

**CARLETON UNIVERSITY**

*Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies*

EURR 5107

**RUSSIA'S REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS**

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Wednesdays: 18:05 – 20:55

Location: Paterson Hall 234

Course Instructor: Mikhail Zherebtsov  
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Office hours: Wednesdays 16:45-17:55 or by appointment

***COURSE DESCRIPTION***

The course reviews the past thirty years of Russian foreign policy and explores internal and external factors that influenced and, in some instances, determined the course of actions of the Russian government as well as changes they imposed on the international arena. Looking retrospectively it is quite safe to state that during this period Russia has made a rather critical turn in its foreign policy from a full-fledged cooperation to a completely frank confrontation with the West, heading towards that some analysts call "the return of the Cold War era". The seminar is aimed to engage participants into the critical (re-)assessment of the key foreign policy events. To facilitate the discussion, the course is conceptually organized in three themes: (1) a historic overview of key milestones of the post-Soviet foreign policy in Russia, explaining causes of change, (2) the focus on Russia's relations with key players on the international arena (divided in three vectors – European, Transatlantic and Eurasian), and (3) in-depth and thorough critical study of key events.

***READINGS:***

For each session, most readings are comprised of articles in academic journals. Due to the nature of such publications, most of them are not intended to provide a broad overview of the issue, hence it is expected for the reader to be factually knowledgeable about the subject matter.

A comprehensive outlook on modern history of international affairs in Eurasia can be found in:

- Andrei P. Tsygankov (2016). *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Kanet, Roger E., ed. (2011). *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan

Practical guides on how to prepare assignments (briefing notes and an analytical report) will be posted on the course's CU Learn page. For a more comprehensive outlook, the students are recommended to read the monograph by

- Ted Glenn (2014) *Professional communications in the public sector: a practical guide*, Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, paying particular attention to Chapters 4, 5, and 7.

Both monographs are placed on reserve at MacOdrum Library. Additional complementary readings may be posted on the course page.

<b>EVALUATION<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>4107</b>	<b>5107</b>
- Participation <sup>2</sup>	25%	25%
- Policy analysis paper proposal	15	
- Briefing notes (total):	2x15%	3x15%
<i>Short (max. 2 single-sized pages) practical notes, replicating the style and contents of a real briefing note, summarizing the current state of play, identifying key actors and processes that influence the developments in the subject matter, as well as proposing possible situations and most desirable course of actions.</i>		
- Policy analysis paper	30%	30%
<i>The paper should be 3500-4500 words (or 12-16 double-sized pages) for 5107 students or 3000-3500 (10-12 double-sized pages) and provide a comprehensive and critical overview of a problem or topic. Students are free to choose any issue that is thematically concordant with the overall theme of the course. The paper should provide an overview of the problem, outline key stakeholders involved and resources used, develop the main and alternative hypothesis, depicting its causes and explain how the problem influences and will influence actions of key international actors.</i>		

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<sup>1</sup> Detailed instructions as well as supplementary materials on how to prepare policy briefs and an analytical report will be provided through the course's CU Learn page.

<sup>2</sup> Note that attendance is considered only as the prerequisite for the participation mark for the course. Students are expected to do the weekly readings and participate on a regular and constructive basis in the weekly discussions.

## **SCHEDULE**

(!!!) Readings with (\*) symbol are regarded supplementary

### **1. (Sept. 4) Introduction. Russia in the World Politics: historic roots, Soviet era legacies, post-Soviet realities**

- Gunitsky, Seva & Tsygankov, Andrei, (2018) "The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 65, Issue 6.
- Bordachev, Timofei (2018). "Greater Eurasia and Russian Foreign Policy Priorities." *Asian Politics & Policy*, Vol. 10, Issue 4
- Arakelyan, Lilia A. (2018). *Russian foreign policy in Eurasia: national interests and regional integration*. Chapter 3. "The Perplexing Power of Russia's Relations with Its Neighbors" Routledge.
- \*Nikolas K. Gvosdev, Christopher Marsh. *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors*. CQ Press, (2013), Capters 1 & 2. *The book is available online through MacOdrum Library.*

