

CARLETON UNIVERSITY
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies

EURR 5107
RUSSIA'S REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS

Fall 2016

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.

Classes September - December 2016
 Tuesday 6:00-9:00
 RB 3302

CONTACT INFORMATION

Office Hours: (September-December)
 Tuesdays: 5:00 – 6:00 (RB 3315)
 Email: peterkonecny2@yahoo.ca
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EVALUATION

Seminar Participation*	25 %
One short briefing note (<i>maximum</i> 4 single-spaced typed pages). Your briefing note will be due <i>no later than</i> October 18, 2016 . A sample "template" for your written briefing note is provided at the end of this syllabus. Please follow those instructions.	25%
Research brief proposal:	10 %

Research brief:

40%

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 are required to send me a one-page proposal outlining your topic and basic thesis, no later than **November 15**.*

Deadline for the completed assignment is **November 29, 2016**.

* 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 will select a topic to follow for the duration of the semester. Each student will present relevant news items on their topic at the start of the seminar, on a bi-weekly basis (5 minutes maximum). This will require you to engage in teamwork with others covering your topic in order to effectively cover the issues of the day.

News Item Topics:

Russia-Ukraine
 Russia – domestic political issues
 Russia- former Soviet Republics (not Ukraine)
 Russia-Asia (including China, Japan, Southeast Asia)
 Russia-Middle East
 Russia-US/Canada
 Russia-NATO/EU

Academic Accommodations:

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*).

Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

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.

All suspicions of plagiarism will be dealt with according to the Carleton’s Academic Integrity Policy (<http://carleton.ca/studentaffairs/academic-integrity/>). The Associate Dean of the Faculty will conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. 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, Return and Grading of Term Work:

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. If permitted in the course outline, late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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.

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 seminar are "TBA", subject to recent important developments, while others may be changed if something significant and/or unexpected occurs.

INTRODUCTION; THE YELTSIN ERA (Sept.13)

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.

THE FIRST PUTIN PRESIDENCY (Sept.20)

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 Kryshchanovskaya 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.

THE PUTIN-MEDVEDEV TANDEM (Sept.27)

Will the Real Mr. President Please Stand Up?

Tandem Foreign Policy?

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>
- 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

Richard Rousseau, “Russian foreign policy under Dmitry Medvedev’s Presidency” *CESRAN International*, April 29, 2015. <http://cesran.org/russian-foreign-policy-under-dmitry-medvedevs-presidency-2008-2012.html> (download article from this link)

- 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>

PUTIN 2.0 (Oct.4)

Back to the USSR?

Is Putin Older and Wiser, or Just Grumpier?

How is Russia re-defining its strategic interests abroad?

Readings:

- Russian Foreign Policy Concept (February 2013). In Russian: http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/newslines/6D84DDEDEDBF7DA644257B160051BF7F
- In English: http://www.mid.ru/bdcomp/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_HGAhVJjpIKHatYD1A&url=http%3A%2F%2Fminchenko.ru%2Fnetcat_files%2FFile%2FBig%2520Government%2520and%2520the%2520Politburo%25202_0.pdf&ei=Fd2wVb21M8icygSrsb2ABQ&usq=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>

(Oct.11 – no class - away)

UKRAINE (Oct.18)

The Crimea Annexation – how and why?

The West’s Reaction – too Little, too Late?

