

EURR 5205
The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours
Instructor: Prof. Joan DeBardeleben
Winter Term 2014, Tuesdays 11:30-2:30

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GOALS OF THE COURSE

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

The course will draw attention to the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy and Eastern Partnership policy and the Russia-EU 'strategic partnership' as well as policies and reactions of non-EU East European countries (including Russia) toward the EU.

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

The course will be run seminar style. Therefore students play an active role in the life of the class. Completion of course readings, participation in class discussions, class presentations, and a course paper will be required. In most class sessions, a student presentation will introduce discussion topics.

Requirements:

- 1. Reaction papers:** Each student is required to write reaction papers for 2 of the first 9 class sessions. Each paper is about five pages in length (double-spaced, 12 point font). Page limits

should not be exceeded by a significant degree (i.e., no more than 6 pages total). Each paper will involve analytical reflections (rather than summaries) on the course readings for the week concerned. The paper should demonstrate familiarity with the course readings for the week and also include the student's own reflections on the topic and reactions to the readings. Discussion questions will be provided the previous week for most weeks, so students may use one or more of the discussion questions as a launching pad for the reaction paper. However, responses need not be limited to these questions. Each reaction paper is due at noon on Monday before the relevant class session and may be sent to me by email. Students are expected to present portions of their thoughts from the papers in class. Students may not do a reaction paper for the same week as Oral Presentation One (see below).

Students may replace their lowest marks with additional reaction papers. A bibliography of works cited should be included, and in-text citations should be used for direct quotes or specific references to the readings. It is not expected that you include readings beyond the required readings for the week, but optional readings may be included if desired. The reaction papers should NOT be summaries of readings.

2. Oral presentations: Each student will make two oral presentations Presentation One (15-20 minutes) is related to the topic of a particular class session, to be chosen at the beginning of term; alternatively two students may work together to present the same topic from the perspective of the EU and from the perspective of one or more of its Eastern partners or to engage a role-playing exercise on an issue of contention between the parties. For some weeks, as noted below, debate options are also provided. Topics must be agreed with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the class session. (Please make an appointment to meet with me to discuss this.). These presentations require extra research beyond the normal course reading (usually at least 3 extra articles for each student); in some cases optional readings may be relevant. Particular topics or topic areas will be assigned; however, students(s) may propose other topics for approval. Along with the oral presentation, each student must provide either a power-point presentation OR a two-page handout that summarizes the key points of the presentation. In both cases a list of sources consulted should be included. If power point is used please email it to the instructor and for handouts provide a copy for each student the day of the presentation. You should be careful to stay within the time limit indicated, as failure to do so may adversely affect your mark.

In the case of joint presentations each student will receive an individual mark, but one third of that mark will be based on coordination of the presentations to form a coherent whole. The presentation can be 30 minutes in length for joint presentations.

Presentation Two (12-15 minutes) will be based on the student's research paper and will outline preliminary results and the conceptual framework. These presentations will occur on March 25. No written assignment is required for this presentation, but powerpoint may be used.

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

Each student is required to write a term research paper (19-22 pages), which addresses a topic related to the EU/EU Member States relationship with one or more of the Eastern neighbours. It

is expected that some primary EU and/or Russian/EaP partner source documents will be used for the term paper. The topic and tentative bibliography for the paper must be handed in for approval by email by February 14 at noon. The paper is due on April 14 at noon in hard copy, as well as being sent electronically to my email address.

Research papers may be related to or grow out of but should not duplicate the content of the first oral presentation. Accordingly, sources used for the paper should be in addition to those consulted for the first oral presentation. The instructor reserves the right to require the student to engage in an individual oral discussion on the research paper with the instructor (outside of class sessions) following its submission.

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

4. Seminar participation

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

Evaluation*

Class presentation I and handout/powerpoint	20%
2 Reaction papers	18%
Term research paper	32%
Oral presentation (II) of research paper topic	10%
Class discussion and attendance	20%
Research paper proposal *	approved/not approved

*See additional notes below under Due Dates and Penalties

Due Dates and Penalties

The research paper is due at noon April 14. Papers are to be submitted in hard copy to my office or to the EURUS departmental office (3302 River Building). Reaction papers are due, in hard copy, in class on the day of the class relevant to the discussion, at the beginning of class. The handout for the class presentation is due at the beginning of class of the day of the presentation and should be brought to class with a copy for each student and the instructor.

Please note the following important rules associated with this course:

- Any student who fails to hand in the term essay or term research paper will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late assignments will be as follows (waived with a valid medical or equivalent excuse):
 - Term essay or research paper: Two points (of a % scale) for each day late (including weekends). No papers accepted after April 21 at noon.

