

**PSCI 4601A/EURR 4208**  
**Foreign Policies of Soviet Successor States**  
Wednesday 11:35-14:25pm  
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Tamara Kotar  
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*(For a brief fall term course overview, please see page 5.)*

**Course description**

In 1991 the world witnessed the demise of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War and creation of 15 Post-Soviet States. These states were faced with numerous foreign policy opportunities and challenges. This course explores relations among post-soviet states and with each state individually and the wider world. Russia remains a world power, as such will often be at the center of discussions in this course, however we will analyze the foreign relations of the Baltics (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia), the Western States (Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus), the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan), and the Central Asian Republics (Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan). Issues in contemporary post-soviet foreign policy will also provide a focus, including questions of ethnic, national, oil and natural resource politics as well as the implications of the US led war on terror.

**Course Goals and Expectations**

Students should gain an understanding of broad trends in Soviet and Post-Soviet foreign policies and have the ability to critically evaluate specific aspects of foreign policy in Post-Soviet states.

This course is intended as an opportunity for students to develop their analytical skills, including research, writing and oral presentation abilities. Students are expected to attend each class, complete all of the readings and actively participate in class discussions.

There are a number of written assignments for this course, each is intended to ensure that students are well prepared to participate in class discussions and debates.

**Required Texts**

All books and articles listed are required readings. All required books are on reserve at the MacOdrum Library. All of the required articles are available electronically through the Library E-Journals service.

The following books are available for purchase at the Carleton University Bookstore:

Robert Donaldson and Joseph Noguee, The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests, 4th ed. M.E. Sharpe, 2008.

Dmitri Trenin, The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border Between Geopolitics and Globalization. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002

Jeffrey Mankoff, Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics. Rowman & Littlefield, 2009

Christoph Zurcher, The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict and Nationhood in the Caucasus. New York University Press, 2007.

## COURSE EVALUATION

(Due) Date	Assignment	Length	Share of Term Mark	Note
Ongoing	Seminar attendance and participation		15%	Attendance: 5% Participation: 10%
Foreign Policy Case Study <b>TBD at the first class</b>	In-Class presentation and paper	Approx. 10 pages	20%	Paper: 15% Presentation 5%
<b>First Paper September 29<sup>th</sup></b> <b>Second Paper October 13<sup>th</sup></b>  All papers are to be handed in at the <b>beginning</b> of class.	2 reaction papers	Approx. 10 pages double-spaced	20%	Each paper is worth 10%
Term Paper Outline and Discussion: <b>October 27<sup>th</sup></b>	In-class presentation of your term paper topic.	Approx. 5 pages double-spaced	10%	Term Paper Outline 5% Term Paper Discussion 5%
In-Class Quiz <b>November 17<sup>th</sup></b>	Quiz on what we have covered in the course up until this point.		10%	
<b>December 1<sup>st</sup></b>	Term Paper	10 pages double-spaced	25%	

## Evaluation

### *Grading Scheme*

- Attendance and Participation 15%
- Foreign Policy Case Study 20%
- Reaction Papers (Sept. 29<sup>th</sup> & Oct. 13<sup>th</sup>) 20%
- Term Paper Outline & Discussion (Oct 29) 10%

- Quiz (November 17<sup>th</sup> ) 10%
- Term Paper (Dec 3) 25%

## **Term Work**

### **Attendance and Participation 15% of Final Mark**

Attendance is mandatory. Class participation provides the opportunity to clarify questions, contribute to the student's own understanding or challenge ideas presented in the readings and in class. Participation marks for the fall term will be derived from attendance and in class discussion that is informed by the readings. Students must demonstrate that they have read and critically evaluated the readings for each week. Students will be randomly called upon to contribute to class discussions, including questions s/he may have regarding the readings along with individual understandings and views of the readings and topics for the week.

### **Foreign Policy Case Study and Presentation 20% of Final Mark due week of presentation**

In the first class students will sign up to create and present a foreign policy case study. The paper will be approx. 10 pages. Students who sign up for the same week are encouraged to consult each other on the foreign policy topics they will present. Even though there will be more than one student presenting per week, each student will create and hand in individual papers. This assignment is intended to introduce students to the conference-style format. A 10-minute presentation will be followed by a question and answer period from the instructor and the class. The papers should have a clear thesis statement with well-researched arguments that support the thesis. The instructor uses the American Psychological Association (APA) style, however, students can choose any style they prefer. What matters is that citations are consistent and sources are cited properly. This includes when a student has quoted directly from a source and when students have referred to someone else's ideas or research. A full bibliography is also necessary. At least 10 sources other than those on the syllabus should be cited and used. If the reaction papers are not handed in on the due date the student will receive an automatic mark of 0. No late papers or presentations will be accepted.

