

# COURSE OUTLINES

## **The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours**

EURR5205/PSCI 511/INAF5807

(Graduate seminar)

The course outline is provided here in generic form as a curricular resource. The course was offered in Winter 2017, 2018 and 2019 with Prof. Joan DeBardleben as part of her activities for the Jean Monnet Chair in EU Relations with Russia and the Eastern Neighbourhood (Sept. 2016-August 2019), Carleton University, Ottawa. This course outline is the most recent version, updated Winter 2019.

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**EURR 5205 / INAF 5807 / PSCI 5111**  
**The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours**

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**GOALS OF THE COURSE**

The course will examine relations between the European Union (and its member states) and post-communist countries to the east, including Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. Examples from a range of policy areas will be drawn upon, including border and visa policy, energy policy, and security issues in the post-Soviet space. Implications of Russian initiatives, such as the Eurasian Economic Union, will also be explored. Recent developments, including the Ukraine crisis, will be discussed and analyzed. The course examines the material from the perspective of various actors, to avoid either a Eurocentric or Russocentric approach. The course has an experiential learning element, in the form of a simulation exercise which, at this point, is planned to be carried out in conjunction with the University of St. Petersburg in Russia.

The course will be run seminar style. 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, student presentation will provide additional material not covered by required readings, and students will present ideas from position papers on contentious issues

Position paper and its presentation	15 %
In-class presentation on extra readings	10%
Term research paper proposal (Due Feb. 14, noon)	5%
Term research essay (Due April 15, noon)	35%
Class discussion and attendance	20%
Simulation /debate and briefing note (Due March 11 at 10 a.m)	15%

**Requirements:**

- 1. 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. Further guidelines for preparing for the seminar sessions will be provided. Please consult with instructor if you are concerned about this element, as I will try to assist in facilitating your participation.
- 2. Position paper:** Each student is required to write one position paper related to a particular class session, which will be assigned in the first class session. The paper should be about 5 pages in length (double-spaced, 12 point font, plus sources) and is due on the Monday, at noon, before the relevant class session. Each paper will argue a position, supported by evidence and sources, related to a specified question relating to the week's topic. The questions to be addressed are on the course outline. You may suggest a different question for

your paper, but it must be approved in advance. The paper should demonstrate familiarity with the course readings for the week but be focused around the student's own conclusions and insights. Students should be prepared to summarize their position orally in class (10 minutes). 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).

3. **Oral presentation in class:** Each student will make in one presentation utilizing two extra readings related to the topic of the week. Weeks for these presentations will be assigned in the first class sessions. The extra readings will normally be from the 'optional' list on the course outlines, but students may suggest alternative readings. These should be academic, scholarly sources; if you wish to include official documents or other sources, you will need specific approval. You may also choose to make this presentation on a particular topic (agreed with the instructor), using a powerpoint presentation, as long as at least two additional readings are used to prepare it. The presentation should be about 15 minutes in length.
4. **Term research essay** (including proposal): Each student is required to write a term research paper (15 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.

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. See below on due dates and penalties for failure to hand in the proposal.

5. **Class Simulation Exercise.** The class will simulate a session of the European Council in which two issues are address: (a) the opening of negotiations between the EU and The Eurasian Economic Union; and (b) the extension of sanctions against Russian in connection with Russia's actions in Crimean and eastern Ukraine. Students will particular Memer States in the simulation. Each class member /team will prepare a briefing note for the session (one page, single spaced) which reflects the views of the actor being represented. The briefing note will posted in at noon on the day before the simulation. **Due Dates and Penalties**

### **Readings (subject to change)**

**Several chapters are required from the following two books:**

Tuomas Forsberg and Hiski Haukkala, *The European Union and Russia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) (available for purchase in the bookstore, paper)

Tom Casier and Joan DeBardeleben, eds., *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis: Understanding Diverging Perspectives* (Routledge, 2018). It is available through the library catalogue. You may also purchase the Kindle version of this book through amazon or the e-book version of this book through the Routledge website (<https://www.routledge.com/EU-Russia-Relations-in-Crisis-Understanding-Diverging-Perceptions/Casier-DeBardeleben/p/book/9781138215061#>).

**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. Please note that readings may be adjusted/substituted throughout the semester and that this will be indicated on the weekly discussion sheets.

