

**CARLETON UNIVERSITY**

*Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies*

EURR 5107/4107 // INAF 5429

**RUSSIA'S REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS**

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Tuesdays 6:05 PM - 8:55 PM

Instructor: Mikhail Zhherebtsov  
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Office hours (online): by request  
Brightspace URL:

This course is offered in the synchronous online format **(virtual seminars)**.

## 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, culminating in the ongoing open military conflict in Ukraine.

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 around main 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 the main event - Russian-Ukrainian 2022 - War ( "special military operation" ).

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

The objectives of the course are twofold: (1) to provide a comprehensive outlook of Russian foreign policy in the post-Soviet period and (2) offer practice in writing professional briefing notes

## TEXTS & COURSE MATERIALS:

*(!!!) Due to the very vibrant political context, assigned readings may change. Please refer to the course's content on BrightSpace.*

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 (2022). *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.  
(5<sup>th</sup> edition of the monograph is available online through MacOdrum Library)

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

## COURSE CALENDAR

*Readings may be updated to reflect most recent developments under existing vibrant circumstances.*

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

### 1. (September 9) Introduction. Russia in the World Politics: historic roots, Soviet era legacies, post-Soviet realities.

- What went wrong: the Russian perspective
  - Vladimir Pozner [at Yale university](#) in 2018 & 2020 [Monterey Seminar](#)
- What went wrong: the Western perspective
  - [Timothy Snyder](#) & US Ambassador [William Taylor](#)
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2019) *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapter 1.
- Gunitsky, Seva & Tsygankov, Andrei, (2018) "The Wilsonian Bias in the Study of Russian Foreign Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol.65, Issue 6.

### 3. (September 16) 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*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapters 2-3.

- Lukyanov, Fyodor (2020). “Prefabricated World Order and Its Decline in Twenty-First Century” in Diesen, G. & Lukin, A. (eds.) *Russia in a Changing World*, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.23-38. (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)
- 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

#### 4. (September 23) **The Breaking point? Russian foreign policy on the edge of millennia: Yugoslavia, the Kosovo precedent and the post 9/11 global agenda. The dynamics of Russia-US relations in the 2000s.**

- 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, 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.
- 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

#### 5. (September 30) **Russian foreign economic ties: the ‘pipeline politics’ in Eurasia; Russian-Ukrainian gas disputes and energy security in Europe**

- Kurdin, Alexander (2020). “Energy in World Politics” in Diesen, G. & Lukin, A. (eds.) *Russia in a Changing World*, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.143-159. (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)
- 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.

## 6. (October 7) Russia and Europe beyond energy

- 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
- Delcour, Laure (2021) “From a ‘Common’ to a ‘Contested’ Neighbourhood: Connecting Levels of Analysis in EU – Russia Interaction” in Romanova, T., Maxine, D. (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of EU-Russian relations: structures, actors, issues*. (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)
- (\*)Connolly, Richard and Deák András (2021) “Russia-EU Economic Relations: From moderate pull to normative push?” in Romanova, T., Maxine, D. (eds.) *The Routledge handbook of EU-Russian relations: structures, actors, issues*. (the Chapter is available online for download through McOdrum Library)
- (\*) Romanova, Tatiana A. (2022) “Breakdown of EU-Russia Transnational Ties: Causes and Consequences” *Russia in Global Affairs*, 2022, Vol.#3 ([PDF](#))

## 7. (October 14) Russia and the East: Sino-Russian relations

- Ambrosio, Thomas (2017) “The Architecture of Alignment: The Russia – China Relationship and International Agreements.” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.69, Issue 1, pp.110-156.
- 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
- Wishnick, Elizabeth (2017). “In search of the ‘Other’ in Asia: Russia – China relations revisited”, *The Pacific Review*, Vol.30, Issue 1
- Samokhvalov, Vsevolod (2018). “Russia and its shared neighbourhoods: a comparative analysis of Russia-EU and Russia-China relations in the EU’s Eastern neighbourhood and Central Asia” *Contemporary Politics*, Vol.24, Issue 1, pp.30-15

19-26 October -- Fall Break

## 8. (October 28) Russia and the former Soviet Union states.

- 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.

- Kolstø, Pål (2021) “Authoritarian Diffusion, or the Geopolitics of Self-Interest? Evidence from Russia’ s Patron-Client Relations with Eurasia’ s De Facto States”, *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol.73 Issue 5, pp.890-912.
- Ellison, Brian J. (2011). “Russian Grand Strategy in the South Ossetia War.” *Demokratizatsiya*, 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.

