GOALS OF THE COURSE

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

The course will be run seminar style. Students are expected play an active role in the life of the class. Completion of course readings, participation in class discussions, class presentations, and a course paper will be required. In most class sessions, student presentation will provide additional material not covered by required readings, and students will present ideas from position papers on contentious issues.

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

Requirements:

1. **Seminar participation.** Participation will be graded on the basis of attendance and the quality of regular contributions to the class discussion; familiarity with required course readings will be considered an important criterion of evaluation. Further guidelines for preparing for the seminar sessions will be provided. Please consult with instructor if you are concerned about this element, as I will try to assist in facilitating your participation.

2. **Position paper:** Each student is required to write one position paper related to a particular
class session, which will be assigned in the first class session. The paper should be about 5 pages in length (double-spaced, 12 point font, plus sources) and is due on the Monday, at noon, before the relevant class session, handed in through the CULearn Assignment box. Page limits should not be exceeded (no more than six pages). Each paper will argue a position, supported by evidence and sources, related to a specified question relating to the week’s topic. The questions to be addressed are on the course outline. You may suggest a different question for your paper, but it must be approved in advance. The paper should demonstrate familiarity with the course readings for the week but be focused around the student’s own conclusions and insights. Students should be prepared to summarize their position orally in class (10 minutes). A bibliography of works cited should be included, and in-text citations should be used for direct quotes or specific references to the readings. It is not expected that you include readings beyond the required readings for the week, but optional readings may be included if desired. The position papers should NOT be summaries of readings. Papers will be evaluated based on the cogency and clarity of the argument, as well as evidence brought in support of it (including references to course readings). Students may replace their first marks with the mark on a third or additional papers, if desired.

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

4. **Term research essay** (including proposal): Each student is required to write a term research paper (15 pages), which addresses a topic related to the EU/EU Member States relationship with one or more of the Eastern neighbours. Two types of term paper are welcome: a) A research note. This type of paper would provide in-depth research on a particular empirical question and would involve the use of primary sources. It will answer a ‘what’ or ‘how’ question. While you will need to explain the importance of what you are researching, the paper does not need to be theory based. b) An analytical paper. This paper would explore a particular ‘why’ or ‘how’ question, making use of secondary literature, and, if appropriate, some primary sources. This paper should situate the analysis in relevant theories and concepts. In either case the topic and tentative bibliography for the paper must be handed in for approval through the CULearn Assignment box by Feb. 14 at 4 p.m. The paper is due on April 15 at 10 a.m. in hard copy and submitted to the CULearn Assignment box, unless agreed separately. 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. See below on
due dates and penalties for failure to hand in the proposal.

5. **Class Simulation Exercise.** The class will likely be a partner with St. Petersburg University (SPU) in Russia to prepare for and participate in a simulation of negotiations between the European Union and Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). The actual simulation (also involving students from universities in the EU and other universities in countries of the EAEU), will take place on March 13-15, with our participation on line; we will represent the European Parliament in the simulation. To prepare for the simulation, we will hold an in-class simulation on March 12 in the seminar session. In this class session we will simulate two debates: one in the European Parliament about possible EU relations with the EAEU, and one in the European Council about the lifting of sanctions on Russia. Students will represent party factions for the first debate and EU member states for the second. Depending on the class size, students may work in teams of two. Each class member /team will prepare a briefing note for the session (one page, single spaced) which reflects the views of the actor being represented. The briefing note will be handed in to the CULearn Assignment at noon on Monday before the relevant class session. This assignment may be altered somewhat depending on development of the external simulation.

In addition, volunteers from the class are invited and encouraged to take part in in the actual simulation exercise with SPU on March 13-15; as this is outside class hours, this is not a requirement for the course. The simulation will involve online interaction with other parties involved in the simulation and will involve 2-3 hours of time on one or more of the three days of the simulation. Students volunteering for this activity will receive a certification of participation from Saint Petersburg University.

**Due Dates and Penalties**

Please note the following important rules associated with this course:

- Any student who fails to hand in the 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 (excluding weekends). No papers accepted after April 22 at noon.
  - Failure to hand in the proposal for the term essay will result in a 5% deduction from the overall mark on the term essay, or a 2% deduction if handed in more than one week late. Failure to receive approval of the proposal may also affect the mark on the essay itself.
- Position papers, simulation briefing note: These assignments, if 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 but within one week will receive a maximum mark of 60% (out of 100%). Later papers or if not handed in will receive an F.
- Students absent on a date of the simulation, presentation of the position paper, or oral presentation on extra readings will receive an F for the oral component unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. In the case of a valid excuse, the presentation will, when possible, be rescheduled. Students who, for a valid reason, are not able to be
present for any of these components on the designated day must inform the instructor as far as possible in advance of the class.