- Reaction papers: Papers handed in late (without a valid excuse) but by the beginning of the relevant class session will receive a maximum mark of 80% (of 100%). Papers handed in later than that will receive a maximum mark of 50% (out of 100%). Papers not handed in will receive a “0”.
- Failure to hand in the proposal for the term essay or term research paper will result in a 3% deduction from the overall final mark for the course, or a 2% deduction if handed in more than one week late.
- Students absent on a date of their oral presentation will receive a “0” for the oral component unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. Students who are not able to be present for the presentation must inform the instructor as far as possible in advance of the class.

Readings (subject to change)

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

January 7

Week 1 – Introduction to the course and organizational matters

January 14

Week 2 EU Enlargement and the EU’s Eastern Policy

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

Adapting enlargement as a template for the ENP?

From the ENP to the EaP

Incentives and motivations

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

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

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

Official documents (skim):

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

(2003) 104 final. http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/com03_104_en.pdf; or, if you have read this document, take a look around the ENP website on Europa, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm

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

Optional readings:

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

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

William Wallace, “Where does Europe End? Dilemmas of inclusion and exclusion,” in Jan Zielonka, ed *Europe Unbound: Enlarging and reshaping the boundaries of the European Union* (Routledge, 2002)

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

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

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

Discussion Topics:

Is the ENP a good response to the post-enlargement dilemma facing the EU? Are the paradoxes that Casier identified resolvable?

What revisions were made to the ENP with the Eastern Partnership policy and why? How has the Eastern policy of the EU changed over time?

January 21

Week 3 Assessments and revisions of the ENP. Issue areas and the EU’s Eastern Partnership Policy

The ENP in the East and South: Differences and similarities

The EU as an Actor in the Eastern Neighbourhood

The role of member states and the Commission

From the ENP to the EaP

Incentives and motivations

*Elena Korosteleva, “The Eastern Partnership: A new opportunity for neighbours,” in *Journal of*

Communist Studies and Transition Politics 27, no,1 (2011), pp. 1-21.

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

*Analytic perspectives for understanding the EU's Eastern Policy (Read two of the following that you have not already read, and be prepared to offer a five minute summary of each):

- Laure Delcour and Elsa Tulmets, "Pioneer Europe? The ENP as a Test Case for the EU's Foreign Policy," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 501-523.
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as empire : the nature of the enlarged European Union* New York : Oxford University Press, 2006. (pages t.b.a.)
- Gänzle, Stefan (2009). 'EU Governance and the European Neighbourhood Policy: A Framework for Analysis,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 61, no. 10, First published on 3 November 2009 (iFirst).
- Manners, Ian (2002). "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2, 235-258.

Official document

General Affairs and External Relations Council (GAERC) (2007). 'Strengthening the European Neighbourhood Policy: Presidency Progress Report,' 18-19 June, 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/pdf/enp_progress-report_presidency-june2007_en.pdf

Optional reading:

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

Discussion topics: What revisions were made to the ENP with the Eastern Partnership policy and why? How has the Eastern policy of the EU changed over time? Which theory best explains EU behavior?

Why were both regions included under one policy umbrella, and did that approach make sense?

How do challenges in the eastern and southern neighbourhoods differ?

January 28 The EU-Russia Strategic Partnership and Russia's Europe Policy

Week 4

The Russia-EU Strategic Partnership: challenges and issues; relationship to internal Russian political developments and foreign policy strategy

Implications of the ENP/ EaP for Russia and of Russia for the ENP/EaP

Zero-sum or positive-sum game for the EU and Russia?

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

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

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

Official documents (skim):

*Medium-term Strategy for Development of Relations between the Russian Federation and the European Union (2000-2010) (unofficial translation), http://www.fas.gov.ru/legislative-acts/legislative-acts_3810.html (Russia's strategy paper, not publicly updated)

*Vladimir Putin, "Russia and the changing world," February 27, 2012, RiaNovosti, <http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20120227/171547818>

Please take a look at the europa website to get an overview of available documents and materials on the topic

Optional readings:

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

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

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

Rilka Dragneva and Kateryna Wolczuk, *Russia, the Eurasian Customs Union and the EU: Cooperation, Stagnation or Rivalry?*, Chatham House Papers (2012), http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2125913

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

Hiski Haukkala, *The EU- Russia strategic partnership : the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations* (2010)

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

Thomas Gomart, *EU-Russian Relations: Toward a Way Out of Depression*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 2008, http://www.ifri.org/files/Russie/Gomart_EU_Russia.pdf

Discussion Topics: Is the Eurasian Union a competitor to the EU in the neighbourhood? Is membership in the Eurasian Union compatible with Europeanization or with EU association? Can the EU sustain a positive-sum game in the neighbourhood, or is it forced to a zero-sum position? Is the use of sanctions and rewards a long-term effective strategy for Russia?

