

# THE BIDEN ADMINISTRATION'S GLOBAL APPROACH: RUSSIA



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# IS RUSSIA A GREAT POWER?



# Soviet Union Administrative Divisions, 1989

The United States Government has not recognized the incorporation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Other boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative.

DEPOSITORY



- ASSRs and AOs in the Caucasus
1. Kabardino-Balkarskaya ASSR
  2. Severo-Osetinskaya ASSR
  3. Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR
  4. Adzharskaya ASSR
  5. Nakhichevanskaya ASSR (Azerbaijan SSR)
  6. Adygeyskaya AO
  7. Karachayevo-Cherkesskaya AO
  8. Yugo-Osetinskaya AO
  9. Gorno-Karabakhskaya AO

**KAZAKH** Union republic (SSR)

- Union republic (SSR) center
- Autonomous republic (ASSR), oblast, or kray boundary
- - - Autonomous oblast (AO) or autonomous okrug (AOk) boundary

*Note: The union republic administrative centers are shown. The only other administrative centers shown are for oblasts having the same name as their administrative centers.*

0 400 800 Kilometers  
0 400 800 Miles

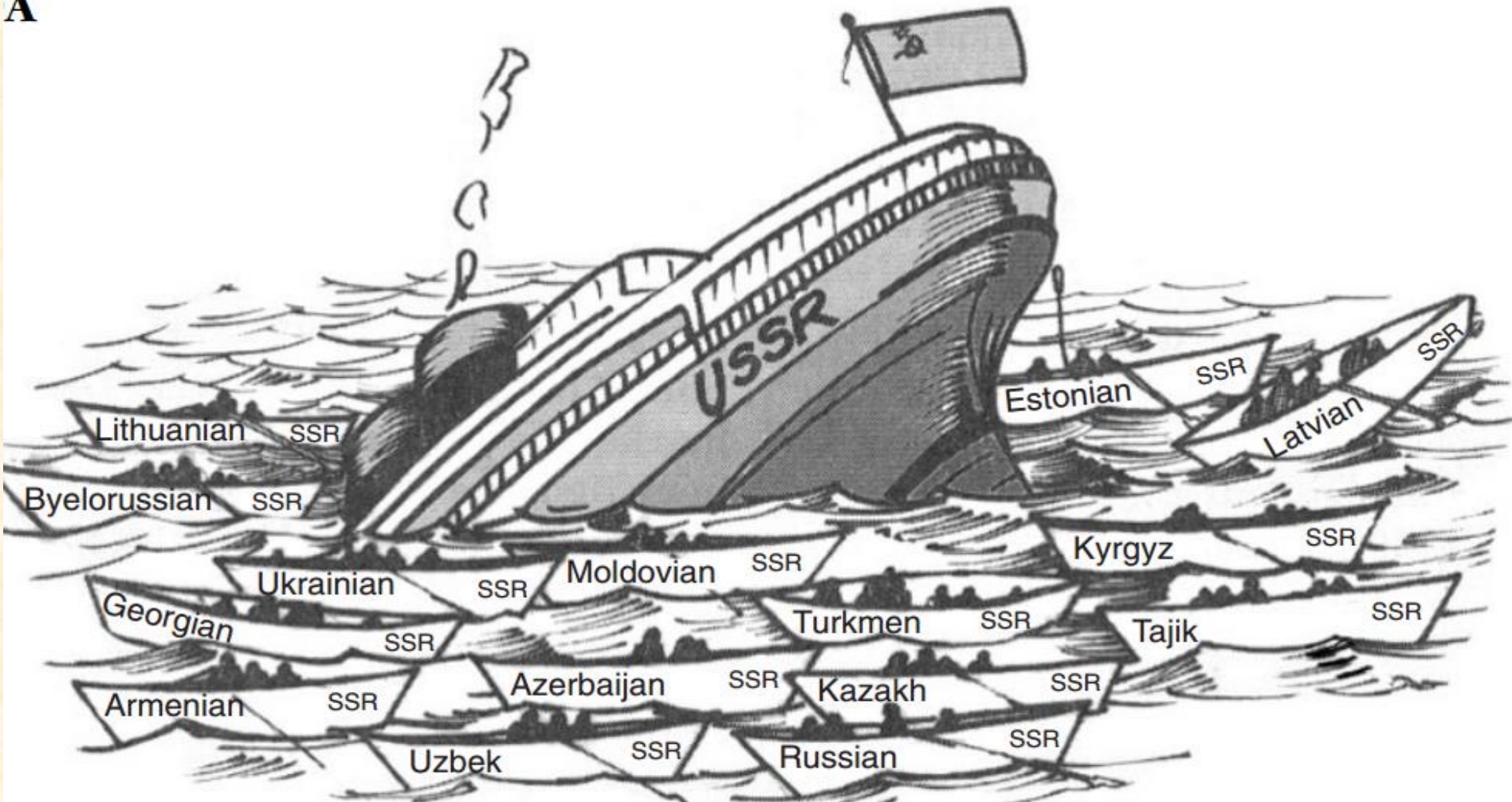
\* Areas with no oblast-level administrative divisions, where rayons are under direct republic jurisdiction

# THE WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION



# THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

A



Source: Sue Ann Kime and Paul Stich, *Global History*, N & N Publishing (adapted)



- National Capital (10, 110,000 In 2002)
- over 4,000,000
- over 1,500,000
- over 1,000,000
- over 500,000
- other main city
- other city
- Chief town of federal district
- Previous capital of republic, oblast, krai or okrug

**RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

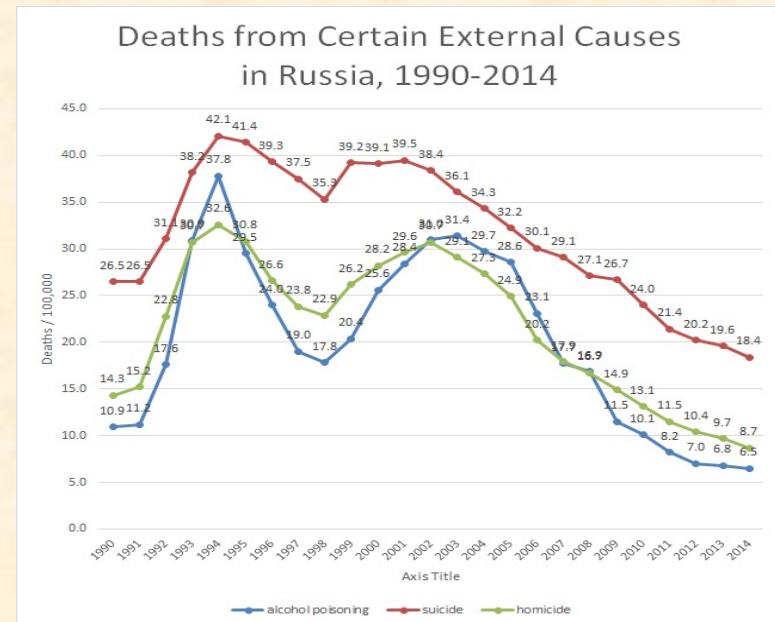
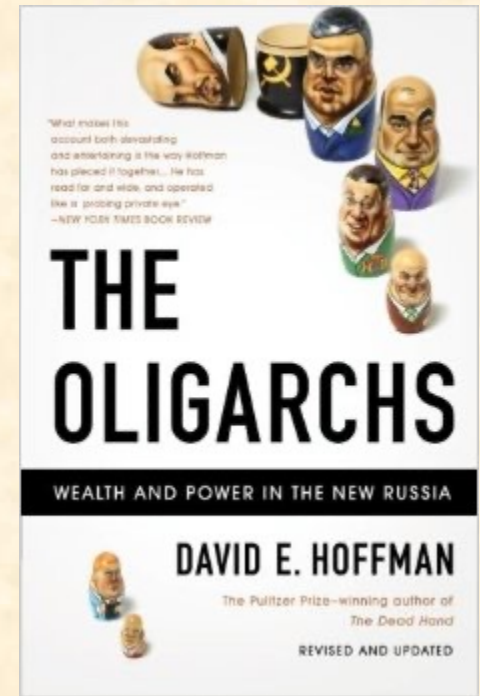
0 km 275 550 825 km

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# PROBLEMS OF THE 1990s

- Military Dismemberment
- Economic Collapse
- The “Health of the Nation” at Risk
- A Country in Need of Aid
- **PERCEPTION: RUSSIA IS A WEAK STATE**



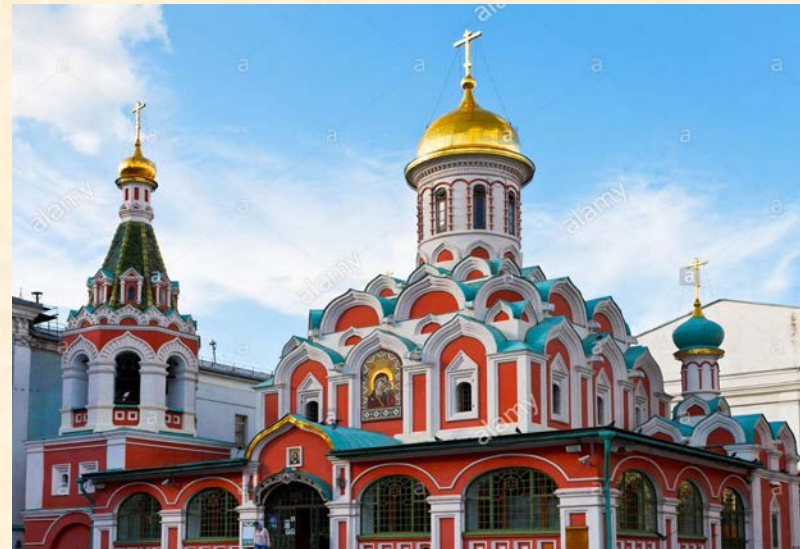
# CHANGING COURSE





# RUSSIAN *POWER* UNDER VLADIMIR PUTIN

- **Putin's Perspective**
  - *Correct the disaster of 1991*
  - *Russia is a "Civilization"*
  - *Russia is an "essential" power*
- **Defining Spheres of Influence**
  - *Eurasia – neighboring states*
  - *Europe – strategically important*
  - *Beyond – situational (what is the purpose? Advantage?)*
- **Tools of Foreign Policy**
  - *Information operations*
  - *The "image of stability"*
  - *Increasing use of the military*





EESTI  
(ESTONIA)



LATVIJA  
(LATVIA)



LIETUVA  
(LITHUANIA)



БЕЛАРУСЬ  
(BELARUS)



РОССИЯ  
(RUSSIA)



УКРАЇНА  
(UKRAINE)



МОЛДОВА  
(MOLDOVA)



საქართველო  
(GEORGIA)



NORTH  
CAUCASUS  
(PART OF RUSSIA)

ҚАЗАҚСТАН  
(KHAZAKHSTAN)



КЫРГЫЗСТАН  
(KYRGYZSTAN)



ТОҶИКИСТОН  
(TAJIKISTAN)



ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆ  
(ARMENIA)



AZƏRBAYCAN  
(AZERBAIJAN)



