

Preliminary Course Outline (updated Jan. 9 2022)

EURR 5205 / INAF 5807 / PSCI 5111

The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours

Instructor: Prof. Joan DeBardeleben

Virtual Office Hours: Mondays 5:45-6:30, Tuesdays 9-10 a.m., or by appointment (Zoom)

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COURSE OVERVIEW

This 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. Implications of Russian initiatives, such as the Eurasian Economic Union, will also be explored. Recent developments, including the Ukraine crisis and the Belarusian border 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. I welcome students from a variety of backgrounds to enrich our discussions and to bring new perspectives to bear on the topics we'll consider.

Course format: The course will be run seminar style, in a synchronous online manner. Students are expected to have a good internet connection with webcam and microphone to facilitate complete participation. To reduce Zoom fatigue, in most weeks we will endeavour to keep the class session to 2.5 plus a fifteen-minute break; in some weeks the whole three hour period may be needed, so please keep it free). Synchronous class time will be supplemented by blog posts in some weeks and may be supplemented by instructor videos.

The table below provides an overview of class sessions.

Week	Date	Topics
1	Jan. 10	Introduction to the course
2	Jan. 17	The EU's Eastern policy: European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership
3	Jan. 24	Russia's ambivalent European identity and policy; EU-Russian relations to 2014
4	Jan. 31	Ukraine and the Ukraine Crisis; Case study: The failed Minsk protocol
5	Feb. 7	Receptive neighbours, geopolitics, and reform difficulties: Georgia and Moldova
6	Feb. 14	Less receptive neighbours: Azerbaijan and Belarus
BREAK WEEK		
7	Feb. 28	Visa and border issues; Case study: the Belarusian border crisis)
8	Mar. 7	Russia's regional experiment: The Eurasian Economic Union Case study: Armenia's EU-EAEU balancing act
9	Mar. 14	Energy relations; Case study: Nordstream
10	Mar.21	Europe's security dilemma; Case study: Kaliningrad
11	Mar. 28	Case studies: Frozen conflicts
12	Apr. 4	Misinformation, communication, and legitimacy issues
13	Apr. 11	What kind of Eastern policy going forward? Should the EU's Russia policy be altered? (Debate)

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course students should:

- Be familiar with policies of the European Union in relation to its eastern neighbouring countries, including Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Belarus
- Better understand the operation of the EU as an international actor
- Develop a critical perspective on how these policies have operated and consequences for both the EU, Russia, and neighbouring countries
- Understand the way in which EU policies are viewed by recipient states and non-state actors, and how these actors have responded
- Be able to view, explain and evaluate these issues from a variety of perspectives, using various theoretical concepts and approaches
- Apply acquired knowledge to evaluation of various policy approaches

In terms of general skills the course will help students to

- Advance skills of critical assessment of academic literature and research
- Advance research and writing skills through completion of a term paper
- Enhance communication and presentation skills through seminar discussion
- Gain practice in discussing the work of peers

Requirements and evaluation (Overview)

Short analytical paper and its presentation (appropriate class session)	15%
Short case study analysis and its presentation (appropriate class session)	20%
Term research paper proposal (Due March 2)	approved/not approved
Term research essay (Due April 18)	35%
Seminar attendance and participation (weekly)	30%

For all papers, please use intext citation with a reference list of works cited at the end of the paper. Chicago style is preferred but other systems are alright as long as they are consistently used and provide necessary bibliographic information. Please note that, depending on course enrolment, the presentation schedule and other details may be adjusted after the first class meeting but before the registration period ends.

Requirements and Evaluation (detail):

I. Participation: Students are expected to participate each week in seminar discussions. The participation can take two forms: (a) weekly oral participation in synchronous sessions; and (b) blog posts. Your participation mark will be a composite of the two, however seminar attendance is required and participation in synchronous class discussion is expected; these cannot be substituted by blog posts. For both oral participation and blogposts you should demonstrate your familiarity with course readings. Discussion questions will be posted weekly on Brightspace to guide your reading and our discussions.

Blog posts can supplement your oral seminar participation, and everyone should participate in the blog, although it is not necessary to do so every week. The blog posts will serve as a springboard for class discussion and will give you the opportunity to throw out ideas for discussion and to supplement what you have a chance to say in the synchronous class discussions. Students should read the blog posts each week, regardless of whether they are writing one for that week and students are also encouraged to respond to other students' posts. So that both other students and I myself have a chance to read the blogposts before the class, please post them at least 24 hours before the relevant class session. As a rough guideline, I would expect you to contribute to the blog a minimum of 5 times or so during the semester but more is welcome. Each student is expected write a blog post for Week 13.

If provided, students are expected to view a short instructor video before the appropriate class session.

