

DAUGAVPILS UNIVERSITY STUDY COURSE DESCRIPTION

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| Course | Russian war in Ukraine and evolution of the EU and NATO foreign policy |
| Course code (DUIS) | PolZ1016 |
| Scientific discipline | Political Science |
| Course level | |
| Credits | 2 |
| ECTS credits | 3 |
| Total number of study room hours | 32 |
| Number of lecture hours | 20 |
| Seminar's hours | 12 |
| Practical work hours | |
| Number of hours of laboratory work | |
| Number of student's independent working hours | 48 |
| Course author (-s) | |
| Prof. Jānis Teivāns-Treinovskis, Dr.jur.prof. Kārlis Daukšts | |
| Course lecturer (-s) | |
| Prof. Jānis Teivāns-Treinovskis, Dr.jur.prof. Kārlis Daukšts | |
| Background knowledge | |
| The course does not require any prior knowledge | |
| Course abstract | |
| <p>Russia's war unleashed in Ukraine on 24 February 2022 caused serious geopolitical upheavals and affected the economies and politics not only of the warring countries, but also of the countries in the entire region.</p> <p>At first glance unexpected and unprovoked, the actions of the Russian Federation were a logical continuation of the main trends of this country's geopolitics. The main theses of geopolitical interests of Russia were specified in the Munich speech of Russian President Vladimir Putin at the conference on security policy of February 10, 2007. In 2008, a military conflict with Georgia followed, during which Georgia lost part of its territories. This was followed by Russia's systematic build-up of its military budget, which culminated in the seizure of Crimea and parts of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine in 2014. All further actions of the Russian Federation showed that it is not going to stop and that its ultimate goal is the complete seizure of Ukraine in one form or another (complete annexation or a hard protectorate).</p> <p>The leadership of the Western states was not prepared for such a turn of events and at the initial stage of escalation of the brewing conflict tried to have a dialogue with Putin, who ultimately demanded the return of NATO to the 1997 borders. These demands were knowingly impossible to fulfil as they affected the interests of the sovereign states of Eastern Europe and the concentration of Russian troops on the border with Ukraine had reached a maximum level. In fact, some Western countries were ready to give Ukraine to the aggressor. Moreover, the Russian invasion of Ukraine also took place thanks to the tacit approval of China, which was counting on the swift defeat of Ukraine and Russia's subsequent support of China's takeover of Taiwan.</p> <p>However, these plans could not come to fruition due to the fierce resistance of the Ukrainian government and people. The Ukrainian army's worthy resistance not only forced Russia to retreat, but also encouraged Western countries to begin providing a more effective support to Ukraine. Far from reducing the number of NATO countries, the Russian invasion actually strengthened the bloc and added new candidate countries (Finland and Sweden), which had not previously planned to join the organization. The attitude of Western countries has changed considerably, not only towards Ukraine and the Russian Federation, but also in terms of enhancing their own military power.</p> | |

Course plan

Lectures 20 h, seminars 12 h, independent work 48 h:

- the development of Russia's geopolitical theories envisaging a broad expansion towards neighboring countries, especially those with a significant diaspora of Russian-speaking population, and - the strengthening of Russia's influence on the policies of other states;
- the actual results of achieving its military and political objectives both on the battlefield and in international diplomacy (the seizure of South Ossetia in 2008, of Crimea and part of Donbass in 2014, maintenance of the sluggish conflict in Donbass from 2014 to 2022 and a large-scale aggression in 2022);
- evolution of foreign and domestic policies of EU and NATO countries during the course of hostilities (continuous support of Ukraine by the US, UK, Poland and Baltic countries, change of position of Germany, France and Italy, special position of such NATO countries as Turkey and Hungary);
- actions of countries directly supporting Russia's military aggression (Republic of Belarus, North Korea and Iran), as well as countries that are political allies of the Russian Federation (China and CSTO countries);
- Potential scenarios for the further development of the military conflict in Ukraine and political aftermath.

