

# **RPOS 356 Russian Foreign Policy**

## **Online Class**

**Winter 2017 (December 23 – January 18, 2017)**

**Course number:** 2430

**Instructor:** Inga Miller

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Virtual office hours: Mon. - Fri. 9 am – 12 noon, 4 pm – 7 pm, or by appointment

## **Syllabus**

### **Course Description**

This fully online course is designed to provide a broad overview of Russian foreign policy. Throughout the ages, Russian foreign policy has been influenced by complex interactions between various actors, interests, ideas, and historical continuities which are examined in this course. The course begins with an outline of the main schools of thought of international relations and their relevance to the analysis of Russian foreign policy. Then the course addresses the history of Russian foreign policy from the days of Kiev Rus to the Soviet era. Finally, the course focuses on Russia's foreign policy of the post-Soviet period, with an emphasis on Russia's conflicts with Georgia and Ukraine and on its current involvement in Syria. The goals of this course are to provide students with an understanding of the formation and the execution of Russian foreign policy, to highlight issues that are likely to affect Russian foreign policy in the foreseeable future, and to enable students to appreciate the complexity of Russian foreign policy.

### **Course Objectives**

This course will

1. Broaden and deepen the students' knowledge of the context, elements, changes, and continuities related to Russian foreign policy.
2. Introduce students to the scholarly discourse of Russian foreign policy.
3. Enhance students' analytic and writing skills through analysis of readings, participating in discussions, reaction papers, and critiques of peer work.

4. Develop students' ability to analyze Russian foreign policy in the global context.

### **Course Outcomes**

At the completion of this course, students will be able to

1. Understand the fundamental principles and purposes of Russian foreign policy, its key actors and issues.
2. Identify the current Russian foreign policy priorities, strategies, and other foreign policy-related issues.
3. Compare and evaluate various theoretical and policy-orientated approaches to Russian foreign policy.
4. Articulate their own critical analysis of Russian foreign policy.
5. Demonstrate active learning and engagement through critical questioning, synthesis and evaluation of course readings and other course materials, discussions, and written analytical assignments.

### **Course Expectations**

Please note that this is a reading and writing intensive course with regular assignments that are based on course readings. The written assignments are designed to develop your ability of critical thinking and to hone your writing skills. You are expected to adhere to academic writing standards and to articulate your thoughts clearly and concisely. To receive a good grade, please consult with the instructor about any uncertainties regarding assignments. Feel free to send your writing ideas, outlines, and drafts for instructor's opinion before submission.

This course is fully online. Please plan for technical contingencies, e.g. have a reliable internet connection and an access to a back-up computer (your smartphone will be inadequate). This course has narrated Powerpoint mini-lectures, please make sure you have audio arrangements. Also, please note that this is not a self-paced course. To keep up with it, you will need to log-in frequently. The new course materials will be released on Sundays, and to move on, you shall need passing grades in assignments.

### **The Structure of the Course**

There are six **modules** in this course. Each module represents a broad topic of Russian foreign policy. The structure of each module is essentially the same. It will facilitate your learning, if you proceed through the module in the order indicated below.

Each module begins with a brief video introduction by the instructor about the subject content of the module. Each module is divided in **two classes** (Class 1 and Class 2) which focus on specific aspects of Russian foreign policy.

Before you begin each class, please note the **questions** I would like you to consider as you proceed through the lecture notes, readings, and other materials. Keeping these questions in mind will help you in quizzes, discussions, and further coursework assignments.

The **mini-lecture presentations** consist of narrated PowerPoint slides (these presentations are not substitute for readings!).

After the lecture presentation, please **read** and **watch** the required materials carefully.

**Quizzes** at the end of each class will be based on the mini-lectures and the class readings. These *timed* quizzes (20 minutes long) usually will be 8 - 10 questions.

After you have finished the class quiz, join the **discussion** to discuss the question presented by the instructor. Your postings are expected to be substantive and consistent. You are expected to follow the expectations for your participation described below in the *Course Assessment*. You are expected to have at least one substantial original post (appr. 100 words) in answer to the discussion question and to post at least two comments on your peers' postings.

After you have completed both classes of the module, it's time to write your **reaction paper**. After you have sent your paper to the instructor and it has been graded, one of your peers will review it. Please note that there is no reaction paper for Module 6.

### **Course Assessment**

Class **quizzes** (12 total); the lowest grade will be dropped = 20% of total grade

Participation and development of a class **discussion** topic initiated by instructor = 20% (Must have at least one substantial response to the topic question and two comments on your peers' postings.)

