COURSE OUTLINES

The EU, Russia and China: Competing Regionalism in Eurasia

EURR 4201/5201 (Advanced undergraduate and graduate course)

The course outline is provided here in generic form as a curricular resource. The course was offered in Summer 2024 with Prof. Crina Viju-Miljusevic (together with visiting scholar Dr. Anastassia Obydenkova) as part of her activities for the Jean Monnet Chair in EU External Relations (Sept. 2022- August 2025), Carleton University, Ottawa.



Funded by the European Union. Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author(s) only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Education and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA). Neither the European Union nor EACEA can be held responsible for them.

EURR 4201/5201 THE EU, RUSSIA AND CHINA: COMPETING REGIONALISM IN EURASIA DRAFT OUTLINE May 1, 2024

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Summer Term 2024, Tuesdays and Thursdays 18:05-20:55

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GOALS OF THE COURSE

This course provides an interdisciplinary analysis of the actorness of the European Union (EU), Russia and China and their competing regional projects in Eurasia. The course provides a systematic analysis of the causes and consequences of various competing regional cooperation mechanisms offered by three core powers and a comparative assessment of variations in the design and performance of regional institutions. The students will gain an understanding of the history, institutional, economic, and political developments of the process of European and Eurasian integration. They will obtain knowledge of the theoretical perspectives of regionalism, which will be applied to concrete cases in a comparative fashion. The students will gain knowledge on the policy making process and the effects of different politico-economic systems on how policies are made.

The course is divided in two parts. The first part will focus on theories of regionalism, the changing world order and regionalism and EU-centric regionalism. In the second part of the course, students will focus on Eurasian regionalism from the strategic perspectives of Russia and China. China is analyzed as both, a competitor for the influence, yet as the most important ally of Russia. With this in mind, geopolitical game, rivalry, and competition are intriguing aspects of analysis.

The course will be run seminar style. Students are expected to be active in class discussions. Completion of course readings, participation in class discussions, class presentations, participation in a simulation/game and a course paper will be required. The student will need to use additional material not covered by required readings to complete the presentation and discussion paper.

Requirements: (for undergrad students slightly different requirements, please see the research essay description document):

Presentation	15%
Commentary on presentation (Discussant role)	15%
Simulation	15%
Research essay (due on June 24, 9AM)	35%
Seminar participation	20%

Seminar participation: Regular attendance is compulsory for this class. Unexcused absences will result in a significant reduction in the participation mark, which can have a marked impact on the course grade. Students will be graded on the basis of attendance, the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion, and, most importantly, demonstrated familiarity with required course readings.

Class presentation and commentary: Each student will make a class presentation and will comment on another student's presentation. Details about these assignments are provided in a separate document. A schedule of dates for presentations and commentaries will be decided at the first class session.

Simulation: We will be holding a simulation on May 30 in the seminar session. This will involve a debate in the European Council, with students representing the Member States, about the signature of the EU-China Investment Agreement. Students will generally work in teams of two (or in few cases possibly three). Further details will be provided at a later date. The mark for this assignment will be a composite of the team's coordination and individual participation in the simulation. The evaluation will be based on the quality of research of Member States' positions, presentation of the position, and effectiveness of participation in the simulation.

Research essay: please see description in a separate document posted on Brightspace

COURSE STRUCTURE (READINGS MAY BE ADDED OR CHANGED)

Week 1/Session 1 May 7 (no presentations)
Introduction to the course and organizational matters

The Study of Regions and the Evolution of Regionalism

Fawn, R. (2009). "Regions and Their Study: where from, what for and where to?" *Review of International Studies* 35: 5-34.

Acharya, A. (2012). "Comparative Regionalism: A Field Whose Time has Come," *The International Spectator* 47(1): 3-15.

Week 1/Session 2 May 9 (no presentations) Theories of regionalism Define the concepts of regionalism and regionalization
Theorizing regionalism
Differentiate between different types of regionalism: old, new and comparative
Identify main actors and factors

Fawcett, L. (2004). "Exploring Regional Domains: A Comparative History of regionalism." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 80(3): 429–446.

Hettne, B. (2005). "Beyond the 'New Regionalism." *New Political Economy* 10(4): 543–571. DOI: 10.1080/13563460500344484.

Börzel, T. A., and Risse, T. (2019). "Grand theories of integration and the challenges of comparative regionalism." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(8): 1231–1252. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1622589.

Börzel, T. A. (2016). "Theorizing regionalism: Cooperation, Integration, and Governance," in Börzel, T. A., and T. Risse (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, pp. 41-64 (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Suggested readings:

Hurrell, A. (1995). "Explaining the Resurgence of Regionalism in World Politics", *Review of International Studies* 21 (4): 331–358.

Väyrynen, R. (2003). "Regionalism: Old and New." International Studies Review 5(1): 25-51.

DOI: <u>10.1111/1521-9488.501002</u>

Hettne, B. and Söderbaum, F. (2000). "Theorising the Rise of Regionness." *New Political Economy* 5(3): 457–472. https://doi.org/10.1080/713687778.

