

Carleton University

Winter 2021

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
EURR 5205 / INAF 5807 / PSCI 5111
The EU and Its Eastern Neighbours
Instructor: Prof. Joan DeBardeleben
Tuesdays, 2:30-5:30

Virtual Office Hours: Mondays 3:30-5:30 p.m. (technical details to be announced) or by appointment

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COURSE OVERVIEW

The course will examine relations between the European Union (and its member states) and post-communist countries to the east, including Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. Examples from a range of policy areas will be drawn upon, including border and visa policy, energy policy, and security issues. Implications of Russian initiatives, such as the Eurasian Economic Union, will also be explored. Recent developments, including the Ukraine crisis, will be discussed and analyzed. The course examines the material from the perspective of various actors, to avoid either a Eurocentric or Russocentric approach. Please note that the experiential learning element generally offered in the course will not be available this year due to limitations in fulfilling it in an online manner.

Course format: The course will be run seminar style, in a synchronous online manner between 2:30 and 5:30 on Tuesdays. Students are expected to have a good internet connection with webcam and microphone to facilitate complete participation. In some weeks the class session may be shorter than three hours due to the addition of some asynchronous materials that students should complete before the class session (e.g., introductory video by the instructor); information about this will be provided by email or on CULearn each week. There will normally be a break of 15-20 minutes in the middle of the synchronous class session to combat ‘Zoom fatigue.’

Week	Date of class	Topics
1	Jan. 12	Introduction; theoretical approaches
2	Jan 19	European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership
3	Jan. 26	Russia’s European identity and policy
4	Feb. 2	The EU’s relations with Russia
5	Feb. 9	Ukraine and the Ukraine Crisis
6	Feb. 23	The European Security Dilemma: More “wicked” than ever?
7	March 2	Receptive neighbours, geopolitics, and reform difficulties: Georgia
8	March 9	Receptive neighbours, geopolitics, and reform difficulties: Moldova and the Transnistrian problem
9	March 16	Belarus and Armenia: Between the Eurasian Economic Union and the EU
10	March 23	Soft power issues: Mobility, cross-border cooperation and media discourse
11	March 30	Eurasian Economic Union: Implications for the EU
12	April 6	Geopolitical balancing: Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh
13	April 13	Energy Security and Trade: Economics and Geopolitics

Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course students should:

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

In terms of general skills the course will help students to

- Advance their skills of critical assessment of academic literature and research
- Advance research and writing skills through completion of a term paper
- Enhance their communication and presentation skills through seminar discussion
- Gain practice in coordinating their own work with that of others in the class

Requirements and evaluation (Overview)

Position paper and its presentation (appropriate class session)	15 %
Country presentation (appropriate class session)	15%
Term research paper proposal (Due Feb. 26, noon)	5%
Term research essay (Due April 20, noon)	40%
Seminar attendance and participation (weekly)	25%

Requirements and Evaluation (detail):

- 1. Participation:** Weekly attendance and participation in synchronous sessions are required for the participation mark. Demonstrated familiarity with required course readings will be an important criterion for evaluation of participation. If provided, students are expected to view a short instructor video before the appropriate class session.
Participation in synchronous class sessions: Discussion in these sessions will draw on readings and other assigned materials and will be based on posted discussion questions and student presentations. All students should participate orally during the synchronous session.
Counter-point commentator: For each position paper (see below #2) one student will be designated as a counterpoint commentator and each student in the seminar will serve as such a commentator for one position paper over the course of the semester. The counter-point commentator will have up to five minutes to respond to the position paper by posing questions and/or raising counter-arguments to the position taken in the paper. The counter-point commentator will have access to the paper before class. The purpose is to instigate a mini-debate in the class about the question being discussed. Comments made in this role will form part of the participation mark for the week. If the student writing the position paper submits the paper late, the counter-point commentator should address the question posed for the position paper.
- 2. Position paper:** Each student is required to write one position paper related to a particular class session, with dates assigned in the first class session. The paper should be about 5 pages in length (double-spaced, 12-point font, plus sources), but no more than six pages. The paper is due on the Monday at 9 a.m. before the relevant class session. It must be posted by that time in the CULearn Assignment Drop box and sent, at the same time, to the designated Counter-point Commentator (see above). Each paper will argue a position, supported by evidence and sources, related to a specified question relating to the week's topic. The paper should include evidence to support the position and respond to potential counterarguments to the position taken. The paper should demonstrate familiarity

with the course readings for the week but be focused around the student's own conclusions and insights. The position paper should NOT be a summary of readings. Students should be prepared to summarize their position orally in class (10 minutes, followed by discussion). A bibliography of works cited should be included with the paper, 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. Papers will be evaluated based on the cogency and clarity of the argument, as well as evidence brought in support of it (including references to course readings). Students may replace their first mark with the mark on a second or additional papers, if desired.