**Reaction papers** focusing on specific issues in the module readings (appr. 200 - 300 words each, 5 papers total) and critiques of peers' reaction papers (10 critiques total) = 20%

**Midterm**, consisting of two parts: a quiz based on short answers and an essay = 10%

**Final**: a concise policy paper (appr. 1,500 words) = 20%.

Outstanding work and participation = 10%

### **Rubric for grading discussion entries, reaction papers, and peer critiques**

(Must have the required minimum number of posts and the minimum suggested length to receive full credit)

**90-100 points:** The student shows excellent grasp of the key concepts; productively critiques others' views; stimulates discussion in general; uses readings and other course materials for support of his opinions; and contributes by offering new interpretations of discussion material. Ideas are expressed concisely and logically by using appropriate vocabulary.

**80-90 points:** The student demonstrates understanding of most major concepts; offers an occasional original viewpoint or challenge; uses some skills in supporting ones' opinions. However, there is lack of organization in the presentation of one's thoughts; there may be faulty use of language or occasional tardiness.

**70-80 points:** The student has basic, yet shallow grasp of the material; hesitates taking a stand on issues; and offers inadequate levels of support for his thoughts. There may be garbled language with an occasional idea expressed adequately; there is prevalent use of simple sentences and redundant wording; paragraphs often appear unrelated to each other. This student requires constant prompting for contributions.

**60-70 points:** The student's postings are minimal, they show no significant understanding of material and are presented in mostly incoherent language. The student does not respond readily to prompting and is habitually tardy with assignments.

***Extra credit may be granted for quality work and extra participation.***

**Reaction papers** should be 1 - 2 pages Word document (appr. 200 - 300 word count in Times New Roman or Arial, font size 12, double-spaced). The topic will be provided by the instructor. Please include the following: the issue summary, the description of the problem, your opinion (do you agree, disagree, and/or identify important or neglected relevant aspects of the problem?), supporting arguments, and a brief conclusion.

After the instructor has graded your paper, it will be subjected to peer critique.

### **Peer Critiques**

At the end of each module (with the exception of the last module), one of your peers will review your paper and will provide to you a brief feedback (appr. 100 words) to which you will have to respond. You, too, will have to review a reaction papers for each module. *Participating in peer critique is mandatory and will be part of your grade.*

### **Timed Midterm**

Your midterm will have 2 parts: 12-18 questions requiring brief answers, and an essay of appr. 200 words. After you log in to begin the test, you will have 24 continuous hours to finish it and the access to the login will be provided for 72 hours. *This means you will have to plan your time accordingly!*

### **Final**

You will have to write a brief policy paper, a Word document of 8 - 10 pages, conforming to the APA standards. 5 - 6 pages will be the content pages (appr. 1,200 - 1,500 word count in Times New Roman or Arial, font size 12, double-spaced), the rest of pages will be title page, abstract, and references.

A few suggested topics that you may wish to use for your paper will be posted at least two weeks before the last day of the course. Alternatively, you may choose a topic on your own.

**What is a policy paper?** At the minimum, there must be a clear description of the context and importance of the problem. The main part of the paper will consist of a discussion of a range of policy options. The concluding part of the paper must have the policy recommendation with supporting evidence. You will find more information on how to write a policy paper with examples here:

<http://govthesis.site.wesleyan.edu/home/policy-paper/> and here:

[https://www.ivcc.edu/uploadedFiles/faculty/dockins/APA\\_Paper\(12\).pdf](https://www.ivcc.edu/uploadedFiles/faculty/dockins/APA_Paper(12).pdf) And here is an excellent checklist that you should refer to before and during writing your paper:

<https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~i38215pd/su2003/suggestions.html>

### Late Policies

If an assignment is late without making previous arrangements with the instructor, it will be graded accordingly: 24 hrs. late – 15% reduction; 48 hrs. late – 30% reduction. No assignments accepted after 72 hrs. **If you are unable to follow the course schedule** (for health or other reasons), **please consult with the instructor *immediately***.

### Technical Difficulties

In case of technical difficulties, please let the instructor know about it and contact the ITS help desk *immediately* at <http://www.albany.edu/its/help> or call (518) 442-3700. When you do so, please get a “ticket” which will serve as a proof of your predicament. Here is a guide for where you should direct questions and calls for help. The instructor will not be able to assist you with technical issues.

#### If You Have Problems with...

#### Please Contact ...

Log-in to your ISP (Internet Service Provider); connecting to websites; launching web browser software (Internet Explorer, Firefox).

Your Internet Service Provider)

Connecting to the UAlbany BLS website; log-in to BLS website and accessing your course(s); interacting or participating in course activities

The ITS Help Desk

Submission of assignment or file attachments in course.