2. **Short analytical paper:** Each student is required to write one short analytical paper related to a particular class session with dates assigned in the first or second class session. The paper should be about four pages in length (double-spaced, 12-point font, plus reference list), but no more than five pages. It must be posted by 8:30 am. in the Brightspace assignment drop box on the day of the relevant class session. Each paper will address a question, provided by the instructor, related to the week's readings and topic. The paper should bring material from the readings to bear on the assigned question. It should also be accompanied by two discussion questions. Students should be prepared to summarize their position orally in class (10-15 minutes, followed by discussion). It is not expected that you include readings beyond the required readings for the week, but optional readings may be included if desired. Papers will be evaluated based on the cogency and clarity of the analysis, as well as evidence brought in support of it (including references to course readings). Students may replace their first mark with the mark on a second or additional papers, if desired.
3. **Case study analysis and its presentation.** Each student will prepare one case study. The paper should be about five pages in length (double-spaced, 12-point font, plus bibliography). You should consult and cite three substantive sources (e.g., academic articles, working papers, substantive think tank piece) beyond required course readings. The paper must be posted by 8:30 am. in the Brightspace assignment drop box on the day of the relevant class session. Specific guidelines will be provided early in the term. Each student should meet with the instructor to discuss the paper and presentation content two weeks before the relevant session.
4. **Term essay (including proposal):** Each student is required to write a term essay (12-14 pages, double-spaced, 12 pt font, not including reference list.) The paper should address a topic related to the EU/EU Member States' relationship with one or more of the Eastern neighbours, exploring a particular 'why' or 'how' question, primarily making use of secondary literature, and, if appropriate, some primary sources. This paper should situate the analysis in relevant theory and concepts. The paper may not repeat material from other assignments.

Proposal: The topic and tentative bibliography for the paper must be handed in for approval through Brightspace Assignment box no later than March 1 at 5 p.m., but if you hand it in sooner, I'll give you earlier feedback. Students are advised to set up an appointment with me to discuss the plan for the paper before or after the proposal is completed. The paper proposal will receive an evaluation of approved/not approved. Proposals should be 2 pages, including a preliminary bibliography; the proposal should state and elaborate the question that the paper will address, any hypotheses to be tested, relevant theories (for the analytical paper), and materials to be used as well as a bibliography including at least five items (to be expanded to 10-12 for the full paper). 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.

The paper itself is due on April 18 at 5 p.m.. through Brightspace. 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.

Due Dates and Penalties

Please note the following important rules associated with this course:

- Failure to hand in the term essay will result in a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late
- papers will be as follows (waived with a valid medical excuse)
 - Term paper: Two points (of a % scale) for each day late. No term papers will be accepted after April 25

- Analytical and case study papers, 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 70% (out of 100%), assuming the oral presentation is given. Later papers, or if not handed in, will receive an F.
- Students absent on a date of a presentation 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 a presentation on the designated day must inform the instructor as far as possible in advance.
- 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 with a 3 page paper addressing two of the discussion questions for the week; this should normally be handed in within one week of the missed session and should not repeat a blogpost. This option is only available for excused absences and with the approval of the instructor.

Readings (subject to change)

Required readings are available through Ares. **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 be helpful for case study papers or for term papers. Note that readings may be adjusted/substituted throughout the semester as indicated on the weekly discussion sheets.

You are asked to choose four required readings each week. In some weeks, the readings will address case studies and in several weeks a theoretical reading will be included. I'd suggest you not neglect the theoretical readings because they can help you relate material from this course to other things you are studying in other courses, and they also can help you set a theoretical framework for your term paper or for other papers you may be writing. But you do have a certain amount of leeway in how you meet course requirements, and I hope this will make the course more stimulating and interesting for you!

DETAILED COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

January 10

Week 1: Introduction to the course and organizational matters

Required:

- *Manners, Ian (2002). "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2, 235-258
- *Joan DeBardeleben (2012), "Applying constructivism to understanding EU–Russian relations," *International Politics* 49 (2012): 418–33

Optional:

- *Joan DeBardeleben, "Geopolitics of the EU", *European Union Governance and Policy Making: A Canadian Perspective*, eds. Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, Achim Hurrelmann, and Amy Verdun (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), pp. 359-378
- *Hyde Price (2008) "A 'tragic actor'? A realist perspective on 'ethical power Europe'," *International Affairs* 84(1): 29-44

January 17

Week 2: The EU's Eastern policy: European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership

The genesis, rationale, principles, and evolution of the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) Enlargement as a template for the ENP?