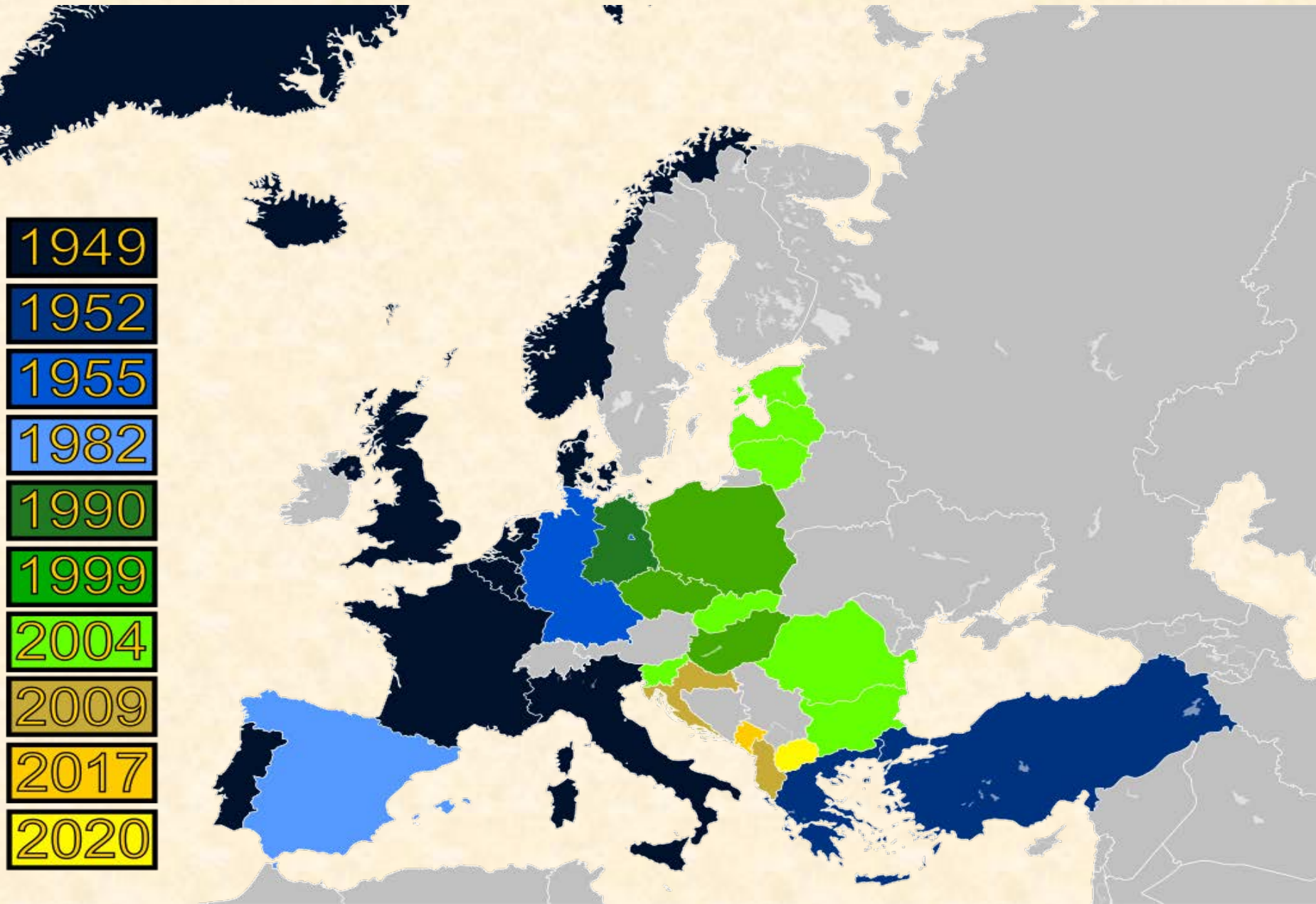
TÜRKMENISTAN  
(TURKMENISTAN)



O'zbekiston  
(UZBEKISTAN)