### **Week 1 Introduction to the course and organizational matters; theoretical approaches to the EU's Eastern Policy**

#### Readings (Recommended):

- 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
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as empire: the nature of the enlarged European Union* New York : Oxford University Press, 2006. (pages t.b.a.)
- Manners, Ian (2002). "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2, 235-258
- 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.

### **Week 2 The EU's relations with Russia before the Ukraine crisis**

*The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement*  
*Common Spaces and Road Maps*  
*Partnership for Modernization*  
*The role of values, norms, and human rights issues*  
*Reasons for stagnation*

#### Required readings:

- \*Tuomas Forsberg and Hiski Haukkala (2016), *The European Union and Russia*, Chpt. 2, pp. 10-45.
- \*Anna-Sophie Maass, *EU-Russia Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation*, Chpt. 5 (Routledge)
- \*Tatiana Romanova and Elena Pavlova (2014), "What Modernisation? The Case of Russian Partnerships for Modernisation with the European Union and Its Member States," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 22 (4), 499-517.
- \*Tom Casier, "The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument", *Europe-Asia Studies* (2013), vol. 65, No. 7, September 2013, 1377–1395

Strategy Documents (1999) (posted on Ares) (recommended to skim)

- 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)

Optional:

- Derek Averre, “Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the ‘Shared Neighbourhood,’ *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61:10 (2009), pp. 1689-1713
- Anne-Sophie Maass (2017), *EU-Russia Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation*, (Routledge) (A detailed history of relations).
- Hiski Haukalla (2010), *The EU- Russia strategic partnership : the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations*
- 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>
- Thomas Gomart (2008), *EU-Russian Relations: Toward a Way Out of Depression*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 2008, [http://www.ifri.org/files/Russie/Gomart\\_EU\\_Russia.pdf](http://www.ifri.org/files/Russie/Gomart_EU_Russia.pdf)
- EU documents, up to 2002, can be located at <http://www.bits.de/EURA/EURAMAIN.htm>;

**Week 3 The Evolution of the EU’s Neighbourhood and Eastern Partnership Policies, the EU’s Two-track approach**

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

*Adapting enlargement as a template for the ENP?*

*From the ENP to the Eastern Partnership policy (EaP)*

*EaP Review and Revision*

Required readings:

- \*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
- \*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.
- \*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>
- \*Joan DeBardeleben (2018), “EU Policy Change Toward Russia in Light of the Ukraine Crisis and Russian Reactions,” presented at the annual conference of the Aleksanteri Institute, Helsinki, Finland, October 24-26, 2018

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)
- \*European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (2016), 'Joint Staff Working Document: Eastern Partnership – Focusing on key priorities and deliverables,' SWD (2016) 467 final, Brussels, Dec. 15, [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/near-eas\\_joint\\_swd\\_2016467\\_0.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/near-eas_joint_swd_2016467_0.pdf)

Optional readings:

- 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
- Maarten Keune, "The Social Dimension of EU Neighbourhood Policies," in Jan Orbie and Lisa Tortell, eds, *The European Union and the Social Dimension of Globalization: How the EU Influences the World* (Routledge, 2009), pp. 62-80.
- Additional key documents on the Eastern partnership are at: [https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/russia/12269/eastern-partnership-key-documents\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/russia/12269/eastern-partnership-key-documents_en)
- David Cadier (2018) The Geopoliticisation of the EU's Eastern Partnership, Geopolitics, DOI: [10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754](https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754)
- Elena Korosteleva (2017) "Eastern Partnership: bringing 'the political' back in", *East European Politics*, 33:3, 321-337, DOI: [10.1080/21599165.2017.1340882](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2017.1340882)
- Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti, Thomas Delmmelhuber, eds, *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, 1st edition (Routledge, 2018). You may purchase the e-book version of this book through the Routledge website (<https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-on-the-European-Neighbourhood-Policy/Schumacher-Marchetti-Demmelhuber/p/book/9781138913721#>)

Position paper topic:

-Was the ENP the optimal response to the post-enlargement dilemma facing the EU? Why or why not? Could the paradoxes that Casier identified have been avoided, and, if so, how?  
-Are recent revisions to the EaP policy, following the inception of the Ukraine crisis, adequate or does the policy require more radical revision?

