

Draft outline – may be subject to change

**EURR 5205**  
**The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours**  
Instructor: Prof. Joan DeBardeleben  
Winter Term 2015, Thursdays 11:30-2:30  
RB 3202

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### **GOALS OF THE COURSE**

Following enlargement of the European Union to include 10 post communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the EU's eastern border touched several Soviet successor states (such as Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova); the EU's border with Russia was also extended to include a shared border with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, as well as Finland. With these developments, and in the face of Russia's increasing foreign policy assertiveness and Europe's energy dependence on Russia, an important area of the concern for the EU involves relations with its eastern neighbours; furthermore the new EU-Russia frontier represents a possible new dividing line in Europe. The issue has become even more intense since the Ukraine crisis began in late 2013. This course explores the development of relations between the EU and these countries, examining the issue from the perspective of the EU, its member states, and the countries of eastern Europe (including Russia), and the Caucasus.

The course will examine relations between countries with attention to the role of differing norms and values, the role of converging or conflicting interests, and the importance of contrasting governance structures in the EU and Russia. Examples from a range of policy areas will be drawn upon, including border and visa policy, energy policy, economic and trade relations, and responses to 'frozen conflicts' in the post-Soviet space. Implications of Russian initiatives, such as the Eurasian Union, will also be explored. Recent developments will be discussed and analyzed.

The course will be run seminar style. The course may involve guest speakers and (if possible) interactive class sessions with students from Poland (and possibly Germany or Russia). Students are expected play an active role in the life of the class. Completion of course readings, participation in class discussions, class presentations, and a course paper will be required. In most class sessions, a student presentation will provide additional material not covered by required readings, and students will present ideas from position papers on contentious issues.

#### **Requirements:**

1. **Position papers:** Each student is required to write position papers for 2 class session. Each paper is about five pages in length (double-spaced, 12 point font). Page limits should not be exceeded by a significant degree (i.e., no more than 6 pages total). Each paper will argue a position, supported by evidence and sources, related to a specified question relating to the week's topic. The questions are posted on CU Learn. The paper should demonstrate familiarity with the course readings for the week and but be focused around the student's own conclusions and insights. Each position paper is due at 4 p.m. on Tuesday before the relevant class session and may be sent to me by email. Students should be prepared to summarize their position orally in class. A bibliography of works cited should be included, and in-text citations should be used for direct quotes or specific references to the readings. **It is not expected that you include readings beyond the required readings for the week**, but optional

readings may be included if desired. The position papers should NOT be summaries of readings. Papers will be evaluated based on the cogency and clarity of the argument, as well as evidence brought in support of it (including references to course readings). Students may replace their lowest marks with additional reaction papers.

2. **Oral presentations:** Each student will make an oral presentation in addition to presenting elements of the position papers mentioned above.

This presentation (15-18 minutes) will be related to the topic of a particular class session, to be chosen at the beginning of term. These presentations require extra research beyond the required course readings (usually at least 3 extra articles for each student); in some cases optional readings may be relevant. Particular topics or topic areas will be suggested; however, students may propose other topics for approval. The presentation is meant to inform the class in greater depth about a certain aspect being considered in the class session, as opposed to the position paper, which is arguing a particular position.

There are a number of options for this presentation.

Option 1: An individual presentation.

Option 2: A presentation with another student or students (no more than three students). In this case, each student may present the topic from a particular perspective, e.g., that of the EU, EU member state, or one or more of its Eastern partners; this could also be a role-playing format on an issue of contention between the parties. Or it can be a more traditional presentation. In the case of joint presentations, the overall length is 15 minutes per participating student. Each student will receive an individual mark, but one third of that mark will be based on coordination of the presentation to form a coherent whole.

Option 3: Presentation in the context of a class session that is videolinked to Poland, or Russia. A student wishing to take this option should discuss this with the instructor early in the term to assure good coordination with the partner class.

Along with the oral presentation, each student must provide either a power-point presentation OR a two-page handout that summarizes the key points of the presentation and that provides a list of sources consulted. If power point is used please email it to me before the class and bring copy on a data stick or in your email; and for handouts provide a copy for each student the day of the presentation.

3. **Term research paper (including proposal and presentation):**

Each student is required to write a term research paper (16-18 pages), which addresses a topic related to the EU/EU Member States relationship with one or more of the Eastern neighbours. Two types of term paper are welcome:

- a) A research note. This type of paper would provide in-depth research on a particular empirical question and would involve the use of primary sources. It will answer a 'what' or 'how' question. While you will need to explain the importance of what you are researching, the paper does not need to be theory based.
- b) An analytical paper. This paper would explore a particular 'why' or 'how' question, making use of secondary literature, and, if appropriate, some primary sources. This paper should situate the analysis in relevant theories and concepts.

