

CARLETON UNIVERSITY
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies

EURR 5107

RUSSIA'S REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS

Fall 2015

Instructor: Dr. Peter Konecny

SEMINAR DESCRIPTION

This seminar examines Russia's foreign policy and strategic objectives towards the former Soviet republics and other key global actors. The seminar begins with a brief examination of the emergence of post-Soviet domestic and foreign policy requirements under the Yeltsin administration (1991-1999), the first two terms of Vladimir Putin (2000-2008), the term of Dmitriy Medvedev (2008-2012), and the third term of Vladimir Putin (2012-??) Seminar participants will then examine Russia's security and foreign policy strategies under 'Putin 2.0'; the domestic context framing these initiatives; and Russia's relations with key states, as well as its responses to global crises. Owing to the events in Ukraine, the seminar this year will place special emphasis on the ongoing crisis in that country and what it reveals about Russia's regional and global ambitions.

CONTACT INFORMATION

Office Hours: (September-December)
Tuesdays: 5:00 – 6:00 (RB 3314)
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EVALUATION

Seminar Participation* 25 %

One short briefing note (*maximum 4 single-spaced typed pages*). Your briefing note will be due *no later than October 19, 2015*. A sample “template” for your written briefing note is provided at the end of this syllabus. Please follow those instructions. 25%

Research brief: 50 %

A research brief of ***not more than 15 double-spaced typed pages***, (*regular margins and font, please*), based on secondary and primary sources. Those with Russian- or other area-language proficiency are expected to use sources in those languages (if applicable). You have the option of writing your research brief on a related aspect of your briefing paper. Your topic should be specific to the extent that it can be covered effectively in 10 pages. *You must clear your paper topic with me before going ahead with it.* Deadline for the paper is **November 30, 2015**.

* Note that “participation” is defined as more than mere attendance at each seminar. Students are expected to do the weekly readings and to remain informed on a weekly basis on their chosen subject areas for their briefings and research paper. Students are expected to participate on a *regular and constructive basis* in the weekly discussions.

News Briefings for Each Seminar Session

We shall start each seminar with a brief round-the-table review of current developments. Students (6 groups of approximately 3 each, to be finalized at the start of the seminar) will start each seminar with a review of news items, etc., related to the six broad categories below. Given the ongoing crisis in Ukraine, the broad category of “Russia-Ukraine” will be covered each week. We will rotate groups every other week. This will require you to engage in teamwork with others covering your topic in order to effectively cover the issues of the day. It is expected that students within each group will share the responsibility of delivering the briefs to the class.

Topics:

Russia-Ukraine (each week)
 Russia- former Soviet Republics (not Ukraine) (every other week)
 Russia-Asia (including China, Japan, Southeast Asia) (every other week)
 Russia-Middle East (every other week)
 Russia-US/Canada (every other week)
 Russia-NATO/EU (every other week)

Late Assignments & Extensions

Normally, late assignments will be penalized at a rate of 1 percent per day. However, I will give extensions for valid reasons (illness, family reasons, etc.) If you are having a problem meeting the deadline, please contact me *well before* the assignment is due. Barring exceptional circumstances, you should not expect to get an extension after the deadline has passed.

SEMINAR SCHEDULE

NOTE: Many of the readings can be viewed on-line (the URL link is provided below for such readings); some are available through your own access to the Carleton database; others will be e-mailed to you soft-copy.

IMPORTANT: Some of the readings in the latter half of the course are “TBA”, subject to recent important developments, while others may be changed if something significant and/or unexpected occurs.

SESSION 1: INTRODUCTION; THE YELTSIN ERA (Sept.4)

Seminar objectives

Political crises and the 1993 Constitution

The 1996 election

Foreign policy and security priorities: Russia rethinks its place in the world

Readings:

- “The Electoral System of the Russian Federation” *The EU-Russia Centre Review* (Issue 17): 6-15. <http://www.eu-russiacentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/Review17.pdf>
- James Millar, “The De-development of Russia” *Current History* (October 1999): 322-327.
- David Remnick, “Can Russia Change?” *Foreign Affairs* (January/February 1997).
- Anatol Lieven, “Ham-Fisted Hegemon: The Clinton Administration and Russia” *Current History* (October 1999): 307-315.

