COURSE OUTLINES

The EU, Russia and China as Regional Powers in Eurasia and the Mediterranean

EURR 4201/5201 (4th year undergraduate and 5th year graduate course)

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

THE EU, RUSSIA AND CHINA AS REGIONAL POWERS IN EURASIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

EURR 4201/5201:

DRAFT COURSE OUTLINE

Instructors: Crina Viju-Miljusevic and Ieva Giedraitytė

Summer Term 2025, Tuesdays and Thursdays 18:05-20:55

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GOALS OF THE COURSE

Can a regional project evolve into a political actor—and, ultimately, a (regional) power? This course explores the EU's transformation from an economic project to a geopolitical force and examines its interactions with Russia and China as competing regional powers in Eurasia and the Mediterranean, focusing on their roles and engagements with each other and other regional states. The primary objective is to analyze the regional orders they pursue and the outcomes they have achieved, examining how these powers shape geopolitical dynamics and influence regional stability and development.

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, video recording, discussion papers and a critical literature review will be required. The student will need to use additional material not covered by required readings to complete the presentations and discussion papers.

REQUIREMENTS

Discussion paper and presentation (x2)	20%
Group presentation (June 17)	20%
Video recording (deadline June 27, 9 PM)	10%
Critical lit review (deadline June 27, 9 PM)	25%

Seminar participation   25%

Discussion paper and presentation (x2): Each student is required to write two short discussion papers, each focusing on a different class session, based on a presentation schedule arranged at the beginning of the term. The first paper must be submitted within the first three weeks of class, by May 22, and the second during the final three weeks of class, by June 17. Each paper will respond to a question provided by one of the instructors, related to that week's readings and topic. These papers are intended to initiate class discussion. Students should be prepared to briefly summarize their key arguments during the class session; however, they should not read the paper aloud, but instead highlight some of its most interesting points. Each paper should be approximately four pages in length (maximum 1000 words, double-spaced, 12-point font), excluding the reference list and footnotes (**for 4th year students, the maximum length if 750 words**). While it is expected that students engage with the required readings, it is not necessary to reference all of them. Papers will be evaluated based on the clarity and strength of the analysis, the quality of the supporting evidence (including engagement with course readings), and the effectiveness of the student's contribution to class discussion. **Each paper must be uploaded to the Brightspace assignment drop box by 9:00 a.m. on the day of the relevant class session.**

Video recording: Please see a separate document posted on Brightspace (connected to the critical literature review)

Critical literature review: Please see a separate document posted on Brightspace

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.

Group presentation: For this assignment, students will work in groups, with each group focusing on one major actor: Russia, China, or the European Union. Each group is expected to prepare a presentation (up to 30 minutes) drawing upon the required readings from the course as well as supplementary readings if necessary. The goal is to offer a critical and comprehensive analysis of their assigned actor's role in Eurasia and the Mediterranean regions. Each presentation will be followed by approximately 30 minutes of class discussion, allowing us to engage deeply with the comparative dimensions of the topic. To guide your research and presentation, please address the following questions:

1. Can Russia, China, and the EU be considered regional powers in Eurasia and the Mediterranean?
   Analyze the extent and nature of their influence within these regions.

2. Which instruments do they primarily rely on to project influence?
   Consider economic tools, military presence, normative/political strategies, and infrastructural investments.
3. Do these actors seek to establish a distinct 'regional order' in Eurasia and/or the Mediterranean?
   If yes: How do their visions of regional order compare? Where do they overlap or diverge?
   If no: What are the defining features of their engagement with these regions?
4. How do their strategies interact with each other?
   Explore whether their approaches tend to clash, coexist, or create hybrid forms of competition and cooperation.
5. What role does the agency and perception of neighboring states play in shaping these powers' regional strategies? *In particular, think about how smaller or local states influence, resist, or reshape the ambitions of larger external actors.*

COURSE STRUCTURE (READINGS MAY BE ADDED OR CHANGED)

Week 1/Session 1 (May 6)
Introduction to the course and organizational matters
Define concepts: region, regional order, regional power, regionalism

Goals: Introduce the main objectives of the course and learning outcomes; Discuss course syllabus/expectations/requirements; Divide presenters per topics; Introduce some important concepts.