In either case the topic and tentative bibliography for the paper must be handed in for approval by email by February 26 at the start of class. The paper is due on April 13 at noon in hard copy, as well as being sent electronically to my email address.

Term papers may be related to or grow out of but should not duplicate the content of the first oral presentation. Accordingly, sources used for the paper should be in addition to those consulted for the

first oral presentation. The instructor reserves the right to require the student to engage in an individual oral discussion on the research paper with the instructor (outside of class sessions) following its submission.

The paper proposal will receive an evaluation of approved/not approved. Proposals that are initially not approved should be revised. However failure to gain approval for the proposal (after revisions, if necessary) may adversely affect the mark on the final paper and on oral presentation II. See below on due dates and penalties for failure to hand in the proposal.

#### **4. Seminar participation**

Participation will be graded on the basis of attendance and the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion; familiarity with required course readings will be considered an important criterion of evaluation. Each student will be evaluated according to these criteria during each seminar session.. Please consult with instructor if you are concerned about this element, as I will try to assist in facilitating your participation (also based on the position papers).

#### **Evaluation and Due Dates\***

|  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| Class presentation and handout/powerpoint (beginning of class) | 15%                   |
| 2 position papers (4 p.m. Tuesday before relevant class)       | 30%                   |
| Term research paper proposal (Feb. 26)                         | approved/not approved |
| Term research paper (hard copy, Apr 10 noon)                   | 40%                   |
| Class discussion and attendance                                | 15%                   |

\*See additional notes below under Due Dates and Penalties

Term papers are to be submitted in hard copy to my office (3307 RB) or to the EURUS departmental office (3302 RB). Position papers can be submitted by email. The handout for the class presentation is due at the beginning of class of the day of the presentation and should be brought to class with a copy for each student and the instructor.

#### **Penalties**

Please note the following important rules associated with this course. While these penalties may seem strict, they are intended to assure equal treatment for all students. If you feel you need an extension to a deadline, you may approach me no later than one week before the relevant deadline and I will consider these requests on an individual basis. However, no extensions will be granted for oral presentations or position papers, except for valid medical (or similar) reasons.

- Any student who fails to hand in the term essay or term research paper will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows (waived with a valid medical or equivalent excuse):
  - Term essay or research paper: Two points (of a % scale) for each day late (including weekends). No papers accepted after April 20 at noon.
  - Position papers: Papers handed in late (without a valid excuse) but by the beginning of the relevant class session will receive a maximum mark of 80% (of 100%). Papers handed in later than that will receive a maximum mark of 50% (out of 100%). Papers not handed in will receive a "0". Please keep in mind that you may replace a low mark by handing in an additional paper later in the term.
- Failure to hand in the proposal for the term essay or term research paper will result in a 3% deduction from the overall final mark for the course, or a 2% deduction if handed in more than one week late.

- Students absent on a date of their oral presentation will receive a “0” for the oral component unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Students who are not able to be present for the presentation must inform the instructor as far as possible in advance of the class.

**Note the following resources:**

-OSW (Warsaw), Centre of Eastern Studies (<http://www.osw.waw.pl/en>

-Centre for European Policy Studies (Brussels), <http://www.ceps.eu/>

-Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Auswaertige Politik, <https://dgap.org/de/think-tank/schwerpunkte/russlandeurasien>

-Valdai Discussion Club (Russia): <http://valdaiclub.com/>

-Russian Analytical Digest (Zurich), <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/>

Centre for EU-Russia Studies (Tartu, Estonia), <http://ceurus.ut.ee/home/research/>

Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations (Belgium), <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/>

**Readings (subject to change)**

**Materials on the reading list below marked with an \*** are required. Additional materials are listed for most sessions for those interested in pursuing the topic of the seminar further. You are encouraged each week to read one of the optional readings and be prepared to make a comment in the class related to that reading.

**Week 1 January 8**

**Introduction to the course and organizational matters**

*The genesis, rationale, principles, and evolution of the EU’s European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)*

**Week 2, January 15: Origins, rationale, and challenges of the EU’s eastern policy**

*The ENP in the East and South: Differences and similarities*

*Revisions to the ENP and the Eastern Partnership policy*

\*Tom Casier, “The New Neighbours of the European Union: The Compelling Logic of Enlargement? in Joan DeBardeleben, ed., *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement: Finding a Place for Neighbours* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 19- 32.

\*Judith Kelley, “New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political reforms through the new European Neighbourhood Policy,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* (2006) 44, no. 1, 29-55.

\*Ketie Peters, Jan Rood, and Grzegorz Gromadzki (2009). ‘The Eastern Partnership: Towards a New Era of Cooperation between the EU and its Eastern Neighbours?’ *Revised Overview Paper, EU Policies Seminar Series*, Clingendael European Studies Program, The Hague, December 2009, <http://www.policypointers.org/Page/View/10479>

OR

\*Elena Korosteleva, “The Eastern Partnership: A new opportunity for neighbours,” in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 27, no.1 (2011), pp. 1-21.