Course outcomes**KNOWLEDGE:**

1. The actual causes of the Russian war in Ukraine and the conditions contributing to it.
2. The essence of the geopolitical interests of the leading countries of the world and their influence on the emergence of a military conflict and the dynamics of its development.
3. The conduct of the war in Ukraine and the related political and economic challenges.

SKILLS:

1. Able to understand the causes of modern military conflicts and their connection with the geopolitical interests of countries.
2. Able to navigate the most important causes of conflicts of geopolitical interests in the European region.

COMPETENCE:

1. To accurately identify and critically analyze the geopolitical development trends of the leading countries of the world and their alliances and the related military political challenges, in order to develop adequate and effective proposals for their solution on this basis.

Description of students' independent work organization and tasks

Independent work:

- getting acquainted with scientific literature and analysis of information during preparation for seminars and review presentation - 28 hours;
- identification and selection of scientific literature for the preparation of a report - presentation - 14 hours;
- PowerPoint report - presentation preparation - 6 hours

Requirements for obtaining credit points

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| Lecture and seminar attendance | 20% |
| 3 intermediate tests | 30% |
| Course test | 50% |

Contents of the course

- I. The development of Russia's geopolitical theories, which envisage a broad expansion in relation to neighboring countries, especially those with a significant Russian-speaking diaspora population, as well as a strengthening of Russia's influence on the policies of other states:

1. Aspects of the formation of Russian geographical space, environmental territory, national history and mentality in the discourse of Russian geopolitics. The influence of the Byzantine heritage on geopolitical constructions: Moscow-Third Rome.
2. The formation of a specific civilization centre for Europe-West. Pan-Slavism. The geopolitical foundations of Lenin's world revolution - cosmopolitanism. Stalin's geopolitics - the idea of the "derzhava". The ideological foundations of "Eurasia". The fate of geopolitics in the Soviet Union 1945-1991.
3. The collapse of the USSR. The "Weimar" syndrome. Formulation and implementation of the ideologies of Russia's geopolitical spheres of special interest and influence: the "politics of history", the special sphere of "historical Russia", the "near abroad" formula, the geopolitical aspects of the "divided nation" and compatriots problem. "Soft power instrumentarium - "Russian world" - geopolitical aspects of "pan-Russianism".
4. Neo-Eurasianism. The geopolitical integrative goals of the Eurasian Union. Russia - balancer of civilisations. Geopolitical versions of Russia: Dugin, Tsymbursky, Panarin, Ivanov, etc.

6 hours

II. The actual results of achieving the set politico-military objectives, both on the battlefield and in international diplomacy:

1. Escalation of the conflict in the Caucasus and the seizure of South Ossetia in 2008.
2. The development of the political crisis in Ukraine and the seizure of Crimea and part of Donbass in 2014.
3. Maintenance of the sluggish ongoing conflict in Donbass from 2014 to 2022 and the Minsk agreements.

4 hours

III. Russia's large-scale aggression in Ukraine in 2022:

1. Initial phase of the Russian offensive in Ukraine (24 February-31 March)
2. Withdrawal of Russian troops from Kyiv, Chernihiv and Sumy regions. Concentration of efforts in Donbas
3. Counter-attack by the Ukrainian Armed Forces in Kharkiv Region.
4. Retreat of Russian forces from right-bank Ukraine.

4 hours

IV. Changing Russia's strategy at the end of 2022:

1. Partial mobilization of the population in the Russian Federation and operationalization of the mobilization reserve.
2. Use of energy terror (destruction of Ukraine's infrastructure, large-scale use of missiles and drones)
3. The use of private military companies and convicts in combat operations.
4. Increasing military pressure in Donbass.

4 hours

V. Geopolitical constructs and approaches of the EU and NATO

1. Geopolitics of the European Union. The challenges of building a common European space. The European core: projects, contradictions.
2. Synthesis of European Atlantism: pessimistic and optimistic visions. Geostrategy of EU and NATO enlargement: challenges and risks.
3. A controversial vision of EU-Russia geopolitical positions. Geopolitical dynamics of the EU-Eurasia project: the China factor.

