

EURR 5205
The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours
Instructor: Prof. Joan DeBardeleben
Winter Term 2013, Thursday 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 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.

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:

Reaction papers: Each student is required to write reaction papers for 3 of the first 9 class sessions. Each paper is about four to 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. Students may replace their lowest marks with additional reaction papers. Students are expected to present portions of their thoughts from the papers in class. Discussion questions will be provided the previous week for most weeks, so students may choose to respond to one or more of the discussion questions in the reaction paper. However, responses need not be limited to these questions. Reaction papers should bring in as many of the required readings for the week as possible. 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.

Oral presentations: Each student will make two oral presentations (15- 20 minutes each)

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. 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. Particular topics or topic areas will be assigned; however, students(s) may propose other topics for approval. In the case of individual presentations, 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 and lists sources consulted. 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. Those using the powerpoint option should include a list of sources consulted in the powerpoint. You should be careful to stay within the time limit indicated, as failure to do so may adversely affect your mark.

For group presentations, each student should provide a hand-out as described above. Powerpoint may be used in addition if desired. For such 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.

Presentation Two (15-20 minutes) will be based on the student's research paper and will outline preliminary results and the conceptual framework. These presentations will occur in the final three class sessions. No written assignment is required for this presentation, but powerpoint may be used.

Term research paper:

Each student is required to write a term research paper (20-22 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 source documents will be used for the term paper. The topic and tentative bibliography for the paper must be handed in for approval in hard copy by February 14 in class. An oral presentation on the paper will occur in one of the last three weeks of class (Presentation Two above). The paper itself is due on April 15.

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 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. Failure to hand in a proposal will result in a penalty. See below on due dates and penalties

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 and handout/powerpoint	20%
Reaction papers	15%
Term research paper	30%
Presentation of research paper topic	10%
Class discussion and attendance	25%
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 15. 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. 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 22.
 - Reaction papers: Papers handed in late (without a valid excuse) will receive a maximum mark of 50% (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 10

Week 1 – Introduction to the course and organizational matters

January 17

Week 2 EU Enlargement and the EU’s Eastern Policy

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

Theoretical perspectives on the EU’s neighbourhood and eastern policy

*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.

*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

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)

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

*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.

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.

Discussion Issue: is the ENP a good response to the post-enlargement dilemma facing the EU?
Are the paradoxes that Casier identified resolvable?

January 24

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

The EU as an Actor in the Eastern Neighbourhood

The role of member states and the Commission

From the ENP to the EaP

EU Documents:

*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

*'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.

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>

*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.

*Discussion Issue: Analytic perspectives for understanding the EU's Eastern Policy (Read one of the following):

Manners, Ian (2002). "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2, 235-258.

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).

January 31 Russia's Europe Policy and the EU-Russia Strategic Partnership

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?

Ingmar Oldberg, "Aims and Means of in Russian Foreign Policy," in Roger Kanet, ed., *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 30-58

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

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

*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

*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

OR

Joan DeBardeleben, "The Impact of EU Enlargement on the EU-Russian Relationship," in Roger E. Kanet, ed. *A Resurgent Russia and the West: The European Union, NATO, and Beyond*. Dordrecht: Republic of Letters Publishing, 2009, pp. 71-92

OR

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>

Official documents:

*Medium-term Strategy for Development of Relations between the Russian Federation and the European Union (2000-2010) (unofficial translation), http://www.delrus.ec.europa.eu/en/p_245.htm

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

Other sources:

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

Fyodor Lukyanov, Rethinking Security in "Greater Europe" *Russian in Global Affairs*, no. 3 (July-September 2009), <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/28/1298.html>; AND

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>

Joan DeBardeleben, "Revising the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy: The Eastern Partnership and Russia," in Roger E. Kanet, ed., *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*

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 Topic: The Eurasian Union: A Way Forward or a Way Backward?

February 7 Type of influences on EU-Russian Relations

Week 5

Norms, Interests, and Governance

Member State Relations with Russia

*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

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 McAlliser, "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

Member States and Russia

*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.