Week 2/Session 1 May 14 Regionalism and Global Governance

Regionalism within the framework of global governance Challenges to global governance

Katzenstein P (2005). A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium. Chapter 1, pp. 1-42. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hettne, B. (2005). "Regionalism and World Order," in Farrell, M. et. al. (eds.) *Global Politics of Regionalism: Theory and Practice*, pp. 269-286. Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.

Acharya, A. (2018). *The End of American World Order*, Chapter 5, pp. 99-131. Cambridge, UK: Polity (second edition).

Telò, M. (2020). "Regionalism and global governance: The alternative between power politics and new multilateralism." *Annals of the Fondazione Luigi Einaudi* LIV: 5-34.

Suggested readings:

Telò M. (2014). "Globalization, new regionalism and the role of the European Union," in Telò, M. (ed.) European Union and New Regionalism: Competing Regionalism and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era, pp. 1-22. Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.

Leonard, M. (2016). "Introduction: Connectivity wars", in Mark Leonard (ed.) *Connectivity Wars. Why trade, migration and finance are the geo-economic battlegrounds of the future*, pp. 13-30 https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/Connectivity_Wars.pdf.

Copelovitch, M., Hobolt, S. B. and Walter, S. (2020). "Challenges to the contemporary global order. Cause for pessimism or optimism?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(7): 1114–1125. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1678666

Flockhart, T. and Korosteleva, E. A. (2022). "War in Ukraine: Putin and the multi-order world." *Contemporary Security Policy 43*(3): 466–481. https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2022.2091591

Week 2/Session 2 May 16 Post-WWII regionalism in Europe (European union)

Identify main actors and factors influencing European integration
Theorizing European integration
Identify main economic and political outcomes of European integration
Current developments

Pollack, M.A. (2001). "International Relations Theory and European Integration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (2): 221-244.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2016). "Europe" in Tanjia A. Börzel and Thomas Risse (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, pp. 178-201.

Söderbaum, F. and Sbragia, A. (2010). "EU Studies and the 'New Regionalism': What can be Gained from Dialogue?" *Journal of European Integration 32*(6): 563–582. https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2010.518716

Jones, E., Daniel Kelemen, R. and Meunier, S. (2021). "Failing forward? Crises and patterns of European integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(10): 1519–1536. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1954068

Suggested readings:

Ben Rosamond, "Conceptualising the EU model of governance in world politics," (University of Warwick 2005). http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/1098/1/WRAP_Rosamond_9570885-150709-rosamond_efar_05.pdf

Kuhn, T. (2019). Grand theories of European integration revisited: does identity politics shape the course of European integration? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 26(8), 1213–1230. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2019.1622588

Moravcsik, A. (2005). "The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12(2), pp. 349-386.

Meunier, S. and Vachudova, M.A. (2018). "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union." *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 56(7), pp. 1631-1647.

Müller, P., Pomorska, K. and Tonra, B. (2021). "The Domestic Challenge to EU Foreign Policy-Making: From Europeanisation to de-Europeanisation?" *Journal of European Integration*, Vol.43(5), pp. 519-534.

Rieker, P. and Riddervold, M. (2022). "Not so unique after all? Urgency and norms in EU foreign and security policy," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 44(4), pp. 459-473.

Costa, O. and Barbé, E. (2023). "A moving target. EU actorness and the Russian invasion of Ukraine," *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 45(3), pp. 431-446.

Manners, I. (2006). "Normative Power Europe Reconsidered." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(2), pp. 182-199.

Hyde-Price, A. (2006). "Normative' Power Europe: A Realist Critique." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13(2), pp.217-234.

Wagner, W. (2017). "Liberal Power Europe." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 55(6), pp. 1398-1414.

Damro, C. (2012). "Market Power Europe." *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 19(5), pp. 682-699.

Bradford, A. (2016). "The EU as a Regulatory Power", in Mark Leonhard (ed.) *Connectivity Wars. Why trade, migration and finance are the geo-economic battlegrounds of the future*, pp. 133-142 https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/Connectivity_Wars.pdf

Week 3/Session 1 May 21 Post-WWII regionalism (NATO, OSCE)

Identify main actors and factors influencing security integration
Theorizing NATO and OSCE integration
Identify main economic and political outcomes of security integration
Current developments

Santini, R.H., Lucarelli, S., Pinfari, M. (2014). "Interregionalism: A Security Studies Perspective." in: Baert, F., Scaramagli, T., Söderbaum, F. (eds) *Intersecting Interregionalism*. United Nations University Series on Regionalism, vol 7. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7566-4_5

NATO:

Hettne, B. (2008). "Security Regionalism in Theory and Practice." in Brauch, H.G., *et al.* (eds.) *Globalization and Environmental Challenges. Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace*, Vol 3. Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-540-75977-5_27

Goldgeier, J., Itzkowitz Shifrinson, J.R.(2020). "Evaluating NATO enlargement: scholarly debates, policy implications, and roads not taken.: *International Politics* 57: 291–321. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-020-00243-7.

