CARLETON UNIVERSITY

Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies
EURR 5107/4107

RUSSIA'S REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS

Mondays 6:05 PM - 8:55 PM

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Office hours (online): TBA

This course is currently offered in the synchronous online format (virtual seminars).

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The course reviews the past thirty years of Russian foreign policy and explores internal and external factors that influenced and, in some instances, determined the course of actions of the Russian government as well as changes they imposed on the international arena. Looking retrospectively, it is quite safe to state that during this period Russia has made a rather critical turn in its foreign policy from a full-fledged cooperation to a completely frank confrontation with the West, culminating in the ongoing open military conflict in Ukraine in 2022.

The seminar is aimed to engage participants into the critical (re-) assessment of the key foreign policy events. To facilitate the discussion, the course is conceptually organized around main themes: (1) a historic overview of key milestones of the post-Soviet foreign policy in Russia, explaining causes of change, (2) the focus on Russia's relations with key players on the international arena (divided in three vectors - European, Transatlantic and Eurasian), and (3) in-depth and thorough critical study the main event - Russian-Ukrainian 2022-… War ("special military operation").

READINGS:

(!!!) Due to the very vibrant political context, assigned readings change. Please refer to the course's content on BrightSpace.

For each session, most readings are comprised of articles in academic periodicals. Due to the nature of such publications, most of them are not intended to provide a broad overview of the issue, hence it is expected for the reader to be factually knowledgeable about the subject matter. A comprehensive outlook on modern history of international affairs in Eurasia can be found in:

• Andrei P. Tsygankov (2019). Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity. 5th edition. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. (The monograph available online through MacOdrum Library, or can be purchased in any major online bookstore.)

Practical guides on how to prepare assignments (briefing notes and an analytical report) will be posted on *Brightspace*. For a more comprehensive outlook, the students are recommended to read the monograph by:

• Ted Glenn (2014) *Professional communications in the public sector: a practical guide*, Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, paying particular attention to Chapters 4, 5, and 7.

Additional complementary readings and video materials may be posted on Brightspace.

EVALUATION	4107	5107
- Participation¹	15%	10%
- Regional news briefs ²	35%	
- Theme presentation ³	20%	20%
- Briefing notes ⁴	30%	30%
- Policy Analysis Paper ⁵		40%

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¹ Note that attendance is considered only as the prerequisite for the participation mark for the course. Students are expected to do the weekly readings and participate on a regular and constructive basis in the weekly discussions.

² Students in the **EURR 4107 stream** are expected to prepare 7 brief news digests (max. 1,5 pp. long) (5% each) that contain summary of the most critical news stories, related to Russian foreign and domestic politics.

³ All students must prepare 1 in-class presentation on the particular topic

⁴ Short (max. 2 single-spaced pp.) practical notes, replicating the style and contents of a real briefing note, summarizing the current state of play, identifying key actors and processes that influence the developments in the subject matter, as well as proposing possible situations and most desirable course of actions.

The paper should be 3500-4500 words (or 12-16 double-sized pp. *excl.* bibliography and annexes) and provide a comprehensive and critical overview of a problem or topic. Students are free to choose any issue that is thematically concordant with the overall theme of the course. The paper should provide an overview of the problem, outline key stakeholders involved and resources used, develop the main and alternative hypothesis, depicting its causes and explain how the problem influences and will influence actions of key international actors.

ASSIGNMENTS & DUE DATES

Date	Assignment
1. September 19, 2020	- News Brief #1 (EURR 4107 only)
2. September 26, 2020	- News Brief #2 (EURR 4107 only)
3. October 3, 2020	- News Brief #3 (EURR 4107 only)
4. October 17, 2020	- Policy Brief #1 (EURR 4107/5107)
5. October 31, 2022	- News Brief #4 (EURR 4107 only)
6. November 7, 2022	- Policy Brief #2 (EURR 4107/5107)
7. November 14, 2022	- News Brief #5 (EURR 4107 only)
8. November 21, 2022	- News Brief #6 (EURR 4107 only)
9. November 28, 2022	- Policy Brief #3 (EURR 4107/5107)
10. December 5, 2022	- News Brief #7 (EURR 4107 only)
	- Policy Analysis Paper (EURR 5107 only)

SCHEDULE

Readings may be updated to reflect most recent developments under existing vibrant circumstances.