4 hours

VI. Evolution of EU and NATO foreign and domestic policies during hostilities

1. The evolution of the position of Germany, France and Italy in support of Ukraine
2. Increased support for Ukraine from the US and the UK,
3. Military and humanitarian aid from Poland and the Baltic States;

4. The special position of Turkey and Hungary;

6 hours

VII. China's role in the Russia-Ukraine conflict

1. China's geopolitics. Geopolitical changes in the formulation of China's strategy. Globalization.
2. The US-China-Russia geopolitical triangle: the balance of power problem. The Westphalian formula. Bipolarity.
3. Beijing's global claims: a strategy for the extraction of raw materials. "Possible models of Cold War dualism.

2 hours

VIII. Potential further scenarios:

1. Prospects for RF expansion.
2. The West's level of readiness to support Ukraine.

2 hours

Mandatory information sources

1. Melville A., *Russian Foreign Policy in Transition: Concepts and Realities*. – Central European University Press, 2005.
2. W. Konończuk (ed.) *Putins Empire*, No.26. Warsaw: Stefan Batory Foundation, 2007.
3. Cohen Ariel. „Domestic factors of Russian Foreign Policy”, The Heritage Foundation, 2007, http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/upload/bg_2084.pdf, 2.
4. Люкс, Л. „Третий путь” или назад в „Третий рейх”? О „неоевразийской” группе „Элементы”* Форум новейшей восточноевропейской истории и культуры – Русское издание No. 2, 2009 – <http://www.1kueichstaett.de/ZIMOS/forum/inhaltruss12.html>
5. Roger McDermott, Russian Military Doctrine Looks East, Eurasia Daily Monitor Volume: 7 Issue: 36, February 23, 2010 05:43 PM, [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=36076](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=36076)
6. Saunder, P. Russian and European Security, A Transatlantic Dialogue, The Nixon Center, 2008, <http://www.nixoncenter.org/monographs/saunders08.pdf>
7. Ronald. D. Asmus. A Little War that Shook the world. Georgia, Russia and Future of the West, NY, 2010
8. Putin’s New Russia, ed. By Jon Hellevig and Alexandre Latsa, Kontinent USA, 2012. In: hellevig.net/ebook/Putin's%20news%20Russia.pdf
9. Bobo Lo. Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the New Geopolitics, Brooking Institution Press, 2009.
10. Thomas Gomart, „The EU and Russia: The Needed Balance Between Geopolitics and Regionalism” (IFRI Research Program, 2006)8.
11. Federiga Bindia, The Foreign Policy of the European Union: Assessing Europe’s Role in the World (Washington: The Brooking Institution, 2010) 20
12. Kristofer Kolvraa, Jan Ifversen, „ The European Neighbourhood Policy: Geopolitics or Value Export, in The Frontier of Europe A Transatlantis Problem”, Ed. By Federiga Bindia, Irina Angelescu (Brooking Institution, Virginia, 2011) 47
13. Look East, Act East: transatlantic agendas in the Asia Pacific. Report N13-2012. In www.iss.europa.eu/pdf
14. The Geopolitics of energy, Emerging Trends, Changing Landscapes, Uncertain Times, A Report of the CSIS Energy and National Security Program, CSIS, 2010, http://csis.org/files/publication/101026_Verrastro_Geopolitics_web.pdf