OSCE:

Ibryamova, N. (2011). "The OSCE as a Regional Security Actor: A Security Governance Perspective," in Emil Joseph Kirchner and Roberto Domínguez (eds.), *The Security Governance of Regional Organizations*, Ch. 4. New York: Routledge.

Gawrich, A. (2014). "Emerging from the Shadows – The Ukrainian-Russian Crisis and the OSCE's Contribution to the European Security Architecture." *Die Friedens-Warte* 89(1/2): 59–80.

Schuette, L. and Dijkstra, H. (2023). "When an international organization fails to legitimate: The decline of the OSCE." *Global Studies Quarterly* 3: 1-13.

Suggested readings:

Celeste, A. Wallander (2000). "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO after the Cold War", *International Organizations* 54(4).

McGwire, M. (1998). "NATO Expansion: 'A Policy Error of Historic Importance", *Review of International Studies* 24(1): 23-42.

Ball, C.L. (1998). "Nattering NATO Negativism? Reasons Why Expansion May Be a Good Thing", *Review of International Studies* 24(1): 43-67.

Frydrych, E.K. (2008). "The Debate on NATO Expansion." Connections 7(4): 1–42.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2023-2024). Debating NATO enlargement. https://carnegieendowment.org/programs/americanstatecraft/debatingnato

Adler, E. (1998). "Seeds of peaceful change: the OSCE's security community-building model" in Emanuel Adler & Michael Barnett (eds.), *Security Communities*, Ch. 4, pp. 119-160. Cambridge University Press.

Week 3/Session 2 May 23 EU regionalism 1: enlargement

Understand the EU foreign policy approaches in its neighborhood and identify its merits and shortcomings in the regional-/country-context

Identify main economic and political dimensions of:

EU enlargements of 2004, 2007 and 2013; future enlargements

Subregionalism

Boerzel, T.A. and Schimmelfennig, F. (2017). "Coming Together or Drifting Apart? The EU's Political Integration Capacity in Eastern Europe," *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (2): 278-296.

Bruszt, L. and Vukov, V. (2017). "Making states for the single market: European integration and the reshaping of economic states in the Southern and Eastern peripheries of Europe," *West European Politics* 40(4): 663-687.

Scott, J. W. (2022). "Visegrád four political regionalism as a critical reflection of Europeanization: deciphering the 'Illiberal Turn'." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 63(6): 704–725. https://doi.org/10.1080/15387216.2021.1972023

Zhelyazkova, A., Damjanovski, I., Nechev, Z. and Schimmelfennig, F. (2019). "European Union Conditionality in the Western Balkans: External Incentives and Europeanisation," in Džankić, J., Keil, S., Kmezić, M. (eds.) *The Europeanisation of the Western Balkans. New Perspectives on South-East Europe*, pp. 15-39. Palgrave Macmillan.

Anghel, V. and Džankić, J. (2023). "Wartime EU: consequences of the Russia – Ukraine war on the enlargement process," *Journal of European Integration* 45(3): 487-501.

Suggested readings:

Schimmelfennig, F. and Sedelmeier, U. (2020). "The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: the external incentives model revisited." *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(6): pp. 814-833.

Börzel, T. A. and Sedelmeier, U. (2017). "Larger and more law abiding? The impact of enlargement on compliance in the European Union," *Journal of European Public Policy* 24(2): 197-215.

Moravciki, A. and Vachudova, M.A. (2003), "National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement", *East European Politics and Societies* 17 (1): 42-67.

Grabbe, H. (2014). "Six Lessons of Enlargement Ten Years On; The EU's Transformative Power in Retrospect and Prospect", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52: 40-56.

Schimmelfennig, F. (2006). "The community trap: liberal norms, rhetorical action and eastern enlargement of the European Union," in Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (eds.) *The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*, pp. 142-171.

Coman, R. and Volintiru, C. (2023). "Anti-liberal ideas and institutional change in Central and Eastern Europe," *European Politics and Society* 24(1): 5-21.

Sedelmeier, U. (2014). "Anchoring Democracy from Above? The European Union and Democratic Backsliding in Hungary and Romania after Accession," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52 (1): 105-121.

Ceka, B. and Sojka, A. (2016). "Love it but not feeling it yet? The state of European Identity after the Eastern Enlargement," *European Union Politics* 17 (3): 482-503.

Szczerbiak, A. (2021). "How is the European integration debate changing in post-communist states?" *European Political Science* 20: 254–260.

Akhvlediani, T. (2022) "Geopolitical and Security Concerns of the EU's Enlargement to the East: The Case of Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia," *Intereconomics* 57: 225–228.

Sapir, A. (2022). "Ukraine and the EU: Enlargement at a New Crossroads," *Intereconomics* 57: 213–217.

Petrov, R. and Hillion, C. (2022). Guest Editorial: "Accession through War' – Ukraine's Road to the EU'," *Common Market Law Review* 59(5): 1289 – 1300.