### **2. (Sept. 11) Russian foreign policy agenda in the 1990s: from cooperation to confrontation**

- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2016) *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 4th edition. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapters 1-3.
- Lynch. Allen C. (2001). "The Realism of Russia's Foreign Policy". *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol.53, Issue 1. Pages 7-31
- Ambrosio Thomas. (2001) "Russia's quest for multipolarity: A response to US foreign policy in the post-cold war era". *European Security*, Vol.10, Issue 1. Pages 45-67
- \* Lieven, Anatol. (2000). "Ham-Fisted Hegemon: The Clinton Administration and Russia" *Current History* pages 307-315. ([PDF](#))

### **3. (Sept. 18) Foreign policy on the edge of millennia: Yugoslavia, Kosovo and the post 9/11 global agenda and its implications in Eurasia.**

- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2001). "The final triumph of the Pax Americana? Western intervention in Yugoslavia and Russia's debate on the post-Cold War order". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 34 (2), pp. 133-156
- Roberts, Adam (1999). "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo". *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Vol. 41 (3), pp. 102-123.

- O'Loughlin, John; O'Tuathail, Gearóid; & Kolossov, Vladimir. (2004). "A 'Risky Westward Turn'? Putin's 9-11 Script and Ordinary Russians". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.56, Issue 1, pages 3-34.
- Welch Larson, Deborah; Shevchenko, Alexei. (2014). "Russia says no: Power, status, and emotions in foreign policy" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol.47, Issues 3-4, Pages 269-279.

#### **4. (Sept.25) The European Vector.**

- Forsberg, Tuomas. (2016). "From Ostpolitik to 'frostpolitik'? Merkel, Putin and German foreign policy towards Russia". *International Affairs*, Vol. 92, Issue 1, pages 21-42.
- Tumanov, Sergey; Gasparishvili, Alexander; Romanova, Ekaterina (2011). "Russia-EU Relations, or How the Russians Really View the EU". *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 27, No.1, pages 120-141.
- Korosteleva, Elena (2015) "EU-Russia relations in the context of the eastern neighbourhood." Bertelsmann Stiftung policy paper. Online:  
[https://kar.kent.ac.uk/50243/1/EZ\\_PolicyBrief\\_4\\_1505\\_EN%20\(1\).pdf](https://kar.kent.ac.uk/50243/1/EZ_PolicyBrief_4_1505_EN%20(1).pdf)
- Casier, Tom. (2013) "The EU-Russia Strategic Partnership: Challenging the Normative Argument". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 65, Issue 7. pp. 1377-1395.
- \* Mearsheimer, John. "Defining a New Security Architecture for Europe that Brings Russia in from the Cold". Online at:  
<http://johnmearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/Military%20Review.pdf>
- \*Sakwa, Richard (2012). "Looking for a greater Europe. From mutual dependence to an international regime". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 45 (pp. 315-325)

#### **5. (Oct. 2) The Transatlantic Vector: USA, NATO, Canada**

- Forsberg, Tuomas & Herd, Graeme (2015). "Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunities to Closed Doors". *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. Vol. 23, Issue 1, Pages 41-57.
- Krickovic, Andrej. (2016). "When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations" *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol. 37, Issue 2, pages 175-199
- Wallin, Matthew (2017) "U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Russia: an Overview of Strategy and Considerations". ([PDF](#))
- Breedlove, Philip (2016). "NATO's Next Act: How to Handle Russia and Other Threats" - *Foreign Affairs.*, 2016
- MacFarlane, S. Neil (2016). "Kto Vinovat? Why is there a crisis in Russia's relations with the West?" *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 22, Issue 3, pages 342-358.

**6. (Oct. 9) The Eastern Vector: Russia's relations with China and Central Asia**

- Shadrina, Elena & Bradshaw, Michael (2013). "Russia's energy governance transitions and implications for enhanced cooperation with China, Japan, and South Korea." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 29 (6), pp. 461-499
- Ambrosio, Thomas (2017) "The Architecture of Alignment: The Russia-China Relationship and International Agreements." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 69, Issue 1, pages 110-156.
- Flikke, Geir (2016). "Sino-Russian Relations Status Exchange or Imbalanced Relationship?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 63, Issue 3, pages 159-170
- Kaczmarek, Marcin (2017). "Two Ways of Influence-building: The Eurasian Economic Union and the One Belt, One Road Initiative". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 69, Issue 7, pages 1027-1046
- Skalamera, Morena (2018) "Explaining the 2014 Sino-Russian Gas Breakthrough: The Primacy of Domestic Politics". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 70, Issue 1, pp. 90-107

