Carleton University
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies
EURR 4202/5202

COMPETING FOREIGN POLICY AGENDAS IN EURASIA: RUSSIA, THE EUROPEAN UNION, THE UNITED STATES, NATO AND CHINA.

Time: Mondays and Wednesdays 14:35 – 17:25
Location: TBA

Course Instructor: Mikhail Zherebtsov
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Office hours: Wednesday 12:30-14:15

Course Description:
Recent developments in foreign policy at the core of Eurasia evidently reveal the conflicting nature of contemporary international relations. The competition among the major actors is driven by the competing past and current agendas. Over the last twenty five years these agendas have showed the stunning dynamics that is being discussed in the course. The collapse of the Soviet bloc resulted in the convergence between Russia, on the one hand, and the West, on the other. Yet, despite vigorous efforts to support democratic reforms, Russia was not able to completely modernize its economy and the political system. Moreover, some of the initiatives of its Western partners amplified resentment of the Russian leadership. The decade of relative cooperation was substituted with the growing competition and demands to delineate geopolitical zones of authority. These processes culminated in 2014 with an open political confrontation between Russia and the West and the return of the Cold War rhetoric. Yet, the situation should not be regarded as a mere return to the bipolar word order, as the rapid rise of China in the early 2000s establishes a new and alternative vector of international affairs.

Therefore, the course studies the competing foreign policy agendas of the Russian Federation, the European Union, China, as well as the United States and NATO. The course’s main focus is on Russia as the geographically largest country, the nuclear superpower and the major competitor in the region in the past and at this current historic moment. The ancestor of the imperial and Soviet traditions modern Russia retains the legacies and pretensions to great power domination. Nowadays it equally disagrees with both the multilateral constructivist foreign politics, pursued by the European Union, and the United States’ claims for global leadership. Moreover, recent events only reinforced the ongoing Sino-Russian cooperation in the region.

Thematically, course is divided in two parts. The first part comprises sessions 1 to 7 and provides a comprehensive outlook of all major agents’ policy agendas in Eurasia. The lectures will discussed
interests, goals and methods of foreign policies of Russia, the EU, China, the US and NATO, as well as the ways they intercross and interact with each other. The second part is devoted to the analysis and discussion of the most crucial cases of the development of international relations in Eurasia in the last twenty five years. The course will focus on such conflictual issues, as NATO eastern expansions, Russian-Ukrainian gas disputes and energy security in Europe, China’s growing role and diplomatic alliances in Eurasia, Russo-Georgian War of August 2008, and most recent turbulent processes in Ukraine that finally unmasked and unleashed tensions between “the West” and “the East”.

Discussing these events, class participants will not only resort to scholarly analysis of issues; they will exercise in utilizing various techniques of collective (brainstorming) and individual policy analysis and preparing policy and media briefs on the basis of existing factual information. This course is also aimed at giving students practical skills of searching and analyzing contextual empirical data.

**Readings:**
The core readings for the course are comprised in three monographs. These books combined provide a comprehensive outlook on modern history of international affairs in Eurasia. Russia’s foreign policy agenda is discussed in full in:


Both monographs are available for purchase at the Carleton University bookstore.

The roles of the United States and China are discussed in the monograph of:


The book is placed on a reserve at MacOdrum Library. In addition, mandatory chapters are posted on CU Learn via ARES.

The NATO factor in Eurasian politics is described in:

- **Martin A. Smith (2006). Russia and NATO since 1991: From Cold War through cold peace to partnership. NY: Routlege.**

This monograph is available on-line through Carleton University’s MacOdrum Library. It is also put on reserve at the Library. In addition to these sources, the course utilizes a plethora of articles, published in various academic journals and news media. They are available for downloading through the course’s page in CU Learn. All readings for each class are divided on mandatory and supplementary. Students are expected to come to classes having their mandatory readings done for the discussions. The purpose of supplementary readings is to assist students in preparing their in-class presentations and a term-paper as well as to provide alternative critical perspectives on the debated issues.