Bedea, C. M. and Osei Kwadwo, V. (2021). "Opportunistic sub-regionalism: the dialectics of EU- Central-Eastern European relations." *Journal of European Integration 43*(4): 385–402. https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2020.1776271

Grgić, G. (2023). "The Changing Dynamics of Regionalism in Central and Eastern Europe: The Case of the Three Seas Initiative." *Geopolitics* 28(1): 216–238. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2021.1881489

Cottey, A. (2000). "Europe's new subregionalism." *Journal of Strategic Studies 23*(2): 23–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390008437789

Week 4/Session 1 May 28 EU regionalism 2: EU integration beyond enlargement

Understand the EU foreign policy approaches in the region beyond enlargement and identify its merits and shortcomings in the regional-/country-context Identify main economic and political dimensions of regional cooperation Discuss whether the EU is a proactive or reactive actor in Eurasia

Schimmelfennig, F. (2018). "Beyond enlargement: Conceptualizing the study of the European Neighbourhood Policy." in Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*. Pp. 17-27. New York: Routledge.

Fawn, R. (2022). "Not here for geopolitical interests or games': the EU's 2019 strategy and the regional and inter-regional competition for Central Asia." *Central Asian Survey 41*(4): 675–698. https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2021.1951662

Winn, N. and Gänzle, S. (2023). "Recalibrating EU Foreign Policy *Vis-à-vis* Central Asia: Towards Principled Pragmatism and Resilience." *Geopolitics* 28(3): 1342–1361. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2022.2042260

Keukeleire, S. and Petrova, I. (2014). "The European Union, the Eastern Neighbourhood and Russia: Competing Regionalisms', in Telò, M. (ed.) *European Union and New Regionalism: Competing Regionalism and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era*. Pp. 263–277. Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.

Petrova, I. and Delcour, L. (2020). "From principle to practice? The resilience—local ownership nexus in the EU Eastern Partnership policy," *Contemporary Security Policy* Vol. 41(2), pp. 336-360.

Suggested readings:

Cottey, A. (2012). Regionalism and the EU's neighbourhood policy: the limits of the possible. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, *12*(3), 375–391. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2012.711090

Börzel, T. A., & Risse, T. (2012). From Europeanisation to Diffusion: Introduction. *West European Politics*, 35(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2012.631310

Bicchi, F., Noutcheva, G. and Voltolini, B. (2018). "The European Neighbourhood Policy between bilateralism and region-building." in Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti and Thomas Demmelhuber (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*. Pp. 249-258. New York: Routledge.

Simão, L. (2018). *The EU's Neighbourhood Policy towards the South Caucasus. Expanding the European Security Community*. pp. 95-145 The European Union in International Affairs. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65792-9_4

Delcour, L. and Wolczuk, K. (2015). "The EU's Unexpected 'Ideal Neighbour'? The Perplexing Case of Armenia's Europeanisation," *Journal of European Integration* 37(4): 491-507.

Lavenex, S. (2011). "Concentric circles of flexible 'EUropean' integration: A typology of EU external governance relations." *Comparative European Politics* 9: 372–393. https://doi.org/10.1057/cep.2011.7

Rabinovych, M. (2021). "Failing forward and EU foreign policy: the dynamics of 'integration without membership' in the Eastern Neighbourhood." *Journal of European Public Policy* 28(10): 1688–1705. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2021.1954066

Week 4/Session 2 May 30

Simulation: EU-China investment agreement: a form of regionalism?

Week 5/Session 1 June 4

Russia-led Regionalism:

- Theory and History
- Political and Cultural Regionalism (and the CIS)
- Consider the concept of authoritarian regionalism (AR) and non-democratic regional organizations (NDROs);
- Discuss the differences between the AR/NDRO and European Regionalism.
- -Discuss Eurasian regionalism in global comparative perspective (e.g., political, cultural, economic, security trends in regional development since 1991 till 2024).

- -Consider comparative perspective to Eurasian, European, Latin American, China-led and/or African regionalism (see the 1^{st} required reading).
- -Identify Historical legacies in Eurasian regionalism (and the role of history in the CIS).
- Discuss the differences in the role of history (origins) of Eurasian and European Regionalism.

Required Readings:

THEORY: AR (NDROs)

Libman, A. and A. Obydenkova (2018) "Understanding Authoritarian Regionalism", *Journal of Democracy* 29(4): 151-165. https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/understanding-authoritarian-regionalism

Libman, A. and A. Obydenkova (2021) "Global Governance and Interaction between International Institutions: The Challenge of the Eurasian International Organizations", *Post-Communist Economies* 33(2-3): 147-149, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1793585

Libman, A. and A. V. Obydenkova (2021) "Global governance and Eurasian international organisations: lessons learned and future agenda", *Post-Communist Economies* 33(2-3): 359-377, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1793587

Suggested readings:

Obydenkova, A., Libman, A. (2019) Authoritarian Regionalism in the World of International Organizations: Global Perspectives and the Eurasian Enigma. Oxford University Press: Oxford & New York:

- "Introduction" (Chapter 1), pp. 1-9;
- "Regionalism and Political Regimes" (Chapter 2), pp. 11-33;
- "Authoritarian Regionalism" (Chapter 3), pp. 34-59;
- "Conclusion" (Chapter 12), pp. 256-272.

