

CARLETON UNIVERSITY
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies

EURR 5107
RUSSIA'S REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS

Fall 2013

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. The seminar this year will include specific focus on Russia's relations with the United States, Ukraine and Belarus, the South Caucasus, China and Central Asia, and its response to the 'Arab Spring'.

Classes September - December 2013
 Monday 6:00-9:00
 RB 3302

Deadline of major research paper: **November 26, 2013**

CONTACT INFORMATION

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

Seminar Participation* 25 %

One short briefing paper (*maximum* 4 single-spaced typed pages). Your briefing will be 25%

due *no later than* **October 21, 2013**. A sample “template” for your written briefings is provided at the end of this syllabus.

Research paper:

50 %

A research paper 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). Ideally, your topic will be an outgrowth of one of your briefing papers (this is not mandatory, but it will allow you to get a head start on your paper). Your topic can be general or specific in nature but must relate in some way to any of the issues covered in the seminar. *You must clear your paper topic with me before going ahead with it.* Deadline for the paper is **November 26, 2013**.

* 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.

Topics for Briefings and Research Papers

Students should choose one of the following topics as their broad issue of focus for the duration of the seminar. We shall start each seminar with a brief round-the-table review of current developments. Students will be called upon to summarize (for a maximum of five minutes) what has been happening in their area of interest.

Students may write their short briefing paper on an aspect of their chosen topic. (Although this is not mandatory, choosing this option will obviously save you some time and give you more background research/familiarity). Normally, two students will be able to pick the same general topic area, as we will be alternating with briefings every other week (i.e., there will be two groups because only seven or eight can go each week). The following are general topics to be covered in the round-the-table reviews for each seminar. You may wish to focus on a specific element of your chosen topic or keep it more broadly defined.

- 1) Domestic agenda (politics; economic issues; human rights; media, etc.)
- 2) National security agenda (national security doctrine; role of security services in domestic and foreign operations)
- 3) Chechnya/Caucasus issues
- 4) Defence-related issues (defence reform; weapons trade; Russia and NATO)
- 5) Relations with the CIS (choose one of: Central Asian republics; South Caucasus; Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova)
- 6) Relations with the US
- 7) Relations with the European Union and EU countries
- 8) Relations with China, India and other Asian countries
- 9) Relations with the Middle East
- 10) Relations with Canada

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.

Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term because of disability, pregnancy or religious obligations. Please review the course outline promptly and write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

It takes time to review and consider each request individually, and to arrange for accommodations where appropriate. Please make sure you respect these timelines particularly for in-class tests, mid-terms and final exams, as well as any change in due dates for papers.

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at <http://carleton.ca/equity/accommodation>

Pregnancy obligation: write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details visit the Equity Services website: <http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/>

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 visit the Equity Services website: <http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/>

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The **Paul Menton Centre** for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*) at <http://www2.carleton.ca/pmc/new-and-current-students/dates-and-deadlines/>

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at <http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/>

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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: As things tend to occur “unexpectedly,” 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

Discussion of 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.

SESSION 2: THE FIRST PUTIN PRESIDENCY

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 Kryshstanovskaya 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.
- Putin's speech to the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy (Feb. 10, 2007). Download at: http://www.securityconference.de/archive/konferenzen/rede.php?menu_2007=&menu_konferenzen=&sprache=en&id=179&
- For debate: Andrei Schleifer and Daniel Treisman, "A Normal Country" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (March/April 2004): 20-38. We will split the class in half (pro and contra) and have a debate. Remember that this was written eight years ago. Is the content in this controversial article relevant for Russia today as well?

SESSION 3: THE PUTIN-MEDVEDEV TANDEM; PUTIN 2.0

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>
- "The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation" (July 2008). <http://www.mid.ru/ns-osndoc.nsf/0e9272befa34209743256c630042d1aa/cef95560654d4ca5c32574960036cddb?OpenDocument>
- Dmitriy Yefremenko, "After the Tandem: Russian Foreign Policy Guidelines" *Russia in Global Affairs* (22 June 2011). <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/After-the-Tandem-Russian-Foreign-Policy-Guidelines-15236>
- "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
- Sergei 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

Back to the USSR?

Is Putin Older and Wiser, or Just Grumpier?

- Lilia Shevtsova and David Kramer, “The Authoritarian Surge” *The American Interest*, July 3, 2013 <http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=1459>
- Lilia Shevtsova, “Tinker, Tailor, Snowden, Spy” *Carnegie Moscow Center*, July 18, 2013 <http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=1459> (we will have updated readings on this topic as well)
- 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
- Sergey Plekhanov, “Russia and the West: Integration and Tensions” in *Russia After 2012*, pp.139-152.
- Leon Aron, “The Putin Doctrine” *Foreign Affairs*, March 8, 2013

SESSION 5: RUSSIA, UKRAINE, EUROPEAN UNION

An Equal Partnership?

Does Russia Want to Break up Ukraine?

What are the Prospects for Russia-EU Relations?