**Official documents (skim):**

\*Commission of the European Communities (2003). *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Wider Europe-Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with Our Eastern and Southern Neighbours*. Brussels, 11 March 2003. COM (2003) 104 final.

[http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03\\_104\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03_104_en.pdf); or, if you have read this document, take a look around the ENP website on Europa, [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm)

\*‘Joint Declaration of the Prague Eastern Partnership’ (2009). Prague, May 7 on-line [www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/er/107589.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/er/107589.pdf).

General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) (2007). ‘Strengthening the European Neighbourhood Policy: Presidency Progress Report,’ 18-19 June, 2006, [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/enp\\_progress-report\\_presidency-june2007\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/enp_progress-report_presidency-june2007_en.pdf)

European External Action Service, European Union (n.d.), “The Eastern Partnership – Frequently Asked Questions,” website, online at: [http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/faq/index\\_en.htm#6](http://eeas.europa.eu/eastern/faq/index_en.htm#6)

Optional readings:

Del Sarto, Raffaella A. and Tobias Schumacher. “From EMP to ENP: What’s at stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean?” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10 (2005), pp.17-38.

Vera Van Huellen, “Europeanisation through cooperation? EU democracy promotion in Morocco and Tunisia,” *West European Politics*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2012), pp. 117-34 (ON)

Paul James Caldwell, “EuroMed, European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean: Overlapping Policy Frames in the EU’s Governance of the Mediterranean,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* (March 2011), 49 (2), pg. 219-241

Maarten Keune, “The Social Dimension of EU Neighbourhood Policies,” in Jan Orbis and Lisa Tortell, eds, *The European Union and the Social Dimension of Globalization: How the EU Influences the World* (Routledge, 2009), pp. 62-80.

Vera Van Huellen, “Europeanisation through cooperation? EU democracy promotion in Morocco and Tunisia,” *West European Politics*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2012), pp. 117-34 (ON)

Paul James Caldwell, “EuroMed, European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean: Overlapping Policy Frames in the EU’s Governance of the Mediterranean,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* (March 2011), 49 (2), pg. 219-241

Sasse, Gwendolyn Sasse, . “The European Neighbourhood Policy: Conditionality Revisited for the EU’s Eastern Neighbours.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (2008):2, pp. 295-316

**Week 3, January 22: Theoretical approaches to the EU’s Eastern Policy.**

\*Required readings (all required):

- Laure Delcour and Elsa Tulmets, “Pioneer Europe? The ENP as a Test Case for the EU’s Foreign Policy,” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 501-523.
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as empire : the nature of the enlarged European Union* New York : Oxford University Press, 2006. (pages t.b.a.)

- Gänzle, Stefan (2009). ‘EU Governance and the European Neighbourhood Policy: A Framework for Analysis,’ *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, no. 10, First published on 3 November 2009 (iFirst).
- Manners, Ian (2002). “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2, 235-258.

Optional reading:

Hill, Christopher (1993), “The Capability-Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe’s International Role,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31 (3): 305-328, and (1998) “Closing the capabilities-expectations gap?” in *A Common Foreign Policy for Europe: Competing visions of the CFSP*, John Peterson and Helene Sjursen, eds. (London and New York: Routledge), pp. 18-38

**Week 4, January 29: Russia’s Europe Policy Before the Ukrainian crisis**

\*Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2007) “Finding a Civilizational Idea: ‘West’, ‘Eurasia’ and ‘Euro-East’ in Russia’s Foreign Policy,” *Geopolitics* 12 (3): 375-399

\*Fernandes, Sandra (2014), “Putin’s Foreign Policy towards Europe: Evolving Trends in an ‘(Un)Avoidable Relationship,’” in *Shifting Priorities in Russia’s Foreign and Security Policy*, Roger E. Kanet and Rémi Piet, eds. (Farnham UK and Burlington VT: Ashgate), pp. 13-34

\*Laure Delcours and Kateryna Wolczuk (2013) “Eurasian Economic Integration: Implications for the EU Eastern Policy,” Chpt. 10, pp. 179-203, in Rilka Dragneva and Kateryna Wolczuk, eds, *Eurasian Economic Integration: Law, Policy and Politics* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013)

\*Official documents:

\*Common Strategy of the European Union of 4 June 1999 on Russia”,  
[http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/november/tradoc\\_114137.pdf](http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2003/november/tradoc_114137.pdf)

\*Medium-term Strategy for Development of Relations between the Russian Federation and the European Union (2000-2010) (unofficial translation) (posted on CU Learn)

\*Vladimir Putin, “Russia and the changing world,” February 27, 2012, (read selectively) RiaNovosti,  
<http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20120227/171547818>

OR

Vladimir Putin (2007), “Speech at the 43<sup>rd</sup> Munich conference on Security Policy,” Feb. 17, (read selectively) online at:  
[http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2007/02/10/0138\\_type82912type82914type82917type84779\\_118123.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2007/02/10/0138_type82912type82914type82917type84779_118123.shtml)

Optional:

Berryman, John, (2011), “Russia, NATO Enlargement, and ‘Regions of Privileged Interest’,” in *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Roger Kanet, ed. (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 228-245.