Historical Legacies of Political & Cultural (Russia-led) Regionalism

Required Reading:

<u>Kathleen J. Hancock</u> and <u>Alexander Libman</u> (2016) "Eurasia" Chapter 10 in Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, pp. 202–224; https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199682300.013.11

Libman, A., and A. Obydenkova (2013) "Informal governance and participation in non-democratic international organizations". *The Review of International Organizations*, Vol. 8(2), 221-245: https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11558-012-9160-y

Suggested readings:

Obydenkova, A., Libman, A. (2019) *Authoritarian Regionalism in the World of International Organizations: Global Perspectives and the Eurasian Enigma*. Oxford University Press: Oxford & New York:

- "Past Non-Dependency in the 21st Century" (Chapter 7); pp. 107-119;
- "The Enigma of Eurasian Regionalism" (Chapter 8), pp. 120-143;
- "Political Regionalism: The CIS" (Chapter 9), pp. 144-179

Libman, A., Obydenkova, A. (2021) *Historical Legacies of Communism: Modern Politics, Society and Economic Development.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge:

- "Cultural Environment and Soviet Cinematography as a Legacy of the CPSU", Chapter 3, pp. 52-81.
- "Conclusion", Chapter 12, pp. 299-318.

Libman, A., and A. Obydenkova (2014) "International Trade as a Limiting Factor in Democratization: an Analysis of Subnational Regions in Post-Communist Russia" *Studies in Comparative International Development* doi: 10.1007/s12116-013-9130-2, N 49, Issue 2, pp. 168-196.

Vladimir S. Izotov & Anastassia V. Obydenkova (2021) Geopolitical games in Eurasian regionalism: ideational interactions and regional international organisations, *Post-Communist Economies*, 33:2-3, 150-174, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1793584 DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14631377.2020.1793584

Gel'man, V., Anastassia Obydenkova (2024) The Invention of Legacy: Strategic Uses of a "Good Soviet Union" in Elite Policy Preferences and Filmmaking in Russia. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 1 March 2024; 57 (1): 130–153. doi: https://doi.org/10.1525/cpcs.2023.1984663

Libman, A., Anastassia Obydenkova (2024) Introduction to the Special Issue on Eurasian Continuities: Historical Legacies in the Post-Communist World—Ideologies, Practices, or Social Constructions? *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 1 March 2024; 57 (1): 1–18. doi: https://doi.org/10.1525/cpcs.2024.1820016

Week 5/Session 2 June 6

Economic and Security (Russia-led) Regionalism

Economic Russia-led NDROs: the EAEU and others Security Russia-led NDROs: the CSTO versus the NATO

- -Identify the differences and similarities between the CSTO and the NATO, between the EAEU and the EU.
- -Discuss the impact (consequences) of economic and security Russia-led regional organizations on socio-economic and on geopolitical development in Eurasia.
- -Consider the economic triangle (the EAEU the EU China) and the security triangle (the CSTO NATO China) in pre-2022 and post-2022 geopolitical context:
- What differences can you identify in pre-2022 vis-a-vis post-2022 in security and economic development in Eurasian regionalism?

ECONOMIC REGIONALISM:

Libman & Obydenkova (2018) "Regional International Organizations as a Strategy of Autocracy: The Eurasian Economic Union and Russian foreign policy" *International Affairs* 94 (5), pp. 1037–1058; (Oxford University Press website), https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiy147

Ann-Sophie Gast (2021) The Eurasian Economic Union – keeping up with the EU and China, Post-Communist Economies, 33:2-3, 175-199. DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1827200

SECURITY REGIONALISM:

Farid Guliyev & Andrea Gawrich (2021) NATO vs. the CSTO: security threat perceptions and responses to secessionist conflicts in Eurasia, Post-Communist Economies, 33:2-3, 283-304, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1800316

Ambrosio, Thomas (2022) "Belarus, Kazakhstan and Alliance Security Dilemmas in the Former Soviet Union: Intra-Alliance Threat and Entrapment After the Ukraine Crisis." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 9, 1700–1728. doi:10.1080/09668136.2022.2061425.

Suggested readings:

Obydenkova, A., and Libman, A. (2019) Authoritarian Regionalism in the World of International Organizations: Global Perspectives and the Eurasian Enigma. Oxford University Press: Oxford & New York:

- "Political Regionalism: The CIS" (Chapter 9), pp. 144-179;
- "Economic Regionalism: The EAEU" (Chapter 10), pp. 179-218;
- "Security Regionalism: the SCO" (Chapter 11), pp. 219-254.

