

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies

EURR 5107/4107

RUSSIA'S REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS

Tuesday: 18:05 - 20:55

Instructor: Mikhail Zherebtsov
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Office hours (online): Monday 17:30-18:30

This course is offered in the fully online format and combines both, asynchronous and synchronous learning modules. Synchronous module will be comprised of weekly online meetings using BigBlueButton – Carleton’s web conference service. Asynchronous module (news digests, policy briefs, term paper) must be completed on cuLearn and submitted on the dates, as indicated in the course schedule.

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 periodicals. 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 (2019). *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 5th edition. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

(The monograph available online through MacOdrum Library)

Practical guides on how to prepare assignments (briefing notes and an analytical report) will be posted on *cuLearn*. 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.

Additional complementary readings and video materials may be posted on *cuLearn*.

EVALUATION	4107	5107
- Participation ¹	15%	10%
- Regional news briefs ²	35%	--
- Theme presentation ³	20%	20%
- Briefing notes ⁴	30%	30%
- Policy Analysis Paper ⁵	--	40%

¹ 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.

² Students in the **EURR 4107 stream** are expected to prepare 7 brief news digests (max. 1,5 pp. long) (5% each) that contain summary of the most critical news stories, related to Russian foreign and domestic politics.

³ All students must prepare 1 online presentation on the particular topic

⁴ Short (max. 2 single-sized pp.) 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.

⁵ The paper should be 3500-4500 words (or 12-16 double-sized pp. *excl.* bibliography and annexes) 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

ASSIGNMENTS DUE DATES

Date	Assignment
1. September 29, 2020	- News Brief #1 (EURR 4107 only)
2. October 6, 2020	- News Brief #2 (EURR 4107 only)
3. October 13, 2020	- News Brief #3 (EURR 4107 only)
4. October 20, 2020	- Policy Brief #1 (EURR 4107/5107)
5. November 3, 2020	- News Brief #4 (EURR 4107 only)
6. November 10, 2020	- Policy Brief #2 (EURR 4107/5107)
7. November 17, 2020	- News Brief #5 (EURR 4107 only)
8. November 24, 2020	- News Brief #6 (EURR 4107 only)
9. December 1, 2020	- Policy Brief #3 (EURR 4107/5107)
10. December 8, 2020	- News Brief #7 (EURR 4107 only) - Policy Analysis Paper (EURR 5107 only)

SCHEDULE

Readings with () symbol are supplementary for students in EURR 4107 stream*

1. (Sept. 15) Introduction. Russia in the World Politics: historic roots, Soviet era legacies, post-Soviet realities

- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2019) *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 5th ed. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapter 1.
- Karaganov, Sergey (2018). "The new Cold War and the emerging Greater Eurasia." *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Vol 9, Issue 2, pp. 85-93
- (*) Bordachev, Timofei (2018). "Greater Eurasia and Russian Foreign Policy Priorities." *Asian Politics & Policy*, Vol.10, Issue 4

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.

- (*) Gunitsky, Seva & Tsygankov, Andrei, (2018) “The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy.” *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.65, Issue 6.

2. (Sept. 22) Russian foreign policy agenda in the 1990s: from cooperation to confrontation

- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2019). *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 5th ed. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapters 2-3.
- Kubicek, Paul (1999). “Russian Foreign Policy and the West.” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.114, No. 4, pp. 547-568.
- (*) Lynch, Allen C. (2001). “The Realism of Russia’s Foreign Policy” . *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.53, Issue 1. pp. 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, pp. 45-67

3. (Sept. 29) 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, Gearo’id & Kolossov, Vladimir (2004). “A ‘Risky Westward Turn’ ? Putin’s 9 - 11 Script and Ordinary Russians” . *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.56, Issue 1, pp. 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, pp. 269-279.

4. (Oct. 6) The European Vector.