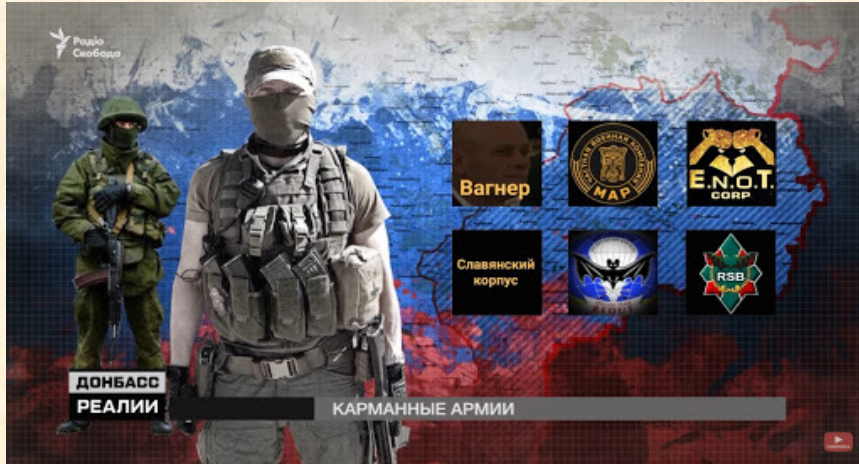


# NATO AT THE RUSSIAN BORDER



**WAGNER**

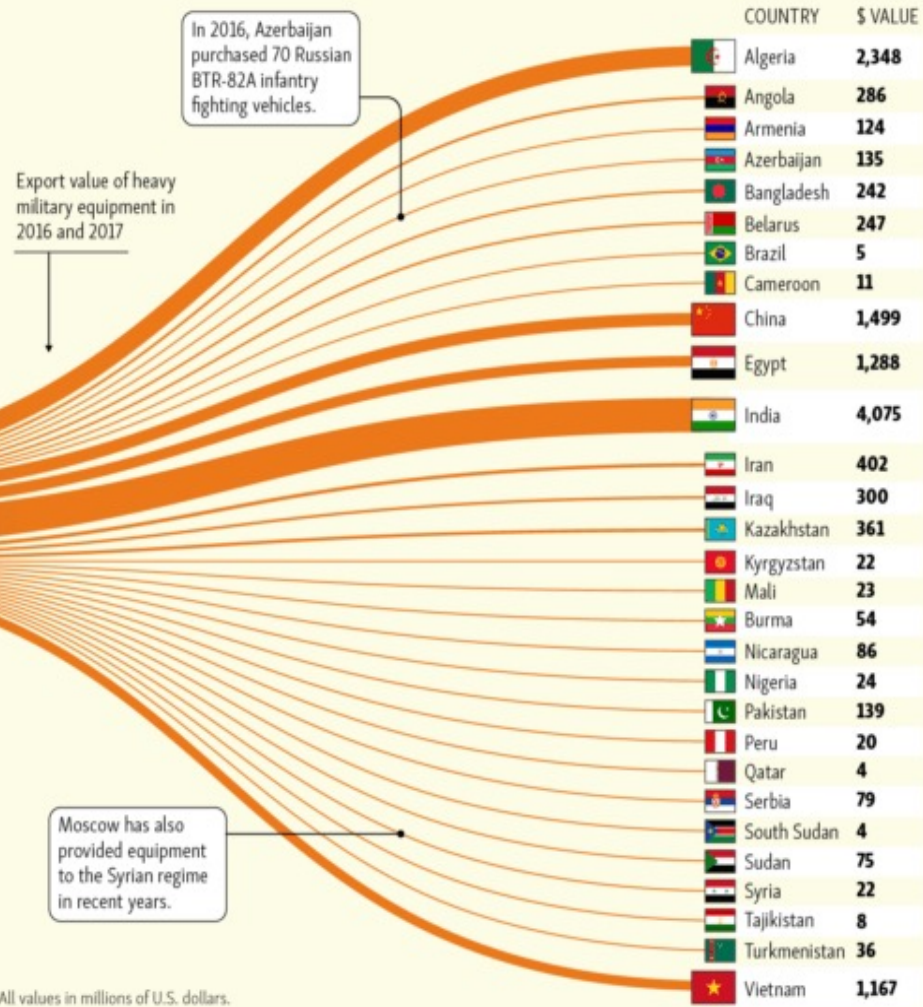
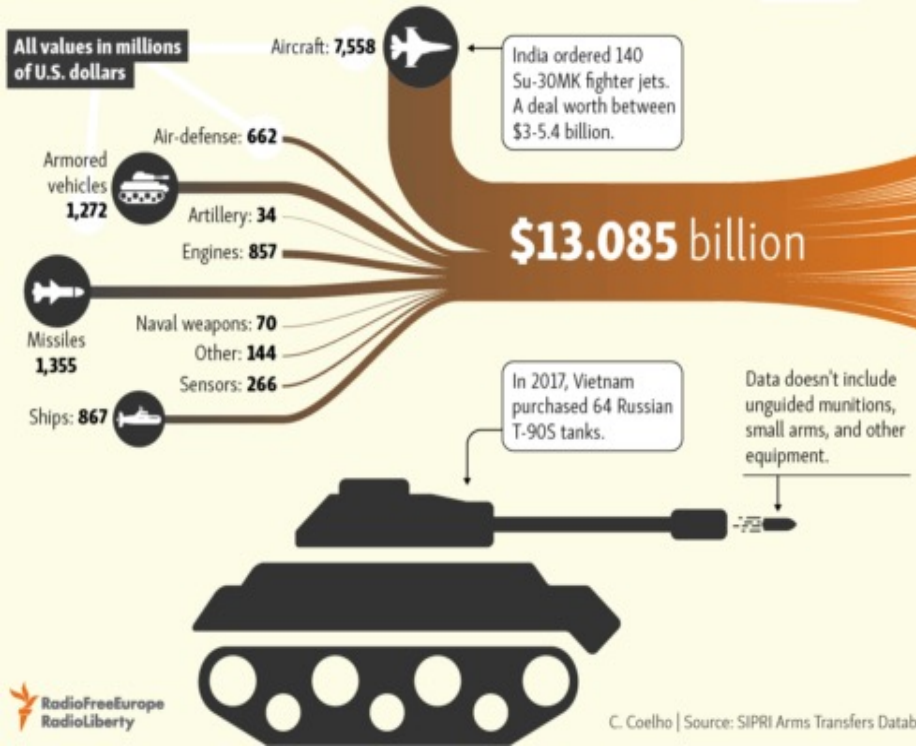
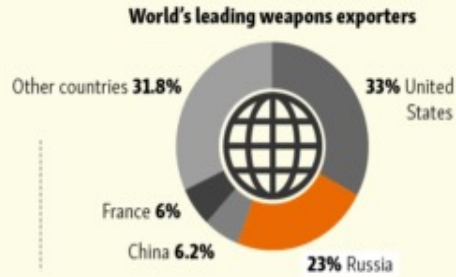
# MERCENARIES