- If a valid excuse is provided for absence at a seminar session (accepted as valid by the instructor in writing), then the student may make up the missed participation marks by providing a three page paper addressing two of the discussion questions for the week; this should normally be handed in within one week of the missed session. This option is only available for excused absences, validated by the instructor.

**Readings (subject to change)**

**Several chapters are required from the following two books:**
Tuomas Forsberg and Hiski Haukkala, *The European Union and Russia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) (available for purchase in the bookstore, paper)


Other required readings are available through Ares, Reserves, or cuLearn.

**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. These may, in some cases, also be helpful for the ‘expert’ presentation.

**January 8**

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

**Readings (Recommended):**


**January 15**

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

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

Required readings:

- *Tuomas Forsberg and Hiski Haukkala (2016), The European Union and Russia, Chpt. 2, pp. 10-45.
- *Anna-Sophie Maass, EU-Russia Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation, Chpt. 5 (Routledge)

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


Optional:

- Derek Averre, “Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the ‘Shared Neighbourhood,’’ Europe-Asia Studies, 61:10 (2009), pp. 1689-1713
- Hiski Haukalla (2010), The EU- Russia strategic partnership : the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations
- EU documents, up to 2002, can be located at http://www.bits.de/EURA/EURAMAIN.htm;

January 22

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

The genesis, rationale, principles, and evolution of the EU’s European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)
Adapting enlargement as a template for the ENP?
From the ENP to the Eastern Partnership policy (EaP)
EaP Review and Revision
Required readings:

  OR

Official documents (skim):


Optional readings:

- Additional key documents on the Eastern partnership are at: https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/russia/12269/eastern-partnership-key-documents_en
Position paper topic: *Was the ENP the optimal response to the post-enlargement dilemma facing the EU? Why or why not? Could the paradoxes that Casier identified been avoided, and, if so, how?*

**January 29**

**Week 4: Russia’s European and Regional Policy**

*Drivers of Russian Foreign Policy*

*Russia’s regional integration initiatives*

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

*Compatibility of EU and Russian integration schemes*

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

**Required readings:**


**Official positions (recommended to skim):**


**Optional**

- Peter Ferdinand, “‘Russia Turns East Again? Russia and China after the Ukraine Crisis,” in in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 219-237.
- Derek Averre, “Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the ‘Shared Neighbourhood,’ *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61:10 (2009), pp. 1689-1713
Position paper topic: To what extent is Russia’s recently assertive foreign policy reactive (reacting to Western actions) as opposed to proactive (reflecting Russian domestically-generated priorities). What are the implications of your answer to this question for how the West should respond?

How should the European Union react to the Eurasian Economic Union Initiative?

February 5

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

Ukraine’s foreign policy ambivalence
Geopolitical and domestic sources of the Ukraine crisis
Changing relations with Russia and the EU
Implications of the Association Agreement and DCFTA with the EU

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

Required readings:
• *Paul D’Anieri, “Ukrainian foreign policy from independence to inertia,” Communist and Post-Communist Studies 45, no. 3-4 (2012), 447-455
• *Anne-Sophie Maass (2017), EU-Russia Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation, “The Threat to EU Russia Relations of EU Enlargement in the Orange Revolution,” Chpt. 4, pp. 84-112 (Routledge)
• *Crina Viju (2018), “No Middle Ground? Economic Relations Between the EU, Ukraine, and Russia,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, EU-Russia Relations in Crisis, pp.137-158.

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

Optional Readings:
• Michael Emerson and Tamara Kovziridze (2016), Deepening EU-Ukrainian Relations: What, when, how? (Rowman and Littlefield)
- Aron Buzog’ny, “Selective Adoption of EU Environmental Norms in Ukraine: Convergence à la Carte,” Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 65, No. 4, June 2013, 609–630 OR

Position paper topic:
Is Ukraine faced with an either-or choice (Russia or the EU), and, if so, is the European choice viable economically?
- To what extent is the EU to blame for the Ukraine crisis?