Additional information sources

1. Янов, А. *История одного отречения. Почему в России не будет фашизма?* „Сноб”, 15.12..11 <http://www.snob.ru/selected/entry/44335>
2. Янов, А. *После Ельцина. „Веймарская” Россия.* – М.: „КРУК”, 1995
3. Newnham R. *Oil, Carrots and Sticks: Russia’s Energy Resources as Foreign Policy Tool*, 2008, http://ww.allacademic.com/meta/p250924_index.html
4. Engdahl, F.William. *Russia’s High Stakes Energy Politics*, *Geopolitical Monitor*, 2011, <http://www.geopoliticalmonitor.com/russias-high-stakes-energy-geopolitics-4533>
5. Francis P.Sempa, *Geopolitics: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, 2002, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey
6. John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*, Oxford University, 1982
7. Vladislav Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (University of North Carolina Press, 2007)
8. Marcel H. Van Herpen, „*Medvedev’s proposal for a pan-European Security pact, its six hidden objectives and how the west should respond*”, the Cicero Foundation, 5. http://www.cicerofoundation.org/lectures/Marcel_H_Van_Herpen_Medvedevs_Proposal_for_a_Pan-European_Security_Pact.pdf
9. Emerson, M. (ed.) *The Elephant and the Bear. Try Again. Options for a New Agreement the EU and Russia*. Centre for European Policy Studies, 2006
10. Theotherrussia.org/news from the Coalition for Democracy in Russia
11. imepi-eurasia.ru/eng (Институт экономики РАН, žurnāls „Мир перемен”)
12. russiacouncil.ru Dmitry Gorenburg, *Russia’s new military doctrine: An exercise in public relations*, February 8, 2010, <http://russiamil.wordpress.com/2010/02/08/russias-military-doctrine-fairly-innocuous/>
13. Cohen Ariel, „*Domestic factors of Russian Foreign Policy*”, The Heritage Foundation, http://www.heritage.org/research/russiaandeurasia/upload/bg_2084.pdf
14. Carnegie Report, *The Landscape of Russian Foreign Policy Decision-Making*, 2005, http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/pubs/books/9211doklad_fin.pdf
15. Engdahl, F. William. *Ukraine Geopolitics and the US – NATO Military Agenda: Tectonic Shift in Heartland Power*, Global Research Center for Research on Globalization, 2012, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=18128>
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17. Ch. Clover. *Dreams of a Eurasian Heartland*. Foreign Affairs. March/April, 1999.
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19. Дугин А. *Основы геополитики России*, М. 1997.
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22. O’Loughlin, O’Tuathail, Kolosov V., *Russian Geopolitical Culture and Public Opinions: the Masks and Proteus Revisited*. In: www.istor.org
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24. Engdahl W. *Pipeline Geopolitics: The Russia German NordStream Strategic Gas Pipeline*. In: www.globalresearch.ca
25. Towards an Alliance of Europe. In: www.eng.globalaffairs.ru
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29. D.Lieven, *Empire. The Russian Empire and its Rivals*. Yale U.P., 2003
30. Jonson’ s Russia List (CDI) www.jrl.org .
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32. Arkady Moshes. „*Post-Imperial Russia: Emergence and Prospects of Regaining Influence in the Post-Soviet Space*”, in Wojciech Konończu (ed.) *Putin's Empire*, 113 (Warsaw: Stefan Batory Foundation, 2007)
33. Russia as Europe's other, www.eui.eu/RSACAS
34. William Anthony Hay, „*Geopolitics of Europe*”, In: *Orbis*, Spring 2003, pieejams: <http://www.fpri.org/orbis/4702/hay.geopoliticseurope.html>
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46. Tichy, L. *Energy Security in EU – Russia Relations*, Metropolitan University Prague and Institute of International Relations Prague, <http://www.ecprnet.eu/databases/conferences/papers/527.pdf>

Periodicals and other information sources

1. Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, www.daviecenter.far.harvard.edu
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3. www.russiaeuropemid.ru/strategy2010.html
4. www.riss.ru/eng
5. www.gorchakovfund.ru
6. www.us-russia.org
7. Russia and Eurasia Program. In: www.csis.org
8. www.globalaffairs.ru/eng
9. Europejsnie Centrum Analiz Geopolitieznyh. www.geopolityca.org
10. The Geopolitics of Euro-Atlantic integration. In www.politicalreviewnet.com

Remarks

The course is addressed to undergraduate students.