February 4 Types of influences on EU-Russian Relations

Week 5

Norms, Interests, and Governance

Member State Relations with Russia

Theories to explain Russian behaviour

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

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

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

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

Optional readings:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stefan Meister, "A New Start for Russian-EU Security Policy? The Weimar Triangle, Russia and the EU's Eastern Neighbourhood," *Genshagener Papiere* (July 2011), no. 5, https://dgap.org/sites/default/files/article_downloads/Genshagener-Papiere_2011_7_eng.pdf

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

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

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

Stanislav Secieru, "Russia's Mainstream Perceptions of the EU and its Member States," SPES Policy Papers (Nov. 2010), http://www.iep-berlin.de/fileadmin/website/09_Publikationen/SPES_Policy_Papers/SPES_Policy_Papers_2010_Secieru.pdf

Discussion Topics:

What role is there for values and conditionality in the EU-Russia relationship? Are they window dressing or real motivations? Can concern with values be reconciled with necessities of Realpolitik? What should the EU do about value conflicts, and are Russian claims valid? Are there also normative positions underlying Russia policy and, if so, what are they?

How important are member states differences in forging a policy toward the East? What are the factors that affect different member state positions? Are bilateral (state to state, vs. EU to state) relations functional or dysfunctional for Europeanization?

February 11 Receptiveness of neighbours: Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia **Week 6**

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

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

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

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

Optional Reading:

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion Questions: What domestic factors affect policies of these partner countries toward the EU and Russia? What the incentives or disincentives for Europeanization and for closer ties with Russia? What would an association agreement offer these countries? Can Moldova and Georgia reconcile the association agreement with good relations with Russia? How effective have EU policies been?

February 25

Week 7 Receptiveness of neighbours: Ukraine

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

*Andrea Gawrich, Inna Melnykovaksa, and Rainer Schweickert, "Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48, Issue 5 (Nov. 2010), pp. 1209–1235, November 2010

*Iryna Solonenko, "The EU's 'Transformative Power' toward the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine," (Oct. 2010), Institute for Europaeische Politik (Berline) SPES Policy Papers, http://www.iep-berlin.de/fileadmin/website/09_Publikationen/SPES_Policy_Papers/The_EU_s_transformative_power_towards_the_Eastern_neighbourhood-the_case_of_Ukraine_Iryna_Solonenko.pdf

*One of the following:

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

Optional readings:

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

Aron Buzogor'ny, "Selective Adoption of EU Environmental Norms in Ukraine: Convergence a' la Carte," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, June 2013, 609–630

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

Charles C. Pentland, "Ukraine and the European Neighbourhood Policy," in DeBardeleben, ed., *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement*, pp. 129-148

Discussion questions: What domestic factors affect policies of Ukraine toward the EU and Russia? What are the incentives or disincentives for Europeanization and for closer ties with Russia? What would an association agreement offer? Can Ukraine reconcile the association agreement with good relations with Russia? How effective have EU policies been?

March 4 EaP: The More Difficult Cases

Week 8

Frozen conflicts, Belarus

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

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

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

*One of the following:

- Nicu Popescu, "EU and the Eastern Neighbourhood: Reluctant Involvement in Conflict Resolution," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 457-77 OR
- Laure Delcour, "The European Union, a security provider in the eastern neighbourhood?" *European Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4, December 2010, 535-549

Optional Readings:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion topics: How should the EU react to Belarus? Should the EU take a more assertive role in the frozen conflicts? How important is the Russian role in these conflicts? Can international institutions play a role? What is the importance of initiatives such as the Black Sea synergy?

March 11 Energy

Week 9

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

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

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

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

Optional Readings:

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion topics:

What is the Energy Community and does it present an alternative to Russia's offer to neighbours? What's the fuss about the Third Energy Package and the Energy Charter? Is there a way to resolve the conflict between the EU and Russia over the Third Energy Package? What is the Energy Community and does it present an alternative to Russia's offer to neighbours? Is a more unified EU energy policy needed? What are prospects for increased energy independence for the partner countries (e.g., through renewable, shale gas or other sources?)

March 25

Week 10

The class will be rescheduled this week, and we will divide the group in two. In each group we will discuss half of the student term paper topics, based on student presentations

April 1

Week 11

**EU and Russia through other Organizations: Council of Baltic Sea States, OSCE, and Council of Europe, and NATO
The EU and Russia in the Arctic**

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

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

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

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

Optional Readings:

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

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

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

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

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

Bill Bowring, 'Russian legislation in the area of minority rights', in Oleh Protsyk and Benedikt Harzl eds, *Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia*, Routledge 2012, Chapter 1, pp.15-36

Discussion topics:

Why Is Medvedev's idea of a new European security architecture so controversial? Is NATO still a a real thorn in the EU-Russian relationship, and why?