3. **Country presentation:** Each student will be part of a team to prepare a country presentation. The country presentation will be approximately 20-30 minutes in length (about 7-8 minutes per team member), depending on the size of the group presenting. Each member of the team should present a portion of the presentation. This presentation will provide an overview of key information and contemporary developments regarding one of the following countries/organizations: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, Eurasian Economic Union. The presentation will be given in the class session preceding the week in which the relevant country/organization is discussed. The group may prepare a video of the presentation in advance, which will then be played at the end of the appropriate class **or** do the presentation 'live' at that time. A short Q&A will follow. The presenters should draw in additional readings beyond those required for the course; the oral presentation should be accompanied by a powerpoint presentation. A list of additional sources consulted should be provided at the end of the powerpoint presentation. Detailed guidelines for the presentation will be provided on CULearn. Evaluation of the country presentation will be a composite of a group evaluation (how well the contributions are coordinated) and an individual evaluation. The former will constitute 25% of the mark and the latter 75%.
4. **Term research essay** (including proposal): Each student is required to write a term research paper (18-20 pages) that addresses a topic related to the EU/EU Member States' relationship with one or more of the Eastern neighbours. Two types of term paper are welcome:
 - a) *A research note.* This type of paper would provide in-depth research on a particular empirical question and would involve the use of primary sources. It will answer a 'what' or 'how' question. While you will need to explain the importance of what you are researching and define any concepts used, the paper does not need to be theory based.
 - b) *An analytical paper.* This is the more traditional variant of term paper. The paper would explore a particular 'why' or 'how' question, making use of secondary literature, and, if appropriate, some primary sources. This paper should situate the analysis in relevant theories and concepts. Most students choose this option; it is considered the default option.

In either case, the topic and tentative bibliography for the paper (2 pages) must be handed in for approval through the CULearn Assignment box by **Feb. 26** at noon. Students are advised to set up an appointment with the course instructor 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 plus bibliography; the proposal should state and elaborate the question that the paper will address, any hypotheses to be tested, relevant theories (for the analytical paper), and materials to be used as well as a bibliography including at least five items (to be expanded for the full paper). Proposals that are initially not approved should be revised. However, failure to gain approval for the proposal (after revisions, if necessary) may adversely affect the mark on the final paper. See below on due dates and penalties for failure to hand in the proposal.

The paper itself is due on **April 20 at 4 p.m.** through the CULearn Assignment box. The instructor

reserves the right to require the student to engage in an individual oral discussion on the research paper with the instructor (outside of class sessions) following its submission.

Due Dates and Penalties

Please note the following important rules associated with this course:

- Any student who fails to hand in the term research paper will receive a failing mark in the course. Penalties for late papers will be as follows (waived with a valid medical excuse, see below under Academic Accommodations during COVID, p. 15):
 - Term paper and term paper proposals: Two points (of a % scale) for each day late. No term papers will be accepted after April 23 at 5 p.m.
- Position 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 60% (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 (position paper, country presentation, counterpoint comment) will receive an F for the oral component unless a valid medical (or equivalent) excuse is provided. In the case of a valid excuse, the presentation will, when possible, be rescheduled. Students who, for a valid reason, are not able to be present for any of these components on the designated day must inform the instructor as far as possible in advance of the class.
- If a valid excuse is provided for absence at a seminar session (accepted as valid by the instructor in writing), then the student may request to make up the missed participation marks by providing a three page paper addressing two of the discussion questions for the week; this should normally be handed in within one week of the missed session. This option is only available for excused absences and with the approval of the instructor.

Readings (subject to change)

Required readings are available through Ares. **Materials on the reading list below marked with an * are required.** Additional materials are listed for most sessions for those interested in pursuing the topic of the seminar further. These resources may also be helpful for term papers or for country presentations. Please note that readings may be adjusted/substituted throughout the semester and that this will be indicated on the weekly discussion sheets.