**7. (Oct. 16) The political alliances in Eurasia: security, economy, trade**  
(!!!) Policy Brief #1 is due (both 4107 & 5107)

- Frost, Alexander (2009). "The Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and Russia's Strategic Goals in Central Asia". *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, Vol. 7 (3), pp. 83-102
- Lukin, Alexander (2007). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: What Next?" *Russia in Global Affairs*. Vol. 5 (3), pp. 140-156
- Germanovich, Gene (2008). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Threat to American Interests in Central Asia?" *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, Vol. 6 (1), pp. 19-38
- Elena Korosteleva "Eastern Partnership and the Eurasian Union: bringing 'the political' back in the Eastern Region". *European Politics and Society*, 2016
- Pablo Podadera Rivera, Anna Garashchuk "The Eurasian Economic Union: prospective regional integration in the post-Soviet space or just geopolitical project?" *Eastern Journal Of European Studies*, Volume 7, Issue 2, December 2016, pp.91-110

**8. (Oct. 23) Fall Break.**

**9. (Oct. 30) The 'pipeline politics' in Eurasia (including Russian-Ukrainian gas disputes and energy security in Europe)**

(!!!) Policy Brief #2 (5107) and Research proposal (4107) are due

- Meulen, Evert Faber van der, (2009). "Gas supply and EU-Russia relations". *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 61(5), (pp. 833-856).

- Van de Graaf, Thijs and Colgan, Jeff D. (2017). "Russian gas games or well-oiled conflict? Energy security and the 2014 Ukraine crisis." *Energy Research & Social Science*, Vol.24, pp. 59-64
- Feklyunina, Valentina (2012). "Russia's International Images and its Energy Policy. An Unreliable Supplier?" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 64 (3), pp. 449-469.
- Ziegler, Charles E. (2014). "Energy Pipeline Networks and Trust: The European Union and Russia in Comparative Perspective". *International Relations*, Vol. 27 (1), pp. 3-29
- Stulberg, Adam N. (2015). "Out of Gas?: Russia, Ukraine, Europe, and the Changing Geopolitics of Natural Gas" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 62, Issue 2, pages 112-130
- Morbee, Joris; Proost, Stef (2010). "Russian Gas Imports in Europe: How Does Gazprom Reliability Change the Game?" *Energy Journal*, Vol. 31 (4), pp. 79-109

#### **10. (Nov. 6) Russia and ethnic conflicts in the post-Soviet space. Russo-Georgian War, August 2008**

- Forsberg, Thomas; Seppo, Antti (2011). "The Russo-Georgian War and EU Meditation" in Kanet, Roger E. *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century* (pp.121-137)
- Sakwa, Richard (2012). "Conspiracy Narratives as a Mode of Engagement in International Politics: The Case of the 2008 Russo-Georgian War". *The Russian Review*. Vol. 71 (4).
- Bayulgen, Oksana; Arbatli, Ekim (2013). "Cold War redux in US-Russia relations? The effects of US media framing and public opinion of the 2008 Russia-Georgia war". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 46, Issue 4, Pages 513-527
- Boesen, Henrik; Lindbo, Larsen (2012). "The Russo-Georgian war and beyond: towards a European great power concert". *European Security*, Vol. 21(1), (pp. 102-121).
- Deibert, Ronald J.; Rohozinski, Rafal; Crete-Nishihata, Masashi (2012) "Cyclones in cyberspace: Information shaping and denial in the 2008 Russia-Georgia war", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 43, Issue 1
- Filippov, Mikhail (2009). "Diversionary Role of the Georgia-Russia Conflict: International Constraints and Domestic Appeal". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 61, Issue 10

#### **11. (Nov. 13) Russia and Ukraine**

(!!!) Policy Brief #2 (4107) & #3 (5107) are due

- Tsygankov, Andrei (2015). "Vladimir Putin's last stand: the sources of Russia's Ukraine policy." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. Vol.31, Issue 4, Pages 279-303
- Hopf, Ted (2016). "'Crimea is ours': A discursive history." *International Relations*, Vol. 30, Issue 2, pp. 227-255.