From the ENP to the Eastern Partnership policy (EaP)

EaP Review and Revision

Required: Please read at least four of the five following readings

- *Judith Kelley (2006), “New Wine in Old Wineskins: Promoting Political reforms through the new European Neighbourhood Policy,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44, (1): 29-55
- *Tom Casier (2008), “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), pp. 19- 32.
- *Ketie 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>
- *Irina Petrova & Laure Delcour (2019) From principle to practice? The resilience–local ownership nexus in the EU Eastern Partnership policy, *Contemporary Security Policy*, DOI: [10.1080/13523260.2019.1678280](https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2019.1678280)
- *Theory (organizational theory):*
*Laure Delcour and Elsa Tulmets (2009), “Pioneer Europe? The ENP as a Test Case for the EU’s Foreign Policy,” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 501-523

Official documents (skim, recommended, but optional):

- 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://aei.pitt.edu/38141/> or, if you have read this document, take a look around the ENP website on Europa, https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/european-neighbourhood-policy-enp_en
- *European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy* (2016), ‘Joint Staff Working Document: Eastern Partnership – Focusing on key priorities and deliverables,’ SWD (2016) 467 final, Brussels, Dec. 15, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/near-eeas_joint_swd_2016467_0.pdf
- Additional key documents on the Eastern partnership are at: https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/russia/12269/eastern-partnership-key-documents_en

Optional readings:

- David Cadier (2018) “The Geopoliticisation of the EU’s Eastern Partnership,” *Geopolitics*, DOI: [10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754](https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754)
- Elena Korosteleva (2017) “Eastern Partnership: bringing ‘the political’ back in”, *East European Politics*, 33:3, 321-337, DOI: [10.1080/21599165.2017.1340882](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2017.1340882)
- 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 (2021), “The EU’s Eastern Partnership: Bold Ambitions in Troubled Region,” CGAI Policy Paper, Canadian Global Affairs Institute, https://www.cgai.ca/the_european_union_s_eastern_partnership_bold_ambitions_in_a_troubled_region

January 24

Week 3: Russia’s ambivalent European identity and policy; EU-Russian relations to 2014

Drivers of Russia’s Europe policy

Identity and interests in Russian foreign policy

The develop of EU-Russian relations

Institutional features

The role of values, norms, and human rights issues
Reasons for stagnation

Required: Please read at least four of the five following readings or choices of readings

- *Bobo Lo (2015), Chpt. 6 “Engaging with the West,” in *Russia and the New World Order*, (London:Chatham House, Brookings, 2015), pp. 165-200
- *Tuomas Forsberg and Hiski Haukkala (2016), *The European Union and Russia*, Chpt. 2, pp. 10-45.
- *Joan DeBardeleben (2021), “Ideas and Normative Competition”, in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russian Relations*, pp. 58-68
- *Tom Casier (2013), “The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument”, *Europe-Asia Studies* 65 (7): 1377–13
- *Theory (Europeanization, export of governance)*:
*Paul Flenley (2021), “Europeanization,” in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russian Relations*, pp. 105-115

OR

*Stefan Gänzle (2008) *The EU’s Policy toward Russia: Extending Governance Beyond Borders?*. In: DeBardeleben J. (ed) *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement. Studies in Central and Eastern Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230591042_4 pp. 53-70

Official positions (recommended to skim):

- Vladimir Putin, “Speech at the 43rd Munich conference on Security Policy,” Feb. 17, (read selectively) online at: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034>;
- Vladimir Putin, “Russia and the changing world,” February 27, 2012, RiaNovosti, https://russkiymir.ru/en/publications/139698/_OR “Vladimir Putin addressed State Duma deputies, Federation Council members, heads of Russian regions, and civil society representatives in the Kremlin” (March 18, 2014), <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/20603>

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

- Common Strategy of the European Union of 4 June 1999 on Russia (<https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/38943c06-7e5d-4ca3-acc3-c5154bd9c04e/language-en>). EU documents, up to 2002, can be located at <http://www.bits.de/EURA/EURAMAIN.htm>;
- Medium-term Strategy for Development of Relations between the Russian Federation and the European Union (2000-2010)

Optional:

- Joan DeBardeleben (2012), “Applying constructivism to understanding EU–Russian relations,” *International Politics* 49 (2012): 418–33
- Derek Averre, “Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the ‘Shared Neighbourhood,’” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61:10 (2009), pp. 1689-1713
- Tatiana Romanova and Elena Pavlova (2014), “What Modernisation? The Case of Russian Partnerships for Modernisation with the European Union and Its Member States,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 22 (4), 499-517.
- Anne-Sophie Maass (2017), *EU-Russian Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation*, Chpt. 5 (Routledge) (A detailed history of relations).
- Hiski Haukkala (2010), *The EU- Russia strategic partnership : the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations*
- Angela Stent, *Putin’s World*, Chpt 3 and 4

- Andrei P. Tsygankov (2007) “Finding a Civilizational Idea: ‘West’, ‘Eurasia’ and ‘Euro-East’ in Russia’s Foreign Policy,” *Geopolitics* 12 (3): 375-399
- Tuomas Forsberg (2019), “Explaining Russian foreign policy towards the EU through contrasts,” *International Politics* (2019) 56:762–777
- *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russian Relations* (2021), (Routledge)

January 31

Week 4: Ukraine and the Ukraine Crisis; case study on the failed Minsk accords

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

Why has Minsk failed and what comes next?