# RUSSIAN ARMS SALES

## Russian Arms Deals

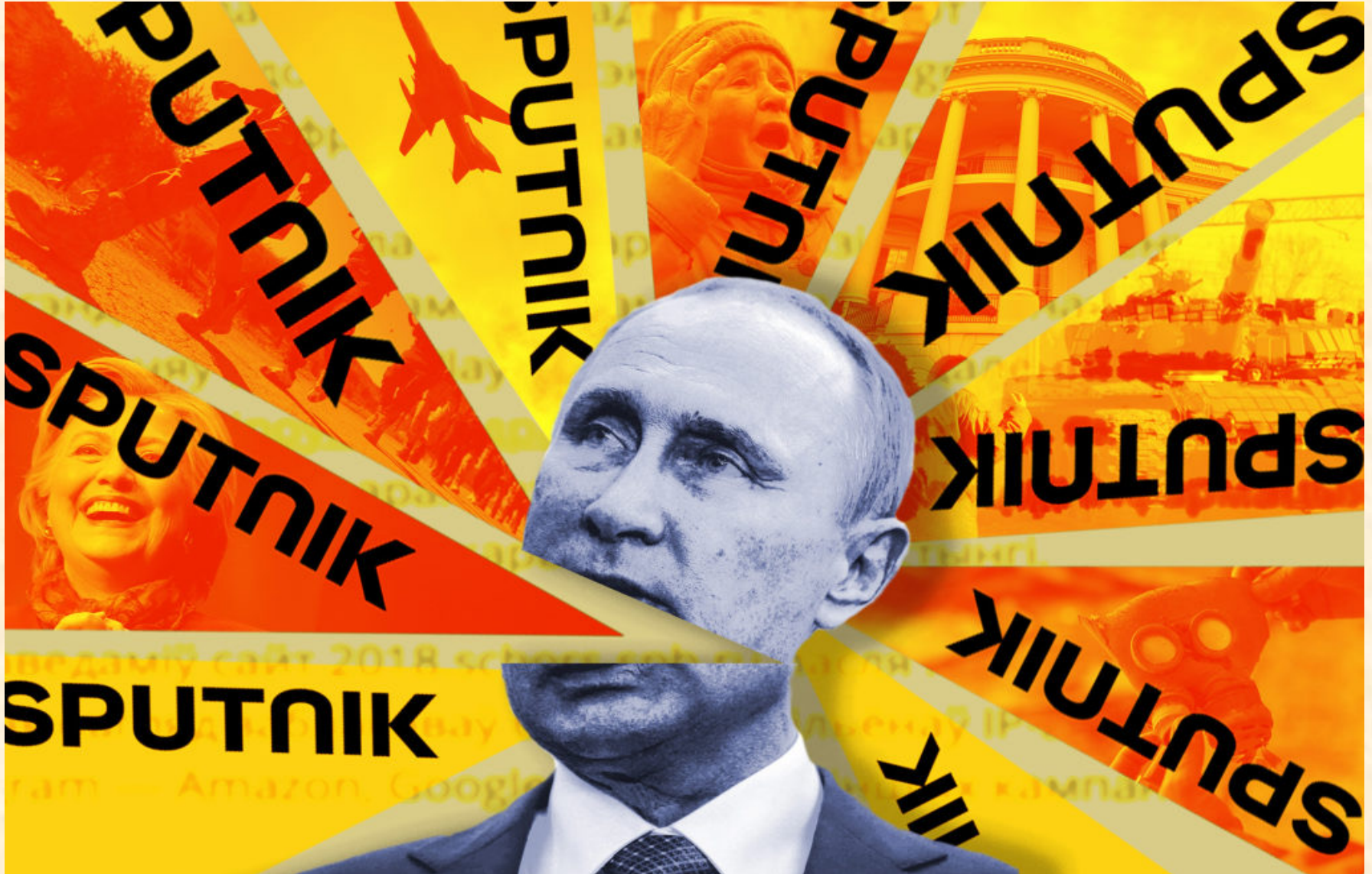
Between 2016 and 2017, Russia exported over \$13 billion worth of heavy military equipment. These were the buyers.



# S-400



# SHAPING THE MEDIA SPACE



# INFLUENCING EXTREMISTS AND SOWING DISCORD

**BREITBART** **B** BIG GOVERNMENT BIG JOURNALISM BIG HOLLYWOOD NATIONAL SECURITY TECH VIDEO SPORTS  
BREITBART LONDON BREITBART JERUSALEM BREITBART TEXAS BREITBART CALIFORNIA STORE

**THE OFFICIAL BREITBART STORE** SHOP NOW > SHOW

**DEEP STATE STRIKES:**  
**LEAKS CLASSIFIED INFO TO WASHINGTON POST TO SMEAR TRUMP**

*MCMASTER: WAPO STORY ???FALSE??? ??? WAS IN THE ROOM, IT DIDN'T???*  
HAPPEN???  
by IAN HANCHETT  
3866

*FORGET MEDIA MELTDOWN: GINGRICH TELLS TRUMP TO ???CLOSE DOWN THE PRESS ROOM???*  
by PENNY STARR  
1803

*PLAINTIFF LAWYER: IF TRUMP SAYS ???ISLAM IS PEACE??? HE CAN HAVE A TRAVEL BAN*  
by IAN MASON  
1098

**WHATEVER IT TAKES**  
WITH CURT SCHILLING  
9-11AM EASTERN  
MONDAY-FRIDAY

**BREITBART CONNECT**

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# SUMMARY: RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLDVIEW

- **Self-Perception: Russia is a Great Power**
- **Centralized Decision-making**
  - *Small group of key leaders involved*
  - *Public opinion does matter (within limits!)*
- **Resource Limitations are Known**
- **“Gerasimov Doctrine”**
  - *Constant state of conflict (no “peace or war”)*
  - *Use all means available*
- **Willing to Take Risks: Actions Abroad Have Consequences at Home**

# WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR THE UNITED STATES?

- **Cooperation or Competition?**
  - *European security*
  - *Engaging China*
- **Ignoring Russia**
  - *No real economic ties*
  - *A “regional power” that is weak*
- **Periods of “Reset” with Russia**
- **Trump’s Admiration of Putin**
- **Biden Breaks the Cycle of U.S. Leadership on Russia? [No Reset?]**

# CASE STUDY 1: RUSSIA AND IRAN

- **Bilateral Tensions**
- **Security Cooperation**
  - *Arms sales*
  - *Intelligence sharing*
- **Shared Concerns**
  - *Transnational threats*
  - *The U.S. as a rival*
- **An Alliance, Strategic Partnership, or Marriage of Convenience?**





Iran at the beginning of the 19th c.