Plekhanov, Sergei (2013), “Russia and the West; integration and tensions” in *Russia after 2012: From Putin to Medvedev to Putin* Larry J.L. Black and Michaels Johns, eds. (London , New York: Routledge), pp. 139-52

Peter Rutland, “Still out in the Cold?: Russia’s Place in a Globalizing World, “*Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45 (2012) 343-354

Carol Saivetz, "The ties that bind? Russia's evolving relations with its neighbors," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 41, no. 3-4 (2012), 401-412

Racz, Andras (2010), "Russian Approaches to the 'Common Neighbourhood': Change or Preservation of the Status Quo?" SPES Policy Papers, Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin, October

Berryman, John, (2011), "Russia, NATO Enlargement, and 'Regions of Privileged Interest,'" in *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Roger Kanet, ed. (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 228-245.

Plekhanov, Sergei (2013), "Russia and the West; integration and tensions" in *Russia after 2012: From Putting to Medvedev to Putin* Larry J.L. Black and Michaels Johns, eds. (London , New York: Routledge), pp. 139-52

Plekhanov, Sergei (2013), "Russia and the West; integration and tensions" in *Russia after 2012: From Putting to Medvedev to Putin* Larry J.L. Black and Michaels Johns, eds. (London , New York: Routledge), pp. 139-52

Sinikukka Saari (2014), "Russia's Post-Orange Revolution Strategies to Increase its Influence in Former Soviet Republics: Public Diplomacy po russkii," *Europe-Asia Studies* 66:1, 50-66,

\*Derek Averre, "Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the 'Shared Neighbourhood,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61:10 (2009), pp. 1689-1713

Joan DeBardeleben, "Revising the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy: The Eastern Partnership and Russia," in *Russia Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Roger E. Kanet, ed. (Houndsmill, Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 246-265

Joan DeBardeleben, "The End of the Cold War, EU Enlargement and the EU-Russian Relationship," invited contribution to *The Crisis of EU Enlargement*, LSE Ideas Special Report (London: London School of Economics 2013), <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/SR018.aspx>

Hisiki Haukkala, "From Zero-Sum to Win-Win? The Russian Challenge to the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood Policies," Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, European Policy Analysis, No. 12-2009, November, <http://www.sieps.se/en/publications/european-policy-analysis/from-zero-sum-to-win-win-the-russian-challenge-to-the-eus-eastern-neighbourhood-policies-200912e.html>

**Week 5, February 5: The EU-Russian Strategic Partnership up to and during the Ukrainian Crisis  
THIS WEEK WE WILL HAVE A CLASSROOM LINK WITH A GROUP OF STUDENTS IN  
POLAND (College of Europe, Warsaw)**

\*Hisiki Haukkala, *The EU- Russia strategic partnership: the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations* (2010), Chpt. 5 and 8.

\*Tom Casier, "The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument", *Europe-Asia Studies* (2013), vol. 65, No. 7, September 2013, 1377–1395

\*Sergei Lavrov (2013), "State of the Union Russia-EU: Prospects for a Partnership in the Changing World," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, Annual Review, pp. 6-13

\*Documents:

- COMMUNICATION FROM THE COMMISSION TO THE COUNCIL, “Review of EU-Russia relations (2008), [http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/com\\_08\\_740\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/russia/docs/com_08_740_en.pdf)
- \*Council of the European Union (2010), “Joint Statement on the Partnership for Modernisation, EU-Russia Summit, 31 May-1 June 2010,” Rostov-on-Don, June 1, 10546/10, Presse 154, online at: [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/er/114747.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/er/114747.pdf)

Please take a look at the europa website for an overview of EU-Russian relations from the EU viewpoint.

Optional readings:

Interview with V. Putin (Guenther Jauch), ARD (Germany, Nov. 17, 2014,  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BdIXqyZHB9k>

Pankov, Vladimir (2008). “Options for the EU-Russian Strategic Partnership Agreement,” *Russia in Global Affairs* 6: 2, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/23/1202.html>

Fyodor Lukyanov (2008), “Russia-EU: The Partnership That Went Away,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 6 (August 2008), pp. 1107-1119.

Igor Gretskiy, Evgenny Treshchenkov, Konstantin Golubev (2014), “Russia’s perceptions and misperceptions of the EU Eastern Partnership,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 30, pp.

