

Russian-Turkish Rivalry over the Balkan and Caucasus Areas

(JTM 317)

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Annotation

Contemporary Russia-Turkey relations are marred by rivalry and occasional rapprochements in their traditional areas of influence of the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East and Central Asia. Focusing on the former two areas, more particularly those of the Western Balkans and the South Caucasus – where their rivalry appears more intensive – this course considers the historical relations between the two states and examines their exercise of ‘soft’ and ‘sharp power’ in their foreign policies with the individual states of Albania, Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. Drawing on a multi-disciplinary scholarship that deals with questions of ‘neo-imperialism’, geo-economics, geopolitics and cultural and historical relations on this rivalry and cooperation, the course aims at understanding the rationales (realism, constructivism) and the driving forces (security and national economic interests) behind their rivalry. This course also offers a great opportunity for students to compare and go deeper in their analysis of the modes of cooperation and tensions in each of these countries vis-à-vis Russia and Turkey.

A. COURSE DESIGN

1. Introduction (Brisku/Panahova)
2. Ottoman-Russian Relations, 1500 -1918 (Brisku)
3. Twentieth-Century Soviet-Turkish Relations/Post-Cold War Russian-Turkish Cooperation and Rivalry (Brisku)
4. ‘Hard’ ‘Soft’, ‘Sharp/Smart Power’ in Foreign Policy (Brisku)
5. Turkey in the Western Balkans: ‘Neo Ottomanism’? (Brisku)
6. The Cases of Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina & Serbia (Brisku/Beshku)
7. Russia in the Western Balkans: ‘Meddling’ & ‘Destabilising’ (Panahova)
8. The Cases of Serbia & Bosnia-Herzegovina (Panahova)
9. Turkey in the South Caucasus: Decline of Its ‘Soft Power’? (Panahova)
10. The Cases of Azerbaijan, Armenia & Georgia (Panahova)
11. Russia in the South Caucasus: Controlling the ‘Near Abroad’ & Countering Western Soft Power (Panahova)
12. The Cases of Armenia, Azerbaijan & Georgia (Panahova)

B. READING ASSIGNMENT

1. Introduction

- Syllabus

2. Ottoman-Russian Relations, 1500 -1918 (Brisku)

- Brisku, Adrian, 'Ottoman-Russian Relations', *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Asian History* (2019), DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.013.288

3. Twentieth-Century Soviet-Turkish Relations/Post-Cold War Russian-Turkish Cooperation and Rivalry (Brisku)

- Bechev, Dimitar, 'The Russian-Turkish Marriage of Convenience', in *Rival Power: Russia in Southeast Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 139-178
- Sekcin, Kostem, 'Different Paths to Regional Hegemony: National Identity Contestation and Foreign Economic Strategy in Russia and Turkey', *Review of International Political Economy* 25(5) (2018), 726-751.

4. 'Hard' 'Soft', 'Sharp/Smart Power' in Foreign Policy (Brisku)

- Chitty, Naren, 'Soft Power, Civic Virtue, and World Politics', in *Routledge Handbook of Soft Power*, Naren Chitty et al (eds), (London: Routledge, 2017), 9-31
- Wilson, Earnst J., 'Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power,' *Public Diplomacy in a Changing World*, (2008), 110-124
- Walker, Christopher, 'What Is Sharp Power,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 29, no 3. (2018), 9-23

5. Turkey in the Western Balkans: 'Neo-Ottomanism'? (Brisku)

- Taglia, Stefano, 'Ottomanism Then and Now: Historical and Contemporary Meanings: An Introduction', *Die Welt Des Islams* 56 (2016), 279-289.
- Demirta, Birgul, 'Turkish Foreign Policy Towards the Balkans...' *Journal of Balkans and Near Eastern Studies* 17(2), (2015), 123-140.
- Aydintasbas, Asli, 'From Myth to Reality: How to Understand Turkey's Role in the Western Balkans', *European Council in Foreign Relations*, 13 March 2019.