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," *Genshagender 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' 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

Tuomas Forsberg and Graeme P. Herd, "The EU, Human Rights and the Russo-Chechen Conflict," *Political Science Quarterly* (2005), 120, no. 3, 455-478.

Discussion Question: What role is there for values and conditionality in the EU-Russia relationship? What should the EU do about value conflicts, and are Russian claims valid?

February 14 Back to the European Neighbourhood: Receptiveness of the target countries **Week 6**

Ukraine, Moldova

*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

*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.

*Iryna Solonenko, "The EU's 'Transformative Power' toward the Eastern Neighbourhood: The Case of Ukraine," (Oct. 2010), Institute for Europäische Politik (Berlin) 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

*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)

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

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.

Discussion Questions: Is the lack of a membership prospect the problem in stimulating reform? Is this a zero-sum game for the EU and Russia?

February 28 EaP: The Even More Difficult Cases

Week 7

Caucasus, frozen conflicts, Belarus

*Nicu Popescu, "EU and the Eastern Neighbourhood: Reluctant Involvement in Conflict Resolution," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 457-77.

*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>

*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)

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 questions: What to do about Belarus?
Should the EU take a more assertive role in the frozen conflicts?
What's at stake in Georgia for the EU and Russia?

March 7 Energy **Week 8**

*Nikolay Kaveshnikov, 'The issue of energy security in relations between Russia and the European Union,' *European Security*, vol. 19, no. 4 (December 2010), pp. 585-605

*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

*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

Aron Buzogany and Oriol Costa, "Greening the Neighbourhood? The Environmental Dimension of the ENP in Morocco and Ukraine," *European Foreign Affairs Review* 14 (2009), pp. 525-545.

Discussion Question: What's the fuss about the Third Energy Package? Is there a way to resolve the conflict between the EU and Russia over the Third Energy Package?
Is a more unified EU energy policy needed?

March 14 EU and Russia through other Organizations (and security issues) **Week 9** **NATO, Council of Baltic Sea States, OSCE, and Council of Europe others**

Andrew Cottey, *Security in the New Europe* (Palgrave, 2007), Chpt..1, pp. 5-31.

*Arthur R. Rachwald, “ A ‘reset’ of NATO Russia relations: real or imaginary?”, *European Security*

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OR

*Oksana Antonenko and Bastian Giergrich, “Rebooting NATO-Russian Relations,” *Survival*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2009), pp. 13-21

*Isabelle Francois, “Whither the Medvedev Initiative on European Security?” *Transatlantic Current*, National Defense University, Dec. 2011, <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=cab359a3-9328-19cc-a1d2-8023e646b22c&lng=en&id=134678>

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

* Christopher Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, “The European Neighbourhood Policy and Why the Northern Dimension Matters, in DeBardeleben, *The Boundaries of EU Enlargement*, pp. 147-164.

The Council of Europe, ECHR, and Russia (read selectively from the following):

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

'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>

Discussion questions: Why Is Medvedev’s idea of a new European security architecture so controversial? Is NATO still 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?

Does the CBSS or Northern Dimension offer another approach?

March 21 Trade and economic relations

Week 10

Hour 1: Discussion of student research papers (3-4 presentations)

Hour 2 Trade and economic relations

*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>

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

Anders Åslund, "Why Doesn't Russia Join the WTO?" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 33, no. 2 (April 2010), pp. 49-63

Is the idea of an integrated economic space from Lisbon to Vladivostok realistic? What is the basis of outstanding economic/trade agreements between the EU and Russia?

March 28 Visas and borders

Week 11

Hour 1-2: Discussion of student research papers (4 presentations)

Hour 3: 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.

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?

April 4 The Human dimension (readings to be added)

Week 12

Hour 1-2: Discussion of student research papers (4 presentations)

Hour 3: Cross-Border cooperation, cultural ties, education, science, human relations and other linkages (time permitting, no required readings)

Discussion question: Does CBC have any larger impact on the political relationship? What can CBC accomplish?

How integrated is Russia and EaP countries (choose a country) in European cultural, scientific, and educational networks? What are the facilitators and obstacles?

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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 al 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.