Readings with (*) symbol are supplementary for students in EURR 4107 stream

1. (September 12) Introduction: Russia in the World Politics: historic roots, Soviet era legacies, post-Soviet realities

- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2019) Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity. 5th ed. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapter 1.
- Lukin, Alexander (2020) "Russia and the Changing World Order: In Search of Multipolarity", in Diesen, G. & Lukin, A. (eds.) Russia in a Changing World, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 39-69. (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library).
- Frear, Matthew & Mazepus, Honorata (2021) "Security, Civilisation and Modernisation: Continuity and Change in the Russian Foreign Policy Discourse", Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 73, Issue 7, pp. 1215-1235.
- (*) Bordachev, Timofei (2018). "Greater Eurasia and Russian Foreign Policy Priorities." Asian Politics & Policy, Vol.10, Issue 4
- (*) Gunitsky, Seva & Tsygankov, Andrei, (2018) "The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 65, Issue 6.

2. (September 19) Russian foreign policy agenda in the 1990s: from cooperation to confrontation

- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2019). *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity.* 5th ed. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapters 2-3.
- Lukyanov, Fyodor (2020). "Prefabricated World Order and Its Decline in Twenty-First Century" in Diesen, G. & Lukin, A. (eds.) *Russia in a Changing World,* Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 23-38. (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)
- (*) Kubicek, Paul (1999). "Russian Foreign Policy and the West." *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 114, No. 4, pp. 547-568.
- (*) Lynch, Allen C. (2001). "The Realism of Russia's Foreign Policy". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 53, Issue 1. pp. 7-31
- (*) Ambrosio, Thomas (2001). "Russia's quest for multipolarity: A response to US foreign policy in the post cold war era". *European Security*, Vol. 10, Issue 1, pp. 45-67
- 3. (September, 26) Russia and the West: Foreign policy on the edge of millennia. Yugoslavia, Kosovo and the post 9/11 global agenda. The dynamic of Russia-US relations in the 2000s.
 - Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2001). "The final triumph of the Pax Americana? Western intervention in Yugoslavia and Russia's debate on the post-Cold War order". Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 34 (2), pp. 133-156
 - Roberts, Adam (1999). "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo". Survival: Global Politics and Strategy, Vol. 41 (3), pp. 102-123.
 - O'Loughlin, John; O'Tuathail, Gearo'id & Kolossov, Vladimir (2004). "A 'Risky Westward Turn'? Putin's 9-11 Script and Ordinary Russians". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 56, Issue 1, pp. 3-34
 - Forsberg, Tuomas & Herd, Graeme (2015). "Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunities to Closed Doors". *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Vol. 23, Issue 1, pp. 41-57
 - Welch Larson, Deborah; Shevchenko, Alexei. (2014). "Russia says no: Power, status, and emotions in foreign policy" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 47, Issues 3 4, pp. 269-279.
- 4. (October 3) Russian foreign economic ties: the 'pipeline politics' in Eurasia (including Russian-Ukrainian gas disputes and energy security in Europe)

- Kurdin, Alexander (2020). "Energy in World Politics" in Diesen, G. & Lukin, A. (eds.) Russia in a Changing World, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 143-159. (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)
- Van de Graaf, Thijs and Colgan, Jeff D. (2017). "Russian gas games or well-oiled conflict? Energy security and the 2014 Ukraine crisis." *Energy Research & Social Science*, Vol. 24, pp. 59-64.
- Romanova, Tatiana (2016). "Is Russian Energy Policy towards the EU Only about Geopolitics? The Case of the Third Liberalisation Package" *Geopolitics*, Vol. 21, Issue 4, pp. 857-879.
- Sharples, Jack D. (2016). "The Shifting Geopolitics of Russia's Natural Gas Exports and Their Impact on EU-Russia Gas Relations." *Geopolitics,* Vol. 21, Issue 4, pp. 880-912.