**If you require background on the Ukraine crisis, the following short book is recommended: Rajan Menon and Eugene Rumer, Conflict in Ukraine: The Unwinding of the Post-Cold War Order*

Required: Please read at least four of the five following readings or reading choices

- *Hiski Haukkala (2016)” A Perfect Storm; Or What Went Wrong and What Went Right for the EU in Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68 (4): 653-664, DOI: 10.1080/09668136.2016.1156055
 - *Marta Králiková (2021) Importing EU norms: the case of anti-corruption reform in Ukraine, *Journal of European Integration*, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2021.1872559
 - *Marta Králiková (2021) Importing EU norms: the case of anti-corruption reform in Ukraine, *Journal of European Integration*, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2021.1872559
 - *Joan DeBardeleben (2020) “Crisis response, path dependence, and the joint decision trap: the EU’s eastern and Russia policies after the Ukraine crisis”, *East European Politics*, 36:4, 564-585, DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2020.1832474
 - *Sebastian Van Severen (2021), “The Minsk Agreements: Has the Glimmer of Hope Faded?” in *Principled pragmatism in practice: The EU’s Policy Towards Russia After Ukraine*, eds. Fabienne Bossuyt and Peter van Elsuwege (Brill), Chpt. 1, pp. 17-39
- OR
- *Kristian Átland (2020) Destined for deadlock? Russia, Ukraine, and the unfulfilled Minsk agreements,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 36:2, 122-139, DOI: 10.1080/1060586X.2020.1720443
- *Theory (various applications of realism):*
 - *Smith, Nicholas Ross (2016). “The EU under a Realist Scope: Employing a Neoclassical Realist Framework for the Analysis of the EU’s Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement Offer to Ukraine.” *International Relations* 30 (1): 29–48. doi:10.1177/0047117815588117.
- OR
- *John J. Mearsheimer (2014), “Why the Ukraine is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin,” *Foreign Affairs* (Sep/Oct 2014): 77-89. (See the debate on the article: M. McFaul, S. Sestanovich, and J.T. Mearsheimer, “Faulty Powers,” *Foreign Affairs* (2014) 93(6): 167-178
- OR
- *Jozsef Golovics, “Contemporary Realism in Theory and Practice: The Case of the Ukrainian Crisis,” *Polgari Szemle* (2017), <https://polgariszemle.hu/aktualis-szam/142-nemzetkozi-gazdasag-es-tarsadalom/907-contemporary-realism-in-theory-and-practice-the-case-of-the-ukrainian-crisis>

Document:

- *Full text of the Minsk agreement, Feb. 12, 2015, <https://www.unian.info/politics/1043394-minsk-agreement-full-text-in-english.html>

Optional Readings:

- 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)
- Kristi Raik (2019), “The Ukraine Crisis as a Conflict over Europe’s Political, Economic and Security Order,” *Geopolitics* 24(1): 51-70
- Nadiia Koval (2020) “Three Faces of Federalism in the foreign Policy: Russian and German Approaches to the Ukraine Crisis,” and Jaroslava Barbieri, “The Dark Side of Decentralization Reform in Ukraine,” in *Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict* (Springer), pp. 187-210, pp. 211-256.
- 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.
- Matteo Dressler (2018) “Decentralising power: building inclusive peace? The European Union’s support to governance reform in Eastern Ukraine,” *Peacebuilding*,” 6:3, 201-217, DOI: 10.1080/21647259.2018.1491281
- Paul D’Anieri (2012), “Ukrainian foreign policy from independence to inertia,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45 (3-4): 447-455
- Roman Petrov, Cuillaume van der look, Peter Van Elsuwege (2015), “The EU -Ukraine .
- Michael Emerson and Tamara Kovziridze (2018), *Deepening EU-Ukrainian Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield) . 2nd edition, https://www.ceps.eu/system/files/RLI_Ukraine2_Master.pdf
- Jozef Batora and Matej Navratil (2016), “Extending the EU’s Security Community Amidst Conflict: The Case of Ukraine,” in *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.19-48

February 7

Week 5 Receptive neighbours, geopolitics and reform difficulties: Georgia and Moldova

Geopolitical sources of interaction

Moldovan ambivalence and EU responses

Corruption and its impact on Europeanization

Internal and economic sources of interaction

Georgia as successful multi-vector policy?