Slobodchikoff, M. O., & Aleprete, M. E. (2021). The Impact of Russian-led Eurasian Integration on the International Relations of the Post-Soviet Space. Europe-Asia Studies, 73(5), 913–927. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2020.1785398

Rilka Dragneva & Christopher A. Hartwell (2021) The Eurasian Economic Union: integration without liberalisation?, Post-Communist Economies, 33:2-3, 200-221, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1793586

Alexander Libman (2021) Eurasian regionalism and the WTO: a building block or a stumbling stone?, Post-Communist Economies, 33:2-3, 246-264, DOI: <u>10.1080/14631377.2020.1793589</u>

Viachaslau Yarashevich (2021) Competitiveness through new industrialisation in the EAEU, Post-Communist Economies, 33:2-3, 305-330, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1793591

Julia Eder (2021) Moving towards developmental regionalism? industrial cooperation in the Eurasian Economic Union from an Armenian and Belarusian perspective, Post-Communist Economies, 33:2-3, 331-358, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2020.1793590

Week 6/Session 1 June 11

China-led regionalism in Eurasia. Competing for Eurasia and Central Asia: Is China a Russia's friend or a foe?

Economic regionalism: the SCO and Belt and Road Initiative Security regionalism: Is "an enemy of my enemy" my friend?

- -Discuss the differences between China-led and Russia-led Regionalism (and vis-à-vis European regionalism).
- -Consider differences and similarities of the SCO, AIIB, B&RI (in terms of their (a) causes (origins; motivations); (b) their nature (e.g., heterogeneity of member-states); and (c) their consequences (impacts; outcomes)).
- -Identify compatible interests (or goals) of China-led and Russia-led regionalism and their incompatible (mutually exclusive) interests/goals in Eurasia.
- -Discuss the puzzle regarding China-led and Russia-led regionalism in Eurasia: is it a competition or alignment?
- Discuss the origins of both initiatives and their consequences; their formal goals and possible actual intentions (please note the difference between "declared goals" (formally stated goals) versus "real goals" (real motivations and/or undeclared intentions) in AR / NDRO).

Economic Regionalism: the SCO & Belt and Road Initiative:

Ambrosio, T. (2008) 'Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(8), pp. 1321–1344. doi: 10.1080/09668130802292143.

Zhang, Chi. (2018) "Revitalising the Silk Road. China's Belt and Road Initiative." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 3, 496–97. doi:10.1080/09668136.2018.1455445.

Security Regionalism: "Is an enemy of my enemy my friend?"

Lams, L., de Smaele, H., De Coninck, F., Lippens, C., & Smeyers, L. (2023). Strategic Comrades? Russian and Chinese Media Representations of NATO. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 75(5), 842–864. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2022.2152556

Mankoff, J. (2022). The East Wind Prevails? Russia's Response to China's Eurasian Ambitions. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 74(9), 1616–1639. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2022.2102150

Suggested readings:

Obydenkova, A., and Libman, A. (2019) Authoritarian Regionalism in the World of International Organizations: Global Perspectives and the Eurasian Enigma. Oxford University Press: Oxford & New York:

- "Economic Regionalism: The EAEU" (Chapter 10), pp. 179-218;
- "Security Regionalism: the SCO" (Chapter 11), pp. 219-254.

Ambrosio, T. (2017). The Architecture of Alignment: The Russia–China Relationship and International Agreements. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 69(1), 110–156.

https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2016.1273318

Yan H, Sautman B. (2024) China, Ethiopia and the Significance of the Belt and Road Initiative *The China Quarterly*. 257:222-247. doi:10.1017/S0305741023000966

Evron Y. (2019) The Challenge of Implementing the Belt and Road Initiative in the Middle East: Connectivity Projects under Conditions of Limited Political Engagement. *The China Quarterly*. 237:196-216. doi:10.1017/S0305741018001273

Seiwert, E. (2024). China's 'New International Order': The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation in Afghanistan and Syria. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 76(3), 411–432. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2023.2289870

Papageorgiou, M., & Vysotskaya Guedes Vieira, A. (2023). Assessing the Changing Sino–Russian Relationship: A Longitudinal Analysis of Bilateral Cooperation in the Post-Cold War Period. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2023.2276677

Agostinis, G., & Urdinez, F. (2022). The Nexus between Authoritarian and Environmental Regionalism: An Analysis of China's Driving Role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 330–344. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1974887

Tosun, Jale, and Karina Shyrokykh (2022). "Leadership in High-Level Forums on Energy Governance: China and Russia Compared." *Post-Communist Economies* 34, no. 7 847–70. doi:10.1080/14631377.2021.1964742.

Demchuk, A. L., Mišić, M., Obydenkova, A., & Tosun, J. (2022). Environmental conflict management: a comparative cross-cultural perspective of China and Russia. *Post-Communist Economies*, *34*(7), 871–893. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631377.2021.1943915

Week 6/Session 2 June 13 Environmental regionalism.

Competitive environmental regionalism in Eurasia: Diffusion or Mimicking? A Curse or a Blessing?

Environmental regionalism 1: Regional Environmental Governance (REG) and Eurasia Environmental regionalism 2: Diffusion or Mimicking? A Blessing or a Curse?