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

Week 1/Session 2 (May 8)
Theories of regional power
Regional and global order

Goals: Define the concepts of regions, regionalism and regionalization; hegemony, regional order, integration, agency; define main characteristics of regional power; compare theoretical approaches addressing power hierarchies; regional governance structures.

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

Nolte, D. (2010). "How to compare regional powers: analytical concepts and research topics." *Review of International Studies* 36(4):881-901. doi:10.1017/S026021051000135X

Giedraityte, I. (2023)."Beyond hierarchy: regional orders in the twenty-first century." *International Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-023-00511-2

Mattheis, F. (2021). "How to wield regional power from afar: A conceptual discussion illustrated by the case of France in Central Africa." *International Politics*. https:// doi. org/ 10. 1057/ s41311- 021- 00347-8.

Additional readings:

Wigell, M. (2016). "Conceptualizing regional powers' geoeconomic strategies: neo-imperialism, neo-mercantilism, hegemony, and liberal institutionalism." *Asia Europe Journal* 14: 135–151. https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1007/s10308-015-0442-x

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

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. (2007). "The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics." *World Politics* 59(4):629-652. doi:10.1353/wp.2008.0000.

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.

Text-related questions:

1. Define world order/international order.
2. How relevant is the regional concept for understanding world politics, economy, and the multiplex world order? For which policy challenges are regions better equipped to tackle than the nation-state? For which policy challenges are regional organizations better equipped to tackle than international organizations like the UN?
3. What was the role of the US in shaping the world order post-WWII? Post-Cold war? Post-9/11? Is the US' role declining? Why?
4. How is regional actorness evolving? How do regions talk to their people and shape identities?

5. Can regions be building blocks for stabilizing the global geopolitical system? Will regions be building blocks for a new multilateralism?
6. Can regions be threats or agents of destruction if they are 'closed' or become spheres of influence under regional hegemons?
7. What are the main characteristics of regional orders?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of regional orders?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about regional integration and power dynamics?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as hegemony, regional order, integration, or agency?
4. In what ways do the texts relate to, reinforce, or challenge each other in terms of their portrayal of regional powers/orders?

Week 2/Session 1, May 13
EU as a region: EU integration; theories of European integration

Goals: Identify main actors and factors influencing European integration; Theorize European integration; Identify main economic and political outcomes of European integration; Discuss 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.

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

Additional readings:

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

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

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.

Text-related questions:

1. What defines Europe as a region? Use the concepts defined in the first week.
2. How has Europe developed as a region?
3. What are the main drivers of regionalism in Europe? How are the theories explaining the process?
4. What are the main characteristics of EU's model for regionalism?
5. What is the impact of regionalism in Europe?
6. What are the stress factors facing the European regionalism? What is the impact of these factors on the level of European regionalism? Why?
7. Can we use the European form of regionalism as an example for other regions? Why? Why is it used as a standard model of regionalism?

8. Does the EU want to export its model for regional integration, and in which ways? Give examples.

Critical reading questions:

5. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of the EU's regional role?
6. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about regional integration and power dynamics?
7. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as hegemony, regional order, integration, or agency?
8. In what ways do the texts relate to, reinforce, or challenge each other in terms of their portrayal of EU's strategies and the responses of neighboring states?

Week 2/Session 2, May 15
EU as a regional power in Eurasia: enlargement, European Neighborhood Policy, Eastern Partnership; Central Asia

Goals: 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 regional cooperation; Discuss whether the EU is a proactive or reactive actor in Eurasia.

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.

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

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

Additional 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.

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.

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.

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.

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. 249-258. New York: Routledge.

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.

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

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

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

Text-related questions:

1. For the 2004 enlargement round, in overview, consider the following questions:

- What motivated the candidate states to want to join the EU? Did it differ between the 10?
- What motivated the EU to accept the candidate states? Did it differ between the 10?
- How did geopolitical factors affect the situation?
- Was the process driven more by pragmatic considerations (interest), identity factors, or normative goals, on the part of both the applicant and the EU/EU member states?
- What were the most controversial or problematic aspects of the accession process?