5. (October 17) Russia and Europe beyond energy

- Foxal, Andrew (2019). "From Evropa to Gayropa: A Critical Geopolitics of the European Union as Seen from Russia." *Geopolitics.* Vol. 24, Issue 1, pp. 174-193.
- Korosteleva, Elena (2015) "EU-Russia relations in the context of the eastern neighbourhood." Bertelsmann Stiftung policy paper. (PDF)
- Romanova, Tatiana A. (2022) "Breakdown of EU-Russia Transnational Ties: Causes and Consequences" Russia in Global Affairs, 2022, Vol. #3 (PDF)
- Delcour, Laure (2021) "From a 'Common' to a 'Contested' Neighbourhood: Connecting Levels of Analysis in EU-Russia Interaction" in Romanova, T., Maxine, D. (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of EU-Russian relations: structures, actors, issues.* (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)
- Connolly, Richard and Deák András (2021) "Russia-EU Economic Relations: From moderate pull to normative push?" in Romanova, T., Maxine, D. (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of EU-Russian relations: structures, actors, issues.* (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)

6. (October 31) Russia and the East: Sino-Russian relations

- Ambrosio, Thomas (2017) "The Architecture of Alignment: The Russia China Relationship and International Agreements." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 69, Issue 1, pp. 110-156.
- Alimov, Rashid (2019). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: Its role and place in the development of Eurasia." *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol 9, Issue 2, pp. 114-124
- Wishnick, Elizabeth (2017). "In search of the 'Other' in Asia: Russia-China relations revisited", *The Pacific Review*, Volume 30, 2017 Issue 1
- Samokhvalov, Vsevolod (2018). "Russia and its shared neighbourhoods: a comparative analysis of Russia-EU and Russia-China relations in the EU's Eastern

neighbourhood and Central Asia" *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 24, 2018 - Issue 1, pp. 30-15

7. (November 7) Russia and the former Soviet Union states.

- Korosteleva, Elena (2016). "Eastern Partnership and the Eurasian Union: bringing 'the political' back in the eastern region". *European Politics and Society*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, pp. 67-81
- Podadera Rivera, Pablo; Garashchuk, Anna (2016). "The Eurasian Economic Union: prospective regional integration in the post-Soviet space or just geopolitical project?" *Eastern Journal Of European Studies*, Vol. 7, Issue 2, pp. 91-110
- Cadier, David (2014). "Eastern partnership vs. Eurasian Union? The EU-Russia competition in the shared neighbourhood and the Ukraine crisis". *Global Policy*, Vol. 5, Issue 1, pp. 76-85.
- Kolstø, Pål (2021) "Authoritarian Diffusion, or the Geopolitics of Self-Interest? Evidence from Russia's Patron-Client Relations with Eurasia's De Facto States", Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 73 Issue 5, pp. 890-912.
- Ellison, Brian J. (2011). "Russian Grand Strategy in the South Ossetia War." Demokratizatsyia, Vol.19, Issue 4, pp. 343-366. (PDF)
- Boesen, Henrik; Lindbo Larsen (2012). "The Russo-Georgian war and beyond: towards a European great power concert". European Security, Vol. 21, Issue 1, pp. 102-121.
- Abushov, Kavus (2019). "Russian foreign policy towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: prudent geopolitics, incapacity or identity?" East European Politics, Vol. 35, Issue 1, pp. 72-92.

8. (November 14) Russia-US and Russia-NATO relations in 2010s: Hybrid and Cyber warfare

- Pieper, Moritz (2019). "'Rising Power' Status and the Evolution of International Order: Conceptualising Russia's Syria Policies." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.71, Issue 3, pp. 365-387.
- Trenin, Dmitri. "Avoiding US-Russia military escalation during the hybrid war." Carnegie Moscow Centre 25 (2018).
- Jensen, Benjamin et.al. (2019). "Fancy bears and digital trolls: Cyber strategy with a Russian twist." *Journal of Strategic Studies.* Vol. 42, Issue 2, pp. 212-234.
- Aro, Jessikka (2016). "The cyberspace war: propaganda and trolling as warfare tools" *European View*, Vol. 15, Issue 1, pp. 121 132
- Shuya, Mason (2018). "Russian Cyber Aggression and the New Cold War." *Journal of Strategic Security.* Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 1-18.

- (optional) Pynnöniemi, Katri, and Minna Jokela. "Perceptions of hybrid war in Russia: Means, targets and objectives identified in the Russian debate." Cambridge Review of International Affairs 33.6 (2020): 828-845.
- (optional) Kofman, Michael, and Matthew Rojansky. "What kind of victory for Russia in Syria?." Military Review 24.2 (2018): 6-23.
- (optional) Marten, Kimberly (2015) "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria". *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 62, Issue 2, pp. 71-87
- (optional) Banasik, Mirosław (2016). "Russia's hybrid war in theory and practice." Journal of Baltic Security. Vol. 2, Issue 1, pp. 157-182.