DETAILED COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

January 12

Week 1: Introduction to the course and organizational matters; theoretical approaches to the EU's Eastern Policy

Readings (Recommended):

- 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
- Jan Zielonka, *Europe as empire: the nature of the enlarged European Union* New York : Oxford University Press, 2006.
- 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.

January 19

Week 2: The Evolution of the EU's Neighbourhood and Eastern Partnership (EaP) Policies, the EU's two-track approach

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

Enlargement as a template for the ENP?
From the ENP to the Eastern Partnership policy (EaP)
EaP Review and Revision

Required readings:

- *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
- *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)

Official documents (skim, recommended, but optional):

- Commission of the European Communities (2003). *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Wider Europe-Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with Our Eastern and Southern Neighbours*. Brussels, 11 March 2003. COM (2003) 104 final. <http://aei.pitt.edu/38141/> or, if you have read this document, take a look around the ENP website on Europa, https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/european-neighbourhood-policy-enp_en
- *European Commission and High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy* (2016), ‘Joint Staff Working Document: Eastern Partnership – Focusing on key priorities and deliverables,’ SWD (2016) 467 final, Brussels, Dec. 15, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/near-eeas_joint_swd_2016467_0.pdf
- Additional key documents on the Eastern partnership are at: https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/russia/12269/eastern-partnership-key-documents_en

Optional readings:

- David Cadier (2018) The Geopoliticisation of the EU’s Eastern Partnership, *Geopolitics*, DOI: [10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754](https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1477754)
- Elena Korosteleva (2017) “Eastern Partnership: bringing ‘the political’ back in”, *East European Politics*, 33:3, 321-337, DOI: [10.1080/21599165.2017.1340882](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2017.1340882)
- Joan DeBardeleben, “Revising the EU's European Neighbourhood Policy: The Eastern Partnership and Russia,” in *Russia Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*, Roger E. Kanet, ed. (Houndsmill, Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 246-265
- Tobias Schumacher, Andreas Marchetti, Thomas Delmmelhuber, eds, *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, 1st edition (Routledge, 2018). You may purchase the e-book version of this book through the Routledge website (<https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-on-the-European-Neighbourhood-Policy/Schumacher-Marchetti-Demmelhuber/p/book/9781138913721#>)

January 26

Week 3: Russia's European and Regional Policy

Drivers of Russian foreign policy

Identity and interests in Russian foreign policy

EU vs. bilateral relations in Russia's Europe policy

Required readings

- *Peter Rutland, "Still out in the Cold?: Russia's Place in a Globalizing World (2012), *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, 343–354
- *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 (2019), "Explaining Russian foreign policy towards the EU through contrasts," *International Politics* (2019) 56:762–777
- *Angela Stent, *Putin's World*, Chpt 3 and 4

Official positions (recommended to skim):

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

Optional Readings:

- Andrei P. Tsygankov (2007) "Finding a Civilizational Idea: 'West', 'Eurasia' and 'Euro-East' in Russia's Foreign Policy," *Geopolitics* 12 (3): 375-399
- Peter Ferdinand, "'Russia Turns East Again? Russia and China after the Ukraine Crisis,'" in in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 219-237

February 2

Week 4: The EU's relations with Russia before the Ukraine crisis

The Partnership and Cooperation Agreement

Common Spaces and Road Maps

Partnership for Modernization

The role of values, norms, and human rights issues

Reasons for stagnation

COUNTRY PRESENTATION: UKRAINE

Required readings:

- *Tuomas Forsberg and Hiski Haukkala (2016), *The European Union and Russia*, Chpt. 2, pp. 10-45.
- *Tom Casier, "The EU–Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument", *Europe-Asia Studies* (2013), vol. 65, No. 7, September 2013, 1377–13
- *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*, pp. (remainder of article will be read later). DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2020.1832474
- *Clara Portela, Paulina Pospieszna, Joanna Skrzypczyńska & Dawid Walentek (2020) "Consensus against all odds: explaining the persistence of EU sanctions on Russia", *Journal of European Integration*, DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2020.1803854

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

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

Optional:

- *Sergei Lavrov (2013), “State of the Union Russia-EU: Prospects for a Partnership in the Changing World,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51, Annual Review, pp. 6-13
- 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-Russia Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation*, Chpt. 5 (Routledge) (A detailed history of relations).
- Hiski Haukalla (2010), *The EU- Russia strategic partnership : the limits of post-sovereignty in international relations*
- Pankov, Vladimir (2008). “Options for the EU-Russian Strategic Partnership Agreement,” *Russia in Global Affairs* 6: 2, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/23/1202.html>
- Thomas Gomart (2008), *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