Sergey Tumanov, Alexander Gasparishvili, and Ekaterina Romanova, “Russia-EU Relations, of How the Russians Really View the EU,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transitions Politics*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2011), pp. 120-141

Ian Klinke, “Postmodern Geopolitics? The European Union Eyes Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 64, no. 5 (2012), 929-947

Rick Fawn (2009). “‘Bashing About Rights’: Russia and the ‘New’ EU States on Human Rights and Democracy Promotion, *Europe-Asia Studies* 61: 10, first published on November 3 (iFirst).

Hiski Haukkala, “Explaining Russian Reactions to the European Neighbourhood Policy,” in Richard G. Whitman and Stefan Wolff, eds, in *The European Neighbourhood Policy in Perspective: Context, Implementation, Impact* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 161-180.

Stephen White, Margot Light, and Ian McAlliser, “Russia and the West: Is there a Values Gap?” *International Politics* (2005) 42, 314-333.

Nikolay Kaveshnikov, “The European Union in the Russia Press,” *Jouranl of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* (Sept. 2007) 23, no. 3, 396-424

Pankov, Vladimir (2008). “Options for the EU-Russian Strategic Partnership Agreement,”

Stefan Meister, “A New Start for Russian-EU Security Policy? The Weimar Triangle, Russia and the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood,” *Genshagener Papiere* (July 2011), no. 5, [https://dgap.org/sites/default/files/article\\_downloads/Genshagener-Papiere\\_2011\\_7\\_eng.pdf](https://dgap.org/sites/default/files/article_downloads/Genshagener-Papiere_2011_7_eng.pdf)

Joan DeBardeleben, Chpt. 4, “Public Attitudes toward EU-Russian Relations: Knowledge, Values, and Interests,” in *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement: Finding a Place for Neighbours*, edited by Joan DeBardeleben (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 70-91.

Stefan Gänzle, “The EU’s Policy toward EU-Russian Relations: Extending Governance Beyond Borders,” in DeBardeleben, ed. *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement*, pp. 53-70

Vadim Kononenko, ‘Boundaries of Sovereignty, Frontiers of Integration: Rethinking ‘conflict’ between Russia and the EU, in Ted Hopf, eds., *Russia’s Europe Choice* (New York, N.Y. : Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) pp.188-213.

**Week 6, February 12: Receptiveness of neighbours: Ukraine. The emergence and challenge of the Ukraine crisis.**

\*Paul D’Anieri, “Ukrainian foreign policy from independence to inertia,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, no. 3-4 (2012), 447-455

\*One of the following

- Andrea Gawrich, Inna Melnykovaksa, and Rainer Schweickert, “Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine,’ *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48, Issue 5 (Nov. 2010), pp. 1209–1235, November 2010  
OR
- Iryna Solonenko, “The EU’s ‘Transformative Power’ toward the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine,” (Oct. 2010), Institute for Europaeische Politik ( Berline) SPES Policy Papers, [http://www.iep-berlin.de/fileadmin/website/09\\_Publikationen/SPES\\_Policy\\_Papers/The\\_EU\\_s\\_transformative\\_power\\_towards\\_the\\_Eastern\\_neighbourhood- the\\_case\\_of\\_Ukraine\\_Iryna\\_Solonenko.pdf](http://www.iep-berlin.de/fileadmin/website/09_Publikationen/SPES_Policy_Papers/The_EU_s_transformative_power_towards_the_Eastern_neighbourhood- the_case_of_Ukraine_Iryna_Solonenko.pdf)

\*One of the following:

- Aron Buzogor’ny, “Selective Adoption of EU Environmental Norms in Ukraine: Convergence a la Carte,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, June 2013, 609–630 OR
- Antoaneta Dimitrova and Rilka Dragneva, “Shaping Convergence with the EU in Foreign Policy and State Aid in Post-Orange Ukraine: Weak External Incentives, Powerful Veto Players,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, June 2013, 658–681

\*Taras Kuzio (2011), “Political culture and democracy: Ukraine as an immobile state,” *East European Politics and Societies* 25 (1): 88-113

Optional readings:

Connolly, Richard and Nathania Copsey (2011), “The Great Slump of 2008-9 and Ukraine’s Integration with the European Union,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 27 (3-4): 541-565

Eurasian Development Bank (2012), *Ukraine and the Customs Union: Comprehensive assessment of the macroeconomic effects of various forms of deep economic integration of Ukraine and the member states of the Customs Union and the Common Economic Space* (Saint Petersburg: Centre for Integration Studies), Report 1, online at: [http://www.eabr.org/general/upload/reports/Ukraina\\_doklad\\_eng.pdf](http://www.eabr.org/general/upload/reports/Ukraina_doklad_eng.pdf)

Kataryna Wolczuk, “Implementation without Coordination: The Impact of EU Conditionality on Ukraine under the European Neighbourhood Policy,’ *Europe-Asia Studies* 61 (2009):2, pp. 187-211.