### **Reaction Papers 20% of Final Mark**

Students will be given two issues and/or topics on which to write reaction papers. These reaction papers should each be approximately 10 pages long and should be double-spaced. These reaction papers should be in the form of an essay and should include a clear thesis and supporting arguments. **The topics and issues addressed in the reaction papers**

**will form the basis of in-class debate/discussion.** The instructor uses the American Psychological Association (APA) style, however, students can choose any style they prefer. What matters is that citations are consistent and sources are cited properly. This includes when a student has quoted directly from a source and when students have referred to someone else's ideas or research. A full bibliography is also necessary. At least 5 sources other than those on the syllabus should be cited and used. If the reaction papers are not handed in on the due date the student will receive an automatic mark of 0. No late papers will be accepted.

### **Reaction Papers Due**

**September 29<sup>th</sup> Topic: Russia**  
**October 13<sup>th</sup> Topic: The West**

### **Term Paper Outline and Discussion 10% of Final Mark**

The term paper outline is intended to ensure students have a valid topic, relevant thesis and clear arguments for the term paper. The outline should consist of approx. 4-5 pages including a thesis statement and brief descriptions of three arguments to backup the student's thesis. An annotated bibliography of 15 sources is also required. If the term paper outline is not handed in on the due date the student will receive an automatic mark of 0. No late term paper outlines will be accepted. Part of students Term Paper Outline mark will be determined by a brief presentation of her/his paper topic in class on: **October 27<sup>th</sup>**

### **In Class Quiz 10% of Final Mark**

This will be an in-class quiz where students will need to demonstrate their knowledge of the topics discussed throughout the class. Students will only be tested on topics that we have covered up until this point in the semester. **November 17<sup>th</sup>**

### **Term Paper 25% of Final Mark**

This paper will be an original research paper of 10 double spaced pages due in paper form. It is strongly encouraged that students use the **Essay Writing Advice** posted on the class web CT and/or the **Writing Tutorial Service** on campus. The essay should have a clear thesis statement with well-researched arguments that support the thesis. The instructor uses the American Psychological Association (APA) style, however, students can choose any style they prefer. What matters is that citations are consistent and sources are cited properly. This includes when a student has quoted directly from a source and when students have referred to someone else's

ideas or research. A full bibliography is also necessary of at least 15 sources. If the term paper is not handed in on the due date the student will receive an automatic mark of 0. No late term papers will be accepted. Due on **December 1<sup>st</sup>**.

## **Feedback**

Students are encouraged to provide feedback on the content of the course.

## **Lateness Policy**

**All course requirements must be completed to receive a passing grade.** Written assignments must be handed in to the instructor personally. **Late assignments will not be accepted**, they will receive a mark of 0. Exceptions will be considered for medical reasons (with appropriate documentation) or a family emergency. Once term assignments are graded, students may collect their completed papers during class or the instructor's scheduled office hours.

Students must submit term work in-class. The Political Science drop box is intended to collect late assignments only. The drop box is emptied **every weekday at 4 p.m.** and all items collected at that time are date-stamped with that day's date.

## **Fall Term Schedule**

### **• Introduction**

September 8

- Survey of theoretical foundations and course requirements
- Discussion of Soviet foreign relations milestones: 1921-1991
- Assignment of Foreign Policy Country Studies

### **• Soviet Policies and Legacies**

September 15

Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia: Chapter 1 & 2*

John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Spring 1986), pp.99-142.

Robert Donaldson and Joseph Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Chapters 2, 3 & 4*

### **• Library & Career Day**

September 22

**\*\*Library Session\*\* Library: Room 102**

**\*\*Career Session\*\* Tory: Room 404**

- **Russia**

September 29

- **\*\*Reaction Paper Due\*\***

Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*: Chapters 6 &7

Robert Donaldson and Joseph Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia*: Chapters 5 & 6

Averre, Derek. "Russian Foreign Policy and the Global Political Environment." *Problems of Post Communism*. Vol. 55, No. 5 (2008) pp. 28-39.

Sakwa, Richard, "New Cold War or twenty years crisis? Russia and International Politics." *International Affairs*. Vol. 84, No. 2 (2008) pp. 241-267.

Robert G. Herman, "Identity, Norms, and National Security: The Soviet Foreign Policy Revolution and the End of the Cold War," in Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, pp. 271-315.

- **Russia**

October 6

Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*: Chapters 1 & 2

Bassin, Mark and Konstantin E. Aksenov. "Mackinder and the Heartland Theory in Post-Soviet Geopolitical Discourse." *Geopolitics*. Vol. 11 (2006) pp. 99-118.

- **The West**

October 13

- **\*\*Reaction Paper Due\*\***

Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*: Chapter 3

Robert Donaldson and Joseph Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia*: Chapter 7

Monaghan, Andrew. "Calmly Critical: Evolving Russian Views of US Hegemony." *The Journal of Strategic Studies*. Vol. 29, No. 6 (2006) pp. 987-1013.