**Week 4 Russia's European and Regional Policy**

*Drivers of Russian Foreign Policy*

*Russia's regional integration initiatives*

*The Eurasian Economic Union: its nature, motivations, and prospects*

*Compatibility of EU and Russian integration schemes*

*The place of the EU and Russian integration initiatives in the global order*

### Required readings:

- \*Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2007) “Finding a Civilizational Idea: ‘West’, ‘Eurasia’ and ‘Euro-East’ in Russia’s Foreign Policy,” *Geopolitics* 12 (3): 375-399
- Alexander Sergunin (2016), “Theorizing Russian Foreign Policy,” Chpt. 2 in *Explaining Russian Foreign Policy Behavior* (Stuttgart: ibidem), pp. 27-66.
- \*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
- \*Peter Rutland, “Still out in the Cold?: Russia’s Place in a Globalizing World (2012),” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, 343–354

### Official positions (recommended to skim):

- Vladimir Putin, “Russia and the changing world,” February 27, 2012, RiaNovosti, <http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20120227/171547818> OR Vladimir Putin (2007), “Speech at the 43rd Munich conference on Security Policy,” Feb. 17, (read selectively) online at: [http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2007/02/10/0138\\_type82912type82914type82917type84779\\_1181\\_23.shtml](http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2007/02/10/0138_type82912type82914type82917type84779_1181_23.shtml)

### Optional

- Nataliya A. Vasilyeva and Maria L. Lagutina (2016), *The Russian Project of Eurasian Integration*, 149-172, and optional, pp. 129-136.
- Michael O. Slobodchikoff, *Building Hegemonic Order Russia’s Way* (Lexington 2014), pp. 69-90
- Peter Ferdinand, “Russia Turns East Again? Russia and China after the Ukraine Crisis,” in Casier and DeBardleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 219-237.
- Berryman, John, (2011), “Russia, NATO Enlargement, and ‘Regions of Privileged Interest’,” in *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, Roger Kanet, ed. (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 228-245
- Derek Averre, “Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the ‘Shared Neighbourhood,’” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61:10 (2009), pp. 1689-1713
- Alena Voysotskaya Guesdes Vieira (2014), “Ukraine’s Crisis and Russia’s Closest allies: A Reinforced Intra-Alliance Security Dilemma at Work,” *The International Spectator* 49 (4), pp. 97-111

### **Position paper topics:**

*-To what extent is Russia’s recently assertive foreign policy reactive (reacting to Western actions) as opposed to proactive (reflecting Russian domestically-generated priorities). What are the implications of your answer to this question for how the West should respond?*

*-How should the European Union react to the Eurasian Economic Union initiative?*

***Week 5 The Emergence of the Ukraine Crisis, Ukraine's relations with Russia and with the EU before and since the crisis***

*Ukraine's foreign policy ambivalence*

*Geopolitical and domestic sources of the Ukraine crisis*

*Changing relations with Russia and the EU*

*Implications of the Association Agreement and DCFTA with the EU*

*If you require background on the Ukraine crisis, the following is recommended: Rajan Menon and Eugene Rumer, *Conflict in Ukraine: The Unwinding of the Post-Cold War Order*, Chpt. 2 and/or Chpt. 4*

Required readings:

- \*Paul D'Anieri, "Ukrainian foreign policy from independence to inertia," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, no. 3-4 (2012), 447-455
- \*Anne-Sophie Maass (2017), *EU-Russia Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation*, "The Threat to EU Russia Relations of EU Enlargement in the Orange Revolution," Chpt. 4, pp. 84-112 (Routledge)
- \*Crina Viju (2018), "No Middle Ground? Economic Relations Between the EU, Ukraine, and Russia," in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp.137-158.
- \*Roman Petrov, Cuillaume van der look Peter Van Elsuwege (2015), "The EU \_Ukraine Association Agreement: A New Legal Instrument of Integration Without Membership," *Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal*, no. 1, accessible through <http://kmlpj.ukma.edu.ua/article/view/52678> .

\*Documents

- \*Steven Pifer, "Letting Go," (Feb 12, 2016), on the Minsk process, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/letting-go/r>, and Full text of the Minsk agreement, Feb. 12, 2015, <https://www.ft.com/content/21b8f98e-b2a5-11e4-b234-00144feab7de>

Optional Readings:

- Michael Emerson and Tamara Kovziridze (2016), *Deepening EU-Ukrainian Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield)
- Jozef Batora and Matej Navratil (2016), "Extending the EU's Security Community Amidst Conflict: The Case of Ukraine," in *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.19-48.