6. The Cases of Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina & Serbia (Brisku)

- Madhi, Gentiola, "'Our Brother Erdogan"- From Official to Personal Relations of Albania and Kosovo with the Turkish President', *Western Balkans at the Crossroads*, Prague Institute of Security Studies, pp. 153-168
- Pavlevic, Dorde, 'The Future of Trilateral Cooperation among Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey, Serbia', *Centre for Strategic Research*, 2016, 19-38.

7. Russia in the Western Balkans: 'Meddling' & 'Destabilising' (Panahova)

- Stornski, Paul, Himes, Annie, 'Russia's Game in the Balkans', *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 6 January 2019.
- 8. The Cases of Serbia & Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro (Panahova)**
- Vuksanovic, Vuk, 'Serbs Are not "Little Russians"', *The American Interest*, 26 July 2018;
 - Samorukov, Maxim, 'Escaping the Kremlin's Embrace: Why Serbia Has Tired of Russia's Support', *The Moscow Times*, 22 January 2019.
 - Szerencses, L., Jensen, D., 'The Master of Soft Power: Russia's Role in Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo', *Academic Journal of the Budapest Business School*, 2(2), (2017), 67-94.
- 9. Turkey in South Caucasus: Decline of Its 'Soft Power'? (Panahova)**
- Balci, Bayram, Thomas Liles, 'What Remains from Turkish Soft Power in the Caucasus', *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 24 April 2019.
 - Balci, Bayram, Thomas Liles, 'Turkey and the Caucasus: Mutual Interests in the post-Soviet Era', in *Routledge Handbook of the Caucasus*, G. M. Yemelianova & L. Broers, eds, (Routledge, 2020), 331-346
- 10. The Cases of Armenia, Azerbaijan & Georgia (Panahova)**
- Meister, Stefan, 'Shifting Geopolitical Realities in the South Caucasus', Stockholm Centre for East European Studies, Nov. 2021, 1-16
 - Aliyev, Fuad, 'Islam and Turkey's Soft Power in Azerbaijan: the Gulen Movement', in *Religion and Soft Power in the South Caucasus*, A. Jadicke (ed), (London: Routledge, 2019), 128-148.
 - Ter-Matevosyan, Vahram, 'Turkish Soft Power Politics in Georgia', in *Religion and Soft Power in the South Caucasus*, A. Jadicke (ed), (London: Routledge, 2019), 21-41
- 11. Russia in the South Caucasus: Controlling the 'Near Abroad' & Countering Western Soft Power (Panahova)**
- MacFarlane, S. N., 'Russia in the Caucasus', in *Routledge Handbook of the Caucasus*, G. M. Yemelianova & L. Broers, eds, (Routledge, 2020), 305-316
 - Makarychev, Andrey, Alexandra Yatsuk, 'Russia as a Counter-normative Soft Power: Between Ideology and Policy', in *Religion and Soft Power in the South Caucasus*, A. Jadicke (ed), (London: Routledge, 2019), 215-236
- 12. The Cases of Azerbaijan, Armenia & Georgia (Panahova)**
- Gulijev, Farid, 'Azerbaijani-Russian Relations: Transactional Diplomacy in Action', *Russian Analytical Digest* nr. 173. (2021)
 - Arthur V. Atanesyan, at al, 'Balancing between Russia and the West: the hard security choice of Armenia, European', *European Security* (2023), 1-23
 - Brisku, Adrian, 'Empires of Conquest and Civilisation in Georgian Political and Intellectual Discourse Since Late Nineteenth Century', *Intersection. EEJSP* 2(2), (2016), 34-51.

C. COURSE REQUIREMENTS

- 1) Attendance is mandatory as the course is designed as a seminar where substantial student participation is needed.
- 2) A power-point presentation on a theme agreed with the lectures is required.
- 3) Three weeks after the end of the course, a final paper of around 2500 words should be uploaded on Moodle.
- 4) Active class participation – 20%, student presentation – 40% and final paper - 40%.

D. COURSE EVALUATION

- A - "výborně - A" - "excellent - A"
- B - "výborně - B" - "excellent - B"
- C - "velmi dobře - C" - "very good - C"
- D - "velmi dobře - D" - "very good - D"
- E - "dobře - E" - "good - E"
- F - "neprospěl/a - F" - "fail - F"

Last Updated

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