Mankoff, Jeffrey. "Russian Foreign Policy and the United States After Putin." *Problems of Post-Communism*. Vol. 55, No. 4 (2008) pp. 42-51.

- **Western Alliances: NATO and the EU**

October 20

Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*: Chapter 4

Galbreath, David J. and Jeremy W. Lamoreaux. "Bastion, Beacon or Bridge? Conceptualising the Baltic Logic of the EU's Neighbourhood." *Geopolitics*. Vol. 12 (2007) pp. 109-132.

- **The Caucasus**

October 27

- **\*\* Term Paper Outline & Discussion\*\***

Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*: Chapter 4

Christof Zurcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict and Nationhood in the Caucasus*: Chapters 2, 3 & 6

Hale, Henry E. "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia." *World Politics*. Vol. 58 (October 2005) pp. 133-165.

Kolstø, Pål and Helge Blakkisrud. "Living with Non-recognition: State- and Nation-building in South Caucasian Quasi-states." *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 60, No. 3 (2008) pp. 483-509.

Sagramoso, Domitilla. "Violence and conflict in the Russian North Caucasus." *International Affairs*. Vol. 83, No. 4 (2007) pp. 681-705.

Monaghan, Andrew. "An enemy at the gates or from victory to victory? Russian foreign policy." *International Affairs*. Vol. 84, No. 4 (2008) pp. 717-733.

- **Chechnya and The Revolutions**

November 3

Christof Zurcher, *The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict and Nationhood in the Caucasus*, Chapters 4 & 5

Tudoroiu, Theodor. "Rose, Orange, and Tulip: The failed post-Soviet revolutions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 40, 2007, pgs. 315-342.

Munro, Neil. "Which Way Does Ukraine Face? Popular Orientations Toward Russia and Western Europe." *Problems of Post-Communism*. Vol. 54, No. 6, 2007, pgs. 43-58.

Allison, Roy. "Russia resurgent? Moscow's campaign to „coerce Georgia to peace." *International Affairs*. Vol. 84, No. 6, 2008, pgs. 1145-1171.

- **Central Asia and Asia**

November 10

Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*: Chapter 5

Robert Donaldson and Joseph Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia*: Chapter 8

Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*: Chapter 5

Werner, Cynthia and Kathleen Purvis-Roberts. "After the Cold War: international politics, domestic policy and the nuclear legacy in Kazakhstan." *Central Asian Survey*. Vol. 25, No. 4 (2006) pp. 461-480.

Engvall, Johan. "The State under Siege: The Drug Trade and Organised Crime in Tajikistan." *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 58, No. 6 (2006) pp. 827-854.

Allison, Roy. "Regionalism, regional structures and security management

in Central Asia." *International Affairs*. Vol. 80, No. 3 (2004) pp. 463-483.  
Ferdinand, Peter. "Sunset, sunrise: China and Russia construct a new relationship." *International Affairs*. Vol. 83, No. 5 (2007) 841-867.  
Week 12, March 23

- **Petrol Politics and Natural Resources**

November 17

**\*\*Quiz\*\***

Cooley, Alexander. "Principles in the pipeline: managing transatlantic values and interests in Central Asia." *International Affairs*. Vol. 84, No. 6 (2008) 1173-1188.

Ipek, Pinar. "The Role of Oil and Gas in Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy: Looking East or West?" *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 59, No. 7 (2007) pp. 1179-1199.

O'Hara, Sarah L. "Great Game or Grubby Game? The Struggle for Control of the Caspian." *Geopolitics*. Vol. 9, No. 1 (2004) pp. 138-160.

Bahgat, Gawdat. "Prospects for energy cooperation in the Caspian Sea." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 40, (2007) pp.157-168.

Friedman, Thomas. "The First Rule of Petropolitics." *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2006)

- **The War on Terror**

November 24

Robert Donaldson and Joseph Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia*: Chapter 9

Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*: Chapter 3

Lieven, Anatol. "The Secret Policemen's Ball: the United States, Russia and the international order after 11 September." *International Affairs*. Vol. 78, No. 2 (2002) pp. 245-259.

Golan, Galia. "Russia and the Iraq War: was Putin's policy a failure?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 37 (2004) pp. 429-459.

Buszynski, Leszek. "Russia's New Role in Central Asia." *Asian Survey*. Vol. 45, No. 4 (2005) pp. 546-565.

- **The Future**

December 1

**\*\*Term Paper Due\*\***

Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*, Chapter 6

Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*: Chapter 7 & Conclusions

**Academic Accommodations**

**For students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 15 2010 for December examinations and March 11 2011 for April examinations**.

**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](http://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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Grading:** Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

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

**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.

**Course Requirements:** Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final

Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email [carletonpss@gmail.com](mailto:carletonpss@gmail.com), visit our website at [poliscisociety.com](http://poliscisociety.com), or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.