The Battle in Eastern Ukraine

Putin’s Tactics and his End-game

Impact of Sanctions

Readings:

- Ukraine crisis timeline (handy reference guide) <http://ukraine.csis.org/>
- *Russia Analytical Digest*, May 2, 2014 issue (read all).
http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/Russian_Analytical_Digest_148.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)*
- Pavel Baev, “Russia is showing uncharacteristic prudence. Why – and will it last?” *Brookings Institute*, June 2, 2016. <https://www.brookings.edu/2016/06/02/russia-is-showing-uncharacteristic-prudence-why-and-will-it-last/>

Oct.25 – No Class (Fall Break)**INFORMATION (‘HYBRID’) WARFARE (Nov.1)***Readings:*

- Peter Pomerantsev and Micheal Weiss, *The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information*, pp.4-34. http://www.interpretermag.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/The_Menace_of_Unreality_Final.pdf

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

CHINA AND CENTRAL ASIA (Nov.8)

Russia-China: an Equal Partnership?
Russia’s Ambitions in Central Asia

Readings:

- Read whole issue of *Russia Analytical Digest* No.169 (2015)
https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/192109/Russian_Analytical_Digest_170.pdf
- 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=0CEUQFjAHahUKewjEk765o-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&usq=AFQjCNEadhT7DPyV5Ah4JanGjjzatKAXig](http://www.google.ca/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&ved=0CEUQFjAHahUKewjEk765o-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&usq=AFQjCNEadhT7DPyV5Ah4JanGjjzatKAXig)

- “Unequal Partners: China and Russia in Eurasia” *The Diplomat* (June 2015) <http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/unequal-partners-china-and-russia-in-eurasia/>
- “China, Russia, and the new Silk Road in Central Asia: The Great co-empowerment” March 8, 2016. <https://www.redanalysis.org/2016/03/07/rtas-44-china-russia-and-the-new-silk-road-the-great-convergence-deepens-part-1/>

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (Nov.15)

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
- Fiona Hill, “Understanding and Deterring Russia” <https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/understanding-and-deterring-russia-u-s-policies-and-strategies/>
- 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)*
- US-Russian relations beyond Obama” *Brookings Institute*. <http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/order-from-chaos/posts/2016/04/20-putin-obama-next-administration-ohanlon>
- Eric Draitser, “US bullying Canada to pursue anti-Russian foreign policy” <http://www.globalresearch.ca/us-bullying-canada-to-pursue-anti-russian-foreign-policy/5529899>

CYBER AS A TOOL OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY (Nov.22)

Has Russia launched a cyber war against the West?

What are the implications of cyber and information operations as tools of foreign policy?

Readings:

- Keir Giles, *Russia’s ‘New Tools’ for Confronting the West*, pp.6-13; 27-47 <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/research/2016-03-21-russias-new-tools-giles.pdf>
- Review *Bears in the Midst: Intrusion into the Democratic National Committee*, June 14, 2016. <https://www.crowdstrike.com/blog/bears-midst-intrusion-democratic-national-committee/>

- “The West must respond to Russia’s increasing cyber aggression” *Defense One*, June 15, 2016. <http://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2016/06/west-must-respond-russias-increasing-cyber-aggression/129090/>
- “Foreign policy responses to international cyber-attacks”. *Clingendael*, September 2015. https://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/Clingendael_Policy_Brief_Foreign%20Policy%20Responses_September2015.pdf
- Eugene B. Rumer, “The Kremlin's Advantage: Why Cyberwar Will Continue” *Foreign Affairs*, August 1, 2016. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2016-08-02/kremlins-advantage>

RUSSIA, NATO AND THE EU (Nov.29)

Has Ukraine Broken Russia-EU Relations?

How United is the EU Towards Russia?

Energy – Still a Weapon to be Used by Russia?

Readings:

- Andrew Monaghan, “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
- Gustav Gressel, “The Dangerous Decade: NATO-Russia Relations from 2014 to 2024” http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_the_dangerous_decade_russia_nato_relations_2014_to_2024
- Andrej Krickovic, “The Failure of Institutional Binding in NATO-Russia Relations” <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/The-Failure-of-Institutional-Binding-in-NATO-Russia-Relations-18262>
- “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 International Affairs* (June 2015). <http://www.ui.se/eng/news/peer-edited-articles/is-the-eus-failed-relationship-with-russia-the-member-states-fault.aspx>

WRAP-UP (Dec.6)

Discussion of course material

End of semester 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).*