(I will be away on Sept.14 so no class)

SESSION 2: THE FIRST PUTIN PRESIDENCY (Sept.21)

Democratization and political freedom

Putin’s national security and foreign policy doctrines

Putin’s Cold War Rhetoric?

Readings:

- “The Electoral System of the Russian Federation” *The EU-Russia Centre Review* (Issue 17): 16-21 <http://www.eu-russiacentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/Review17.pdf>
- William Clark: “Russia at the Polls: Potemkin Democracy” *Problems of Post-Communism* (March/April 2004): 22-29.
- Olga Kryshtanovskaya and Stephen White, “Putin’s Militocracy” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (2003): 289-306.
- Angela Stent, “Restoration and Revolution in Putin’s Foreign Policy” *Europe-Asia Studies* (August 2008): 1089-1106.

- Andrei Schleifer and Daniel Treisman, “A Normal Country” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (March/April 2004): 20-38.

SESSION 3: THE PUTIN-MEDVEDEV TANDEM (Sept.28)

Will the Real Mr. President Please Stand Up?

Tandem Foreign Policy?

Putin 2.0 and Foreign Policy Priorities

Readings:

- “The Electoral System of the Russian Federation” *The EU-Russia Centre Review* (Issue 17): 21-28. <http://www.eu-russiacentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/Review17.pdf>
- “Vladimir Putin on foreign policy: Russia and the changing world” *Valdai Discussion Group* (March 2012). <http://valdaiclub.com/politics/39300.html>
- Andras Racz, “Good Cop or Bad Cop? Russian Foreign Policy in the New Putin Era” *Transatlantic Academy* (January 2012). http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Racz_GoodCopBadCop.pdf
- Serghei Golunov, The “Hidden Hand” of External Enemies; the Use of Conspiracy Theories by Putin’s Regime” *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* No. 192 (June 2012). <http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ponars/pepm192.pdf>

SESSION 4: PUTIN 2.0 (Oct.5)

Back to the USSR?

Is Putin Older and Wiser, or Just Grumpier?

Readings:

- Russian Foreign Policy Concept (February 2013). In Russian: http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/newsline/6D84DDEDEDBF7DA644257B160051BF7F
- In English: http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/brp_4.nsf/e78a48070f128a7b43256999005bcbb3/76389fec168189ed44257b2e0039b16d!OpenDocument
- Minchenko Consulting, *Politburo 2.0* http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&sqi=2&ved=0CB0QFjAAahUKEwj9k_rLn_HGAhVIjpIKHATD1A&url=http%3A%2F%2Fminchenko.ru%2Fnetcat_files%2FFile%2FBig%2520Government%2520and%2520the%2520Politburo%25202_0.pdf&ei=Fd2wVb21M8icygSrsb2ABQ&usg=AFQjCNG5pna9aQojY_Hnqw591LUcwigkYw&bvm=bv.98476267,d.aWw
- Leon Aron, “The Putin Doctrine” *Foreign Affairs*, March 8, 2013
- “Russia’s Self-Image and its Consequences” in *Russia and the West: The Consequences of Renewed Rivalry (Highlights from CSIS Workshop, May 2015)*
- Margarete Klein, “Russia’s New Military Doctrine” (February 2015). http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publications/swp-comments-en/swp-aktuelle-details/article/russias_new_military_doctrine.html

- “Putin’s Strategy is Divide and Conquer” *Foreign Policy Association*, July 20, 2015. <http://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2015/07/20/right-and-left-make-no-difference-putins-strategy-is-divide-and-conquer/>
- *The Russian Challenge* (Chatham House Report). Read Introduction; pp.2-13; pp.33-49. <http://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/russian-challenge-authoritarian-nationalism>

SESSION 5: UKRAINE (Part 1) (Oct.19)

Yanukovych and the Euromaidan ‘Revolution’
 The Crimea Annexation – how and why?
 The West’s Reaction – too Little, too Late?