Readings:

- Steven Pifer, “Ukraine’s Foreign Policy: Losing its Balance” *Brookings Institute* (May 2012).
- <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/06/11-ukraine-foreign-policy-pifer>
- Steven Pifer, “Ukraine: Yanukovich, Tymoshenko and Europe—Again” *Brookings Institute*, June 10, 2013 <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2013/06/10-ukraine-yanukovich-tymoshenko-and-europe-pifer>
- Dmitri Travin, “Ukraine, Belarus Russia – Family Reunited?” *Open Democracy* (August 8, 2011).
- <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/dmitri-travin/ukraine-belarus-russia-%E2%80%94-family-reunited>
- Michael Johns, “Russia-European Union Relations after 2012: Good, Bad, Indifferent?” In *Russia After 2012*, pp.153-167
- “The End of an Era in EU-Russia Relations” *Carnegie Moscow Center*, May 30, 2013 <http://carnegie.ru/2013/05/30/end-of-era-in-eu-russia-relations/g7fw#>

SESSION 6: THE SOUTH CAUCASUS

The Endless Russia-Georgia Dispute

Juggling Azerbaijan and Armenia

Readings:

- “Georgia: Making Cohabitation Work” *International Crisis Group*, December 2012. Download report at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/europe/south-caucasus/georgia/b069-georgia-making-cohabitation-work.aspx>
- Russia, Georgia Exchange Accusations on War Anniversary” (OSC Report, August 8 2012).
- Azerbaijan’s Foreign Policy in 2012: Ten Issues to Watch” *Azerbaijan in the World* (January 2012). <http://ada.edu.az/biweekly/issues/vol5no1/20120115072005626.html>
- Armenia: An Opportunity for Statesmanship” *International Crisis Group* (June 2012). <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/caucasus/armenia/217-armenia-an-opportunity-for-statesmanship.pdf>
- Additional readings TBA

SESSION 7: RUSSIA AND THE ARAB SPRING

Why has Russia Supported the Dictators?

Long-term Implications

Readings:

- Ekaterina Stepanova, “ The Syria Crisis and the Making of Russia’s Foreign Policy” *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 199* (June 2012). <http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ponars/pepm199.pdf>
- Dmitry Gorenburg, “Why Russia Supports Repressive Regimes in Syria and the Middle East” *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 198* (June 2012). <http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/ponars/pepm198.pdf>
- Margarete Klein, “Russia and the Arab Spring” *German Institute for International and Security Affairs* (February 2012). http://www.swp.berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2012C03_kle.pdf
- Steve Melito, “Understanding Russia’s Reaction to the Arab Spring” *Defence and Security Networks*, February 5, 2013. <http://defsecnet.com/understanding-russias-reaction-to-the-arab-spring/>

SESSION 8: CHINA AND CENTRAL ASIA

Russia and the SCO

Russia as a Junior Partner to China

Containing Central Asia

Readings:

- Oksana Antonenko, “Russia’s Foreign and Security Policy in Central Asia: The Regional Perspective” *International Institute for Strategic Studies* (June 2011). <http://www.iiss.org/programmes/russia-and-eurasia/russian-regional-perspectives-journal/rrp-volume-1-issue-2/russias-foreign-and-security-policy-in-central-asia/>
- Sergey Karaganov, “Russia’s Asia Strategy” *Russia in Global Affairs* (2 July 2011). <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/pubcol/Russias-Asian-Strategy-15254>
- Stephen Blank, “Russia and Central Asia Fight the Arab Revolutions” *Central Asia – Caucasus Institute* (July 7, 2011). <http://cacianalyst.org/?q=node/5592>
- Jeff Sahadeo, “Russia and Central Asia: Does the Tail Wag the Dog?” in *Russia After 2012*, pp.167-183.

- Jacques Levesque, “Moscow’s Evolving Partnership With Beijing: Countering Washington’s Hegemony” in *Russia After 2012*, pp.184-201.
- Dmitry Trenin, “True Partners? How Russia and China See Each Other” *CER* (February 2012) http://www.cer.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/pdf/2012/rp_065-4622.pdf

SESSION 9: THE KREMLIN IN THE BLOGOSPHERE

How the Kremlin Controls its Message
Anti-Kremlin Media and Their Message

We will divide up the class into six sections. Students will review the website for content, “spin,” biases, etc.

- 1) Kremlin.ru
- 2) The Kremlin Stooge (<http://marknesop.wordpress.com/>)
- 3) Robertamsterdam.com
- 4) Novayagazeta.ru
- 5) La Russophobe (<http://larussophobe.wordpress.com/>)
- 6) Russiaotherpointsofview.com

SESSION 10: RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Pushing the ‘Reset’ Button
Democratization: A War of Rhetoric?
Russia-US Strategic Partnership

Readings:

- “Putin’s Return and the US-Russian Reset” (Woodrow Wilson Center seminar, May 2012). <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/natconusrussiareset.pdf>
- “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
- Dmitry Suslov, “US-Russian Reset Over, What Next?” *Valdai Discussion Club*, February 2013 <http://valdaiclub.com/usa/54760.html>
- Additional Readings TBA

SESSION 11: GUEST SPEAKER

- **TBA** (this will take place at my house as part of the end-of-course social)

SAMPLE TEMPLATE FOR BRIEFING PAPER

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).

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).*