What role can the European Court of Human Rights play in this process? Does Russian membership serve a transformative purpose?

April 8

Week 12

Hour 1 Trade and economic relations

*Julia Langbein, "Unpacking the Russian and EU Impact on Policy Change in the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine's Telecommunications and Food Safety," *Europe-Asia Studies* 65, no. 4 (June 2013), pp. 631-657

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

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

Is the idea of an integrated economic space from Lisbon to Vladivostok realistic? How important are the advantages offered by free trade agreements? What is the status of these agreements with the various partner countries? Are the economies complementary and what is the comparative advantage of the various countries in trade relations? What are the obstacles to deep and comprehensive free trade agreements? What kind of changes are implied in partner countries by such agreements?

Hour 2: Visas and borders

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

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

Optional Readings

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

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

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

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

Discussion question: Is visa free travel for Russia and the EaP countries a good idea? What are the prerequisites and should there be a coordinated approach to Russia and Ukraine/Moldova on this? What are the issues for the EU, EU member states, Russia, and EaP partners?

STUDENT PRESENTATION TOPICS

Week 3, January 21

Discuss recent developments (since 2009) in the EU's policy to the southern neighbourhood (Mediterranean), identifying the main dilemmas and objectives, also as they compare to those of the Eastern policy.

Week 4, January 28

What is the response of Russia to the Eastern Partnership policy and why? What does this tell us about Russia as an international actor?

Week 5, February 4

Discuss internal politics in Russia and how they affect the receptiveness of the country to the EU.

Consider the position of two or three of the new Central/East European member toward Russia, and EU-Russian relations, including Poland as one of the three.

What is the proper balance, in your view, between Germany's pursuit of a constructive relationship with Russia on a bilateral basis and the effort to develop a unified EU position on Russia? Where have tensions arisen in terms of this balance? Why is Germany relatively positive toward Russia on many policy issues? What is the relative importance of economic, historical, or geopolitical considerations in explaining this?

Week 6, February 11

Discuss internal politics in Georgia and how they affect the receptiveness of the country to EU or Russian approaches.

Discuss internal politics in Moldova and how they affect the receptiveness of the country to EU or Russian approaches.

Week 7, February 25

Discuss internal politics in Ukraine and how they affect the receptiveness of the country to EU or Russian approaches.

Weigh the importance of the Timoshenko case and the Russian factor in explaining Ukraine's backing off from the EU Association Agreement.

Debate topic (2 students): Debate the pros and cons of Ukraine's choice not to sign the Association Agreement with the EU, making an evidence-based case.

Week 8, March 4

Discuss internal politics in Armenia and how they affect the receptiveness of the country to EU or Russian approaches.

Discuss internal politics in Azerbaijan and how they affect the receptiveness of the country to EU or Russian approaches.

Week 9 , March 18

What are prospects for increased energy independence for the partner countries (e.g., through renewable, shale gas or other sources?)

What are the advantages and disadvantages of membership in the Energy Community?

Week 11, April 1

What are the advantages and disadvantages of Council of Europe membership for Russia? Does the Council of Europe have leverage in the neighbourhood, and, if so, what kind?

Compare EU and Russian interests and priorities in the Arctic.

Week 12, April 8

Does EFTA offer a model for economic relations between the EU and its eastern neighbourhood (i.e., deep economic integration without membership)? Why or why not?

In the area of visa policy should the EU have a coordinated approach to Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova on visa policy? In addressing this clarify differences and similarities in approaches to the various countries, and explain unique features of each case. (This can also be done as a debate topic, with 2 students)

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Academic Accommodation

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

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

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

Plagiarism

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

- Copying from another person’s work without indicating this through appropriate use of quotations marks and citations of footnotes.

- Lengthy and close paraphrasing of another person's work (i.e. extensive copying interspersed with a few "different" phrases or sentences).
- Submitting written work produced by someone else as if it were one's own work (e.g. another student's term paper, a paper purchased from a commercial term paper "factory", material downloaded via the Internet, etc.)

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

Requests for Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities:

"Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre, 613-520-6608, every term to ensure that I receive your letter of accommodation, no later than two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by November 7, 2008, for December examinations, and March 6, 2009, for April examinations."

For Religious Obligations:

Students requesting academic accommodation on the basis of religious obligation should make a formal, written request to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such request should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but not later than two weeks before the compulsory event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the students.

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

For Pregnancy:

Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a letter of accommodation. The student must then make

an appointment to discuss her needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.