Readings:

- Ukraine crisis timeline (this link gives you updated timeline on course of events – handy as a reference link). <http://www.fpri.org/geopoliticus/2014/07/ukraine-crisis-timeline-talk-peace-acts-war>
- Sarah Mendelson and John Harvey, “Responding to Putin’s Plan Post-Crimea” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, July 24, 2014. <http://csis.org/publication/responding-putins-plan-post-crimea>
- James Sherr, “Putin’s Imperial Project Threatens European Values” *Chatham House*, January 29, 2014. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/media/comment/view/197005> ; and, “A Memo on Russian and Ukraine”, March 6, 2014. <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/?fa=54789&reloadFlag=1>
- “Dr. Stephen Blank on Russia and Ukraine” (audio) *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, March 2, 2014. <http://www.fpri.org/multimedia/2014/03/dr-stephen-blank-russia-and-ukraine-audio>
- Jadwiga Rogoza, “Conservative Counterrevolution: Evidence of Russia’s Strength or Weakness?” *Russia Analytical Digest*, July 28, 2014, pp.2-5. <http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/pdfs/RAD-154.pdf>
- *Russia Analytical Digest*, May 2, 2014 issue (read all). <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=180330>

Oct.26 – No Class (Fall Break)

SESSION 7: UKRAINE (Part 2) (Nov.2)

The Battle in Eastern Ukraine
 Putin’s Tactics and his End-game
 Impact of Sanctions
 The Information War over Ukraine

Readings:

- Marek Menkiszak, “The Putin doctrine: The formation of a conceptual framework for Russian dominance in the post-Soviet area” OSW Commentary No. 131, March 28, 2014. http://www.osw.waw.pl/sites/default/files/commentary_131.pdf

- “Prospects for a Frozen Conflict in Eastern Ukraine: State of Play and Trends” in *Russia and the West: The Consequences of Renewed Rivalry (Highlights from CSIS Workshop, May 2015)*
- Additional readings TBA

Examining the ‘information war’ over Ukraine :

We will divide up the class into ten sections. Students will review the website for content, “spin,” biases, etc. on the Ukraine crisis from February 2014 to today.

- 1) Kremlin.ru
- 2) The Kremlin Stooge (<http://marknesop.wordpress.com/>)
- 3) Robertamsterdam.com
- 4) Novayagazeta.ru
- 5) StopFake.org (<http://www.stopfake.org/en/news/>)
- 6) Russiaotherpointsofview.com
- 7) Euromaidanpress.com
- 8) Lifenews.ru
- 9) Wall Street Journal
- 10) Kyiv Post

SESSION 8: CHINA AND CENTRAL ASIA (Nov.9)

Russia-China: an Equal Partnership?

Russia’s Ambitions in Central Asia

Readings:

- Richard Weitz, “The Collective Security Treaty Organization: Past Struggles and Future Prospects”; Alisa Kizekova, “The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Regional Chessboards” *Russia Analytical Digest*, July 21, 2014. <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=182224>
- Read whole issue of *Russia Analytical Digest* No.169 (2015) http://www.css.ethz.ch/publications/DetailansichtPubDB_EN?rec_id=3332
- Alexander Gabuev, “A ‘Soft Alliance’? Russia-China Relations After the Ukraine Crisis” in *European Council on Foreign Relations* (February 2015) http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&ved=0CEUQFjAHa_hUKEwjEk765o-zGAhUGGD4KHcCpDbU&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ecfr.eu%2Fpage%2F-%2FECFR126 - A Soft Alliance_Russia-China Relations After the Ukraine Crisis.pdf&ei=CkKuVcTmCYaw-AHA07aoCw&usg=AFQjCNEadhT7DPyV5Ah4JanGjjzatKAXig
- “Unequal Partners: China and Russia in Eurasia” *The Diplomat* (June 2015) <http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/unequal-partners-china-and-russia-in-eurasia/>

SESSION 9: RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES (Nov.16)

After the ‘Reset’ Button
A New Cold War?