**Course Requirements:**
Each of the following will comprise a portion of the final grade, as indicated in percentages.

**Out of 100%**

- Class attendance and participation in in-class discussions – 25%
- 4 short papers – 40% (10% each)
  - 1st policy brief (due on Session 6)
  - 2nd policy brief (due on Session 7)
  - 1st media analysis (due on Session 10)
  - 2nd media analysis (due on Session 11)

*The detailed requirements for the papers are posted on CU Learn.*
• Term-paper proposal (undergraduate students only) – 5%. Due on Session 8. The proposal should be up to 4 pages long. It should refer to the topic of student’s primary interest in the course. The proposal includes the following: 1) a clearly formulated research problem/question; 2) a brief description of the problem and its context; 3) a hypothesis that explains the problem and the theoretical and methodological background; 4) a discussion on how the problem will be examined.

• Term-paper. Due on the last class.
  o Undergraduate students – 30%. The paper should be 12-15 pages long and is expected to show original analysis, sustaining an argument which will be supported with evidence. The final assignment is a research paper and should demonstrate that you have considered a range of scholarly sources: a minimum of eight published books or articles. The paper should demonstrate careful and critical consideration of a broad range of carefully chosen, quality research sources (including peer-reviewed scholarly publications).
  o Graduate students – 35%. The paper should be approximately 14-18 pages in length and should incorporate some research from primary sources, as well as critically address current theoretical accounts of the researched problem.

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.

Schedule
Session 1. (May 4).
Introduction. The conflicting nature of the Eurasian international relations: actors, interests, policies.

Required:
  • Tsygankov, Andrei P., Chapter 1. “Understanding Change and Continuity in Russia’s Foreign Policy” (pp. 1-32)

Supplementary:
  • Tsygankov, Andrei P., Chapter 2. “Chapter 02 The Cold War Crisis and Soviet New Thinking” (pp. 33-56)
Exploring the conflicting agendas

Session 2. (May 6).
Part 1: Russian foreign policy agenda in the 1990s and under Vladimir Putin
The class is focused on the changing dynamics of the Russian post-Soviet foreign policy agenda and explores factors, both internal and external, that have contributed to the development of discontent between Russia and its Western partners.

Required:
- Tsygankov, Andrei P., Chapter 03. “The PostCold War Euphoria and Russia’s Liberal Westernism” (pp. 57-94)
- Tsygankov, Andrei P., Chapter 04. “New Security Challenges and Great Power Balancing” (pp. 95-132)

Supplementary:

Session 3. (May 11).
Part 2: The European Factor
Last two decades substantially changed European politics. Following the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 a new political organization – The European Union – was finally established. A sequence of enlargements, most notably the 2004 one, broadened European borders and policies to Russia’s immediate borders. Nowadays the European Union acts as an independent political organization and participates in developing and providing joint European foreign policies alongside with its member states. Moreover, through specific initiatives, such as European Neighborhood Policy, Association Agreement and Eastern Partnership, the EU influences foreign policy agendas of its neighbouring countries. These policies, as well as the overall multilevel structure of political decision making in Europe complicate the Union’s relations with Russia. They are the core of this week’s discussion.

Required:
**Supplementary:**


**Session 4. (May 13).**

**Part 3: The United States and NATO**

As the ultimate winner of the Cold War, the United States enjoyed the era of global dominance in the 1990s and early 2000s. As the world leader they were able to dictate the agenda of international relations. Their major instrument of influence and policies provision in Eurasia has been NATO. US’s and NATO’s unilateral actions, especially NATO’s Eastern expansion, formed the basis for concern of the Russian leadership. The situation aggravated as the United States, presumably, supported democratization processes in Georgia and Ukraine, known as the Rose and Orange revolutions, and criticized Vladimir Putin for authoritarianism.