9. (November 21) Special focus vol. 1 - Russia and Ukraine: The beginning.

- Shyrokykh, Karina (2018). "The Evolution of the Foreign Policy of Ukraine: External Actors and Domestic Factors", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 70, Issue 5, pp. 832-850.
- Smyth, Regina. "Considering the Orange legacy: patterns of political participation in the Euromaidan Revolution." Post-Soviet Affairs 34.5 (2018): 297-316.
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2015). "Vladimir Putin's last stand: the sources of Russia's Ukraine policy." *Post-Soviet Affairs.* Vol. 31, Issue 4, pp. 279-303
- Khodunov, Alexander (2022). "The Orange Revolution in Ukraine." in Goldstone, J., Grinin, L., Korotayev, A. (eds.) *Handbook of Revolutions in the 21st Century,* Cham: Springer International Publishing AG

10. (November 28) Special focus vol. 2. - Euromaidan, Crimea annexation and War in Eastern Ukraine

- Maria Popova (2014). "Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 61, Issue 6, pp. 64-70.
- Götz, Elias (2016). "Russia, the West, and the Ukraine crisis: three contending perspectives" *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 22, Issue 3, pp. 249-266
- Rotaru, Vasile; Troncotă, Miruna (2017). "Continuity and change in instrumentalizing 'The Precedent'. How Russia uses Kosovo to legitimize the annexation of Crimea." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 17, Issue 3, pp. 325-345.
- Matveeva, Anna (2018). "Russia's Power Projection after the Ukraine Crisis." Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 70, Issue 5, pp. 711-737
- Svoboda, Karel (2019) "On the Road to Maidan: Russia's Economic Statecraft Towards Ukraine in 2013" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 71 Issue 10, pp. 1685-1704.

- Núñez, Jorge Emilio (2017). "A Solution to the Crimean Crisis: Egalitarian Shared Sovereignty Applied to Russia, Ukraine and Crimea". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 69, Issue 8, pp. 1163-1183
- (optional) Hopf, Ted (2016). "'Crimea is ours': A discursive history." *International Relations,* Vol. 30, Issue 2, pp. 227-255.

11. (December 5) Special focus vol. 3 - The 2022 War

- van Bergeijk, Peter A.G. (2022) "Sanctions Against the Russian War on Ukraine: Lessons from History and Current Prospects" *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 56, Issue 4, pp. 571 - 586
- Paul M. Silva II & Zachary Selden (2020). "Economic interdependence and economic sanctions: a case study of European Union sanctions on Russia." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 33, Issue 2, Pp. 229-251
- Laruelle, Marlene (2022). "Russia expert: West needs to self-reflect on its own responsibility in Ukraine war" (PDF)
- (optional) Korhonen, Iikka (2019). "Sanctions and counter-sanctions What are their economic effects in Russia and elsewhere?" BOFIT Policy Brief. (PDF)

LATE PAPERS:

Papers are expected to be submitted on time, to facilitate prompt marking for your fellow students. Extensions for written assignments will be considered only for family emergencies and for documented medical reasons. Marks will be deducted for lateness. Submission of assignments after the deadline indicated in this course outline will result in a deduction of one letter grade per every day past after the deadline. Please submit papers according to the instructions specified for that assignment. Once term assignments are graded, students may collect their completed papers during the instructor's scheduled office hours, or by providing a stamped, self-addressed envelope in which the assignment may be returned by mail.

PLAGIARISM

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific
 or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic
 assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts 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 can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

Statement on 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. Here is a list that may be helpful:

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

Statement on Pandemic Measures

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are <u>a number of actions you can take</u> to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you're sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton's symptom reporting-protocols.

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in cuScreen as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the University's COVID-19 website and review the Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

Requests for Academic Accommodations

Please include the following text, provided by Equity and Inclusive Communities, on all course outlines, and read it at the beginning of your first few classes to remind students. For details, see the <u>accommodations section</u> and the <u>Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations</u>.

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: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to

exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form (click here).

Religious obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details <u>click here</u>.

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first inclass scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

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 where 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: https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services

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 will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf