

Carleton University

Winter 2024

Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, <https://carleton.ca/eurus/>

Department of Political Science, <https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, <https://carleton.ca/npsia>

Preliminary Course Outline (subject to change, Dec 17, 2023 version)

EURR 5205 / INAF 5807 / PSCI 5111

The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours

Tuesday 11:30-2:30 Online

GENERAL INFORMATION:

Instructor: Prof. Joan DeBardeleben

Virtual Office Hours: Mondays 11-12, 4:30-5:30, or by appointment (Zoom, link on Brightspace)

E-mail: joan.debardeleben@carleton.ca

Course Description

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 will be drawn from a range of policy areas, including energy policy, reform initiatives, security issues, migration, and the enlargement as an EU foreign policy instrument. The course will explore the impact of 2014 Ukraine crisis and the Ukraine war on EU policy in these areas as well. Russian motivations and initiatives (such as the Eurasian Economic Union) will also be examined. The course considers the perspective of various actors. I welcome students from a variety of backgrounds to enrich our discussions and to bring new perspectives to bear.

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. Webcams should be turned on. Synchronous class time will be supplemented by blog posts in some weeks. A simulation activity will be included.

Overview

Week	Date	Topics
1	Jan. 9	Introduction to the course
2	Jan. 16	The EU's Eastern policy: European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership
3	Jan. 23	Russia's ambivalent European identity and policy; EU-Russian relations to 2014
4	Jan 30	From Ukraine crisis (2014) to Ukraine war (2022)
5	Feb. 6	Enlargement and other EU foreign policy tools
6	Feb. 13	Receptive neighbours and geopolitics (Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova)
BREAK WEEK		
7	Feb 27	Receptive neighbours and reform difficulties (Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova)
8	Mar. 5	Migration from the East, Schengen, and populism
9	Mar. 12	Competing regionalisms: Belarus' choice
10	Mar.19	In-class simulation (topic TBD)
11	Mar. 26	Europe's security dilemma
12	Apr. 2	Energy policy and sanctions
13	Apr. 10	Armenia, Azerbaijan, and changing geopolitical configurations in the Caucasus

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
- Develop a critical perspective on how these policies have operated and consequences for the EU, Russia, and neighbouring countries
- Better understand the operation of the EU as an international actor
- 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

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 and a simulation
- Gain practice in discussing the work of peers

Requirements and evaluation at a glance (Overview)

Seminar attendance and participation (weekly)	22%
Blogposts	8%
Analytical paper and its presentation (appropriate class session)	15%
Commentary on analytical paper of another student	5%
Simulation briefing note and participation	15%
Term research paper proposal (Due March 1)	approved, not approved
Term research essay (Due April 12)	35%

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 if used consistently with all necessary bibliographic information. 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):

Please note: For all assignments, work previously submitted to another course may not be used to fulfil course requirements. Also work to be submitted to another course this term may not be used to fulfil course requirements. Also the same work or substantially similar work may not be used to fulfil more than one course requirement. If you have questions about this, contact me directly.

All written submissions must be your original work and meet academic integrity standards. No part of written submissions may be generated through artificial intelligence or similar tools (e.g., ChatGPT).

For all written work, grammar, spelling, inclusion of appropriate literature and source citations, citation format, and clarity of presentation may affect the mark. Please proofread your work.

Participation: Students are expected to participate actively each week in online seminar discussions. Seminar attendance is mandatory, with operating microphone and webcam (turned on) unless a medical accommodation is required; oral participation in synchronous class discussion is expected. Comments should demonstrate familiarity with course readings. Discussion questions will be posted weekly on Brightspace to guide your reading and our discussions. If you are having any difficulties in finding a way to participate actively in seminar discussions, please contact me and we can discuss strategies. If provided, students are expected to view a short instructor video before the appropriate class session.

Blog posts: Each student is expected to contribute a minimum of four blogposts on Brightspace (i.e., in addition to responses to other blogposts) but more posts are encouraged and can improve your blog post and/or participation mark. Questions will be suggested for the blogposts. Blogposts will serve as a springboard for class discussion; you may be asked to discuss some of your blogpost comments in class. So that everyone has a chance to read the blogposts before the class, please post them at least 24 hours before the relevant class session. If you do, I will usually respond to them. Students should read the blog posts each week, regardless of whether they are writing one for that week; students are also encouraged to respond to each other's posts ,

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 five pages in length (double-spaced, 12-point font), but no more than six pages (excluding the reference list). It must be posted by 6 p.m. in the Brightspace assignment drop box on the Friday preceding the relevant class session and sent to the designated commentator at the same time. 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 as well as at least one additional reading (e.g., from optional or additional reading on the course syllabus) to bear on the assigned question. The paper 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). Papers will be evaluated based on the cogency and clarity of the analysis, evidence brought in support of it (including references to course readings and additional readings), and effectiveness of the class presentation. Students should not read the paper aloud, but rather present some of its interesting main ideas. Students may replace their first mark with the mark on a second or additional papers, if desired, as agreed with the instructor. For the additional paper(s), an oral presentation may be required.

Commentary on an analytical paper: Each student will provide a brief comment on the analytical paper of another student with dates assigned in the first or second class session. The comment should be no more than four minutes in length and should respond to arguments made in the paper and/or provide the commentator's perspective on questions raised. The commentator will have access to the paper in advance. If the paper is not available by the deadline, then the commentator should address their comments to the topic of the discussion paper but need not comment on the discussion paper.

Simulation and briefing document: The class will hold a simulation on March 19 in the seminar session. The topic will be determined after class consultation and depending on current issues. Students will generally work in teams of two (or in few cases possibly three). Each team will prepare a briefing note for the session (2-3 pages, depending on the size of the team, single spaced, i.e, one page per person, due noon, March 15. It is requested that a draft be uploaded to the discussion forum earlier that week for other students to consult). The briefing note should analyze the views of the member state being represented. Further details will be provided before the term break. The mark for this assignment will be a composite of the team's coordination and individual participation in the simulation. The evaluation will be based on the quality of research for the briefing note (including accuracy in representing the Member State position), presentation of the position in the briefing note, and effectiveness of participation in the simulation.

Term essay (including proposal): Each student is required to write a term essay (15 pages, double-spaced, 12 pt font, not including reference list.) The *term essay* should address a topic related to the EU's or EU Member States' relationship with one or more of the Eastern neighbours, or the link between EU domestic factors and eastern policy, 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. Failure to hand in the term essay will result in a failing mark in the course. Due date April 17, 5 p.m. through Brightspace.

Proposal: Due through the 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 invited 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. The proposal should state and elaborate the question that the paper will address, any hypotheses to be tested, relevant theories, and materials to be used (at least five items to be expanded to at least 12 sources for the full paper); these items should not be required course readings. Proposals that are initially not approved should be revised. Failure to gain approval for the proposal (after revisions, if necessary) may adversely affect the mark on the final paper. 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) prior to or 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: 2 points (of 100 %) for each day. The last deadline for acceptance of late papers is April 22 at 5 p.m.
Analytical 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 (presentation of analytical paper or simulation exercise) 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 you may make up the missed participation marks with a 3 page paper (double-spaced) 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.
- If, due to extenuating circumstances, you are not able to complete an assignment (written or oral) by the deadlines indicated, you must contact me for an academic consideration arrangement within 24 hours, according to the guidelines below under the section “**Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances**” (p. 16 below)

Readings (subject to change)

Required readings are available through Ares. **Materials on the reading list below marked with an * are required, however you are given choice some weeks. Those marked ** are mandatory if a choice of readings is offered in a particular week.** Optional materials can be used for additional background, analytical papers or term papers. Note that readings may be adjusted/substituted throughout the semester as indicated on the weekly discussion sheets.

DETAILED COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

January 9

Week 1: Introduction to the course and organizational matters

Suggested readings:

- *Manners, Ian (2002). “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:2, 235-258
- *Hyde Price (2008) “A ‘tragic actor’? A realist perspective on ‘ethical power Europe’,” *International Affairs* 84(1): 29-44

January 16

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

The concentric circles of EU foreign policy

Member state and union competencies in foreign policy

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

From the ENP to the Eastern Partnership policy (EaP)

EaP Review and Revision

Required (at least four)

- *Frédéric Mérand and Antoine Roayroux, "Foreign, Security, and Defense Policies," in *European Union Governance and Policy-Making*, Chpt. 9 Eds. A. Verdun, A. Hurrelmann, and E. Brunet-Jailly (University of Toronto Press, 2023).
- *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)
- *Jean F. Crombois (2023), "The Ukraine war and the future of the Eastern Partnership," *European View* 22(1), 103-110. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17816858231158238> (open access)

Official documents (skim, recommended, but optional):

- Additional official EU information on the Eastern Partnership can be found at: www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eastern-partnership_en#8011
- Additional information on the European Neighbourhood Policy can be found here: https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/european-neighbourhood-policy-enp_en
- European Council (nd), *20 Deliverables for 2020*, https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/jswd_structured_consultation_on_the_future_of_the_eastern_partnership.pdf

Optional readings:

- 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
- David Cadier (2018), "The Geopoliticisation of the EU's Eastern Partnership," *Geopolitics* 24 (1): 71-99, DOI: [10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754](https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754)
- 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

January 23

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 development of EU-Russian relations

Institutional features

The role of values, norms, and human rights issues

Reasons for stagnation and breakdown

Required (at least four):

- *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 (Revisionism)*
**Krickovic, A. (2022). “Revisionism revisited: Developing a typology for classifying russia and other revisionist power,”. *International Politics*, 59(4), 616-639.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-021-00322-3>
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://russiaymir.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>

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*
- Andrei P. Tsygankov (2007) “Finding a Civilizational Idea: ‘West’, ‘Eurasia’ and ‘Euro-East’ in Russia’s Foreign Policy,” *Geopolitics* 12 (3): 375-399

January 30

Week 4: From Ukraine crisis (2014) to Ukraine war (2022)

Ukraine's foreign policy ambivalence, geopolitical and domestic sources
Implications of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement and DCFTA
Changing relations between Russia and the EU 2014-2022
Why the Minsk agreement failed.

Required (at least four)

- *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
- *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
- **One of these:
*M. Krasnodeska (2021), "Confrontation as Ontological Security: Russia's Reaction to the EU Ukraine Association Agreement," *European-Russian Power Relations in Turbulent Times*, eds. M.K. Davies Cross and I.P Karolewski, (U Mich. Press), pp.135-159 OR
*Elias Goertz and Jorgen Staun (2022), "Why Russia attacked Ukraine: Strategic culture and radicalized narratives," *Contemporary Security Policy* 42(3): 482-497
- *Khudoley, K.(2022), "New Russia-West Confrontation: War of Attribution or Escalation" *Strategic Analysis* 46(6): 571-84, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2022.2149980>
- **Theory (various applications of realism), one of these:
*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.
(Also the debate, M. McFaul, S. Sestanovich, and J.T. Mearsheimer, "Faulty Powers," *Foreign Affairs* (2014) 93(6): 167-178 OR
*John J. Mearsheimer (2022), "The Causes and Consequences of the Ukraine War," *Horizons*, summer, pp. 12-27 OR

The Minsk Agreement and its failure:

- Full text of the Minsk agreement, Feb. 12, 2015, <https://www.unian.info/politics/1043394-minsk-agreement-full-text-in-english.html>
- Sebastiaan 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. F, bienne Bossuyt and P. van Elsuwege (Brill), Chpt. 1, pp. 17-39

Optional Readings:

- Matteo Dressler (2018), "Decentralizing power: building inclusive peace? The European Union's support to governance reform in Eastern Ukraine," *Peacebuilding* 6(3): 201-217.
- 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.
- Amadio Viceré, Maria Giulia. "Externalizing EU Crisis Management: EU Orchestration of the OSCE during the Ukrainian Conflict." *Contemporary Security Policy* 42, no. 4 (October 2, 2021): 498-529. doi:10.1080/13523260.2021.1985287.

Feb. 6

Week 5: EU Foreign Policy: Enlargement as an EU Foreign Policy Too; Member state and union competencies in foreign policy

Historical perspective on EU enlargement

Enlargement as a template for the EU's eastern policy

Enlargement cycles and current status (other accession candidate)

EU enlargement requirements and processes

Alternatives to enlargement in EU foreign policy

Required (at least four)

*Karen Smith (2023), "An End to Enlargement? The EU, its Neighbourhood, and European Order," in *International Relations in Europe*, 4th edition (Chpt.13) (Oxford University Press)

*Börzel, Tanja A., Antoaneta Dimitrova, and Frank Schimmelfennig (2017), "European Union Enlargement and Integration Capacity: Concepts, Findings, and Policy Implications," *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (2): 157–76. doi:10.1080/13501763.2016.1265576.

*Panagiotou, Ritsa (2021), "The Western Balkans between Russia and the European Union : Perceptions, Reality, and Impact on Enlargement," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 29 (2): 219–33. doi:10.1080/14782804.2020.1798218.

*Anghel, Veronica, and Jelena Džankić (2023), "Wartime EU: Consequences of the Russia – Ukraine War on the Enlargement Process," *Journal of European Integration* 45(3): 487–501. doi:10.1080/07036337.2023.2190106.

*European Commission (2023), "2023 Communication on EU Enlargement, Policy, Brussels, Nov. 8, 20, COM(2023) 690final, pp. 1-27, https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-11/COM_2023_690%20Communication%20on%20EU%20Enlargement%20Policy_and_Annex.pdf

Other Background materials

Rebecca Leppert (2022), "How Exactly do countries join the EU," Pew Research Center, July 26, (<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/07/26/how-exactly-do-countries-join-the-eu/#:~:text=The%20process%20of%20joining%20the%20EU%2C%20also%20called%20accession%2C%20has,formally%20accept%20the%20country's%20application.>

European Commission (n.d.), "Steps toward joining," https://neighbourhood-enlargement.ec.europa.eu/enlargement-policy/steps-towards-joining_en
(Please also see associated links for more details.

Optional:

Bélanger, Marie-Eve, and Frank Schimmelfennig (2021), "Politicization and Rebordering in EU Enlargement: Membership Discourses in European Parliaments," *Journal of European Public Policy* 28 (3): 407–26. doi:10.1080/13501763.2021.1881584

Michael Emerson et al (Feb 2023)., "EU Accession Prospects of Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia: First Responses to the Conditions Set by the European Commission," Centre for European Policy Studies, <https://3dcftas.eu/publications/eu-accession-prospects-of-ukraine-moldova-and-georgia-%E2%80%94-first-responses-to-the-conditions-set-by-the-european-commission>

February 13

Week 6 Receptive neighbours and geopolitics (Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine)

Geopolitical sources of interaction with the EU and Russia

Ukraine 2022: Georgia 2008 Redux?

Moldova's geopolitical ambivalence and Georgia's wavering

Frozen conflicts in Georgia and Moldova: Russian, EU, and domestic interests

Required (at least four)

- *Stephen F. Jones and S. Neil MacFarlane (2020), *Georgia: from autocracy to democracy*, Chpt. 3, 'Economic and Regional Factors in Georgia's Political Transformation', University of T. Press,
- *Wojciech Gorecki (2022), "Having your cake and eating it too. Georgia, the war in Ukraine and integration with the West," *OSW Commentary*, no. 454, June 7, 2022, <https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/osw-commentary/2022-06-07/having-your-cake-and-eating-it-georgia-war-ukraine-and>
- *Morar, Ștefan, and Magdalena Dembińska (2021) "Between the West and Russia: Moldova's International Brokers in a Two-Level Game," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 62 (3): 293–318. doi:10.1080/15387216.2020.1836984.
- *M. Solik and J. Graf (2023), "Russia as a hybrid threat to Moldova in the context of the Russian–Ukrainian war," *International Politics* (2023), <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1057/s41311-023-00536-7>
- *Torres-Adán, Ángel (2021). "Still Winners and Losers? Studying Public Opinion's Geopolitical Preferences in the Association Agreement Countries (Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine)." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37 (4): 362–82. doi:10.1080/1060586X.2021.1924041.
- *Theory*
*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

- Brian J. Ellison (2011), "Russian grand strategy in the South Ossetia War," *Demokratizatsiya* 19 (4): 343-366
- 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).
- Laurence Broers (2016) "Diffusion and default: a linkage and leverage perspective on the Nagorny 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
- K. Bokvadze & B. Lebanidze (2016), "Building a Security Community in the EU's Neighbourhood?" and D. Baltag & G. Bosse (2016), "The EU's Eastern Partnership with Moldova..." in *External Governance and Security Community Building*, P. Rieder, ed. (Palgrave), 49-106
- Frederik Coene (2016), *Post-Soviet Politics: Euro-Atlantic Discourse in Georgia: The Making of Georgian Foreign and Domestic Policy after the Rose Revolution* (Routledge, Chpt. 2
- Suzanna Vasilyan (2020), *'Moral Power' of the European Union in the South Caucasus* (Palgrave Macmillan)

- Salome Minesashvili (2021), “Europe in Georgia’s Identity Discourse: Contestation and the Impact of External Developments,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 54 (1-2): 128–155. doi: <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1525/j.postcomstud.2021.54.1-2.128>

February 27

Week 7 Receptive neighbours and reform difficulties: (Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova)

Domestic obstacles to reform

Corruption and its impact on Europeanization

Elite interests and reform motivation

Activating civil society

Required (all)*Thomas de Waal (2022), “How Georgia Stumbled on the Road to Europe,” *Foreign Policy*, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/07/07/georgia-moldova-ukraine-european-union-membership/>; AND Orcun Caliskan (2023), “Democratic Backsliding in Georgia and the Role of the Rivalry between the Georgian Dream and the United National Movement,” *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, no. 2, 2023, pp. 385-397.

- *Dorina Baltag & Isabell Burmester (2022), “Quo vadis, Moldova? The role of social and political elites in the norm internalization process,” *Democratization*, 29(3): 487-506, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2021.1963237
- *Peter Nasuti (2016) Administrative Cohesion and Anti-Corruption Reforms in Georgia and Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68(5): 847-867.
- *Marta Králiková (2021) “Importing EU norms: the case of anti-corruption reform in Ukraine,” *Journal of European Integration*, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2021.1872559
- **Theory:
**Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. “Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, no. 4 (January 1, 2004): 661–68. doi:10.1080/1350176042000248089.

Short recent commentaries (highly recommended, or other news items you find):

- Archil Gegeshidze and Thomas de Waal, “Divided Georgia: Hostage to Polarization”, Carnegie Europe, Dec. 2021; <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/12/08/divided-georgia-hostage-to-polarization-pub-85937>; Thomas de Waal (2022),
- “Moldova is Europe’s democratic ‘bright spot’, Politico, Dec. 7, 2023, <https://www.politico.eu/article/moldova-europe-democracy-bright-spot-report-hungary-poland-human-rights-media-authority/>;

Optional:

- Theodor Tudoroiu (2015) “Democracy and State Capture in Moldova,” *Democratization* 22(4): 655-678;
- Ryhor Nizhnikau (2019), Select a chapter *EU-Induced Institutional Change in Post-Soviet Space* (Routledge)
- Thijs Rommens (2017),” The Eastern partnership in Georgia: Europeanizing civil society? *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50 (2): 113-123Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier. “The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: The External Incentives Model Revisited.” *Journal of European Public Policy* 27, no. 6 (June 2, 2020): 814–33. doi:10.1080/13501763.2019.1617333
- Peter Nasuti (2016) Administrative Cohesion and Anti-Corruption Reforms in Georgia and Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68(5): 847-867Archil Gegeshidze and Thomas de Waal, “Divided Georgia: Hostage to Polarization”, Carnegie Europe, Dec. 2021, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/2021/12/08/divided-georgia-hostage-to-polarization-pub-85937>

- Center for European Policy Studies (2022), “Ex-post evaluation of the implementation of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas between the EU and its Member States and Moldova: Final Report,” October, <https://www.ceps.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Moldova-NG0922542ENN.pdf>
- European Parliament, Directorate-General for Parliamentary Research Services, Jansen, T., Ahamad Madatali, H. (2022) Association agreement between the EU and Georgia : European implementation assessment (update), European Parliament, <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2861/065960>
- T. Akhvlediani et al. (2022), “Ex-post evaluation of the implementation of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area between the EU and its Member States and Georgia,” Final Report, prepared by the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) (Brussels: European Commission), <https://www.ceps.eu/ceps-publications/ex-post-evaluation-of-the-implementation-of-the-deep-and-comprehensive-free-trade-area-between-the-eu-and-its-member-states-and-georgia/>
- T. Akhvlediani et al. (2022), “Ex-post evaluation of the implementation of the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area between the EU and its Member States and Moldova,” Final Report, prepared by the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) (Brussels: European Commission), <https://www.ceps.eu/ceps-publications/ex-post-evaluation-of-the-implementation-of-the-deep-and-comprehensive-free-trade-area-between-the-eu-and-its-member-states-and-moldova/>
- European Parliament Research Service, edited by Anna Zygierewicz (2020), Association agreement between the EU and Ukraine: European implementation assessment” (update), [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_STU\(2020\)642844](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_STU(2020)642844)
- 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>
- 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.
- 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
- “Russia’s War Against Ukraine – Implications for Democracies and Democracy Support in the EaP Region” YouTube video discussion, focusing on Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia, with experts from those countries, produced by IDEA International, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G34zBISEwY>