- Antoaneta Dimitrova and Rilka Dragneva (2013), “Shaping Convergence with the EU in Foreign Policy and State Aid in Post-Orange Ukraine: Weak External Incentives, Powerful Veto Players,” *Eutrope-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, 658–681
- Aron Buzogor’ny (2013), “Selective Adoption of EU Environmental Norms in Ukraine: Convergence a’ la Carte,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, 609–630
- Andrea Gawrich, Inna Melnykovaksa, and Rainer Schweicker (2010), “Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48, Issue 5 (Nov.), pp. 1209–1235
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Ukraine Reform Monitor: October 2017,” <http://carnegieendowment.org/2017/10/10/ukraine-reform-monitor-october-2017-pub-73330>
- Iryna Solonenko, “The EU’s ‘Transformative Power’ toward the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine,” (Oct. 2010), Institute for Europaeische Politik (Berlin) SPES Policy Papers, [http://iep-berlin.de/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2014/09/The\\_EU\\_s\\_transformative\\_power\\_towards\\_the\\_Eastern\\_neighbourhood\\_the\\_case\\_of\\_Ukraine\\_Iryna\\_Solonenko.pdf](http://iep-berlin.de/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2014/09/The_EU_s_transformative_power_towards_the_Eastern_neighbourhood_the_case_of_Ukraine_Iryna_Solonenko.pdf)

Position paper topics:

- *Is Ukraine faced with an either-or choice (Russia or the EU), and, if so, is the European choice viable economically?*

- *To what extent is the EU to blame for the Ukraine crisis?*

### **Week 6 Receptiveness of Neighbours: Georgia, and Moldova**

*Geopolitical sources of interaction*

*Internal and economic sources of interaction*

*Georgia as successful multi-vector policy?*

*What’s gone wrong in Moldova?*

PLEASE READ ALL OF THE ARTICLES ON ONE OF THE COUNTRIES AND AT LEAST ONE ARTICLE ON THE OTHER COUNTRY

#### \*Required Georgia

- Frederik Coene, *Post-Soviet Politics: Euro-Atlantic Discourse in Georgia: The Making of Georgian Foreign and Domestic Policy after the Rose Revolution* (Routledge, 2016), Chpt. 2
- Kelevan Bokvadze and Bidzina Lebanidze (2016), “Building a Security Community in the EU’s Neighbourhood?” in *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.79-106
- David Rinnert (2015), “The Politics of Civil Service and Administrative Reforms in Development: Explaining Within-Country Variation of Reform Outcomes in Georgia after the Rose Revolution,” *Public Administration and Development* 35 (1), 19-33.

#### \*Required Moldova

- Christian Hagemann (2013), “External Governance on the Terms of the Partner? The EU, Russia, and the Republic of Moldova in the European Neighbourhood Policy,” *Journal of European Integration* 35 (7): 767-783

- Ryhor Nizhnikau (2017), “Promoting Reforms in Moldova,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 64(2): 106-120
- Theodor Tudoroiu (2015), “Democracy and State Capture in Moldova,” *Democratization* 22(4): 655-678

Optional Reading:

- Dorina Baltag and Giselle Bosse (2016), “The EU’s Eastern Partnership with Moldova: A ‘Best-Case’ Scenario for EU Security Community-Building”, *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.49-78.
- Andrey Devyatkov, “Russia: Relations with Moldova under a Paradigm of Ambiguity” and “The European Union: From Ignorance to a Privileged Partnership with Moldova,” (Chpt. 5 and 13), in Marcin Kosienkowski and William Schreiber, ed., *Moldova: an arena of international influences* (2012, Lexington).
- Thijs Rommens (2017), “The Eastern partnership in Georgia: Europeanizing civil society?” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50 (2): 113-123.
- Michael Emerson and Tamara Kovziridze (2016), *Deepening EU-Georgian Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield) pp. 9-36
- Michael Emerson and Denis Censura (2016), *Deepening EU-Moldovan Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield) pp. 9-37
- Revaz Gachechiladze (2012 edition), *The New Georgia: Space, Society, Politics* (Routledge), Chpt. 9
- Oscar B. Pardo Sierra (2011), “Shaping the Neighbourhood? The EU’s Impact on Georgia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 8, October, 1377–1398
- George, Julie (2013), “Georgia’s Rocky Path to Democracy,” *Current History* October, Vol. 112 (756), pp. 277ff
- Esther Ademmer and Tanua A. Boerzel (2013), “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 (2011), “Moldova Under the European Neighbourhood Policy: ‘Falling Between Stools’,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.27 (1):99–119
- Peter Nasuti (2016) Administrative Cohesion and Anti-Corruption Reforms in Georgia and Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68(5): 847-867.