Required: Please read four of the following articles or article choices, according to your interest:

- *Kelevan Bokvadze and Bidzina Lebanidze (2016), “Building a Security Community in the EU’s Neighbourhood?” in *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.79-106
- *Peter Nasuti (2016) Administrative Cohesion and Anti-Corruption Reforms in Georgia and Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68(5): 847-867.
- *Ryhor Nizhnikau (2017), “Promoting Reforms in Moldova,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 64(2): 106-120
- *Theodor Tudoroiu (2015), “Democracy and State Capture in Moldova,” *Democratization* 22(4): 655-678
- *Kakachia, Kornely, Agnieszka Legucka, and Bidzina Lebanidze (2021). “Can the EU’s New Global Strategy Make a Difference? Strengthening Resilience in the Eastern Partnership Countries.” *Democratization* 28, no. 7 (October 3, 2021): 1338–56

Optional

- *Theory (various alternative approaches):*
 - *Jan Zielonka, “Introduction,” *Europe as empire: the nature of the enlarged European Union*, New York : Oxford University Press, 2006. Or for a synopsis see, <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/326-europe-empire-the-nature-the-enlarged-european-union>
 - *Stollenwerk, Eric, Tanja A. Börzel, and Thomas Risse. “Theorizing Resilience-Building in the EU’s Neighbourhood: Introduction to the Special Issue.” *Democratization* 28, no. 7 (October 3, 2021): 1219–38. doi:10.1080/13510347.2021.1957839.
- David Rinnert (2015), “The Politics of Civil Service and Administrative Reforms in Development: Explaining Within-Country Variation of Reform Outcomes in Georgia after the Rose Revolution,” *Public Administration and Development* 35 (1), 19-33.
- Christian Hagemann (2013), “External Governance on the Terms of the Partner? The EU, Russia, and the Republic of Moldova in the European Neighbourhood Policy,” *Journal of European Integration* 35 (7): 767-783
- Olga Danii and Mariana Mascauteanu (2011), “Moldova Under the European Neighbourhood Policy: ‘Falling Between Stools’,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.27 (1):99–119
- Michael Emerson and Denis Censura (2018), *Deepening EU-Moldovan Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield) , 2nd edition, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/docview/2175798118>
- Dorina Baltag and Giselle Bosse (2016), “The EU’s Eastern Partnership with Moldova: A ‘Best-Case’ Scenario for EU Security Community-Building”, *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.49-78.
- 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
- Thijs Rommens (2017),” The Eastern partnership in Georgia: Europeanizing civil society? *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50 (2): 113-123.
- Michael Emerson and Tamara Kovziridze (2016), *Deepening EU-Georgian Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield) , 2nd edition, https://www.ceps.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/RLI_Georgia2_Master.pdf
- Revaz Gachechiladze (2012 edition), *The New Georgia: Space, Society, Politics* (Routledge), Chpt. 9
- Oscar B. Pardo Sierra (2011), “Shaping the Neighbourhood? The EU’s Impact on Georgia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 8, October, 1377–1398
- Esther Ademmer and Tanua A. Boerzel (2013), “Migration, Energy and Good Governance in the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, June 2013, 581–608
- Suzanna Vasilyan (2020), ‘*Moral Power’ of the European Union in the South Caucasus* (Palgrave Macmillan)

February 14

Week 6 Less receptive neighbours: Azerbaijan and Belarus

Azerbaijan’s version of the dual vector policy and EU responses

Energy and geopolitics as drivers of Azeri policy

Belarus’ version of the dual vector policy and EU responses

Required: Please read four of the following, according to your interest:

- *E. Korosteleva (2016). “The EU and Belarus: democracy promotion by technocratic means?” *Democratization* 23 (4):1-23

- *E. Djatkoviča et al (2021), *To the 2020 Post-election Crisis in Belarus* (Latvian Institute of International Affairs), March (read sections on Latvia, Lithuania, and others per your interest)
- *Eske van Gils (2017), “Differentiation through bargaining power in EU-Azerbaijan relations: Baku as a tough negotiator,” *East European Politics* 33 (3): 388-405
OR
*Eske van Gils, Eske. (2018). From 'Unilateral' to 'Dialogical': Determinants of EU-Azerbaijan Negotiations,” *Europe-Asia studies*. (70)10. p.1572 - 1596.;
- Kamran Ismayilov, Konrad Zasztowt (Oct. 2015), “Azerbaijan’s Risky Game between Russia and the West,” *Polish Institute of International Affairs, Policy Paper*, no. 32 (134), http://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=20615
- *Theory*
*Alexander Libman and Anastassia V. Obydenkova (2018), “Understanding authoritarian regionalism,” *Journal of Democracy* 29(4): 152-165

