

Russia's Global Reach:

A Security and Statecraft Assessment

Edited by
Graeme P. Herd

Dedication

This book is dedicated to the memory of **Dr. John Reppert** (September 16, 1941 – October 11, 2019) and **Dr. Robert “Bob” Brannon** (November 13, 1950 – May 22, 2017). John was Dean of the College of International Security Studies at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies (GCMC) twice, from 2003 to 2006 and April 2010 to September 2012. Bob was GCMC Dean from September 2012 to September 2016.

Before joining the GCMC, both served in leadership positions in Moscow, John as U.S. Defense Attaché to the Russian Federation and Bob as Naval Attaché. As Deans, as academics, and as old “Russia hands,” these leaders had the vision to constantly seek ways to further our understanding of Russian strategic behavior, with a view to identifying appropriate policy responses. We remember them with fondness and affection.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>		<i>i</i>
<i>List of Contributors</i>		<i>ii</i>
<i>Foreword</i>		<i>iii</i>
<i>Executive Summary: U.S. Policy Considerations</i>		<i>iv</i>
Section I: Introduction		
Chapter 1	Understanding Russia’s Global Reach <i>Graeme P. Herd</i>	1
Section II: Regional Case Studies		
Chapter 2	Russia-U.S. Relations: Towards a New Strategic Relationship <i>Suzanne Loftus</i>	9
Chapter 3	Russia and European Great Powers: UK, France, and Germany <i>Pál Dunay</i>	17
Chapter 4	Russia and the Arctic: High Ambitions, Modernized Capabilities, and Risky Setbacks <i>Pavel Baev</i>	25
Chapter 5	Russia and Latin America: Flexible, Pragmatic, and Close <i>Fabiana S. Perera</i>	34
Chapter 6	Russia and China: Putin Turns to the East <i>Wade Turvold, Michael B. Dorschner, and Michael Burgoyne</i>	44
Chapter 7	Russia and Northeast Asia: Unrealized Potential <i>Wade Turvold, Michael B. Dorschner, and Michael Burgoyne</i>	53
Chapter 8	Russia and South Asia: India and Pakistan <i>John H. (Jack) Gill</i>	62
Chapter 9	Russia and the Middle East: Opportunities and Challenges <i>Gawdat Bahgat</i>	72
Chapter 10	Russia and Africa: Expanding Influence and Instability <i>Joseph Siegle</i>	80
Section III: Russian Power Capabilities		
Chapter 11	Russian Nuclear Instruments and Arms Control Approaches <i>Pavel Baev</i>	91
Chapter 12	Russia’s Economic Engagement: Realities, Pitfalls, and Perils <i>Pál Dunay</i>	101
Chapter 13	Russian Diplomacy and Conflict Management <i>David Lewis</i>	109
Chapter 14	Active Measures: Russia’s Covert Global Reach <i>Mark Galeotti</i>	118
Chapter 15	Strategic Messaging: Propaganda and Disinformation Efforts <i>Dmitry Gorenburg</i>	127
Section IV: Conclusions		
Chapter 16	Assessing Russian Statecraft and U.S. Policy Considerations <i>Graeme P. Herd</i>	136

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Garmisch-Partenkirchen, April 28, 2021

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The opinions expressed in this book are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views or policies of the U.S. or any other government.

Foreword

When we survey the totality of Russian global activism, what is our assessment of contemporary Russian statecraft? The five U.S. Department of Defense Regional Centers collaborated to engage this strategic theme, resulting in this volume. The Centers are:

[Africa Center for Strategic Studies](#)
[Daniel K. Inouye Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies](#)
[George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies](#)
[Near East and South Asia Center for Strategic Studies](#)
[William J. Perry Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies](#)

Drawing on their unique perspective of working with partner nations across the globe on a daily basis, these Centers are able to leverage their expertise to provide regionally-specific assessments of how well Russia aligns its ways and means with its strategic ends, when operating outside the borders of its historic 400-year-old empire. From this firm foundation we are well placed to identify policy implications and opportunities for the United States, its friends and allies, to engage Russia more effectively in each region and globally. We present these results in our Executive Summary, which rests on the work of sixteen book chapters.

We very much appreciate the insights and analysis provided by Fabiana S. Perera from Perry Center, Wade Turvold, Michael B. Dorschner, and Michael Burgoyne from DKI APCSS, John H. (Jack) Gill, and Gawdat Bahgat from NESACenter, Joseph Siegle from Africa Center and Pal Dunay, Suzanne Loftus and Graeme P. Herd from our GCMC. In addition, we sincerely thank Pavel K. Baev, Mark Galeotti, Dmitry Gorenburg, and David Lewis, each of these distinguished scholars are globally recognized experts on aspects of Russian strategic behavior. Their thematic chapters ably assess Russian strategic behavior in a global context.

This book is available online, including as pdfs that can serve as curriculum in support of Regional Center programs and defense institution courses of friends and allies. Shared research promotes discussion and exchanges of perspectives in teaching and seminars, increases knowledge, and strengthens networks. The Executive Summary provides an active and thoughtful Senior Leadership Seminar agenda. I commend Jeannie Callaghan and her team here at the GCMC for a web design that facilitates such functionality in the service of our mission.

Building on the groundbreaking APCSS-led collaboration that resulted in the excellent assessment of China's global reach and activism, this GCMC-led effort provides a second volume to the series, on Russia. We look forward to subsequent collaborations that draw on regional center expertise to assess other evolving strategic trends in comparative perspective.

It is my pleasure to share this research and policy analysis with you all.

Keith W. Dayton, Lt. Gen, U.S. Army (ret.)
GCMC Director, March 22, 2021