March 5

Week 8: Migration, Schengen, Diasporas and Populism (Domestic and foreign policy linkages)

Ukrainian emigres, Russian emigres, and EU internal policies

Migration crises and EU foreign policy

Migrant mobilization as a Russian and Belarusian foreign policy tool

Mobilization of diasporas in Russian foreign policy

Required readings (at least four).

- *Enrico Fassi, Michela Ceccorulli, Sonia Lucarelli, “An illiberal power? EU bordering practices and the liberal international order”, *International Affairs* 99 (6): 2261–2279, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1093/ia/iiaad228>
- *Auers, Daunis (2023), “The Russia-Ukraine War and Right-Wing Populism in Latvia.” In: *The Impacts of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine on Right-wing Populism in Europe*, Gilles Ivaldi and

Emilia Zankina, eds. European Center for Populism Studies (ECPS), Brussels, <https://doi.org/10.55271/rp0023>

- *Alexandru D. Moise, James Dennison & Hanspeter Kriesi (2023) “European attitudes to refugees after the Russian invasion of Ukraine”, *West European Politics* 47(2): 356-381, DOI: 10.1080/01402382.2023.2229688
- *Maciej Grześkowiak, The “Guardian of the Treaties” is No More? The European Commission and the 2021 Humanitarian Crisis on Poland–Belarus Border, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Volume 42, Issue 1, March 2023, Pages 81–102, <https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdac025>
- *Moritz Pieper (2020) *Russkiy Mir: The Geopolitics of Russian Compatriots Abroad*, *Geopolitics*, 25:3, 756-779, DOI: [10.1080/14650045.2018.1465047](https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1465047)
- *Short news and commentary (counts as one)
Andrei V. Korobkov (2022) “Russia; The Migration Dimension of the War in Ukraine, *Russian Analytical Digest*, 288, 7-11, <https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000582403>
European Council on Refugees and Eciles “EU Eastern Borders: Migrants....”, ECREWeekly, Nov. 24, 2023, <https://www.weather-us.com/en/virginia-usa/virginia-beach-weather-november>
Jorge Liboreiro, “Explained: Why truckers are blockading the EU’s eastern border with Ukraine,” *Euronews*, Dec. 4, 2023, <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/12/04/explained-why-truckers-are-blockading-the-eus-eastern-border-with-ukraine>

Optional (readings to be added):

Öncel Sencerman (2018), “Russian Diaspora as a Means of Russian Foreign Policy,” *The Military Review*, March-April, <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Journals/Military-Review/English-Edition-Archives/March-April-2018/Sencerman-Russian-Diaspora/>

March 12

Week 9 Competing regionalisms: Belarus’ choice

Russian motivations for Eurasian integration

The EU as a model for the EAEU?

The viability of the EAEU

Belarus: Becoming Russia’s loyal partner

Belarusan motivations and dilemmas

Required (at least four)

- *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
- *Yulia Nikitina (2021) “Russia’s Regionalism Projects in Eurasia”, in Mai’a K. Davies Cross and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski, eds, *European-Russian Power Relations in Turbulent Times* (University of Michigan Press), (pp. 217-238)
- *E. Korosteleva (2016). “The EU and Belarus: democracy promotion by technocratic means?” *Democratization* 23 (4):1-23
- *Sergei A. Mudrov (2022) ““We did not unleash this war. Our conscience is clear”. The Russia–Ukraine military conflict and its perception in Belarus”, *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 30:2, 273-284, DOI:10.1080/25739638.2022.208939
- *Theory*
*Alexander Libman and Anastassia V. Obydenkova (2018), “Understanding authoritarian regionalism,” *Journal of Democracy* 29(4): 152-165