Position Paper:

- Can international actors make a difference in promoting reform in Moldova and/or Georgia, and, if so, how? Or are domestic obstacles too large?
- Can Moldova escape corruption and, if so, how? If not, why?
- How should the EU react to the problem of corruption, and the dilemmas it create, among pro-European elites in Moldova?

**Week 7 Belarus and Armenia: Between the Eurasian Economic Union and the EU**

*Belarus’ version of the dual vector policy and EU responses  
Reform initiatives and EU policy*

\*Required Readings: Read four to five of the following

- \*Yaraslau Kryvoi, with Andrew Wilson (2015), “From Summits to Sanctions: Belarus After the Ukraine Crisis, European Council on Foreign Relations, policy memo [http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR\\_132\\_Belarus\\_\(May\\_5\\_-\\_version\\_2\).pdf](http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_132_Belarus_(May_5_-_version_2).pdf), May 5
- \*Marek Dabrowski (2016), “Belarus at a crossroads,” Bruegel policy contribution, Jan. 21 <http://bruegel.org/2016/01/belarus-at-a-crossroads/>
- \*Korosteleva, E. (2016). “The EU and Belarus: democracy promotion by technocratic means?” *Democratization* 23 (4):1-23
- \*Chiara Loda (2016), “The European Union as a normative power; the case of Armenia,” *East European Politics* , 33(2): 275-90
- \*Syuzanna Vasilyan (2017), “‘Swinging on a Pendulum’ Armenia in the Eurasian Economic Union and With the European Union,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 64 (1): 32-46.

Documents:

- Please see coverage of EU- Armenian relations on the Europa website: [https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/armenia/23120/joint-press-release-european-union-and-republic-armenia-initialling-eu-armenia-comprehensive\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/armenia/23120/joint-press-release-european-union-and-republic-armenia-initialling-eu-armenia-comprehensive_en)

Optional readings:

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

Topics for position papers:

-Should the EU reduce its normative emphasis with Belarus and focus on geopolitics?

-Is Armenia inextricably bound to Russia due to security concerns, and should the EU care?

**Week 8 Azerbaijan; Frozen conflicts**

Required Readings:

- \*Kamran Ismayilov, Konrad Zasztowt (Oct. 2015), “Azerbaijan’s Risky Game between Russia and the West,” *Polish Institute of International Affairs, Policy Paper*, no. 32 (134), [http://www.pism.pl/files/?id\\_plik=20615](http://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=20615)
- \*Eske van Gils (2017), “Differentiation through bargaining power in EU-Azerbaijan relations: Baku as a tough negotiator,” *East European Politics* 33 (3): 388-405.
- \*Mukhtar Hajizada (2018) Challenges and opportunities for establishing a security community in the wider Black Sea area, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/14683857.2018.1516333](https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2018.1516333)

Please read one of the following and be prepared to summarize the main arguments of the article:

- \*John Beyer and Stefan Wolff (2016), “Linkage and leverage effects on Moldova’s Transnistria problem,” *East European Politics* 32 (3):333-35
- \*Laurence Broers (2016) “Diffusion and default: a linkage and leverage perspective on the Nagorny Karabakh conflict,” *East European Politics* 32 (3): 278-299
- \*Ryan Kennedy (2016) “The limits of soft balancing: the frozen conflict in Transnistria and the challenge to EU and NATO strategy,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 27:30 (512-37).
- \*Andre W. M. Gerrits and Max Bader (2016), “Russian patronage over Abkhazia and South Ossetia: implications for conflict resolution, *East European Politics* 32 (2106), 297-313

Optional:

- \*Nicu Popescu (2009), “EU and the Eastern Neighbourhood: Reluctant Involvement in Conflict Resolution,” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 457-77  
OR
- \*Laure Delcour (2010), “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 (2010), “The EU as a conflict manager? The case of Georgia and its implications,” *International Affairs* 86: 87-107.
- Theodor Tudoroiu (2012), “The European Union, Russia, and the Future of the Transnistrian Frozen Conflict,” *East European Politics and Societies*, 26: 135ff

Topic for position paper

*-Are frozen conflicts in the post-Soviet space best kept frozen, and what does ‘frozen’ mean? Why? (You may focus on one or more such conflicts of your choice).*