Go to the ITS Help Request Form at <http://www.albany.edu/its/help> or call (518) 442-3700

### Academic Integrity

You are expected to meet all standards of academic integrity. For further information, please consult the undergraduate bulletin at

[http://albany.edu/undergraduate\\_bulletin/regulations.html](http://albany.edu/undergraduate_bulletin/regulations.html) Also, please complete this library tutorial on plagiarism <http://library.albany.edu/usered/plagiarism/index.html>

Your papers may be checked for plagiarism issues by *Safe Assign* software.

Issues related to student grievances should be addressed to the Rockefeller College Political Science Grievance committee as described at the faculty by-laws at [http://www.albany.edu/rockefeller/gateway\\_docs/2015/faculty%20by-laws\\_updated%20October%202015.pdf](http://www.albany.edu/rockefeller/gateway_docs/2015/faculty%20by-laws_updated%20October%202015.pdf)

Please note that the materials in this course are meant to be used only for the duration of this course and should not distributed to others.

### **Netiquette**

Please observe proper "netiquette" – courteous and appropriate forms of communication and interaction over the Internet (within your online course). Respect others' opinions. This means no personal attacks, obscene language, or other expressions of intolerance. For more information about Netiquette please visit the following site: <http://www.albion.com/netiquette/corerules.html>. Please note that the instructor of this course reserves the right to remove any questionable or offensive material from public areas of this course.

### **Students with Disabilities**

If you have a disability requiring special accommodations, please notify the Director of Disabled Student Services, Carolyn Malloch, Director of Disabled Student Services [cmalloch@albany.edu](mailto:cmalloch@albany.edu), phone: (518) 442-5490, fax: (518) 442-5589, TTY: (518) 442-3366. The office of Disabled Student Services will provide the course instructor with verification of your disability, and will recommend appropriate accommodations. In addition, the University provides a great deal of information on the services it offers to disabled students which can be found on the Disability Resource Center page at <http://www.albany.edu/disability/>

### **Readings**

#### **Required Books:**

Gvosdev, N. and Marsh, C. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors*. CQ Press. ISBN: 978-1-4522-3484-7

#### **Recommended:**

Mankoff, J. (2009). *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*. Rowman and Littlefield. Rowman and Littlefield. ISBN: 978-0-7425-5795-6

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Rowman and Littlefield. ISBN: 978-1-4422-2001-0

Other required and recommended readings (book chapters and articles) will be posted on Blackboard or linked to SUNY Albany Library e-journal collection.

*The cost of the books will be modest, if you purchase used copies available online.*

**A Few Selected Recommended Websites:**

carnegie.ru, cfr.com, foreignpolicy.com, gorchakovfund.ru, russialist.org, themoscowtimes.com, wilsoncenter.org

***If you find an interesting website which is relevant to Russian foreign policy, please share it with the class.***

**Module I**

Friday, December 23 - Tuesday, December 27

**What is Foreign Policy? How to Study It?**

**Questions to consider:** Why is it important to have a theoretical approach to problems of international relations and foreign policy? In what ways theory and real-life politics can interact and affect each other? What would change if there were no theories of international relations and foreign policy? Would it affect the way foreign policy is conducted?

Can you recognize the main characteristics and elements of the main schools of thought in IR and foreign policy (Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism), and how they are reflected in the actions of foreign policy makers? What elements of these theories are particularly relevant to Russian foreign policy?

**Class 1.1 – An Introduction to Theoretical Approaches to International Relations and Foreign Policy.**

**Topics covered:** International relations theories and foreign policy. Main theories and schools of thought of international relations: realism, liberalism, constructivism, and their variations. Foreign policy as an IR subfield. Foreign policy analysis as an academic discipline and theoretical models of foreign policy. The role of national interests in foreign policy. Change and continuity in foreign policy.

## Readings 1.1:

### Required:

Fukuyama, F. (1994). The Ambiguity of "National Interest". In Kissinger, H. and Lukin (eds), *Rethinking Russia's National Interests*, pp. 10-18

### Recommended:

Hudson, V. (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 1(1), pp. 1-30

Tsygankov, A. (2013). Russia's Foreign Policy, pp.10-17 and pp. 22-23

**Watch:** *What to do about Russia* – Russian foreign policy discussion at the Council of Foreign Relations on HBO, December 8, 2015. At <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=23J2pTGrK1g>

**Quiz 1.1:** due by Friday, December 23 midnight (11:59 pm)

### Discussion Question 1.1:

Can you identify a few theoretical assumptions that underlie the opinions voiced by the discussion participants in *What to Do About Russia*? What, according to the discussants, drives Russian foreign policy? Can you match these views with theories of international relations examined in the mini-lecture and readings?