Optional

- Bob Deen, Barbara Roggeveen, Wouter Zweers (2021), “An Ever Closer Union? Raminifications of further integration between Belarus and Russia,” Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, <https://www.clingendael.org/pub/2021/an-ever-closer-union/>
- For up-to-date information about EU-Belarusan relations and sanctions, see the European Council website, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eastern-partnership/belarus/>
- *Joan DeBardeleben, “Alternative Paradigms for EU-Russian Neighbourhood Relations,” in *EU-Russian Relations in Crisis: Understanding Diverging Perceptions*, T. Casier and J. DeBardeleben, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 115-136
- 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
- E. Džatkoviča 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)
- Ralph S. Clem (2011), “Going it Alone: Belarus as the Non-European European State,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52 (6): 780ff
- Marek Dabrowski (2016), “Belarus at a crossroads,” Bruegel policy contribution, Jan. 21, <http://bruegel.org/2016/01/belarus-at-a-crossroads>
- *Affairs, Policy Paper*, no. 32 (134), http://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=20615

March 19 SIMULATION

Week 10: Topic TBD

See separate guidelines

March 26

Week 11: Europe’s security dilemma: Which way forward

Russian and European perceptions of European security

NATO and the EU

The OSCE as a failed security actor

A realist or an ontological security dilemma

Building a new security structure in Europe

Required (all)

- *Kjell Engelbrekt (2022), ‘Beyond Burdensharing and European Strategic Autonomy: Rebuilding Transatlantic Security After the Ukraine War,’ *European Foreign Affairs Review* 27(3): 383-400,
- *Andreas Umland (2016), “The Ukraine Example: Nuclear Disarmament Doesn’t Pay,” *World Affairs* 178(4): 45-49.
- *William H. Hill (2023), “The OSCE Approaching Fifty: Does the Organization Have a Future?,” in *OSCE Insights*, eds. Cornelius Friesendorf and Argyro Kartsonaki (Baden-Baden: Nomos) <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748933625-01>
- *Ratti, Luca (2023), “NATO and the CSDP After the Ukraine War: The End of European Strategic Autonomy?” *Canadian Journal of European and Russian Studies* 16 (2):73-89. <https://doi.org/10.22215/cjers.v16i2.4150>.
- ****Theory)**
**Please listen to the video summary by Jakub Eberle here: <https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article-abstract/16/1/41/5210975>, based on the article “Ontological

Security, Civilian Power, and German Foreign Policy Toward Russia,” co-authored by Eberle and Vladimir Handl, in *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16(1): 41-58. AND one of the following

- *Andrej Krickovic and Richard Sakwa (2022), “War in Ukraine: The Clash of Norms and Ontologies,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 22 (32), online, <https://jmss.org/article/view/76589OR>
- *Akchurina, Viktoria, and Vincent Della Sala. “Russia, Europe and the Ontological Security Dilemma: Narrating the Emerging Eurasian Space.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 10 (November 26, 2018): 1638–55. doi:10.1080/09668136.2018.1546829.

Theory (optional)

- Mitzen, J. (2006).” Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma,” *European Journal of International Relations* 12(3), 341–370. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066106067346>*
- Dina Moulioukova and Roger E. Kanet (2021), “Ontological security: a framework for the analysis of Russia’s view of the world,” *Global Affairs* 7(5):831-853

Other optional

- Maria Raquel Freire (2022), “EU-Russia-US relations: Diverging visions on European Security,” in *The Routledge Handbook of EU-Russian Relations*, eds. M. David and T. Romanova (Routledge), pp.417-427
- *Andrei P. Tsygankov (2018), “The sources of Russia's fear of NATO,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 51: 101-111
- William H. Hill (2022), “The OSCE Approaching Fifty: Does the Organization Have a Future?” OSCE Insights 2022, <https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/10.5771/9783748933625-01.pdf>
- 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
- 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 (2016), “EU-Russia Relations and the Unravelling of the European Security Regime in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 178-198, 201-218.
- 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)

April 2

Week 12 EU Energy Security/Policy and Russia (Domestic and foreign policy linkages)

The end of interdependence?