**Week 9 Division or Consensus in the EU: Simulation EU Debate on Russian Sanctions and on Relations with the Eurasian Economic Union**

Required readings:

- \*Joan DeBardeleben, “Alternative Paradigms for EU-Russia Neighbourhood Relations,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, pp. 155-136
- \*European Parliament, Briefing, October 2016, ‘The EU’s Russia policy: Five Guiding principle,’  
[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/589857/EPRS\\_BRI\(2016\)589857\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/589857/EPRS_BRI(2016)589857_EN.pdf)
- \*Elisabeth Christen et al (2017), “Russia’s and the EU’s Sanctions: economic and trade effects, compliance and the way forward (Brussels: European Parliament, DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES POLICY DEPARTMENT  
[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/603847/EXPO\\_STU\(2017\)603847\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/603847/EXPO_STU(2017)603847_EN.pdf)

**Week 10 Energy Security and Trade: Economics and Geopolitics**

*Dependence or interdependence?*

*EU energy policy toward Russia (member state differences)*

*Russian approaches to EU regulatory regimes*  
*Geopolitical versus economic factors*  
*Prospects for EU-Russia trade or a trade agreement*  
*Investment and domestic political factors*

Required readings:

- \*Forsberg and Haukkala (2016), Chpt. 4, pp. 76- 117
- \*Hiski Haukkala, “Negative Mutual Interdependence: The Clashing Perceptions of EU-Russia Economic Relations,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 53-71.
- \*Tatiana Romanova (2016), “Is Russian energy Policy toward the EU Only about Geopolitics? The Case of the Third Liberalisation Package,” *Geopolitics* 21 (4): 867-879
- \*Andrej Krickovic (2015), “When Interdependence Produces Conflict: EU-Russia Energy Relations as a Security Dilemma,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 37 (1): 3-26

Optional Readings:

- Amelia Hadfield (2016), “EU-Russia Strategic Energy Culture: Progressive Convergence or Regressive Dilemma?” *Geopolitics* 21 (4): 779-798
- Diana Bozhilova and Tom Hashimoto (2010), “EU-Russian energy negotiations: a choice between rational self-interest and collective action,” *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2010, pp. 627-642
- 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.
- Nikolai Kaveshnikov (2010), “The issue of energy security in relations between Russia and the European Union,” *European Security* 19, no 4 (Dec ), pp. 585-605 (see also other articles in this same issue, as optional reading
- Susanne Nies (2011), “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), pp. 30-58
- Evert Faber Van Der Meulen (2009), “Gas Supply and EU-Russian Relations,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 61: 5, pp. 833-856.

Topics for position paper:

*-Can mutual energy interdependence between the EU and Russia be reinforced as a guarantors of stability and cooperation? If so, how? If not, why not?*

*-Should the EU work more assertively to reduce its energy dependence on Russia? Why or why not?*

**Week 11 The European Security Dilemma: More “wicked” than ever?**

EU-Russia Relations as an emerging security dilemma

Building a new security structure in Europe?

Prospects for the OSCE?

NATO’s role

### Required Readings:

- \*Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 6, pp. 148-176
- \*Elena Kropatcheva (2015), "The Evolution of Russia's OSCE Policy: From the Promises of the Helsinki Final Act to the Ukrainian Crisis," *Contemporary European Studies* 23 (1): 6-24
- \*Maria Raquel Freire and Licinia Simao (2016), "EU-Russia Relations and the Unravelling of the European Security Regime in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis," in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 178-198, 201-218.
- \*Simon Duke & Carmen Gebhard (2017) "The EU and NATO's dilemmas with Russia and the prospects for deconfliction," *European Security*, 26:3, 379-397, DOI: 10.1080/09662839.2017.1352577

### Optional:

- Selected chapters from K. Kakachia, S. Meister, and B. Fricke, eds. (2018), *Geopolitics and Security: A New Strategy for the South Caucasus* (Berlin and Tbilisi: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung), [https://www.iwp.edu/docLib/20180215\\_GeopoliticsandSecurity.pdf#page=19](https://www.iwp.edu/docLib/20180215_GeopoliticsandSecurity.pdf#page=19)
- Selected chapters from Serghei Golunov (2013), *EU-Russian Border Security: Challenges, (mis)perceptions, and responses* (Routledge)
- Flemming Splidsboel-Hansen, "Explaining Russian Endorsement of the CFSP and the ESDP," *Security Dialogue* (2002), 343-456.
- \*Andrej Krickovic (2016), "When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations," *Contemporary Security Policy* 37 (2): 175-199

### Position paper topics:

-Should NATO exclude future membership for Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova as a way to reassure Russia?