- Forsberg, Tuomas (2016). “From Ostpolitik to ‘frostpolitik’ ? Merkel, Putin and German foreign policy towards Russia” . *International Affairs*, Vol.92, Issue 1, pp. 21-42.

- Foxal, Andrew (2019). “From Evropa to Gayropa: A Critical Geopolitics of the European Union as Seen from Russia.” *Geopolitics*. Vol.24, Issue 1, pp. 174-193.
- Korosteleva, Elena (2015) “EU-Russia relations in the context of the eastern neighbourhood.” *Bertelsmann Stiftung policy paper*. ([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” . ([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. 13) 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, pp. 41-57
- S. Neil MacFarlane “Kto Vinovat? Why is there a crisis in Russia’ s relations with the West?” *Contemporary Politics*, Volume 22, 2016 - Issue 3, pp. 342-358
- Krickovic, Andrej. (2016). “When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations.” *Contemporary Security Policy*, Vol.37, Issue 2, pp. 175-199
- (complimentary) Wallin, Matthew (2017) “U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Russia: an Overview of Strategy and Considerations” . ([PDF](#))
- (complimentary) Breedlove, Philip (2016). “NATO’ s Next Act: How to Handle Russia and Other Threats.” *Foreign Affairs*. ([PDF](#))

6. (Oct. 20) The Eastern Vector: Russia’ s relations with China and Central Asia

- Ambrosio, Thomas (2017) “The Architecture of Alignment: The Russia - China Relationship and International Agreements.” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.69, Issue 1, pp. 110-156.
- 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

- 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, pp. 1027-1046
- (*) Flikke, Geir (2016). “Sino - Russian Relations Status Exchange or Imbalanced Relationship?” *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.63, Issue 3, pp. 159-170
- (*) 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. 27) Fall Break.

8. (Nov. 3) The political alliances in Eurasia: security, economy, trade

- Lukin, Alexander; Yakunin, Vladimir (2018). “Eurasian integration and the development of Asiatic Russia.” *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol 9, Issue 2, pp. 100-113.
- Alimov, Rashid (2019). “The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: Its role and place in the development of Eurasia.” *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol 9, Issue 2, pp. 114 - 124
- Korosteleva, Elena (2016). “Eastern Partnership and the Eurasian Union: bringing 'the political' back in the eastern region”. *European Politics and Society*, Vol.17, Issue 1, pp.67-81
- (*) Podadera Rivera, Pablo; Garashchuk, Anna (2016). “The Eurasian Economic Union: prospective regional integration in the post-Soviet space or just geopolitical project?” *Eastern Journal Of European Studies*, Vol.7, Issue 2, pp.91-110
- (*) 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.

9. (Nov. 10) The ‘pipeline politics’ in Eurasia (including Russian-Ukrainian gas disputes and energy security in Europe)

- 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.
- Romanova, Tatiana (2016). “Is Russian Energy Policy towards the EU Only about Geopolitics? The Case of the Third Liberalisation Package” *Geopolitics*, Vol.21, Issue 4, pp. 857–879.
- Sharples, Jack D. (2016). “The Shifting Geopolitics of Russia’s Natural Gas Exports and Their Impact on EU–Russia Gas Relations.” *Geopolitics*, Vol.21, Issue 4, pp. 880–912.
- (*) 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, pp. 112–130

10. (Nov. 17) Russia and ethnic conflicts in the post-Soviet space. Russo-Georgian War, August 2008

- Ellison, Brian J. (2011). “Russian Grand Strategy in the South Ossetia War.” *Demokratizatsyia*, Vol.19, Issue 4, pp.343–366. ([PDF](#))
- Boesen, Henrik; Lindbo Larsen (2012). “The Russo-Georgian war and beyond: towards a European great power concert” . *European Security*, Vol.21, Issue 1, pp. 102–121.
- Abushov, Kavus (2019). “Russian foreign policy towards the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: prudent geopolitics, incapacity or identity?” *East European Politics*, Vol.35, Issue 1, pp.72–92.
- (*) 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).
- (optional) 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*, Volume 46, Issue 4, pp. 513–527

- (optional) 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.