**Required:**

- Smith, Martin A. (2006), Chapter 02. “Dramatis Personae: Russia and NATO since 1991” (pp.27-50)
- Smith, Martin A. (2006), Chapter 03. “Unfulfilled partnerships: Russia and NATO from ‘honeymoon’ to Kosovo. (pp.51-76).

**Supplementary:**

- Smith, Martin A. (2012), Chapter 03. “Hegemony, Unipolarity and the US” (pp. 34-51)

**Session 5. (May 20).**

**Part 4: China’s pretentions for regional and global domination**

Following its acceptance to the World Trade Organization, China showed tremendous rates of growth and established itself as the second largest single economy in the world. It has become the obvious centre of gravity in Asia and started to influence politics on the global level. The communist leadership of modern China conducts accurate policies of neutrality, keeping the country outside of contemporary confrontation between Russia and the West, slowly enforcing its economic ties with oil and gas-rich Russia. The seminar will discuss the nature of Chinese foreign policy agenda and its implications for the future world order.

**Required:**


Supplementary:

Exploring cases: critical moments in the post-Soviet development of Eurasia

Session 6. (May 25).
Foreign policy on the edge of millennia: Yugoslavia, Kosovo and the post 9/11 global agenda and its implications in Eurasia.
(!!!) 1st policy brief is due

The 1999 NATO military operation in Yugoslavia was the first sign of growing disagreement between Russia and its Western partners. Moreover, the process of Kosovo independence and the way it was conducted has had the long-term repercussions for international law. The “Kosovo case” was used by the Russian leadership to justify its actions in Georgia and Ukraine.

Following the dramatic terrorist acts in the United States, President George W. Bush proclaimed the global war on terrorism. This initiative was openly encouraged by Russia, where Islamic terrorism had been the growing issue on the edge of the millennia. For a short period of time it seemed that the United States and Russia seemingly found the grounds for long-term partnership and cooperation. Yet, the following US initiatives in Iraq and policies against Iran (most notably the program of deployment of anti-missile systems in Europe) returned the conflictual rhetoric. During this session we will discuss the reasons why the anti-terrorist agenda has not become the solid ground for US-Russia cooperation in the 21st century.

Required:
- Smith, Martin A. (2006), Chapter 05. “The new millennium: September 11, Iraq and the NATO-Russia Council” (pp. 89-105)
- Tsygankov, Andrei P., Chapter 05. “The World after September 11 and Pragmatic Cooperation” (pp. 133-174).

Supplementary:
- Smith, Martin A. (2012), Chapter 05. “A New Era? The George W. Bush Administration’s ‘War on Terror’” (pp. 71-91)

Session 7. (May 27).
NATO Eastern Expansion: conflicting discourses, Russia’s resistance and reconciliation attempts
(!!!) 2nd policy brief is due

NATO Eastern Expansion has been the irritating factor in international affairs in the post-Soviet area. In the new millennium the national identity of Russia as the successor of the Soviet Union, determined the discontent within its leadership with the decision of its direct neighbors from former socialist bloc to join the Alliance and the NATO’s willingness to accept them. The conflictual nature of the discourse was reinforced by the debates of potential inclusion of Georgia and Ukraine to NATO. This week’s discussion is aimed at the assessment of the conflictual discourses and providing the policy solutions for mitigating the conflict.

Required:
• Berryman, John (2011). “Russia, NATO Enlargement, and “Regions of Privileged Interests”” in Kanet, Roger E. “Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century” (pp.228-245)

Session 8. (June 1).
The political alliances in Eurasia: security, economy, trade

This session focuses on the growth of Sino-Russian cooperation in Eurasia. The political cooperation between the two nations on an international arena, and specifically, within the UN’s Security Council that has been in place for many decades has been supplemented by further integration in economic sphere, especially after China’s surge in the 2000s. The result of this was the creation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which establishes the fundamental part of Russia’s eastward politics. The importance of the alliance was reinforced in result of the West’s sanctions against Russia, the abandonment of the South Stream pipeline project, and the building of the Siberia-China pipeline.