#### 9. (November 4) Special focus vol.1 – Russia and Ukraine: the beginning.

- Shyrokykh, Karina (2018). “The Evolution of the Foreign Policy of Ukraine: External Actors and Domestic Factors” , *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 70, Issue 5, pp.832-850.
- Smyth, Regina. “Considering the Orange legacy: patterns of political participation in the Euromaidan Revolution.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34.5 (2018): 297-316.
- 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
- Khodunov, Alexander (2022). “The Orange Revolution in Ukraine.” in Goldstone, J., Grinin, L., Korotayev, A. (eds.) *Handbook of Revolutions in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Cham : Springer International Publishing AG

#### 10. (November 11) Russia-US and Russia-NATO relations in 2010s. Post-Crimean World Order. 2<sup>nd</sup> Cold War, sanctions, Syria, cyberwarfare

- 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.
- Trenin, Dmitri. “Avoiding US-Russia military escalation during the hybrid war.” Carnegie Moscow Centre 25 (2018). ([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.
- 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
- (\*) 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.
- (\*) Pynnöniemi, Katri, and Minna Jokela. “Perceptions of hybrid war in Russia: Means, targets and objectives identified in the Russian debate.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 33.6 (2020): 828-845.
- (optional) Kofman, Michael, and Matthew Rojansky. “What kind of victory for Russia in Syria?.” *Military Review* 24.2 (2018): 6-23.

## 11. (November 18) Special focus vol.2.- Euromaidan, Crimea annexation and War in Eastern Ukraine

- 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.
- 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.
- Matveeva, Anna (2018). “Russia’ s Power Projection after the Ukraine Crisis.” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.70, Issue 5, pp.711-737
- (optional) 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) Svoboda, Karel (2019) “On the Road to Maidan: Russia’s Economic Statecraft Towards Ukraine in 2013” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 71 Issue 10, pp.1685-1704.

## 12. (November 25) Special focus vol.3 - The 2022 War

- van Bergeijk, Peter A.G. (2022) “Sanctions Against the Russian War on Ukraine: Lessons from History and Current Prospects” *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 56, Issue 4, pp.571 - 586
- 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
- Laruelle, Marlene (2022). “Russia expert: West needs to self-reflect on its own responsibility in Ukraine war” ([PDF](#))
- (optional) Korhonen, Iikka (2019). “Sanctions and counter-sanctions - What are their economic effects in Russia and elsewhere?” *BOFIT Policy Brief*. ([PDF](#))
- (\*) Hopf, Ted (2016). “ ‘Crimea is ours’ : A discursive history.” *International Relations*, Vol.30, Issue 2, pp.227-255.

## 13. (December 2) Conclusive remarks: 2025 and beyond

- Liadze, Iana (et.al.) (2023) “Economic costs of the Russia-Ukraine war” *The World Economy*, Vol.46 Issue 4, pp. 874-886
- Massicot, Dara (2023) “What Russia Got Wrong: Can Moscow Learn from Its Failures in Ukariane?” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.78 pp.78-86
- Gaur, Ajai et.al. (2023) “Do Economic Sanctions Work? Evidence from the Russia-Ukraine Conflict” *Journal of Management Studies*, Vol.60, Issue 6, pp.1391-1414

## EVALUATION

	4-level	5-level
- Participation <sup>1</sup>	10%	10%
- Theme presentation <sup>2</sup>	20%	20%
- Briefing notes (10% each) <sup>3</sup>	70%	40%
- Policy Analysis Paper <sup>4</sup>	--	30%

## ASSIGNMENTS & DUE DATES

Date	4 <sup>th</sup> level	5 <sup>th</sup> level
1. September 30	- Policy Brief #1	- Policy Brief #1
2. October 14	- Policy Brief #2	- Policy Brief #2
3. October 28	- Policy Brief #3	- Policy Brief #3
4. November 4	- Policy Brief #4	
5. November 11	- Policy Brief #5	- Policy Brief #4
6. November 18	- Policy Brief #6	
7. December 2	- Policy Brief #7	- Policy Analysis Paper

## 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

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<sup>1</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.

<sup>2</sup> All students must prepare 1 in-class presentation on the particular topic

<sup>3</sup> Short (max. 3 single-spaced 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. 10% each

<sup>4</sup> 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 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.



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.

## STATEMENT ON ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

### GROUP OR COLLABORATIVE WORK

Collaboration on in-class presentations between co-presenters is encouraged. All other assignments are expected to be completed individually.

### USE OF GENERATIVE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE TOOLS (E.G. CHATGPT)

Any use of generative AI tools to produce assessed content is considered a violation of academic integrity standards and therefore is not permitted.

### PLAGIARISM

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own.” This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts 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 can include a final grade of “F” for the course.



## STATEMENT ON STUDENT MENTAL HEALTH

“As a student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. For more information, please consult <https://wellness.carleton.ca/>

### Emergency Resources ([on and off campus](#))

- Crisis/Urgent Counselling Support: 613-520-6674 (Mon-Fri, 8:30-4:30)
- Suicide Crisis Helpline: call or text 9-8-8, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.
- For immediate danger or urgent medical support: call 9-1-1

### Carleton Resources

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/> Off Campus Resources
- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: call 613-238-3311, text 343-306-5550, or connect online at <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: call 613-722-6914 or toll-free 1-866-996-0991, or connect online at <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Good2Talk: call 1-866-925-5454 or connect online at <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: for online or on-site service <https://walkincounselling.com>

## REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

Carleton is committed to providing academic accessibility for all individuals. You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. The accommodation request processes, including information about the Academic Consideration Policy for Students in Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances, are outlined on the Academic Accommodations website ([students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline)).