Taras Kuzio (2013) “Yushchenko versus Tymoshenko: Why Ukraine’s national democrats are divided,” *Demokratizatsiya*, 21 (2): 215-240

Marples, David (2010), "Anti-Soviet Partisans and Ukrainian Memory," *East European Politics and Societies* 24 (1): 26-44

### **Week 7, Feb. 26: EU Members States, the EU, and the Eastern neighbourhood**

\*On Member State relations with Russia see, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, June 2011, pp. 261-272. Please read one chapter and be prepared to report on it in class

\*Edwards, Geoffrey (2006), "The New Member States and the Making of EU Foreign Policy," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (2): 143-62

\*Gniazdowski, Mareusz, Jakub Groszkowski, and Andrzej Sadecki (2014), "A Visegrad cacophony over the conflict between Russia and Ukraine," *Analyses* (September), Centre for Eastern Studies, Warsaw, online at: <http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2014-09-10/a-visegrad-cacophony-over-conflict-between-russia-and-ukraine>

\*Thomas, Daniel C. (2012), "Still Punching below Its Weight? Coherence and Effectiveness in European Union Foreign Policy," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 50 (2): 457-474

Mathias Roth, "Bilateral Disputes between EU member States and Russia," CEPS Working Document no. 310 (August 2009), <http://www.ceps.eu/book/bilateral-disputes-between-eu-member-states-and-russia>

### **Week 8. March 5: Receptiveness of neighbours: Moldova, Georgia**

\*George, Julie, "Georgia's Rocky Path to Democracy," *Current History*, October 2013, Vol. 112,, no. 756, pp. 277ff

\*Oscar B. Pardo Sierra, "Shaping the Neighbourhood? The EU's Impact on Georgia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 8, October 2011, 1377–1398

\*Esther Ademmer and Tanua A. Boerzel, "Migration, Energy and Good Governance in the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, June 2013, 581–608

\*Olga Danii and Mariana Mascauteanu, "Moldova Under the European Neighbourhood Policy: 'Falling Between Stools,'" *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.27, No.1, March 2011, pp.99–119

#### Optional Reading:

Martin Müller, "Public Opinion Toward the European Union in Georgia," *Post-Soviet Affair*, 2011, 27, 1, pp. 64–92

Nicu Popescu, "Re-setting the Eastern Partnership with Moldova," *CEPS Policy Brief*, no. 199, Nov. 2009, link on-line at [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1513285](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1513285)

Andras Racz, "Russian Approaches to the 'Common Neighbourhood': Change or Preservation of the Status Quo?" (Oct. 2010), Institute for Europaeische Politik ( Berline) SPES Policy Papers (use Google search to locate)

Richard G. Whiteman and Stefan Wolff, “The EU as a conflict manager? The case of Georgia and its implications,” *International Affairs*, vol. 86 (2010), pp.87-107.

Dominic Fean, “Making Good Use of the EU in Georgia: the ‘Eastern Partnership’ and Conflict Policy,” *Russie.Nei.Visions* no. 44 (Paris, Brussels: Russia/NIS Center), <http://www.ifri.org/?page=contribution-detail&id=3458&lang=uk>

### **Week 9, March 12: Other Difficult Cases: Frozen conflicts, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan**

\*Ralph S. Clem, “Going it Alone: Belarus as the Non-European European State,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 52 (November - December 2011), no. 6, p780ff

\*David Rotman, David and Natalia Veremeeva, “Belarus in the Context of the Neighbourhood Policy: Between the EU and Russia,” *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol.27, no. 1 (March 2011) pp. 73-98(26)

\*Theodor Tudoroiu, “The European Union, Russia, and the Future of the Transnistrian Frozen Conflict,” *East European Politics and Societies*, 26 (2012), pp. 135ff

\*Alena Vysotskaya Guedes Vieira (2014), “The Politico-Military Alliance of Russian and Belarus: Re-Examining the Role of NATO and the EU in Light of the Intra-Alliance Security Dilemma” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 66, no. 4, pp. 557 -577

#### **Optional Readings:**

Nicu Popescu, “EU and the Eastern Neighbourhood: Reluctant Involvement in Conflict Resolution,” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 457-77

Laure Delcour, “The European Union, a security provider in the eastern neighbourhood?” *European Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4, December 2010, 535-549

Richard G. Whiteman and Stefan Wolff, “The EU as a conflict manager? The case of Georgia and its implications,” *International Affairs*, vol. 86 (2010), pp.87-107.