February 9

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

Ukraine’s foreign policy ambivalence

Geopolitical and domestic sources of the Ukraine crisis

Changing relations with Russia and the EU

Implications of the Association Agreement and DCFTA with the EU

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

Required readings:

- *Anne-Sophie Maass (2017), *EU-Russia Relations 1999-2015: From Courtship to Confrontation*, “The Threat to EU Russia Relations of EU Enlargement in the Orange Revolution,” Chpt. 4, pp. 84-112 (Routledge)
- * Kristi Raik (2019), “The Ukraine Crisis as a Conflict over Europe’s Political, Economic and Security Order,” *Geopolitics* 24 (1) 51-70.
- *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
- *Roman Petrov (2020), “Peculiarities of a transposition of “an acquis” of the EU in the legal system of Ukraine: energy and customs sectors,” *Lex Portus*, no. 2, 42-57. <https://doi.org/10.26886/2524-101X.2.2020.3>

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

Optional Readings:

- Nadiia Koval (2020)” Three Faces of Federalism in the foreignPolicy: Russian and German Approaches to the Ukraine Crisis,” and Jaroslava Barbieri, “ The Dark Side of Decentralization Reform in Ukraine, “ *in Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict* (Springer), pp. 187-210, pp. 211-256.
- Crina Viju (2018), “No Middle Ground? Economic Relations Between the EU, Ukraine, and Russia,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp.137-158.
- Jozef Batora & Pernille Rieker (2018) “EU-supported reforms in the EU neighbourhood as organized anarchies: the case of post-Maidan Ukraine”, *Journal of European Integration*, 40:4, 461-478, DOI: [10.1080/07036337.2018.1467412](https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2018.1467412)
- 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](https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2018.1491281)
- Paul D’Anieri, “Ukrainian foreign policy from independence to inertia,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, no. 3-4 (2012), 447-455
- Roman Petrov, Cuillaume van der look Peter Van Elsuwege (2015), “The EU -Ukraine Association Agreement: A New Legal Instrument of Integration Without Membership,” *Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal*, no. 1, accessible through <http://kmlpj.ukma.edu.ua/article/view/52678> .
- Michael Emerson and Tamara Kovziridze (2018), *Deepening EU-Ukrainian Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield) . 2nd edition, https://www.ceps.eu/system/files/RLI_Ukraine2_Master.pdf
- Jozef Batora and Matej Navratil (2016), “Extending the EU’s Security Community Amidst Conflict: The Case of Ukraine,” in *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.19-48.
- Antoaneta Dimitrova and Rilka Dragneva (2013), “Shaping Convergence with the EU in Foreign Policy and State Aid in Post-Orange Ukraine: Weak External Incentives, Powerful Veto Players,” *Eutrope-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, 658–681
- Aron Buzogor’ny (2013), “Selective Adoption of EU Environmental Norms in Ukraine: Convergence a’ la Carte,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, 609–630
- Andrea Gawrich, Inna Melnykovaksa, and Rainer Schweicker (2010), “Neighbourhood Europeanization through ENP: The Case of Ukraine,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48, Issue 5 (Nov.), pp. 1209–1235 **Position paper topics:**

Break week: Feb. 16

February 23

Week 6: The European Security Dilemma: More “wicked” than ever?

EU-Russia Relations as an emerging security dilemma

Building a new security structure in Europe?

Prospects for the OSCE?

NATO’s role

COUNTRY PRESENTATION: GEORGIA

Required Readings:

- *Andrei P. Tsygankov (2018), “The sources of Russia's fear of NATO,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 51: 101-111
- *Simon Duke & Carmen Gebhard (2017) “The EU and NATO’s dilemmas with Russia and the prospects for deconfliction,” *European Security*, 26:3, 379-397, DOI: 10.1080/09662839.2017.1352577
- *Michael Staack (2018), *Russia, the European Union, and NATO: Is a ‘new normal’ possible?* (Opladen, Berlin, Toronto, Barbara Budrich Publishers)..
- *Andrej Krickovic (2016), “When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations,” *Contemporary Security Policy* 37 (2): 175-199

Optional:

- Maria Raquel Freire and Licinia Simao (2018), “EU-Russia Relations and the Unravelling of the European Security Regime in the Context of the Ukraine Crisis,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, eds., *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 178-198 NATO’s Russian Strategy on the Alliance’s 70th Anniversary,” *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 32:2, 135-158, DOI: 10.1080/13518046.2019.1618580
- Rafal Lisiakiewicz (2018), “Poland's conception of European security and Russia”, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 51 (2): 113-123
- Elena Kropatcheva (2015), “The Evolution of Russia’s OSCE Policy: From the Promises of the Helsinki Final Act to the Ukrainian Crisis,” *Contemporary European Studies* 23 (1): 6-24
- William H. Hill (2018) *No Place for Russia: European Security Institutions since 1989* (Columbia University Press).
- Selected chapters from 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), https://www.iwp.edu/docLib/20180215_GeopoliticsandSecurity.pdf#page=19
- Selected chapters from Serghei Golunov (2013), *EU-Russian Border Security: Challenges, (mis)perceptions, and responses* (Routledge)
- Olga Potemkina (2018), “Russia and the EU Facing Common Soft Security Threats: how to Deal with the ‘strategic challenge’?”, *Scientific-analytical herald of the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of*, <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/russia-and-the-eu-facing-common-soft-security-threats-how-to-deal-with-the-strategic-challenge>

March 2

Week 7: Receptive neighbours, geopolitics and reform difficulties: Georgia

Geopolitical sources of interaction

Internal and economic sources of interaction

Georgia as successful multi-vector policy?

COUNTRY PRESENTATION: MOLDOVA

*Required Georgia

- *Kelevan Bokvadze and Bidzina Lebanidze (2016), “Building a Security Community in the EU’s Neighbourhood?” in *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.79-106
- *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.
- *Madalina Dobrescu & Tobias Schumacher (2018), “The Politics of Flexibility: Exploring the Contested Statehood–EU Actorness Nexus in Georgia”, *Geopolitics* 25 (2): 407-427.

- *Peter Nasuti (2016) Administrative Cohesion and Anti-Corruption Reforms in Georgia and Ukraine,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 68(5): 847-867.
- An additional article on the current political situation in Georgia may be added or substituted

Optional Reading:

- Frederik Coene, *Post-Soviet Politics: Euro-Atlantic Discourse in Georgia: The Making of Georgian Foreign and Domestic Policy after the Rose Revolution* (Routledge, 2016), Chpt. 2
- Thijs Rommens (2017),” The Eastern partnership in Georgia: Europeanizing civil society? *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 50 (2): 113-123.
- Michael Emerson and Tamara Kovziridze (2016), *Deepening EU-Georgian Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield) , 2nd edition, https://www.ceps.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/RLI_Georgia2_Master.pdf
- Revaz Gachechiladze (2012 edition), *The New Georgia: Space, Society, Politics* (Routledge), Chpt. 9
- Oscar B. Pardo Sierra (2011), “Shaping the Neighbourhood? The EU’s Impact on Georgia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 63, No. 8, October, 1377–1398
- George, Julie (2013), “Georgia’s Rocky Path to Democracy,” *Current History* October, Vol. 112 (756), pp. 277ff
- Esther Ademmer and Tanua A. Boerzel (2013), “Migration, Energy and Good Governance in the EU’s Eastern Neighbourhood,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 4, June 2013, 581–608
- Suzanna Vasilyan (2020), ‘*Moral Power*’ of the European Union in the South Caucasus (Palgrave Macmillan)

March 9:

Week 8: Receptive neighbours, geopolitics, and reform difficulties: Moldova and the Transnistrian problem

Moldovan ambivalence and EU responses

The corruption syndrome and its impact on Europeanization

Reform initiatives and EU policy

EU and Russian approaches to Transnistria

COUNTRY PRESENTATIONS: BELARUS and ARMENIA

*Required Moldova

- *Christian Hagemann (2013), “External Governance on the Terms of the Partner? The EU, Russia, and the Republic of Moldova in the European Neighbourhood Policy,” *Journal of European Integration* 35 (7): 767-783
- *Ryhor Nizhnikau (2017), “Promoting Reforms in Moldova,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 64(2): 106-120
- *Theodor Tudoroiu (2015), “Democracy and State Capture in Moldova,” *Democratization* 22(4): 655-678
- *John Beyer and Stefan Wolff (2016), “Linkage and leverage effects on Moldova’s Transnistria problem,” *East European Politics* 32 (3):333-35