- -Understand the concept of "regional environmental governance (REG)" and its implication for Eurasia.
- -Consider differences and similarities across various actors of REG (for the list of all REG actors, see Haas 2016).
- -Discuss the nexus of REG and Political Regimes of Nation-States (democracies, autocracies, hybrid regimes, etc.): how and why political regimes matter?
- -Consider and discuss examples of REG between China and Russia (e.g., the concept of authoritarian environmentalism, see Reading 2).
- -Discuss the importance of sustainability and environment of Eurasia (China, Russia, Central Asia, etc.) for the Global Environment of the Planet?
 - (e.g., why should we care of woods fires, deforestation, and clearcutting in Siberia? Why to care about the pollution of rivers and oceans taking place so "far away"? Why the levels

of CO2 in China or Russia are important for the Planet? Is only China responsible for the level of CO2 at a national level?)

-Discuss the major environmental threats in Eurasia and the role of AR/NDROs in REG in Eurasia.

Required readings:

Environmental Regionalism 1: Regional Environmental Governance and Eurasia

Haas, P. (2016). Regional environmental governance. In T. Börzel & T. Risse (Eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism (pp. 430–456). Oxford University Press

Obydenkova (2022) Environmental Regionalism and International Organizations: Implications for Post-Communism. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 293–303. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2022.2044353

Ambrosio, T., et. al. (2022). Sustainable Development Agendas of Regional International Organizations: The European Bank of Reconstruction and Development and the Eurasian Development Bank. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 304–316. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1979412

Environmental regionalism 2: Diffusion or Mimicking? A Blessing or a Curse?

Agostinis, G., & Urdinez, F. (2022). The Nexus between Authoritarian and Environmental Regionalism: An Analysis of China's Driving Role in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 330–344. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1974887

Hall, S. G. F., et. al. (2022). Environmental commitments and rhetoric over the Pandemic crisis: social media and legitimation of the AIIB, the EAEU, and the EU. Post-Communist Economies, 34(5), 577–602. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631377.2021.1954824

Obydenkova, A. (2022). Sustainable Development and Actors of Regional Environmental Governance: Eurasia at the Crossroads. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 436–443. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2022.2109116

Suggested readings:

Hartwell, C. A. (2022). Part of the Problem? The Eurasian Economic Union and Environmental Challenges in the Former Soviet Union. Problems of Post-Communism, 69(4–5), 317–329. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1960173

Buzogány, A. (2022). Natural Allies? External Governance and Environmental Civil Society Organizations in the EU's Eastern Partnership. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 369–379. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.2025404

Gilley, Bruce (2012) "Authoritarian environmentalism and China's response to climate change" *Environmental Politics* Vol. 21, No. 2, March 2012, 287–307

Dubuisson, E. M. (2022). Whose World? Discourses of Protection for Land, Environment, and Natural Resources in Kazakhstan. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 410–422. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1788398

Obydenkova, Anastassia, Vinícius G. Rodrigues Vieira, and Jale Tosun (2022). "The Impact of New Actors in Global Environmental Politics: The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Meets China." *Post-Communist Economies* 34, no. 5, 603–23. doi:10.1080/14631377.2021.1954825.

Buzogány, Aron, and Benedetta Cotta (2022). "Post-Accession Backsliding and European Union Environmental Policies." *Post-Communist Economies* 34, no. 5, 647–65. doi:10.1080/14631377.2021.1965361.

Mišić, Mile, and A. Obydenkova (2022). "Environmental Conflict, Renewable Energy, or Both? Public Opinion on Small Hydropower Plants in Serbia." *Post-Communist Economies* 34, no. 5, 684–713. doi:10.1080/14631377.2021.1943928.

Nazarov, Z., & Obydenkova, A. (2022). Environmental Challenges and Political Regime Transition: The Role of Historical Legacies and the European Union in Eurasia. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 69(4–5), 396–409. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1995437

Tosun, Jale, and Karina Shyrokykh (2022) "Leadership in High-Level Forums on Energy Governance: China and Russia Compared." *Post-Communist Economies* 34, no. 7, 847–70. doi:10.1080/14631377.2021.1964742.

Demchuk, A. L., et. al. (2022). Environmental conflict management: a comparative cross-cultural perspective of China and Russia. *Post-Communist Economies*, *34*(7), 871–893. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631377.2021.1943915

Hanaček, K., & Martinez-Alier, J. (2022). Nuclear supply chain and environmental justice struggles in Soviet and Post-Soviet countries. *Post-Communist Economies*, *34*(7), 966–994. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631377.2021.1943917

Week 7/Session 1 June 18

Arctic regionalism: Competing for the North (Meet me in the North! From Rivals to Besties.)