Iranian Attacks



Russian empire limits in 1900



Losses and gains



1838, Herat Siege by Shah of Iran

1907 Convention



Russian Influence

FARS

Losses and gains

1873

Russian acquisitions during the 19th c.



Britannic influence

# THE JCPOA AND A “NUCLEAR IRAN”

- Russia’s Official Position on Iranian Nuclear Energy
  - *Assistance with the Bushehr nuclear facility*
  - *Opposed to Iranian possession of nuclear weapons*
- *Perceived Value of the JCPOA*
  - *The United Nations*
  - *U.S. withdrawal in 2018*
  - *Enhance Russia’s role?*

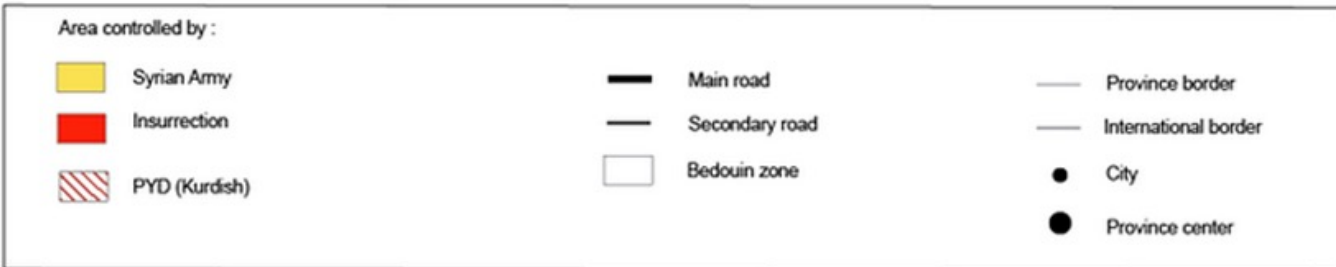
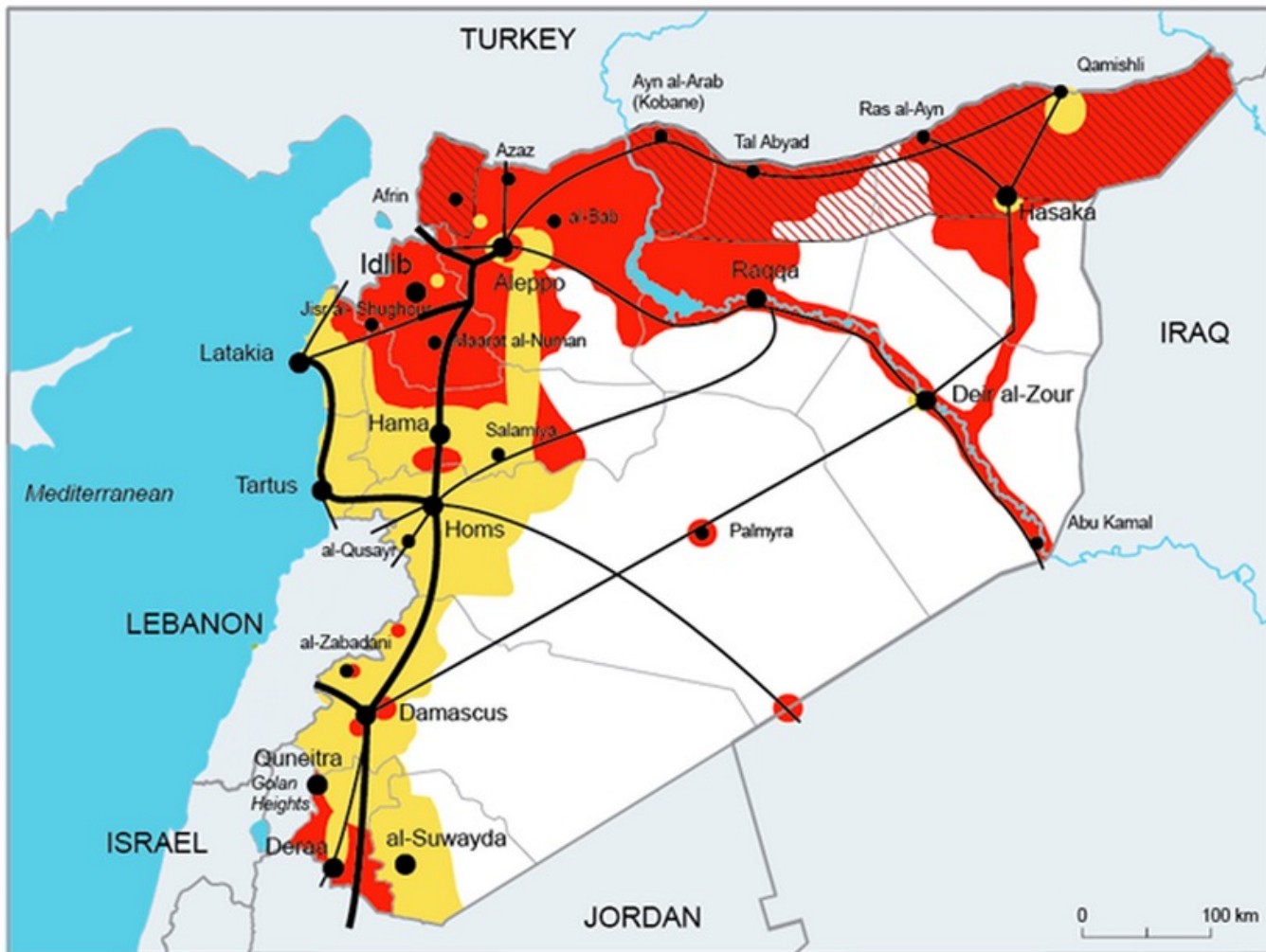