2. Boerzel and Schimmelfennig see the EU as more effective in developing governance capacity than in promoting democracy. What is governance capacity and what explains the EU's relative success there?
3. What did the EU learn from previous accessions that it is applying to the process in the case of the West Balkans? How does this accession process differ from earlier ones?
4. What would be the main motivation for political leaders and populations in the countries of the West Balkans to pursue EU accession? Consider the costs as well as the potential benefits, both the political elites and the public.
5. Is Europeanization successful in the West Balkans? Why? What is the role of Russia in your answer?
6. What are some of the difficulties that Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia face on their road to EU accession?
7. How important is a European identity for the EU and its future? What does the concept of identity mean? Why do some scholars consider it to be very important for Europe? Explain why it might be important or not, using concrete examples.
8. How are the ENP/EaP different from enlargement policy?
9. Define differentiated integration. Where does the ENP fit in the concept and classification of differentiated integration?
10. How are the concepts of governance as defined by Shimmelfennig apply to EU ENP/EaP?
11. Is ENP/EaP an instrument for Europeanization? Is ENP/EaP an instrument for increasing the EU regional power? Explain.
12. Why is the EU interested in developing relations with Central Asia? How is this region different than the rest of the EU Eastern neighbourhood?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of the EU's regional role?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about regional integration and power dynamics?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as hegemony, regional order, integration, or agency?
4. In what ways do the texts relate to, reinforce, or challenge each other in terms of their portrayal of EU's strategies and the responses of neighboring states?

Question to close the block about the EU in Eurasia: Is the EU regional power in Eurasia? Why?

Week 3/Session May 20
Non-democratic regional powers in Eurasia

Goals: Consider the concept of authoritarian regionalism (AR) and non-democratic regional organizations (NDROs); Discuss the differences between the AR/NDRO and European Regionalism; 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

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

Obydenkova, A. and Libman, A. (2019). *Authoritarian Regionalism in the World of International Organizations.* Oxford University Press. Chapter 8, pp. 120-144.

Diesen, G. (2021). "Europe as the Western Peninsula of Greater Eurasia." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 12(1): 19-27. https://doi.org/10.1177/1879366521998240

Additional 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:

- "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.

Hancock, K.J. and Libman, A. (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.

Libman, A., and 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.

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

Text-related questions:

1. What is "authoritarian regionalism (AR)" (also known as NDROs – non-democratic regional organizations"?)
2. Why (and how) did AR emerge?
3. How does AR function? (e.g., In which ways are NDROs different from "traditional" regional organizations (e.g., the EU)?
4. What is the impact of AR? (e.g., How do they matter for their own member states but also for neighboring states?)
5. How political regimes of member-states of regional international organization(s) matter?
6. In which way(s) democracies-composed regional organizations (e.g., the EU) are different from autocracies-led ones?
7. What is the role of historical legacies in Eurasian regionalism? What do you understand by "historical legacy" (**HL**)? What specific examples of HL could you name? Consider various aspects of Post-Communist historical legacies (political, economic trade ties, rhetorical, linguistic, cultural – e.g., foreign trade as a tie, the role of cinematography, TV, etc.)
8. How do these newly emerged international organizations compete (interrelate and interact) with the outside world?
9. How and why do political regimes, economic development, religions and cultures of the nation-states matter in the foundation and development of Russia-led regionalism?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of the NDROs?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about regional integration and power dynamics?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as hegemony, regional order, integration, or agency?

Week 3/Session 2, May 22
China's rise: regional or global power; China in Eurasia

Goals: to introduce the main Chinese initiatives in Eurasia; to assess the main goals of China-led initiatives; to compare China-led and EU-led initiatives in Eurasia.

Kaczmarski, M. (2017). "Non-western visions of regionalism: China's New Silk Road and Russia's Eurasian Economic Union," *International Affairs* 93(6): 1357–1376, https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iix182

Yuan, J. (2023). "Forging a New Security Order in Eurasia: China, the SCO, and the Impacts on Regional Governance." *Chinese Political Science Review* 8: 422–439. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41111-022-00223-7

Qoraboyev, I. and Moldashev, K. (2018). "The Belt and Road Initiative and Comprehensive Regionalism in Central Asia." in Mayer, M. (ed) *Rethinking the Silk Road. China's Belt and Road Initiative and Emerging Eurasian Relations.* Palgrave MacMillan. pp. 115-131. https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-981-10-5915-5.

Additional readings:

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

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

Zhang, C. (2018). "Revitalising the Silk Road. China's Belt and Road Initiative." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70(3): 496–97. doi:10.1080/09668136.2018.1455445.