Optional Readings

- Olga Daniai and Mariana Mascauteanu (2011), “Moldova Under the European Neighbourhood Policy: ‘Falling Between Stools’,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.27 (1):99–119

- Michael Emerson and Denis Censura (2018), *Deepening EU-Moldovan Relations: What, when, how?* (Rowman and Littlefield), 2nd edition, <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.library.carleton.ca/docview/2175798118>
- Dorina Baltag and Giselle Bosse (2016), “The EU’s Eastern Partnership with Moldova: A ‘Best-Case’ Scenario for EU Security Community-Building”, *External Governance and Security Community Building*, Pernille Rieder, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp.49-78.
- Andrey Devyatkov, “Russia: Relations with Moldova under a Paradigm of Ambiguity” and “The European Union: From Ignorance to a Privileged Partnership with Moldova,”(2012) (Chpt. 5 and 13), in Marcin Kosienkowski and William Schreiber, ed., *Moldova: an arena of international influences* (Lexington).

Week 9:

March 16 Belarus and Armenia: Between the Eurasian Economic Union and the EU

Belarus’ version of the dual vector policy and EU responses

The Armenian exception

Reform initiatives and EU policy

*Required Readings:

- *Chiara Loda (2016), “The European Union as a normative power; the case of Armenia, *East European Politics*, 33(2): 275-90
- *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.
- *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)
- *E. Korosteleva (2016). “The EU and Belarus: democracy promotion by technocratic means?” *Democratization* 23 (4):1-23
- *Alexander Libman and Anastassia V. Obydenkova (2018), “Understanding authoritarian regionalism,” *Journal of Democracy* 29(4): 152-165

Optional readings:

- Sean Roberts & Ulrike Ziemer (2018) Explaining the pattern of Russian authoritarian diffusion in Armenia, *East European Politics*, 34:2, 152-172, DOI: [10.1080/21599165.2018.1457525](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2018.1457525)
- EU-Armenian relations on the Europa website: https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/armenia/23120/joint-press-release-european-union-and-republic-armenia-initialling-eu-armenia-comprehensive_en
- Ralph S. Clem (2011), “Going it Alone: Belarus as the Non-European European State,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52 (6): 780ff
- David Rotman, David and Natalia Veremeeva, “Belarus in the Context of the Neighbourhood Policy: Between the EU and Russia (2011),” *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 27 (1): 73-98
- Ukraine’s Crisis and Russia’s Closest allies: A Reinforced Intra-Alliance Security Dilemma at Work,” *The International Spectator* 49 (4), pp. 97-111
- Ukraine Crisis, European Council on Foreign Relations, policy memo [http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_132_Belarus_\(May_5_-_version_2\).pdf](http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_132_Belarus_(May_5_-_version_2).pdf), May 5
- Marek Dabrowski (2016), “Belarus at a crossroads,” Bruegel policy contribution, Jan. 21, <http://bruegel.org/2016/01/belarus-at-a-crossroads>

March 23

Week 10: Soft power issues: Human mobility, cross-border cooperation/security, and media discourse

Mobility and visa issues in the region

Readmission agreements and visa facilitation

Cross-border cooperation as an antidote to high politics?

Transnational linkages: European and Russian public diplomacy

PRESENTATION: EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION

Required readings:

- *Anna A. Dekalchuk (2018), "'Othering' to Open Rivalry: Negotiating the EU-Russia Role Structure Through the Visa Dialogue," in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, edited by T. Casier and J. DeBardeleben, pp. 930-112
- *V.C. Keating, V.C. and K. Kaczmarek, (2019), "Conservative soft power: liberal soft power bias and the 'hidden' attraction of Russia," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 22 (1): 591-610, <https://doi-org.proxy.library.carleton.ca/10.1057/s41268-017-0100-6>
- *Katharina Koch (2018), "The spatiality of trust in EU external cross-border cooperation," *European Planning Studies* 26 (3): 591-610, DOI: 10.1080/09654313.2017.1393502
- *Charlotte Wagnsson and Maria Hellman (2018), "Normative Power Europe Caving in? EU under Pressure of Russian Information Warfare," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56 (5): 1161-1177, DOI: 10.1111/jcms.12726