# CASE STUDY 2: RUSSIA AND SYRIA

- **Support for Assad**
  - *“Helping a friend”*
  - *Russia as a regional actor*
- **Low-cost/High-return**
  - *Combat experience*
  - *Refining roles of mercenaries*
  - *Arms sales*
- **Limiting the U.S. in the Middle East**
- **This Is Part of a Broader Russian Security Policy**



# MILITARY SITUATION IN SYRIA: SEPTEMBER 2015



# CASE STUDY 3: RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN

- **Formal Ties**

- *Had tacit support for Ghani*
- *Support for the Taliban*
- *Russia as a “convener”*



- **The Withdrawal of NATO**

- *Perceptions before August 2021*
- *Collapse of the Ghani government*
- *The U.S./NATO departure*



- **Redefining Russia’s War of 1979-1989**



# CONNECTING OR BLOCKING OFF AFGHANISTAN?



# WHAT ABOUT RUSSIA AND CHINA?

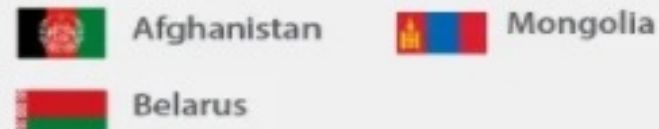


# THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION (SCO)

## Member states



## Observer states



## Dialogue partners



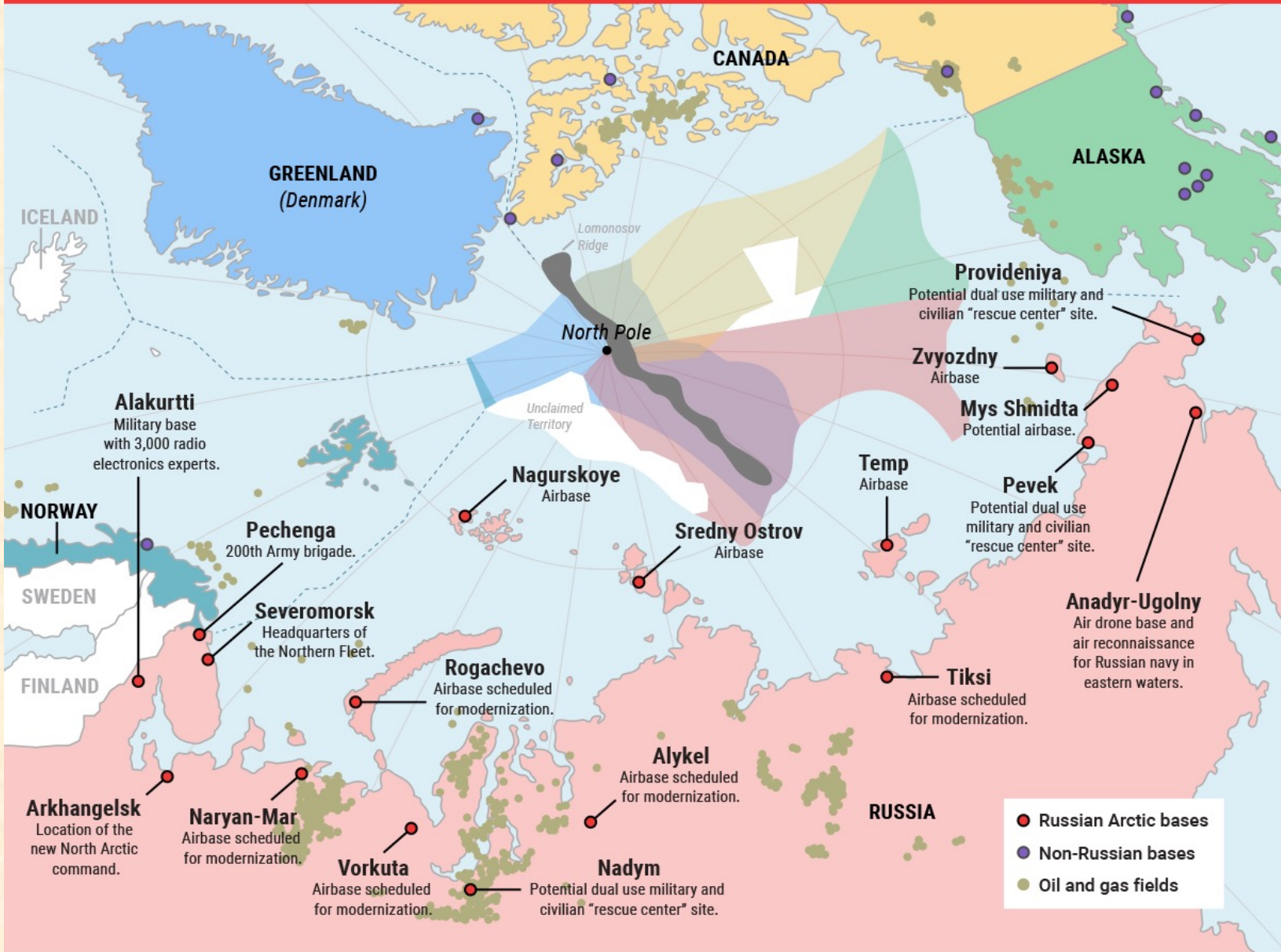
## Guest attendances



# CHALLENGE OF 2022: DEFENDING THE RUSSIAN HOMELAND

- Primary Security Focus Remains Russia
- Important to Understand Who is the ENEMY
- Expansion of What is Considered “Russia”
  - *The Arctic region*
  - *Russians abroad*
- Activities Within the Eurasian Region
  - *South Caucasus*
  - *Central Asia*
  - *Ukraine*

# RUSSIA'S MILITARIZATION OF THE ARCTIC



**SOURCES:** The Heritage Foundation, TASS, Sputnik News, RT, USNI News, The Moscow Times, Associated Air Charter, Barents Observer, Council on Foreign Relations, The Economist.