Optional readings:

- Ralph S. Clem (2011), “Going it Alone: Belarus as the Non-European European State,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52 (6): 780ff
- David Rotman, David and Natalia Veremeeva, “Belarus in the Context of the Neighbourhood Policy: Between the EU and Russia (2011),” *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 27 (1): 73-98
- Ukraine’s Crisis and Russia’s Closest allies: A Reinforced Intra-Alliance Security Dilemma at Work,” *The International Spectator* 49 (4), pp. 97-111
- Ukraine Crisis, European Council on Foreign Relations, policy memo [http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_132_Belarus_\(May_5_-_version_2\).pdf](http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_132_Belarus_(May_5_-_version_2).pdf), May 5
- Marek Dabrowski (2016), “Belarus at a crossroads,” Bruegel policy contribution, Jan. 21, <http://bruegel.org/2016/01/belarus-at-a-crossroads>

February 28

Week 7: Visa and border issues: Case study, the Belarusian border crisis

Mobility and visa issues in the region

Readmission agreements and visa facilitation

Cross-border relations as an antidote or an aggravation to high politics

The Belarus crisis: a geopolitical crisis masked as a border crisis; risks and benefits of proximity

Required: Please read the following three articles and watch the YouTube video

- *Anna A. Dekalchuk (2018), “‘Othering’ to Open Rivalry: Negotiating the EU-Russia Role Structure Through the Visa Dialogue,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, edited by T. Casier and J. DeBardeleben, pp. 930-112
- *I. Gumenyuk, T. Kuznetsova, and L. Osmolovskaya (2016), “Local Border Traffic as an Efficient Tool for Developing Cross-Border Cooperation,” *Baltic Region* 8(1): 67-82,
- *Laure Delcour & Sandra Fernandes (2016) “Visa liberalization processes in the EU’s Eastern neighbourhood: understanding policy outcomes”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29:4, 1259-1278, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2016.1233936
- *See the YouTube discussion of the Belarusian crisis to be posted soon on the Centre for European Studies website.

Optional:

- Sirke Mäkinen, Hanna Smith & Tuomas Forsberg (2016) “ ‘With a Little Help from my Friends’: Russia’s Modernisation and the Visa Regime with the European Union,” *Europe-Asia*

Studies, 68:1, 164-181, DOI: [10.1080/09668136.2015.1123223](https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2015.1123223)

- Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 7, 177-191 and Chpt. 5, 138-145.
- *Katharina Koch (2018), “The spatiality of trust in EU external cross-border cooperation,” *European Planning Studies* 26 (3): 591-610, DOI: [10.1080/09654313.2017.1393502](https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2017.1393502)
- Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 5, 138-145.

March 7

Week 8: Russia’s regional experiment: The Eurasian Economic Union

Case study: Armenia’s EU-EAEU balancing act

The motivations for Eurasian integration

The EU as a model for the EAEU?

The viability of the EAEU

EU reactions to the EAEU and its implications for the EU

Armenian exceptionalism: Managing relations with the EU and EAEU

Required; Please read four of the following articles or article choice, according to your interest:

- *Evegeny Vinokurov (2018), *Introduction to the Eurasian Economic Union*, (Palgrave, 2018, Chpt. 1 and 2, and others selectively (available as an e-book through the Carleton library OMNI catalogue).
- *Andrei Yeliseyev (2019), “The Eurasian Economic Union: Expectations, Challenges, and Achievements”, German Marshall Fund, https://www.academia.edu/39189608/The_Eurasian_Economic_Union_Expectations_Challenges_and_Achievements
- Chiara Loda (2016), “The European Union as a normative power; the case of Armenia, *East European Politics* , 33(2): 275-90
- * Laure Delcour and Narine Gazaryan (2021), “Armenia: A Precarious Navigation Between the Eurasian Integration and the European Union,”: in *Principled Pragmatism in Practice*, eds. F. Bossuyt and P. van Elsuwebe (Brill)
OR
*Syuzanna Vasilyan (2017), “‘Swinging on a Pendulum’ Armenia in the Eurasian Economic Union and With the European Union,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 64 (1): 32-46
- *Theory*
*Elena Pavlova (2021), “The EU-Russia relationship through the lens of post-colonial theory,” in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russia Relations*, pp. pp. 139-248