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

Agostinis, G., and 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

Text-related questions:

1. What do the SCO, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), Belt and Road Initiative (B&RI) have in common?
2. In which ways are they different? (consider origins, nature of member-states, goals, and impacts).
3. Which organizations led by China matter for Russia-led regionalism and how do they matter?
4. What goals China attempts to reach through these organizations?

5. Consider Russia-China regionalism: are they allies or competitors? Why?
6. How is the impact of the SCO comparable to the impact of the EU on its member-states and Eurasia? What are the differences and similarities in terms of the impact and consequences of the membership (if any)?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of China's regional role?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about regional integration and power dynamics?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as hegemony, regional order, integration, or agency?
4. In what ways do the texts relate to, reinforce, or challenge each other in terms of their portrayal of China's strategies and the responses of neighboring states?

Question to close the block about China in Eurasia: Is China regional power in Eurasia? Why?

Week 4/Session 1, May 27
Russia as a regional and global power/ EU - Russia relations

Goal: to present the conceptual debate about Russian powerhood, the internal factors shaping Russian perceptions of regional and global order and its relations with the EU

Readings

Freire, M. R. (2019). "The Quest for Status: How the Interplay of Power, Ideas, and Regime Security Shapes Russia's Policy in the Post-Soviet Space." *International Politics* 56(6): 795–809. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-018-0164-y.

Haukkala, H. (2015). "From Cooperative to Contested Europe? The Conflict in Ukraine as a Culmination of a Long-Term Crisis in EU–Russia Relations." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 23(1): 25–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2014.1001822.

Kapoor, N. (2021). "Russia Resurrected: Its Power and Purpose in a New Global Order." *International Affairs* 97(6): 2009–2011. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiab186.

Additional readings:

Browning, C. S. (2018). "Geostrategies, Geopolitics and Ontological Security in the Eastern Neighbourhood: The European Union and the 'New Cold War.'" *Political Geography* 62: 106–115. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.10.009.

Götz, E. and Merlen, C.-R. (2019). "Russia and the Question of World Order." *European Politics and Society* 20(2): 133–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/23745118.2018.1545181.

Miskimmon, A. and O'Loughlin, B. (2017). "Russia's Narratives of Global Order: Great Power Legacies in a Polycentric World." *Politics and Governance* 5(3): 111–120. https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v5i3.1017.

Questions to be covered:

Topic-related questions:

1. How does Russia define its role in a multipolar world?

2. In your opinion, is Russia primarily a regional power, a global power, or both?

3. How do Russia's historical experiences and regime type shape its foreign policy?

4. How do Russia's self-perceptions and identity narratives shape its interactions with the EU?

5. In your opinion, are EU-Russia tensions structural (inevitable) or contingent (based on poor policy or miscommunication)?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' arguments?
2. What methodologies do the authors use, and how do these affect the types of claims they make?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as power, order, or regionalism?
4. In what ways do the texts relate to, complement, or contradict each other in terms of argument, theory, or evidence?
5. How do the texts explain Russia's status as a regional or global power, and what kinds of evidence do they use to support their views?

Week 4/Session 2, May 29
Russia and its neighbourhood

Goal: to present Russian regional projects in its neighborhoods, examine how Russia's global considerations affect them, explore how Russia competes with the EU in these areas, and analyze how Russia's neighbors perceive this 'dual' hegemony of both Russia and the EU.

Readings:

Burmester, I. (2024). "Bringing Agency Back in: Neighbourhood Countries' Perceptions of Their Hegemonic Power Relation with the EU and Russia." *European Security* 33(4): 615–643. https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2024.2390536.

Busygina, I. and Filippov, M. (2021). "Russia, Post-Soviet Integration, and the EAEU: The Balance between Domination and Cooperation." *Problems of Post-Communism* 68(6): 477–486. https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1803755.

Götz, E. (2022). "Near Abroad: Russia's Role in Post-Soviet Eurasia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74(9): 1529–1550. https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2022.2133086.

Additional readings:

Bossuyt, Fabienne, Louise Amoris, and Mykola Riabchuk. 2024. "The Subaltern Strikes Back, or How Ukraine Is Claiming Agency from Russia and the European Union." *European Security* 33 (4): 644–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2024.2410011.

Kurnyshova, Yuliia. 2024. "Securitisation and Its Extensions: A Framework for Analysis of Russia's War on Ukraine." *European Security* 33 (4): 576–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2024.2366864.