# NAGORNO-KARABAKH (2020)

- **Armenia and Azerbaijan**
  - *National self-determination*
  - *Territorial integrity*
  - *First war in the 1990s*
- **Impact of the 2020 War**
  - *Azerbaijan*
  - *Armenia*
  - *The role of Russia*
  - *The role of the CSTO*





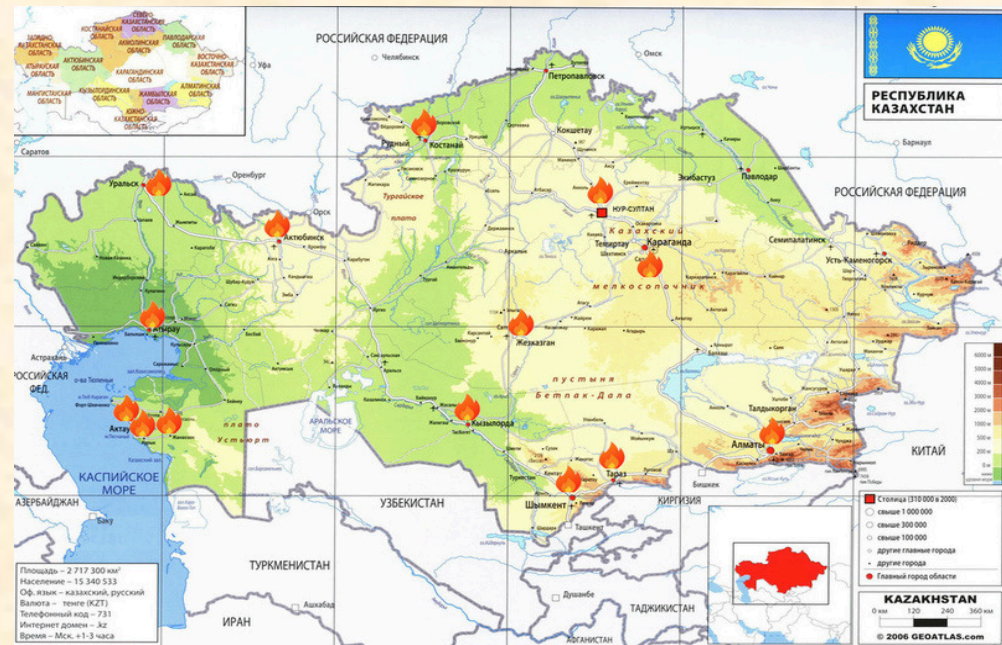
- Territory under the control of Russian peacekeepers (11/10/2020)
- Territory under the control of the Armenian Forces (11/10/2020)
- Territory under the control of Azerbaijani Forces (9/27/2020)
- Territory taken by Azerbaijani Forces (9/27-2020-11/10/2020)
- Territory to be handed over to Azerbaijani Forces (11/20/2020-12/1/2020)
- Line of Contact between Armenian Forces & Azerbaijani Forces (9/27/2020)
- Major Armenian cultural heritage sites under Azerbaijani control
- Russian Peace-Keeping Bases (23 of them)

Displaced Armenians by province: 38,000 from 7 towns and 114 villages

- Hadrut Province (including Varanda and Mekhakavan)
  - 13,600 displaced from 1 town and 28 villages
- Kashatagh Province (including Berdzor, Kashunik, and Kovsakan)
  - 9,300 displaced from 4 towns and 48 villages
- Shushi Province
  - 4,000 displaced from 1 town and 1 village
- Shahumyan Province (including Karvachar)
  - 3,100 displaced from 1 town and 15 villages
- Askeran Province (including Akna)
  - 2,600 displaced from 8 villages
- Martuni Province
  - 2,600 displaced from 6 villages
- Martakert Province
  - 2,000 displaced from 8 villages

# KAZAKHSTAN (JANUARY 2022)

- Sequence of Events
  - Domestic unrest
  - Leadership conflict
  - External actors
- Russian Response
  - Honor request of President Tokayev
  - The role of the CSTO
  - Beyond?





# UKRAINE (2014-PRESENT)

- Ukraine is a Nation – *Apart from Russia*
- Can It Join the EU and NATO?
- Russian Incursions Into Ukraine
  - *Crimean Takeover*
  - *The Donbas Conflict*
  - *The Military Build-Up*





Белоруссия

Польша

Россия

Украина

Новоросси́я

НАРОДНОЕ  
ОПОЛЧЕНИЕ  
ДОНБАССА

НОВОРОССИЯ

# TERRITORIAL DISPUTES



# GAS ROUTES AND GEOPOLITICS



# **RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE**

- **Justification for the “Special Military Operations”**
- **What Are Russia's Objectives?**
- **The U.S. Reactions**
  - *Condemnation*
  - *UN resolutions*
  - *Sanctions*
  - *Military support for Ukraine?*

# STATUS OF THE WAR TODAY



# “STRATEGIC POWER COMPETITION:” *COMMON NARRATIVES*

- Russia and China Oppose U.S. Goals
- Russia and China Oppose U.S. Presence
- Russia and China Always Cooperate
- We Are Looking at a “New Great Game”
- *What Is the Reality?*



# STRATEGIC POWER COMPETITION: REALITY

- **Russia, China, and the United States**
  - *Areas of cooperation and competition*
  - *Focus on their own vital national interests*
- **Interaction among the Three Powers**
  - *Interests and capacity vary*
  - *Be mindful of wishful thinking*
- **Regional Actors and Agency**
  - *Regions are distinct priorities for outside powers*
  - *Understand local interests and capacity*



# CONCLUSION

- **Does Russia Remain an Important Country?**
  - *As a regional actor*
  - *As a global actor*
  - *Russia's "identity" in the future?*
- **What Challenges May Affect Russia's Standing as a "Great Power?"**
- **What Factors Could Influence Russia's Ability to Project Power?**

# *Thank you!*



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