-What steps might stop the unravelling of the European security regime?

-Could the OSCE actually help promote security in Europe after the Ukraine crisis? How and why?

### **Week 12 The Multilateral context: Council of Baltic Sea States, and Council of Europe, and Arctic Council**

\*Lauri Mälksoo (2017), "Russia's Constitutional Court Defies the European Court of Human Rights: Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation Judgment," *European Constitutional Law Review; Dordrecht* 12( 2) : 377-395.DOI:10.1017/S1574019616000237

or

\*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.

\*Alexander Sergunin and Valery Konyshev (2015), *Russia in the Arctic: Hard or Soft Power?* (Ibidem press) or Geir Honneland (2016), *Russia and the Arctic: Environment, Identity and*

*Foreign Policy* or Marlene Laruelle (2014), *Russia's Arctic Strategies and the Future of the Far North* (Palgrave), pp. 113-151

\*Tom Casier, "The EU and Russia in a Multilateral Setting," in Casier and DeBardeleben, "EU-Russia Relations in Crisis," pp. 178-198.

\*Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 5, pp. 118-135

### Optional Readings:

Alexander Sergunin and Valery Konyshev (2015), *Russia in the Arctic: Hard or Soft Power?* (Ibidem press, selected pages)

Geir Honneland (2016), *Russia and the Arctic: Environment, Identity and Foreign Policy*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

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)

Pami Aalto (2017), "The Coordination of Policy Priorities among Regional Institutions from the Baltic Sea to the Arctic," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 48(2): 135-160.

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

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, pp. 115-129

### **Position paper topics:**

-Should the measures be taken to exclude Russia from the Council of Europe, as Susan Stewart argues (<https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/point-of-view/council-of-europe-can-do-without-russia/>), given Russia's human rights record?

-To what degree should the West take a conciliatory position in regards to Arctic issues to avoid the injection of conflictual relations into the region?

### **Week 13 Soft power issues: Human mobility, cross-border cooperation, and media discourse**

*Mobility and visa issues in the region*

*Readmission agreements and visa facilitation*

*Cross-border cooperation as an antidote to high politics*

*Transnational linkages: European and Russian public diplomacy*

### Required readings:

- \*Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 7, pp. 177-191, and Chpt 5, pp. 138-145.
- \*Anna A. Dekalchuk, "'Othering' to Open Rivalry: Negotiating the EU-Russia Role Structure Through the Visa Dialogue," in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 930-112
- \*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.

### Optional Readings

- Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 7, 177-191.
- Laure Delcour & Sandra Fernandes (2016) "Visa liberalization processes in the EU's Eastern neighbourhood: understanding policy outcomes", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29:4, 1259-1278, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2016.1233936
- I. Gumenyuk, T. Kuznetsova, and L. Osmolovskaya (2016), "Local Border Traffic as an Efficient Tool for Developing Cross-Border Cooperation," *Baltic Region* 8(1): 67-82, [https://journals.kantiana.ru/upload/iblock/92a/Gumenyuk%20I.,%20Kuznetsova%20T.,%20Osmolovskaya\\_67-82.pdf](https://journals.kantiana.ru/upload/iblock/92a/Gumenyuk%20I.,%20Kuznetsova%20T.,%20Osmolovskaya_67-82.pdf)
- Raul Hernandez i Sagrera (2010), 'The EU-Russian readmission-visa facilitation nexus: and exportable migration model for Eastern Europe,' *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December), pp. 569-584.
- Olga Potemkina (2010), "EU–Russia cooperation on the common space of freedom, security and justice – a challenge or an opportunity?" *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December ), pp. 552-568
- Sirke Mäkinen, Hanna Smith & Tuomas Forsberg (2016) " 'With a Little Help from my Friends': Russia's Modernisation and the Visa Regime with the European Union," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68:1, 164-181, DOI: [10.1080/09668136.2015.1123223](https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2015.1123223)

### Position paper topic:

-Is visa free travel for Russia a good idea? When and under what conditions should it be implemented?

-How should the EU respond to Russia's soft power strategies (define what they are)?