February 12
Week 6: Receptiveness of neighbours: Georgia, and Moldova
Geopolitical sources of interaction
Internal and economic sources of interaction
Georgia as successful multi-vector policy?
What’s gone wrong in Moldova?
PLEASE READ ALL OF THE ARTICLES ON ONE OF THE COUNTRIES AND AT LEAST ONE ARTICLE ON THE OTHER COUNTRY
*Required Georgia
- Frederik Coene, Post-Soviet Politics: Euro-Atlantic Discourse in Georgia: The Making of Georgian Foreign and Domestic Policy after the Rose Revolution (Routledge, 2016), Chpt. 2
*Required Moldova*


Optional Reading:


**Position Paper:** Can international actors make a difference in promoting reform in Moldova and/or George, and, if so, how? Or are domestic obstacles too large?

*Can Moldova escape corruption?*

**February 26**
**Week 7: Belarus and Armenia: Between the Eurasian Economic Union and the EU**

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

*Reform initiatives and EU policy*

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


**Documents:**


**Optional readings:**

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

**Topics for position papers:**

*Should the EU reduce its normative policy with Belarus and focus on geopolitics?*

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

**March 5:**

**Week 8: Azerbaijan; Frozen conflicts**

We will likely have a visiting scholar join us this week.

**Required Readings:**


*ONE OF THE FOLLOWING


OR


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


Optional:


Topic for position paper

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

March 12

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

*In this week we will hold a simulation of EU debates in the European Parliament on relations with the Eurasian Economic Union and in the European Council on continuing sanctions Russia. Further details will be provided on preparation for the session.*

Required readings:


March 19

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

*Dependence or interdependence?*
*EU energy policy toward Russia (member state differences)*
*Russian approaches to EU regulatory regimes*
*Geopolitical versus economic factors*
*Prospects for EU-Russia trade or a trade agreement*
*Investment and domestic political factors*

**Required readings:**
- *Forsberg and Haukkala (2016), Chpt. 4, pp. 76-117*

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

Topics for position paper:
Can mutual energy interdependence between the EU and Russia be reinforced as a guarantors of stability and cooperation? If so, how? If not, why not?
Should the EU work more assertively to reduce its energy dependence on Russia?

March 26
Week 11 The European Security Dilemma: More “wicked” than ever?
Building a New Security Structure in Europe?
Prospects for the OSCE?
NATO’s role

Required Readings:
- *Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 6, pp. 148-176

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

Optional:
- Selected chapters from Serghei Golunov (2013), EU-Russian Border Security: Challenges, (mis)perceptions, and responses (Routledge)

Position paper topics:
Should NATO exclude future membership for Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova as a way to reassure Russia?
What steps might stop the unravelling of the European security regime be stopped?
Could the OSCE actually help promote security in Europe after the Ukraine crisis? How and why?

April 2
Week 12 Hour 1: Guest speaker, Assessment of the EaP in light EU internal crises
Hour 2: The ‘soft’ issues and their hard edges: Human mobility, cross-border cooperation, and media discourse

Guest speaker: Details TBA

Mobility and visa issues in the region
Readmission agreements and visa facilitation
Cross-border cooperation as an antidote to high politics
Transnational linkages: European and Russian public diplomacy

Required readings:
- *Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 5, pp. 118-147; and Chpt. 7, 177-191.
- *Anna A. Dekalchuk, “‘Othering’ to Open Rivalry: Negotiating the EU-Russia Role Structure Through the Visa Dialogue,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, EU-Russia Relations in Crisis, pp. 930-112

Optional Readings

Position paper topic:
Is visa free travel for Russia a good idea? When and under what conditions should it be implemented?
How should the EU respond to Russia’s soft power strategies (define what they are)?

SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

Student Support:
The Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS) is a centralized collection of learning support services designed to help students achieve their goals and improve their learning both inside and outside the classroom. CSAS offers academic assistance with course content, academic writing and skills development. Visit CSAS on the 4th floor of MacOdrum Library or online at: www.carleton.ca/csas.

**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

**Requests for Academic Accommodations:**

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

**Religious Observance:** 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

**Pregnancy:** 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. Please consult the PMC website (www.carleton.ca/pmc) for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

**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;
- 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.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. 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).

**Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:**

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 Richcraft Hall. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>90-100</td>
<td>A+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>67-69</td>
<td>C+</td>
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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.
Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course