lelieveldt, Herman, Princen, Sebastiaan 2015. The Politics of the European Union. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### **Objectives of the course:**

#### **General Objectives**

This course interlaces the learning outcomes and the acquired competences with focus on the student competences and needs important for the labour market.

#### **Specific objectives**

The specific objectives of this course are:

- (1) to give students an overview of the core EU instruments and mechanisms governing EU accession and enlargement,
- (2) to provide students with a review of the current state of the EU enlargement implementation in the WB6,
- (3) to give students a different perspective and point of view on reconciliation and regional dialogue in WB6,
- (4) to ensure students' better understanding and knowledge of the position and the role of the EU in the international context,
- (5) to provide students with the review of the current state of external policy of the EU regarding the WB6,
- (6) to give an insight into the evolution and challenges of the EU integration process in the near future.

### **Expected teaching results:**

The course aims at providing students with an understanding of the European Union's Enlargement policy, its implementation and the state of art of the Association and Accession process in the 6 countries of the Western Balkans region. The main expected teaching result is related to understanding the main legal and political implications and

problems currently faced by the EU's enlargement to the WB6, as well as its consequences both for the region and for the European integration process in general. The course will encompass both an analysis of the current situation related to enlargement and the individuation of the main obstacles still present on this path. The critical approach aims at developing a deeper understanding of legal and political implications of a future enlargement of the EU to the WB6.

The course is structured in 10 units.

The first unit of the course (**The Evolution of the EU and the EU's External Policy and Action**) is devoted to exploring the history and development of the EU, its institutions, decision making procedures, as well as the main legal principles and procedures defining and governing the EU's External Action after enforcement of the Lisbon Treaty in its different articulations (trade policy, development policy, association and accession).

The second unit (**The EU as a Model of Regional Cooperation, Reconciliation and Integration**) aims at analysing the EU as a model of regional cooperation and reconciliation in light of the different theories governing EU's action at regional level and of the practical initiatives promoted in WB region, including summits, declaration and regional initiatives.

The third unit of the course (**The Enlargement of the EU: A Comprehensive Review on the Relations Between the EU and the Western Balkans**) is focused on a more detailed analysis of the accession and enlargement policy of the EU, with particular emphasis on the different types of association and the procedures to be followed for the accession of a new member. This unit also includes a more detailed analysis of the EU-WB6 relations from Thessaloniki 2003 to Zagreb meeting 2020. Specific attention will be dedicated to the Stabilization and Association process and to the differences existing between the WB6 enlargement and other processes of accession to the EU completed so far, as well as to the evolution of the Copenhagen criteria and of the conditionality principle. Some attention will be dedicated to analysing the general state of art of the enlargement negotiations by countries.

The fourth unit (**The EU as Strategic Actor in the WB and the Importance of Stable WB for the Stability of Europe in Current Security and International Political Implications**) aims to enlarge the perspective of this course to the global implications of the EU's external action and to the state of art of the EU as a global actor with a particular focus on its role in the WB6 as a guarantee for peace, stability and development. This chapter dedicates a specific attention to several key documents defining bilateral relations under the EU umbrella.

The fifth unit (**Aims, Ways, Means and Interests of External Factors in the WB6 Region (NATO, USA, Russia, Turkey, China, Gulf Arab Countries)**) aims at analysing the relations of other international actors and stakeholders in the region by focusing on their influence on the development of reform policies by WB6 countries on their path towards EU integration.

The sixth unit (**Overview on the EU Instruments of Financial Assistance Applied to the Western Balkans**) has as its main goal the presentation of an overview of the main financial and technical assistance instruments put in place by the EU since the nineties to support the process of EU integration of Western Balkans countries. Particular attention is dedicated to the assessment of the effectiveness, consistency and impact of these financial instruments on the reform processes and on enlargement.

The seventh unit (**A Comprehensive and Comparative Overview on Stabilization and**



**Association Agreements (SAA) and on the Economic Agreements (EA) in the WB6** offers an overview of the mechanisms and legal procedures governing the process of stabilization and association of WB6, as well as of the technical and legal procedures related to accession and to economic development through regional economic cooperation/agreements. The eighth unit (**The role of Slovenia and Croatia in the Realization of EU Enlargement**) tends to present a very specific aspect of EU integration of WB6, by analysing the possible role, the influence and previous experiences of Croatia and Slovenia on their path towards the EU.

The ninth unit (**Assessment of Achievements and Shortcomings to be Overcome in the EU Accession Process of WB6**) includes the main conclusions and a critical assessment of the EU's action in the WB6 so far, focusing also on the most relevant obstacles still existing in the process of enlargement (corruption, organized crime, reform and depoliticization of public administration, rule of law and justice reform etc.) and presenting a set of possible scenarios and perspectives for the full integration of WB6 in the EU system.