Optional

- Chiara Loda (2016), “The European Union as a normative power; the case of Armenia, *East European Politics* , 33(2): 275-90
- Laure Delcour (2019), “Armenia’s and Georgia’s contrasted positioning vis-à-vis the EU: between vocal centrality and strategic marginality”, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 27:4, 439-450, DOI: [10.1080/14782804.2019.1608815](https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2019.1608815)
- Michael O. Slobodchikoff, *Building Hegemonic Order Russia’s Way* (Lexington 2014), pp. 69-90
- Alena Voysotskaya Guesdes Vieira (2014), “Ukraine’s Crisis and Russia’s Closest allies: A Reinforced Intra-Alliance Security Dilemma at Work,” *The International Spectator* 49 (4), pp. 97-111
- Sean Roberts & Ulrike Ziemer (2018) “Explaining the pattern of Russian authoritarian diffusion in Armenia,” *East European Politics*, 34:2, 152-172, DOI: [10.1080/21599165.2018.1457525](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2018.1457525)
- EU-Armenian relations on the Europa website: https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/armenia/23120/joint-press-release-european-union-and-republic-armenia-initialling-eu-armenia-comprehensive_en

March 14

Week 9: Energy relations; Case study: Nordstream

Dependence or interdependence?

EU energy policy toward Russia (member state differences)

Russian approaches to EU regulatory regimes

Geopolitical versus economic factors

Required: Please read four of the following articles, according to your interest:

- *Forsberg and Haukkala (2016), Chpt. 4, pp. 76- 117
- *Tatiana Romanova (2016), “Is Russian energy Policy toward the EU Only about Geopolitics? The Case of the Third Liberalisation Package,” *Geopolitics* 21 (4): 867-879
- *Andrej Krickovic (2015), “When Interdependence Produces Conflict: EU-Russia Energy Relations as a Security Dilemma,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 37 (1): 3-26
- *Marco Siddi (2020) Theorising conflict and cooperation in EU-Russia energy relations: ideas, identities and material factors in the Nord Stream 2 debate, *East European Politics*, 36:4, 544-563, DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2019.1700955
- *Marco Siddi & Irina Kustova (2021) From a liberal to a strategic actor: the evolution of the EU’s approach to international energy governance, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 28:7, 1076-1094, DOI: 10.1080/13501763.2021.1918219

Optional Readings:

- Marco Siddi (2019), “ The EU’s Botched Geopolitical Approach to External Energy Policy: The Case of the Southern Gas Corridor,” *Geopolitics*, 24:1, 124-144, DOI:10.1080/14650045.2017.1416606
- Abbas & C. Locatelli (2019) “National institutional systems’ hybridisation through interdependence. The case of EU-Russia gas relations,” *Post-Communist Economies*, DOI: 10.1080/14631377.2019.1640991
- 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) for a historical perspective from the previous decade
- M.Shagina (2021), East-West Divides and Nordstream 2”, *Russian Analytical Digest*, no. 267, April 12 2021, <https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD267.pdf>
- Moniek de Jong & Thijs Van de Graaf (2021) Lost in Regulation: Nord Stream 2 and the Limits of the European Commission’s Geo-Economic Power, *Journal of European Integration*, 43:4, 495-510, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2020.1800680

March 21

Week 10: Europe’s security dilemma; Case study: Kaliningrad

EU-Russia Relations as an emerging security dilemma

Building a new security structure in Europe? NATO’s role

Kaliningrad: canary in the mine?

Required: Please read the following articles:

- *Andrei P. Tsygankov (2018), “The sources of Russia's fear of NATO,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 51: 101-111

- *Simon Duke & Carmen Gebhard (2017) “The EU’s and NATO’s dilemmas with Russia and the prospects for deconfliction,” *European Security*, 26:3, 379-397, DOI: 10.1080/09662839.2017.1352577
- *Anna-Sophie Maass (2020) “Kaliningrad: a dual shift in cooperation and conflict,” *East European Politics* 36 (4): 515-528, DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2020.1763313
- *Demińska, Magdalena, Frédéric Mérand, and Anastasiya Shtaltovna (2020), “Conflict and Cooperation between Europe and Russia: The Autonomy of the Local.” *East European Politics* 36 (4): 477–98. doi:10.1080/21599165.2020.1784145.

Optional:

- M. Andžāns, E. Džatkoviča and A. Sprūds (2021), *Post-2020 Belarus: Security and Defence Implications for the Baltic States, Poland, and NATO* (Latvian Institute of International Affairs)
- Raimundas Lopata (2018), “Kaliningrad in the European Security Architecture after the Annexation of Crimea,” *Lithuanian annual strategic review* 16(1): 3-3-328, <https://journals.lka.lt/journal/lasr/article/160/info>
- Andrej Krickovic (2016), “When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 37 (2): 175-199
- Maria Raquel Freire and Licinia Simao (2018), “EU-Russia Relations and the Unravelling of the European Security Regime in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, eds., *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 178-198
- Elena Kropatcheva (2015), “The Evolution of Russia’s OSCE Policy: From the Promises of the Helsinki Final Act to the Ukrainian Crisis,” *Contemporary European Studies* 23 (1): 6-24
- William H. Hill (2018) *No Place for Russia: European Security Institutions since 1989* (Columbia University Press).
- K. Kakachia, S. Meister, and B. Fricke, eds. (2018), *Geopolitics and Security: A New Strategy for the South Caucasus* (Berlin and Tbilisi: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung),
- Olga Potemkina (2018), “Russia and the EU Facing Common Soft Security Threats: how to Deal with the ‘strategic challenge’?”, *Scientific-analytical herald of the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of*, <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/russia-and-the-eu-facing-common-soft-security-threats-how-to-deal-with-the-strategic-challenge>

March 28

Week 11 Case Studies: Frozen Conflicts

The inefficacy of EU policy

Russia’s strategy and tools

Geopolitical implications of frozen conflicts for Russia, the EU, and the neighbours

Required: Please read the following articles, according to your interest:

- *Laurence Broers (2016) “Diffusion and default: a linkage and leverage perspective on the Nagorno Karabakh conflict,” *East European Politics* 32 (3): 278-299
- *Madalina Dobrescu & Tobias Schumacher (2018), “The Politics of Flexibility: Exploring the Contested Statehood–EU Actorness Nexus in Georgia”, *Geopolitics* 25 (2): 407-427.
- *John Beyer and Stefan Wolff (2016), “Linkage and leverage effects on Moldova’s Transnistria problem,” *East European Politics* 32 (3):333-35
- *Farid Guliyev & Andrea Gawrich (2021) OSCE mediation strategies in Eastern Ukraine and Nagorno-Karabakh: a comparative analysis, *European Security*, 30:4, 569-588, DOI: 10.1080/09662839.2021.1900121

Optional:

- Andre W. M. Gerrits and Max Bader (2016), “Russian patronage over Abkhazia and South Ossetia: implications for conflict resolution,” *East European Politics* 32 (2106), 297-313
- Ryan Kennedy (2016) “The limits of soft balancing: the frozen conflict in Transnistria and the challenge to EU and NATO strategy,” *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 27:30 (512-37).
- Nicu Popescu (2009), “EU and the Eastern Neighbourhood: Reluctant Involvement in Conflict Resolution,” *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 457-77
- Laure Delcour (2010), “The European Union, a security provider in the eastern neighbourhood?” *European Security*, Vol. 19, No. 4, December 2010, 535-549
- Richard G. Whiteman and Stefan Wolff (2010), “The EU as a conflict manager? The case of Georgia and its implications,” *International Affairs* 86: 87-107.
- Theodor Tudoroiu (2012), “The European Union, Russia, and the Future of the Transnistrian Frozen Conflict,” *East European Politics and Societies*, 26: 135ff **April 4**

April 4

Week 12: Soft power: Misinformation, communication, and legitimacy issues

Required: Please read four of the following articles, according to your interest:

- *V.C. Keating, V.C. and K. Kaczmarek, (2019), “Conservative soft power: liberal soft power bias and the ‘hidden’ attraction of Russia,” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 22 (1): 591-610, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1057/s41268-017-0100-6>
- *Charlotte Wagnsson and Maria Hellman (2018), “Normative Power Europe Caving in? EU under Pressure of Russian Information Warfare,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (5): 1161-1177, DOI: 10.1111/jcms.12726
- Sinikukka Saari (2014), “Russia’s Post-Orange Revolution Strategies to Increase Its Influence in Former Soviet Republics: Public Diplomacy po russkii,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 66 (1): 50-66.
- Elena Belokurova and Andrey Demikdov (2021), “Civil society in EU-Russia relations,” in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russia Relations*,” pp. 289-299
- Maxine David (2021), “Unsocial media in the EU and Russia,” in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russia Relations*,” pp. 323-334

Websites of interest:

- <https://euvsdisinfo.eu/>
- <https://disinfowatch.org/about/>

April 11

Week 13: What kind of Eastern policy going forward? Should the EU’s Russia policy be altered?
(Debate)

Required:

- *Joan DeBardeleben, “Alternative Paradigms for EU-Russian Neighbourhood Relations,” in *EU-Russian Relations in Crisis: Understanding Diverging Perceptions*, Joan DeBardeleben and Tom Casier, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 115-136
- *Michael Staack (2018), *Russia, the European Union, and NATO: Is a ‘new normal’ possible?* (Opladen, Berlin, Toronto, Barbara Budrich Publishers (35 pages)

Additional Information

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.

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 [click here](#).

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 in-class 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>

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.

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

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

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 Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and Brightspace accounts.

OFFICIAL COURSE OUTLINE: The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.