- Götz, Elias. (2016). "Russia, the West, and the Ukraine crisis: three contending perspectives" *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 22, Issue 3, Pages 249-266.
- Núñez, Jorge Emilio (2017). "A Solution to the Crimean Crisis: Egalitarian Shared Sovereignty Applied to Russia, Ukraine and Crimea". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 69, Issue 8. pp. 1163-1183
- \* Cadier, David (2014). "Eastern partnership vs. Eurasian Union? The EU-Russia competition in the shared neighbourhood and the Ukraine crisis". *Global Policy*, Vol.5, Issue 1, pp. 76-85.
- \* Popova, Maria (2014). "Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 61, Issue 6: The Renewed Significance of Borders

**12. (Nov. 20) Post-Crimean World Order & the Second Cold War - Russian foreign politics during third Putin's presidency. Russia's confrontation with West: sanctions, Syria.**

- Matveeva, Anna (2018). "Russia's Power Projection after the Ukraine Crisis" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 70, Issue 5, pp. 711-737
- Thornton, Rod (2015). "The Changing Nature of Modern Warfare" *The RUSI Journal* Vol.160, Issue 4, Pages 40-48
- Fridman, Ofer (2017). "Hybrid Warfare or Gibrinaya Voyna?" *The RUSI Journal*, Vol. 162, Issue 1, pages 42-49
- Marten, Kimberly (2015) "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria". *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 62, Issue 2, Pages 71-87

**13. (Nov. 27) "Infowars", cyber warfare and cyber warriors (bots, trolls)**

- Baezner, Marie & Robin, Patrice "Cyber-conflict between the United States of America and Russia" <https://www.research-collection.ethz.ch/bitstream/handle/20.500.11850/184547/Cyber-Reports-2017-02.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Inkster, Nigel (2016). "Information Warfare and the US Presidential Election" *Survival. Global Politics and Strategy* Vol.58 Issue 5, Pages 23-32
- Connell, Michael ; Vogler, Sarah "Russia's Approach to Cyber Warfare" <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/1032208.pdf>
- Aro, Jessikka (2016). "The cyberspace war: propaganda and trolling as warfare tools" *European View*, Vol.15, Issue 1, pages 121-132.
- Ulises A Mejias, Nikolai E Vokuev, "Disinformation and the media: the case of Russia and Ukraine" *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 39, Issue 7, pp. 1027-1042

- \*Zannettou, Savvas et.al. "Disinformation Warfare: Understanding State-Sponsored Trolls on Twitter and Their Influence on the Web" <https://arxiv.org/abs/1801.09288>

#### **14. (Dec. 4) Hybrid wars in the post-Soviet space and the future of Russian foreign policy: open discussion**

*(!!!) Policy Analysis Paper is due*

- Renz, Bettina (2016). "Russia and 'hybrid warfare'" *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 22, Issue 3, Pages 283-300
- Trenin, Dmitry (2018). *Avoiding US-Russia Military Escalation During the Hybrid War*. Carnegie Moscow Centre. [https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Trenin\\_Hybrid\\_War\\_web.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Trenin_Hybrid_War_web.pdf)
- Reisinger, H., Golts, A. (2014) *Russia's Hybrid Warfare*. NATO Research Papers. [https://ftalphaville-cdn.ft.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/rp\\_105.pdf](https://ftalphaville-cdn.ft.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/rp_105.pdf)
- \* Sukhankin, Sergey "'Continuing War by Other Means': The Case of Wagner, Russia's Premier Private Military Company in the Middle East" *Russia in the Middle East*. [\(PDF\)](#)
- \* Schnauffer, Tad A. II (2017). "Redefining Hybrid Warfare: Russia's Non-linear War against the West" *Journal of Strategic Security*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 17-31
- \*Zannettou, Savvas et.al. "Disinformation Warfare: Understanding State-Sponsored Trolls on Twitter and Their Influence on the Web" <https://arxiv.org/abs/1801.09288>



### **LATE PAPERS:**

Papers are expected to be submitted on time, to facilitate prompt marking for your fellow students. Extensions for written assignments will be considered only for family emergencies and for documented medical reasons. Marks will be deducted for lateness. Submission of assignments after the deadline indicated in this course outline will result in a deduction of one letter grade per every day past after the deadline. Please submit papers according to the instructions specified for that assignment. Once term assignments are graded, students may collect their completed papers during the instructor's scheduled office hours, or by providing a stamped, self-addressed envelope in which the assignment may be returned by mail.

### **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](mailto: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](http://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.