Kakabadze, Shota. 2020. "The East in the West: South Caucasus Between Russia and the European Union." *Polity* 52 (2): 273–87. https://doi.org/10.1086/708183.

Text-related questions:

1. How do Russian visions of global and regional order affect its relations with neighbouring states?
2. What kinds of regional order and integration processes does Russia promote in its neighborhood?
3. How do the three texts differ in their assessments of Russia's intentions toward its neighbors?
4. How do neighbouring countries perceive Russia's role and behavior in the region?
5. What tensions exist between Russia's institutional integration efforts (e.g., the EAEU) and its informal mechanisms of power projection?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of Russia's regional role?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about regional integration and power dynamics?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as hegemony, regional order, integration, or agency?

4. In what ways do the texts relate to, reinforce, or challenge each other in terms of their portrayal of Russia's strategies and the responses of neighboring states?

Question to close the block about Russia: Is Russia regional power in Eurasia? Why?

Week 5/Session 1, June 3
EU as a regional power in the Mediterranean region

Goal: to discuss EU's engagement in the Mediterranean - its history and key features (colonial legacy, hegemony, imperialism, soft-power, asymmetry)

Readings:

Del Sarto, R. A. (2021). "Conceptualizing relations between Europe and the Mediterranean Middle East," in Del Sarto, R. A. (ed.) *Borderlands: Europe and the Mediterranean Middle East*, 1st ed., pp. 11–35. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198833550.001.0001.

Cebeci, M. and Schumacher, T. (2017). "The EU's Constructions of the Mediterranean (2003–2017)." *Medreset Working Paper* 17. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/144788545.pdf.

Dandashly, A. and Kourtelis, C. (2020). "Classifying the Implementation of the EU's Normative Power in Its Southern Neighbourhood: The Role of Local Actors." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 58(6): 1523–1539. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13051.

Additional readings:

Aghrout, A. (2019). *From Preferential Status to Partnership: The Euro - Maghreb Relationship*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Attinà, F. (2003). "The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Assessed: The Realist and Liberal Views." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 8(2): 181–199. https://doi.org/10.54648/EERR2003012.

Behr, H. and Stivachtis, Y. A. (eds.) (2015). *Revisiting the European Union as Empire*, 1st ed. Abingdon: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315745411.

Bensaâd, A. (2011). "Maghreb, a Subordinate Globalization." *Méditerranée* 116: 9–13. https://doi.org/10.4000/mediterranee.5510.

Bicchi, F. (2006). "'Our Size Fits All': Normative Power Europe and the Mediterranean." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(2): 286–303. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760500451733.

Buehler, M., Fabbe, K. E., and Kyrkopoulou, E. (2022). "Thy Neighbor's Gendarme? How Citizens of Buffer States in North Africa View EU Border Security Externalization." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, published online February 2022: 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2022.2037035.

Christiansen, T., Petito, F., and Tonra, B. (2000). "Fuzzy Politics Around Fuzzy Borders: The European Union's 'Near Abroad'." *Cooperation and Conflict* 35(4): 389–415. https://doi.org/10.1177/00108360021962183.

Costalli, S. (2009). "Power over the Sea: The Relevance of Neoclassical Realism to Euro-Mediterranean Relations." *Mediterranean Politics* 14(3): 323–342. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629390903346814.

Dandashly, A. (2018). "EU Democracy Promotion and the Dominance of the Security–Stability Nexus." *Mediterranean Politics* 23(1): 62–82. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2017.1358900.

El Karoui, H. (2021). "Stability in the Maghreb: An Imperative for Europe." *Institut Montaigne*. https://www.institutmontaigne.org/ressources/pdfs/publications/stability-maghreb-imperative-europe-report_0.pdf.

Florensa, S. (2015). "The Euromed Dream in the New Hobbesian International Wilderness." *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook 2015*. https://www.iemed.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/The-Euromed-Dream-in-the-New-Hobbessian-International-Wilderness.pdf.

Khader, B. (2015). "Europe and the Maghreb 1957–2015." *Rivista Di Studi Politici Internazionali* 82(2): 189–216.

Langan, M. and Price, S. (2020). "Imperialisms Past and Present in EU Economic Relations with North Africa: Assessing the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreements." *Interventions* 22(6): 703–721. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1718540.