Readings:

- “Will the Magnitsky Blacklist Sour US-Russian Relations?” *Russia Beyond the Headlines* (June 19 2012). http://rbth.ru/articles/2012/06/19/the_magnitsky_blacklist_may_sour_us-russia_relations_15900.html
- Presentation on the Magnitsky affair (to be provided)
- Dmitry Suslov, “US-Russia Reset Over, What Next?” *Valdai Discussion Club*, February 2013 <http://valdaiclub.com/usa/54760.html>
- Steven Pifer, “U.S. and Russia Still Share Some Common Ground” *Brookings Institute*, July 30, 2014. <http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2014/07/30-us-russia-still-share-common-ground-pifer>
- “US-Russia Relations: A 20-year Crisis?” in *Russia and the West: The Consequences of Renewed Rivalry (Highlights from CSIS Workshop, May 2015)*
- “Russia is Showing Cold War-Era Levels of Aggression” *Heritage Foundation*, July 2015. <http://dailysignal.com/2015/07/13/russia-is-showing-cold-war-era-levels-of-aggression/>

SESSION 10: RUSSIA, NATO AND THE EU (Nov.23)

Has Ukraine Broken Russia-EU Relations?
How United is the EU Towards Russia?
Energy – Still a Weapon to be Used by Russia?

Readings:

- Andrew Monaghue, “The Ukraine Crisis and NATO-Russia Relations” *NATO Review* <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2014/Russia-Ukraine-Nato-crisis/Ukraine-crisis-NATO-Russia-relations/EN/index.htm>
- “NATO-Russia Relations: the Facts” (from NATO website) http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_111767.htm
- Shane R. DeBeer and Wim Vandenbergh, “How the Ukraine crisis is redefining European, Russian and US energy relations” Lexology, July 15, 2014. <https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=f55c84ef-ac86-4767-8f34-309c42623884>
- “The Future of EU-Ukraine Relations: Four Scenarios” Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, March 2014. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/id-moe/10608.pdf>
- “Russia’s Relations with the EU and Consequences for NATO” in *Russia and the West: The Consequences of Renewed Rivalry (Highlights from CSIS Workshop, May 2015)*
- Anke Schmidt-Felzmann, « Is the EU’s failed relationship with Russia the member states’ fault? » *Swedish Institute of Internatinoal Affairs* (June 2015). <http://www.ui.se/eng/news/peer-edited-articles/is-the-eus-failed-relationship-with-russia-the-member-states-fault.aspx>

SESSION 11: DEBATE (Nov.30)

Our final in-class session will be devoted to a formal debate which will be open to the interested public (room to be finalized). The class will be divided up into “yeah” and “nay” sides addressing the following question: “Be it resolved: Russia’s actions against Ukraine constitute a serious violation of international law and a major threat to regional and even global security.” Formal debate rules will apply. Students will be expected to collaborate among their team to present their side and deftly defend that position during the debate.

SESSION 12: GUEST SPEAKER (TBA) (Dec.7)

- This will take place at my house as part of the end-of-course social

SAMPLE TEMPLATE FOR BRIEFING NOTE

Please follow these structural guidelines for your briefing paper assignment

Paper must be:

- * no more than FOUR single-spaced typed pages, normal size font (papers exceeding this length will not be accepted until they are pared down)
- * succinct and cover what you believe to be the most important aspects of the issue
- * present, where applicable, contrasting opinions or scenarios, along with your judgements on the former
- * written in complete sentences (point form is acceptable within a paragraph as part of a sentence, if necessary).

*** This is NOT to be a policy brief with policy recommendations. Rather, it is an academic brief on the given subject.*

Structure of the paper:

Summary:

- * a 1-2 paragraph summary, which boils down the key points in your briefing
- * should be no longer than half a page.

Introduction:

- * a one-paragraph introduction outlining the issue and what the briefing sets out to do.

Main Sections:

- * develops, and sets out in logical order, aspects of the issue
- * it's up to you to decide how many sections you want as a way of breaking up the topic
- * where relevant, you should present different scenarios/approaches towards the issue.

Conclusion/Outlook:

- * you can have one or both, depending on your topic
- * present concluding judgements; where relevant, offer judgements on prospects for future developments, outcomes or scenarios related to the issue.

Please number your paragraphs consecutively, starting with the Introduction (do not number the paragraphs in the Summary).