The evolution of EU energy policy toward Russia

Russian approaches to EU regulatory regimes and sanctions

Geopolitical versus economic factors

Member state differences

Required (all)

- *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

- *On REPowerEU (2022) (skim), https://ec.europa.eu/info/strategy/priorities-2019-2024/european-green-deal/repowereu-affordable-secure-and-sustainable-energy-europe_en (See also updates: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2022/10/04/repowereu-council-agrees-its-position/>)
- *Schreurs, Miranda Alice. 2023. "Implications of the Russian War on Ukraine for Climate Policy and the Geopolitics of Energy". *Canadian Journal of European and Russian Studies* 16 (2):90-113. <https://doi.org/10.22215/cjers.v16i2.2765>.

Optional Readings:

- 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
- 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 (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
- Mitchell Orenstein and R. Daniel Kelemen (2017), "Trojan Horses in EU Foreign Policy." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 55, no. 1 (January 1, 2017): 87–102. doi:10.1111/jcms.12441
- 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
- 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
- Helene Sjursen and Guri Rosen (2021), "Arguing Sanctions: On the EU's Response to the Crisis in Ukraine," in Mai'a K. Davies Cross and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski, eds (2021), *European-Russian Power Relations in Turbulent Times* (University of Michigan Press), pp. 59-83
- *Clara Portela, Paulina Pospieszna, Joanna Skrzypczynska & Dawid Walentek (2021) Consensus Against all odds: explaining the persistence of EU sanctions on Russia," *Journal of European Integration* 43 (6): 683-69

April 9

Week 13 Armenia, Azerbaijan and the changing Caucasus political configuration

Azerbaijan's dual vector policy and EU responses

Energy and geopolitics as drivers of Azeri policy

Armenia's balancing act

The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict

New EU opportunities?

Required: Please read the following (all):

- *Eske van Gils, Eske. (2018). From 'Unilateral' to 'Dialogical': Determinants of EU-Azerbaijan Negotiations," *Europe-Asia studies*. (70)10. p.1572 – 1596 OR
- *Eske van Gils. "The inevitable non-performance of the Eastern Partnership in Azerbaijan: how regime type matters," *International Politics* (2022). <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1057/s41311-022-00402-y>

- *Tigran Grigoryan (2023), “The War in Ukraine and the Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict: The West Needs to Reevaluate Its Approach,” Heinrich Boell Foundation, Jan. 17, <https://www.boell.de/en/2023/01/27/war-ukraine-and-armenian-azerbaijani-conflict-west-needs-re-evaluate-its-approach>
- * 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
Cross and Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski, eds, *European-Russian Power Relations in Turbulent Times* (University of Michigan Press), pp. 217-238.
- *Marie Dumoulin and Gustav Gressel (2023), “After Nagorno-Karabakh: how Europeans can Strengthen Armenia’s resilience,” Nov. 24, European Council on Foreign Relations, <https://ecfr.eu/article/after-nagorno-karabakh-how-europeans-can-strengthen-armenias-resilience/>
- *Thomas de Waal (2023), “The EU and Azerbaijan: Time to Talk Tough,” Carnegie Europe, Sept. 26, <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/90631>

Optional readings:

- See EU information and documents linked through here on Armenia and Azerbaijan: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eastern-partnership/armenia/>
<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eastern-partnership/azerbaijan/>
- 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)
- 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)
- 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

Academic Accommodations and Additional Information

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

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Students must contact the instructor as soon as possible, and normally no later than 24 hours after the submission deadline for course deliverables. You may be required to submit the *Self-Declaration for Academic Considerations form*, if requested by the instructor. Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more detailed information on how to request an accommodation.

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.

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, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) 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*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

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.

Statement on Student Mental Health As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

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 material taken from books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, and material on the internet. Examples of plagiarism 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;
- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT), unless this is permitted by the instructor;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- 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 which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct 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 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 and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted according to the instructions in the course outline (I. e., via Brightspace).

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. 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

Approval of final grades

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 Department of Political Science, EURUS, and from the instructor 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.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our

mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the website of the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies is the official course outline.

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