Mirel, P. (2022). "The European Union's Declining Influence in the South." *The Robert Schuman Foundation*. https://www.robert-schuman.eu/en/european-issues/0642-the-european-union-s-declining-influence-in-the-south.

Pace, M. and Roccu, R. (2020). "Imperial Pasts in the EU's Approach to the Mediterranean." *Interventions* 22(6): 671–685. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1749702.

Pace, M., Seeberg, P., and Cavatorta, F. (2009). "The EU's Democratization Agenda in the Mediterranean: A Critical inside-out Approach." *Democratization* 16(1): 3–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340802575783.

Pace, M. (2009). "Paradoxes and Contradictions in EU Democracy Promotion in the Mediterranean: The Limits of EU Normative Power." *Democratization* 16(1): 39–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340802575809.

Philippart, E. (2003). "The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Critical Evaluation of an Ambitious Scheme." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 8(2): 201–220.

Rudloff, B. and Werenfels, I. (2018). "EU-Tunisia DCFTA: Good Intentions Not Enough." *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*. https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/eu-tunisia-dcfta-good-intentions-not-enough.

Schumacher, T. and Del Sarto, R. A. (2005). "From EMP to ENP: What's at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean?" *European Foreign Affairs Review* 10(1): 17–38. https://doi.org/10.54648/EERR2005002.

Soler i Lecha, E. (2020). "The Maghreb and the European Bid for Africa." *CIDOB Notes Internacionals* 228 (March). https://www.cidob.org/en/publications/publication_series/notes_internacionals/n1_228/the_maghreb_and_the_european_bid_for_africa.

Text-related questions:

1. How do the texts conceptualize the Mediterranean as a political, security, and socio-cultural periphery of Europe?
2. In what ways have colonial legacies and historical asymmetries shaped the EU's strategies and self-perception in its engagement with the Mediterranean?
3. What discourses and narratives has the EU constructed about the Mediterranean, and how do these narratives reflect security, development, or civilizational logics?
4. How do local actors in the Mediterranean region engage with, adapt to, or resist the EU's normative frameworks and initiatives?
5. To what extent do the texts highlight tensions between the EU's normative claims (e.g., partnership, cooperation) and the structural realities of asymmetry, contestation, and limited local ownership?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of EU–Mediterranean relations?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about regional dynamics?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as soft power, hegemony, asymmetry, or post-colonialism?

4. In what ways do the texts relate to, complement, or contradict each other in terms of their portrayal of the EU's role and neighboring agency?
5. How do the texts explain the interaction between EU regional initiatives and the perceptions or strategies of Mediterranean partner countries?

Week 5/Session 2, June 5

Is the EU a power (if yes, regional or global)?
Goal: To discuss whether the EU can be considered a regional power, a global power, or a power in general.

Readings:

Simão, L. (2022). "Unpacking the EU's International Actorness: Debates, Theories and Concepts," in Freire, M. R., Lopes, P. D., Nascimento, D., and Simão, L. (eds.) *EU Global Actorness in a World of Contested Leadership*, pp. 13–32. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-92997-8_2.

Diez, T. (2021). "The EU in a Changing World Order: In Defence of Normative Power 2.0." *Marmara Üniversitesi Avrupa Topluluğu Enstitüsü Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1(1): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.29228/mjes.412.

Haroche, P. (2024). "Geoeconomic Power Europe: When Global Power Competition Drives EU Integration." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 62(4): 938–954. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13596.

Additional readings:

Barbé, E. and Johansson-Nogués, E. (2008). "The EU as a Modest 'Force for Good': The European Neighbourhood Policy." I*nternational Affairs* 84(1): 81–96. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2008.00690.x.

Tocci, N. (2008). The EU and Conflict Resolution: Promoting Peace in the Backyard. Transferred to digital print. *Routledge UACES Contemporary European Studie*s 1. London: Routledge.

Venturi, B. and Colombo, S. (2021). "Rethinking EU Leadership in the 'Neighbourhood': Limits and Ambitions." *IAI Commentaries*. Rome: Istituto Affari Internazionali. https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/iaicom2101.pdf.

Zielonka, J. (2008). "Europe as a Global Actor: Empire by Example?" *International Affairs* 84(3): 471–484. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2008.00718.x.