(!!!) Term paper proposal is due (undergraduate students only)

Required:

Supplementary:
• Song, Weiqing (2013). “Feeling safe, being strong: China’s strategy of soft balancing through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization” *International Politics* Vol. 50 (5), pp. 664-685

Session 9. (June 3).
*The ‘pipeline politics’: Russian-Ukrainian gas disputes and energy security in Europe*

The 2004 Ukraine’s “Orange Revolution” ignited a chain of processes that raised the factor of energy security in Europe to the top of the political agenda. Russian-Ukrainian disputes over prices of supply and transit of natural gas to and through Ukraine resulted in disruptions in delivery of Russian gas to Europe. Russia was accused for using its energy supply network for political purposes. At the same time, Russia put in doubt the reliability of Ukraine as the transit-country, demanding the state-owned Gazprom’s control over the pipeline system of Ukraine. In result of these conflicts two alternative pipeline projects – Nord Stream and South Stream – were proposed by Russia. Growing concerns regarding Europe’s dependence on Russia’s gas demanded introductions of new European regulations of the energy market and alternative pipeline projects (such as Nabucco). This week’s discussion is focused on the analysis of changes and their most recent implications for the Eurasian energy market.

Required:

Supplementary:
• 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
Session 10. (June 8)
Russo-Georgian War, August 2008

August 2008 Russian-Georgian military conflict was the result of the long-term frozen conflicts between the Georgian government and the authorities of two separatist regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Since the early 1990s Russia had attempted to mediate the conflict. However, after the “Rose Revolution” in Georgia and coming to power of pro-Western president Mikheil Saakashvili, the relations between Russia and Georgia deteriorated. Over the years preceding the war, Russia started to align itself with the interests of the separatist regions. The occurred military confrontation was significant in many ways, but, most importantly it revealed Russia’s determination to resort to military forces, if its interests are being affected. To some extent, the 2008 Russo-Georgian war may be considered as the precursor to the Ukrainian events and this week’s discussion will analyze why Russia’s political agenda was misunderstood or even underestimated.

(!!!) 1st media analysis is due

Required:

Session 11. (June 10).
Ukraine’s troubled strive for democracy and its consequences: Maidan, EuroMaidan and Russia’s annexation of Crimea

The events that came into force in result of EuroMaidan and escape of President Viktor Yanukovich, overshadowed the processes that lead to the Ukrainian revolution in the first place. This session is specifically focused on the analysis of the Ukrainian troubled path to democracy. Being stuck between two agendas – the European and Russian – the Ukrainian leadership between the two Maidans struggled to make the decisive choice. The seemingly obvious choice of euro-integration was not imminent, as it was coming with losing the privileged trading relationships with Russia – Ukraine’s largest trading partner. As the choice was finally made through the bloodshed confrontation, it came with even higher price of compromising the territorial integrity of Ukraine. During this seminar we will make an attempt to analyze and justify choices, made by the Ukrainian and Russian leaders and their outcomes for future development of the region.

(!!!) 2nd media analysis is due
Required:

- Popova, Maria (2014). “Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent?” *Problems of Post-Communism,* Vol.61 (6), pp. 64-70

Supplementary:


Session 12. (June 15).

*Civil War in Ukraine: analyzing conflicting discourses*

This week’s seminar will also focus on a comparative analysis of conflicting media representations of the conflict in Russia, Ukraine and the West. The seminar will delve into the core factors that drive the contemporary propaganda and revive the Cold War rhetoric. Such media sources as CNN, RT (Russia Today), BBC, as well as official press-releases.

(*!!!*) Term-paper is due.

Required:

- Wawrzonek, Michal (2014). “Ukraine in the “Gray Zone”: Between the "Russkiy Mir” and Europe” *East European Politics and Societies* Vol. 28 (4), pp. 758-780
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).

For 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).

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

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays 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.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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Approval of final grades: 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 the EURUS websites is the official course outline.