11. (Nov. 24) Russia and Ukraine; Russia and Belarus

- Tsygankov, Andrei (2015). “Vladimir Putin’s last stand: the sources of Russia’s Ukraine policy.” *Post-Soviet Affairs*. Vol.31, Issue 4, pp. 279-303
- Götz, Elias (2016). “Russia, the West, and the Ukraine crisis: three contending perspectives” *Contemporary Politics*, Vol.22, Issue 3, pp.249-266
- Rotaru, Vasile; Troncotă, Miruna (2017). “Continuity and change in instrumentalizing ‘The Precedent’ . How Russia uses Kosovo to legitimize the annexation of Crimea.” *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol.17, Issue 3, pp.325-345.
- Vieira, Alena (2017). “A Tale of Two Unions: Russia - Belarus Integration Experience and its Lessons for the Eurasian Economic Union.” *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, Vol.32, Issue 1, pp.41-53.
- (*) Hopf, Ted (2016). “ ‘Crimea is ours’ : A discursive history.” *International Relations*, Vol.30, Issue 2, pp. 227-255.
- (*) 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
- (optional) Maria Popova (2014). “Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent?” *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.61, Issue 6, pp. 64-70.

12. (Dec. 1) 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
- Banasik, Mirosław (2016). “Russia’s hybrid war in theory and practice.” *Journal of Baltic Security*. Vol.2, Issue 1, pp.157-182.

- Paul M. Silva II & Zachary Selden (2020). “Economic interdependence and economic sanctions: a case study of European Union sanctions on Russia.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol.33, Issue 2, Pp.229–251
- Pieper, Moritz (2019). “ ‘Rising Power’ Status and the Evolution of International Order: Conceptualising Russia’ s Syria Policies.” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.71, Issue 3, pp.365–387.
- (*) 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, pp.71–87
- (optional) Renz, Bettina (2016). “Russia and ‘hybrid warfare’ ” *Contemporary Politics*, Vol.22, Issue 3, pp. 283–300
- (optional) Korhonen, Iikka (2019). “Sanctions and counter-sanctions - What are their economic effects in Russia and elsewhere?” *BOFIT Policy Brief*. ([PDF](#))

13. (Dec. 8) Information and cyber warfare (bots, trolls)

- Sanovich, Sergey (2017). *Computational propaganda in Russia: The origins of digital misinformation*. Oxford Internet Institute, Working Paper No. 2017.3 ([PDF](#)).
- Jensen, Benjamin et.al. (2019). “Fancy bears and digital trolls: Cyber strategy with a Russian twist.” *Journal of Strategic Studies*. Vol.42, Issue 2, pp.212–234.
- Aro, Jessikka (2016). “The cyberspace war: propaganda and trolling as warfare tools” *European View*, Vol.15, Issue 1, pp.121 – 132
- Shuya, Mason (2018). “Russian Cyber Aggression and the New Cold War.” *Journal of Strategic Security*. Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 1–18.
- (*) Zannettou, Savvas et.al. “Disinformation Warfare: Understanding State-Sponsored Trolls on Twitter and Their Influence on the Web” ([PDF](#))
- (optional) Connell, Michael; Vogler, Sarah “Russia’s Approach to Cyber Warfare” ([PDF](#))
- (optional) Baezner, Marie & Robin, Patrice (2017). “Cyber-conflict between the United States of America and Russia” ([PDF](#))

- (optional) Inkster, Nigel (2016). “Information Warfare and the US Presidential Election” *Survival. Global Politics and Strategy* Vol.58 Issue 5, pp. 23–32
- (optional) Mejias, Ulises A., Vokuev, Nikolai E. “Disinformation and the media: the case of Russia and Ukraine” *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol.39, Issue 7, pp.1027–1042

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 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 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.