Optional Readings

- Sirke Mäkinen, Hanna Smith & Tuomas Forsberg (2016) "'With a Little Help from my Friends': Russia's Modernisation and the Visa Regime with the European Union," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68:1, 164-181, DOI: [10.1080/09668136.2015.1123223](https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2015.1123223)
- Sinikukka Saari (2014), "Russia's Post-Orange Revolution Strategies to Increase Its Influence in Former Soviet Republics: Public Diplomacy po russkii," *Europe-Asia Studies* 66 (1): 50-66.
- Forsberg and Haukkala, Chpt. 7, 177-191 and Chpt. 5, 138-145.
- Laure Delcour & Sandra Fernandes (2016) "Visa liberalization processes in the EU's Eastern neighbourhood: understanding policy outcomes", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29:4, 1259-1278, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2016.1233936
- I. Gumenyuk, T. Kuznetsova, and L. Osmolovskaya (2016), "Local Border Traffic as an Efficient Tool for Developing Cross-Border Cooperation," *Baltic Region* 8(1): 67-82,

Week 11

March 30 The Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)

The motivations for Eurasian integration

The EU as a model for the EAEU?

The viability of the EAEU

EU reactions to the EAEU and its implications for the EU

COUNTRY PRESENTATION: Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh

- *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

- *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
- * Joan DeBardeleben, “Alternative Paradigms for EU-Russian Neighbourhood Relations,” in *EU-Russian Relations in Crisis: Understanding Diverging Perceptions*, Joan DeBardeleben and Tom Casier, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 115-136

Optional

- Michael O. Slobodchikoff, *Building Hegemonic Order Russia’s Way* (Lexington 2014), pp. 69-90

Week 12

April 6 Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh

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

Energy and geopolitics as drivers of Azeri policy

The inefficacy of EU policy

Geopolitical implications of the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis, also for Armenia

Required Readings:

- *Eske van Gils (2017), “Differentiation through bargaining power in EU-Azerbaijan relations: Baku as a tough negotiator,” *East European Politics* 33 (3): 388-405.
- *van Gils, Eske. (12/01/2018). From 'Unilateral' to 'Dialogical': Determinants of EU-Azerbaijan Negotiations,” *Europe-Asia studies*. (70)10. p.1572 - 1596.;
- *Laurence Broers (2016) “Diffusion and default: a linkage and leverage perspective on the Nagorny Karabakh conflict,” *East European Politics* 32 (3): 278-299
- *Additional article to be added focusing on developments in Nagorno-Karabakh in 2020-21

Optional:

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

Week 13:

April 13 Energy Security: Economics and Geopolitics

Dependence or interdependence?

EU energy policy toward Russia (member state differences)

Russian approaches to EU regulatory regimes

Geopolitical versus economic factors

Required readings:

- *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
- *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*, pp. DOI: 10.1080/21599165.2020.1832474

Optional Readings:

- Hiski Haukkala, “Negative Mutual Interdependence: The Clashing Perceptions of EU-Russia Economic Relations,” in Casier and DeBardeleben, *EU-Russia Relations in Crisis*, pp. 53-71
- 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
- Elisabeth Christen et al (2017), “Russia’s and the EU’s Sanctions: economic and trade effects, compliance and the way forward (Brussels: European Parliament, DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES POLICY DEPARTMENT
- [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/603847/EXPO_STU\(2017\)603847_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2017/603847/EXPO_STU(2017)603847_EN.pdf)M. 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
- Amelia Hadfield (2016), “EU-Russia Strategic Energy Culture: Progressive Convergence or Regressive Dilemma?” *Geopolitics* 21 (4): 779-798
- Diana Bozhilova and Tom Hashimoto (2010), “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.
- Nikolai Kaveshnikov (2010), “The issue of energy security in relations between Russia and the European Union,” *European Security* 19, no 4 (Dec), pp. 585-605 (see also other articles in this same issue, as optional reading
- Susanne Nies (2011), “The EU-Russian Energy Relationship: European, Russia, Common Interests?”, in Roger Kanet, ed., *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 30-58
- Evert Faber Van Der Meulen (2009), “Gas Supply and EU-Russian Relations,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 612: 5, pp. 833-856.

ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

Accommodations during COVID

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor's note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available here: https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf

Academic Accommodations:

Pregnancy

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

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 its survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

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.

More information on the University’s Academic Integrity Policy can be found at:
<https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

SUBMISSION, RETURN, AND GRADING OF TERM WORK

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline.

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

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

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

CARLETON E-MAIL ACCOUNTS: All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student’s responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

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