Arctic regionalism 1: Russia and China in the Arctic: Military, Security, & Economic Aspects Arctic regionalism 2: Russia & China: Environmental Governance in the Arctic

- -Reflection of the Arctic environmental agenda in Russia-led Regionalism and European regionalism comparatively.
- -Identify (in)compatibility of goals of European and Russia-led Regional Organizations in the Arctic:
- Consider the importance of membership as "diplomatic clubs" (e.g., the Arctic Council) for negotiation environmental concerns before 02/2022.
- Consider the changes after 02/2022 and various solutions to obstacles emerged after 02/2022.
- -Identify compatible interests (or goals) of different actors acting in the Arctic:

- The NATO & the CSTO in the Arctic;
- European Regional Organizations (e.g., the EU, the EBRD) in the Arctic;
- China-led and Russia-led regional organizations and their (in)compatible goals in the Arctic.

-Discuss global environmental importance of the Arctic for the Planet, current diplomatic and security crisis, and consider various scenarios of solving this crisis (a tip: consider short-term versus long-term solutions).

Required readings:

Arctic Regionalism 1:

Russia and China in the Arctic: Security, Military, and Economic Aspects.

Borozna, Angela (2023) "Russia's Security Perceptions and Arctic Governance" Politics & Governance: https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/7313

Yaohui Wang and Yanhong Ma (2023) "Costly Signaling and China's Strategic Engagement in Arctic Regional Governance" in Politics & Governance:

https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/7222

Obydenkova (2024) "Arctic Regional Governance: Actors and Transformations" Vol 12 in *Politics and Governance*. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.7714. Available here: Arctic Regional Governance: Actors and Transformations | Editorial | Politics and Governance (cogitatiopress.com)

Arctic Regionalism 2: Regional Climate Governance

Wang, Y. (2023) A blessing or a curse? China's Arctic involvement and its environmental policy to prevent further climatic change and pollution. *Climatic Change* **176**, 117 https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-023-03600-6

Hartwell, C.A. (2023) In our (frozen) backyard: the Eurasian Union and regional environmental governance in the Arctic. *Climatic Change* 176, 45. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-023-03491-7

Suggested readings:

About Indigenous People in the Arctic Governance:

Martínez-Alier, Joan, with Ksenija Hanaček (2023) "7: The Arctic, a growing commodity extraction frontier", Chapter's pp. 132–152 in Joan Martínez-Alier (ed.) *Land, Water, Air and Freedom. The Making of World Movements for Environmental Justice* Edward Elgar Publishing, DOI: https://doi.org/10.4337/9781035312771

Vladimirova, V. (2023) Regional environmental governance of protected natural territories in the European North: Russia, Finland, and Norway, and the case of Pasvik-Inari Trilateral Park. *Climatic Change* **176**, 85 (2023). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-023-03559-4

Vladimirova, V. (2023) "Continuous Militarization as a Mode of Governance of Indigenous People in the Russian Arctic" In *Politics and Governance*. Available at: https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/7505

About the Arctic Council:

Lavelle, K. C. (2022). Regime, Climate, and Region in Transition: Russian Participation in the Arctic Council. Problems of Post-Communism, 69(4–5), 345–357. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2021.1994422

Filimonova, N., Obydenkova, A. & Rodrigues Vieira, V.G. (2023) Geopolitical and economic interests in environmental governance: explaining observer state status in the Arctic Council. Climatic Change 176, 50 (2023). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-023-03490-8

Mavisakalyan, A., Otrachshenko, V. & Popova, O. (2023) Does democracy protect the environment? The role of the Arctic Council. *Climatic Change* **176**, 49 (2023). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-023-03511-6

Other suggested readings:

Hanaček, Ksenija, Markus Kröger, Arnim Scheidel, Facundo Rojas, Joan Martinez-Alier (2022) "On thin ice – The Arctic commodity extraction frontier and environmental conflicts", *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 191 (107247), https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2021.107247.

Olav Schram Stokke (2024) "Climate Change and Institutional Resilience in Arctic Environmental Governance", Politics and Governance (): https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/7369

Ch. Gehrke (2024) "Governing Arctic Seals: A Longitudinal Analysis of News and Policy Discourse" in Politics and Governance. Available here:

https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/7304

<u>Special Issue</u> "Arctic Regional Governance: Actors and Transformations" https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/issue/view/377

For overview of all articles published here, feel free to visit Introduction to special issue: https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/7714

<u>Topical Collection</u> "Arctic Environmental Governance: Challenges of Sustainable Development". Climatic Change, Springer:

 $\frac{https://link.springer.com/journal/10584/topicalCollection/AC_161b82d6a14e8b39b157dd17d0f45689/page/1$

Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor 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. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor 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. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor 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. https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: **students.carleton.ca/course-outline**

Plagiarism and the use of AI (e.g., ChatGPT)

The University Senate defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);

- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you.

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: https://carleton.ca/wellness/
- Health & Counselling Services: https://carleton.ca/health/
- Paul Menton Centre: https://carleton.ca/pmc/
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): https://carleton.ca/csas/
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: https://carleton.ca/equity/

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-
- 5550, https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, http://www.crisisline.ca/
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, https://good2talk.ca/
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	С	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	В	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Approval of final grades

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies website is the official course outline.