Text-related questions:

1. How do the texts conceptualize the EU's international actorness, and what conditions are necessary for the EU to be recognized as a global or regional power?
2. In what ways does Diez defend the idea of the EU as a normative power in a changing world order, and how does he respond to critiques of the normative power model?
3. How does Haroche's concept of "geoeconomic power" challenge or complement traditional views of the EU's role as a normative actor?
4. What tensions exist between the EU's self-perception as a normative power and its evolving strategies in response to global power competition?
5. How do the texts assess the EU's capacity to act independently on the global stage, especially in relation to emerging multipolar dynamics involving the US, China, and Russia?

Critical reading questions:

1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of the EU's power status?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about the EU's role in global and regional politics?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as actorness, normative power, and geoeconomic power?
4. In what ways do the texts relate to, complement, or contradict each other in terms of their portrayal of the EU's international ambitions and capabilities?
5. How do the texts explain the EU's strengths and limitations as an independent global actor in a context of intensifying great power competition?

Week 6/Session 1, June 10
Russia and China's roles in the Mediterranean region
Goal: To analyze how China and Russia engage with Mediterranean states, how their involvement reflects their broader regional strategies, and whether they can be regarded as powers within the region.

Readings:

Bastian, J. (2022). "The Dragon Reaches the Eastern Mediterranean: Why the Region Matters to China." *Comparative Southeast European Studies* 70(3): 486–515. https://doi.org/10.1515/soeu-2021-0079.

Shlykov, P. and Koldunova, E. (2023). "Russia and China in the Eastern Mediterranean: On Parallel Tracks?" *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 25(1): 48–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2022.2129319.

Gasimov, Z. (2022). "Russia under Putin in the Eastern Mediterranean: The Soviet Legacy, Flexibility, and New Dynamics." *Comparative Southeast European Studies* 70(3): 462–485. https://doi.org/10.1515/soeu-2021-0061.

Additional readings:

Pritchett, J. (2021). "Less Than a Full Deck: Russia's Economic Influence in the Mediterranean." *The Return of Global Russia*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://carnegie-production-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/static/files/Pritchett%20RussiaMed_Econ_final.pdf.

Rumer, E. and Sokolsky, R. (2021). "Russia in the Mediterranean: Here to Stay." *The Return of Global Russia*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. https://carnegie-production-assets.s3.amazonaws.com/static/files/Rumer_Sokolsky_Russia_in_the_Med_1.pdf.

Saini Fasanoti, F. (2024). "The Russian Strategy in the Mediterranean." *GIS Report*. https://www.gisreportsonline.com/r/russia-mediterranean/.

Stahl, A. K. (2023). "China's Expanding Footprint in North Africa and the European Union's Geopolitical Awakening." *Mediterranean Politics* 28(5): 834–859. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2022.2035140.

Zhang, C. and Xiao, C. (2023). "China's Infrastructure Diplomacy in the Mediterranean Region under the Belt and Road Initiative: Challenges Ahead?" *Mediterranean Politics* 28(5): 704–728. https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2022.2035135.

Text- related questions:
1. What strategic interests drive China's and Russia's engagement with Mediterranean states, and how do these interests differ or overlap?
2. How does Russia's current Mediterranean policy draw on Soviet-era legacies, and what new dynamics have emerged under Putin's leadership?
3. According to Bastian and Shlykov & Koldunova, what instruments (economic, military, political) are most significant for China's regional strategy in the Mediterranean?
4. How do the texts assess the degree of cooperation or competition between Russia and China in the Mediterranean?
5. To what extent do the texts suggest that Russia and/or China can be considered (regional) powers in the Mediterranean based on their influence and engagement patterns?

Critical reading questions:
1. What are the main theoretical approaches used across the texts, and how do these shape the authors' interpretations of Russia's and China's regional strategies?
2. What methodologies do the authors employ, and how do these influence the kinds of claims they make about power projection and regional engagement?
3. How do the texts define and operationalize key concepts such as regional power, strategic engagement, and influence?
4. In what ways do the texts relate to, complement, or contradict each other in their portrayal of Russian and Chinese ambitions and activities in the Mediterranean?
5. How do the texts assess the strengths and limitations of Russia's and China's roles in the Mediterranean compared to traditional regional actors like the EU or the US?

Week 6/Session 2, June 12
Comparison of the EU, Russia and China approaches in Eurasia and Mediterranean regions

Group presentations

Week 7/Session 1, June 17
Current developments: How is the US foreign policy affecting the regional actors?

Readings to be added at a later date.

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

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	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	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.