#### **Learning and teaching methods:**

- *Lectures with active participation of students and in-class discussions*

To increase the students' input during the lectures, teaching/learning will be conducted principally through questions and answers – the so-called Socratic method. This will also include a 'think-pair-share' strategy combined with PowerPoint presentations which will allow the lecturer to formatively assess the learning outcomes. This implies that whenever the lecturer will pose a question that is not trivial and requires some thinking and deployment of analytical and synthetic skills as well as legal imagination on the part of the students, the lecturer will pose the question, explain it and then give the students five minutes to talk to their neighbours. This approach allows for time to think, pair/group deliberation, answer, and later, discussion from other pairs/groups and the instructor. Talking with others about ideas is fundamental to classroom learning. Classroom discussion that promotes and sustains learning should be accountable to other learners, use accurate and appropriate knowledge, and adhere to rigor in thinking. Accountable talk responds to and further develops what others have said through relevant observations, ideas, opinions, or more information. Accountable talk draws on evidence appropriate to the content. It is expected that such a proactive teaching/learning with an exchange of views and the students' articulate presentations will result in much higher satisfaction, higher thinking skills and enhanced motivation of the students.

- *Individual research work and seminars*

Every student will have to write a 5000-6000 word (10-12 pages) research paper on the specific topic agreed upon with the lecturer and hand it in two weeks before their oral presentation to the class. The research papers have to be adequately referenced. Students will receive the lecturer's feedback on the paper's content, structure, organisation, clarity and coherence, one week before their presentation. They will have one week to consider the lecturer's comments and incorporate them in their presentation. Students will give a 20-minute presentation to the rest of the class in which they will present the topic of their

paper. Students will receive feedback forms from their peers, as well as from the lecturer. As for the assessment of the research paper, both the written piece and its presentation will be evaluated. The completed feedback forms will also be taken into consideration when assessing the student's performance. By using this approach students will learn both how to produce a well-organised and coherent essay-long text on a particular issue and how to clearly and effectively present their written work to others.

- *Dealing with concrete problems, topical issues, relevant cases*

Analysis of cases will form the basis for applying the concepts and international legal norms to real world situations, thereby promoting curiosity, exploration, problem solving and understanding. Students will be expected to have read and analysed the cases thoroughly prior to class. The students will be formatively assessed based on how well they are able to analyse the central problem of the case, use different ways of representing knowledge and present their oral argument. Occasionally, content material taken from current news and information will be discussed during the lectures to add relevance to a lesson topic or content.

**Suggested assessment of the knowledge:**

	Weight
- Regular and active participation in lectures and tutorials	10%
- Group presentations	15%
- Mid-term exam	20%
- Preparation and oral presentation of an essay to the class on the topic agreed upon with the lecturer/teacher	30%
- Final exam	25%

**Interrelation with other courses which are already taught at the PCU:**

*University of Zagreb – Faculty of Political Science*

Euro-Atlantic Integration, EU Political System, European Public Policy, International Relations, Constitutional Law of the EU, Economic and Institutional Aspects of EU Enlargement, Economics of European Integration, EU Enlargement and Europeanisation of Croatia, Methodology of the EU Law, Party Competition and Party Systems in the EU Member States, Public Policy Making in the context of the EU

*University of Tirana – Faculty of Law*

European Law – Integrated program

Foreign relations and foreign policy of European Union – Professional Master in EU Business Law

International Organizations and Institutions – Professional Master in Public Law

International Relation, foreign policy and diplomacy – Master of Science in Public law

*University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bitola, - Faculty of Law*

Justice and internal affairs, Politics of enlargement of the EU, International political

relations, Institutions of the EU, Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, EU in international relations, Multilateral European organizations, Political systems and law of the EU, Political science.

*Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo, Bosna and Herzegovina*  
Political system of the EU, International Security, Human Security

*Faculty of Law, University of Pristina*

EU Law – Bachelor program

International Organizations and Institutions – Bachelor program

Diplomacy Law- modular program

Elected course that could be part of modular program on International Department

*Faculty of Political Science, University of Montenegro, Montenegro*

Course No. 1 is related with a few existing courses at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Montenegro. The content of these existing courses is completely in line with accepted approach and content of syllabus No. 1.

*Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade, Serbia*

Master in European Integration courses - Accession of Serbia to the EU, Geopolitical Perspectives and Consequences of the EU Enlargement, International Relations of The EU  
Undergraduate studies – Law of European Integrations, International relations

*Faculty of Law, University of Maribor, Slovenia*

The course is related to the course “Law and institutions of the EU.”