Dominic Fean, “Making Good Use of the EU in Georgia: the ‘Eastern Partnership’ and Conflict Policy,” *Russie.Nei.Visions* no. 44 (Paris, Brussels: Russia/NIS Center), <http://www.ifri.org/?page=contribution-detail&id=3458&lang=uk>

Nicu Popescu (2011), *EU foreign policy and post-Soviet conflicts : stealth intervention* (Routledge)

Commission of the European Communities (2007a). ‘Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, ‘Black Sea Synergy – A New Regional Cooperation Initiative’, COM(2007) 160 final, 11 April, [http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com07\\_160\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com07_160_en.pdf)

David R. Marples, “Outpost of tyranny? The failure of democratization,” in *Democratization* 16, no. 4 (August 2009), pp. 756-778.

Martin Kosienkowski and William Schreiber, eds, *Moldova: arena of international influences* (Lexington, 2012).

Tuomas Forsberg and Antti Seppo, “The Russo-Gerogian War and EU Mediation,” in Roger Kanet, ed., *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 101-138 (R)

### **Week 10, March 19: Energy**

\*Nikolai Kaveshnikov, “The issue of energy security in relations between Russia and the European Union,” *European Security* 19, no 4 (Dec 2010), pp. 585-605 (see also other articles in this same issue, as optional readings)

\*Mert Bilgin, Energy security and Russia’s gas strategy: The symbiotic relationship between the state and firms,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 4, no. 2 (June 2011), pp. 119-27

\*Diana Bozhilova and Tom Hashimoto, “EU-Russian energy negotiations: a choice between rational self-interest and collective action,” *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2010, pp. 627-642

#### Optional Readings:

Anatole Boute, “Energy Efficiency as a New Paradigm of the European External Energy Policy: The Case of the EU –Russian Energy Dialogue,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 6, August 2013, 1021–1054

Kropatchenva, Elena (2011), “Playing Both Ends Against the Middle: Russia’s Geopolitical Energy Games with the EU and Ukraine,” *Geopolitics* 16: 553-573

Marek Neuman, ‘EU-Russian Energy Relations after the 2004/2007 EU Enlargement: An EU Perspective,’ *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3 pp. 341-360.

Susanne Nies, “The EU-Russian Energy Relationship: European, Russia, Common Interests?, in Roger Kanet, ed., *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 30-58

Evert Faber Van Der Meulen, “Gas Supply and EU-Russian Relations,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 612 (2009): 5, pp. 833-856.

Zeyno Baran, “EU Energy Security: Time to End Russian Leverage.” *The Washington Quarterly* (2007) 30:4 pp. 131–144 ( R or ON) 5

Pavel K. Baev and Indra Øverland, “The South Stream versus Nabucco pipeline race: geopolitical and economic (ir)rationales and political stakes in mega-projects” *International Affairs* 86: 5 (2010) 1075–1090

### **Week 11, March 26: Trade and Economic Relations**

\*Julia Langbein, “Unpacking the Russian and EU Impact on Policy Change in the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine’s Telecommunications and Food Safety,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 65, no. 4 (June 20130, pp. 631-657

Mathias Roth, “Bilateral Disputes between EU member States and Russia,’ CEPs Working Document no. 310 (August 2009), <http://www.ceps.eu/book/bilateral-disputes-between-eu-member-states-and-russia> (skim)

\*Thomas Forsberg and Antti Seppo, “Power Without Influence? The EU and Trade Disputes with Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 61 (2009):10, pp. 1805-1923.

### **Hour 2: Visas, borders, and cross-border cooperation (Guest instructor to join us)**

\*Raul Hernandez i Sagrera, 'The EU-Russian readmission-visa facilitation nexus: and exportable migration model for Eastern Europe,' *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December 2010), pp. 569-584.

Olga Potemkina, "EU–Russia cooperation on the common space of freedom, security and justice – a challenge or an opportunity?" *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December 2010), pp. 552-568

Sergei Lavrov (2013), "State of the Union Russia-EU: Prospects for a Partnership in the Changing World," *Journal of Common Market Studie* 51, Annual Review, pp. 6-13

European Union, DG Development and Cooperation, "Panorama of EU Regional Programmes and Projects: Eastern Partnership and Russia" (2013), on line : Optional Readings

Olga Potemkina, "EU–Russia cooperation on the common space of freedom, security and justice – a challenge or an opportunity?" *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December 2010), pp. 552-568

Lyubov Zhyznomirska, "Security Concerns in the EU Neighbourhood: The Effects of EU Immigration and Asylum Policy for Ukraine," in DeBardeleben, *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement*, pp. 147-164.

Andrew Geddes, *Immigration and European integration: beyond fortress Europe?* (Manchester ; New York : Manchester University Press, distributed in US by Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), Chpt 8, pp. 170-185

Holger Moroff, "EU-Russia-Kaliningrad relations – a case of soft securitization?" in Stefan Gänzle, Gudo Müntel and Evgeny Vinkurov, "Adapting to European Integration: Kaliningrad, Russia, and the European Union" ( Manchester and NY: Manchester University Press, 2008)

## **Week 12 April 2:**

### **Hour 1; The Multilateral context: Council of Baltic Sea States, OSCE, and Council of Europe, and Arctic Council**

\*René Provost, "Teetering on the Edge of Legal Nihilism: Russia and the Evolving European Human Rights Regime," (Montreal, May 2013), online, Social Science Research Network , [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2282680](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2282680)

\*Elinor Bindman, "Russia, Chechnya and Strasbourg: Russian Official and Press Discourse on the 'Chechen Cases' at the European Court of Human Rights," *Europe-Asia Studies* 65 (2013), no. 10, pp. 1954-77.

#### Optional Readings:

'The Russian Federation, Protocol No. 14 (and 14 bis), and the Battle for the Soul of the ECHR', *Göttingen Journal of International Law*, Vol 2, No 2 (2010) 589-617, <http://www.eu-russiacentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/BB-protocol-14-gottingen-2010.pdf>

Ekaterina Piskunova , "Russia in the Arctic: What's Lurking behind the Flag?" *International Journal* 2010 65: 851-864Andrew Cottey, *Security in the New Europe* (Palgrave, 2007), Chpt..1, pp. 5-31.

Flemming Splidsboel-Hansen, "Explaining Russian Endorsement of the CFSP and the ESDP," *Security Dialogue* (2002), 343-456.

Jordan, Pamela. "Does Membership have its Privileges? Entrance into the Council of Europe and Compliance with Constitutional Norms." *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 4, August 2003, pp. 660-88.

Bill Bowring, "Tensions Multiply between Russia and the Council of Europe: Could the Malaise be Terminal?" *EU-Russia Review*, no. 7 (April), pp. 4-12, [http://eu-russiacentre.org/assets/files/Review\\_FINAL16March\\_08.pdf](http://eu-russiacentre.org/assets/files/Review_FINAL16March_08.pdf)

Bill Bowring, 'Russian legislation in the area of minority rights', in Oleh Protsyk and Benedikt Harzl eds, *Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia*, Routledge 2012, Chapter 1, pp.15

Moritz Pieper; Markus Winter; Anika Wirtz; Hylke Dijkstra, "The European Union as an Actor in Arctic Governance" *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16 (January 2011),, no. 2, pp. 227-242

Margaret Blunden, "Geopolitics and the Northern Sea Route," *International Affairs*, 88 (Jan. 2012) no. 1, p115-129

### **Summing up: Where now for EU-Russian relations?**

#### **Academic Accommodation**

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term because of disability, pregnancy or religious obligations. Please review the course outline promptly and write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

It takes time to review and consider each request individually, and to arrange for accommodations where appropriate. Please make sure you respect these timelines particularly for in-class tests, mid-terms and final exams, as well as any change in due dates for papers.

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at <http://carleton.ca/equity/accommodation>

#### **Plagiarism**

The University Senate defines plagiarism as "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product the work of another without expressly giving credit to another". (Calendar p. 48).

- Copying from another person's work without indicating this through appropriate use of quotations marks and citations of footnotes.
- Lengthy and close paraphrasing of another person's work (i.e. extensive copying interspersed with a few "different" phrases or sentences).
- Submitting written work produced by someone else as if it were one's own work (e.g. another student's term paper, a paper purchased from a commercial term paper "factory", material downloaded via the Internet, etc.)

In an academic environment plagiarism is a serious offence, and it is not a matter that can be dealt with by an informal arrangement between the student and the instructor. In all cases where plagiarism is suspected, instructors are now required to notify their departmental Chair, and the Chair in turn is required to report the matter to the Associate Dean of the Faculty. The Associate Dean makes a formal investigation and then decides on an appropriate sanction. Penalties can range from a mark of zero for the plagiarized work, to a final grade of F for the course, to suspension from all studies, to expulsion from the University. (Students should also be aware that the Senate classifies as an instructional offence the submission of "substantially the same piece of work to two or more courses without the prior written permission of the instructors involved.")

### Requests for Academic Accommodations

#### **For Students with Disabilities:**

Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs.

Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre, 613-520-6608, every term to ensure that I receive your letter of accommodation, no later than two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations.

#### **For Religious Obligations:**

Students requesting academic accommodation on the basis of religious obligation should make a formal, written request to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such request should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but not later than two weeks before the compulsory event.

Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the students.

Students or instructors who have questions or want to confirm accommodation eligibility of a religious event or practice may refer to the Equity Services website for a list of holy days and Carleton's Academic Accommodations policies, or may contact an Equity Services Advisor in the Equity Services Department of assistance.

#### **For Pregnancy:**

Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a letter of accommodation. The student must then make an appointment to discuss her needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.