Discussion responses due by Saturday, December 24 noon (11:59 am)

## Class 1.2 –Theoretical Approaches to Russia's Foreign Policy.

**Topics covered:** What are the philosophical motives behind Russian foreign policy and how do they fit in with general IR theories? Various schools of Russian foreign policy. The theoretical approach to persistent concerns of Russian foreign policy: identity issues and security considerations.

## Readings 1.2:

### Required:

Fukuyama, F. (1994). The Ambiguity of "National Interest". In Kissinger and Lukin (eds), *Rethinking Russia's National Interests*, pp.18-22

Gvosdev and Marsh (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Introduction and Chapter 1

Marshall, T. (2015). Russia and the Curse of Geography at [http://theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/russia-geography-ukraine-syria/413248/?mc\\_cid=8003ff104a&mc\\_eid=0aa36414ed](http://theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/10/russia-geography-ukraine-syria/413248/?mc_cid=8003ff104a&mc_eid=0aa36414ed)

**Recommended:**

Mankoff, J. (2009). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Chapter 1

Snyder (2005). Bridging the Realist/Constructivist Divide. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol 1 (1), pp. 55-71

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy*, Chapter 1

**Quiz 1.2:** due by Sunday, December 25 midnight (11:59 pm)

**Discussion 1.2:** due by Monday, December 26 noon (11:59 am)

Do you think of that the image of Russia as a great power with a purposeful foreign policy may or may not be based on reality (as suggested by Gvosdev and Marsh, pp. 4-9)? What happens when a state attempts to uphold its self-perceived image as a great power while suffering domestic economic or political setbacks? Can you think of any historical examples?

**Reaction Paper 1:**

Let's pretend that you are the President of Russia. An international terrorist group based in a foreign country (your pick!) has attacked a Russian city (your pick!). You have three widely esteemed foreign policy advisors: Mr. Voyenniy (a military expert), Mr. Bukgalter (an economist), and Mr. Mirniy (a philosopher). What do you think they would suggest for your foreign policy course in general and, specifically, toward the foreign country the terrorists are associated with? Which of their recommended approaches would you follow and why? Can you include relevant examples from other historical periods and geographic locations?

Due by Monday, December 26 midnight (11:59 pm)

**Peer Critiques:** due by Tuesday, December 27 midnight (11:59 pm)

**Module II**

## The Fundamentals of Russia's Foreign Policy

Tuesday, December 27 – Saturday, December 31

**Questions to Consider:** What are the motives, actors, and mechanisms that drive Russian foreign policy? What is their hierarchy and function? How do domestic factors affect RFP? What are strategic objectives of RFP, and how do they influence real-life foreign policy? What makes Russia's foreign policy unique? Do broad strategic objectives dominate Russian foreign policy, or are they overshadowed by the interests of the individual actors?

### Class 2.1 – Concerns and Issues of Russia's Foreign Policy

**Topics covered:** What are the principal *vectors* of Russian foreign policy? Russia's grand strategy. To what extent do Russia's foreign policy objectives depend on ideological narratives and geopolitical context? Perspectives for Russia's long-term relations with other major powers and with its neighbors.

#### Readings 2.1:

##### Required:

Gvosdev, N. and Marsh, C. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Chapter 2, pp. 54-59

Tsygankov, A. (2011). Preserving Influence in a Changing World: Russia's Grand Strategy. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 58 (2), 28-44.

##### Recommended:

Mankoff, J. (2009). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Chapter 2

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy*, Chapters 3 and 4 – please skim

**Quiz 2.1:** Due by Tuesday, December 27 midnight

#### Discussion 2.1:

Watch Lavrov's lecture on Russian foreign policy:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mRGaZPSifVw>

After watching Lavrov's open lecture (2014), which of his ideas do you see as particularly relevant to the current events and the future developments of Russian foreign policy? What ideas are new and which reflect the traditional postulates of RFP?

Due by Wednesday, December 28 noon

## Class 2.2 – Actors of Russia’s Foreign Policy

**Topics covered:** The vertical structure of Russian foreign policy making and the relative importance of its actors: the President, the Prime Minister, the Duma, the Federal Council, the Security Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, regional governments, NGOs, and others.

### Readings 2.2:

#### Required:

Gvosdev, N. and Marsh, C. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Chapter 2, pp. 54-59

#### Recommended:

Dawisha, K. (2011). Is Russia’s Foreign Policy That of a Corruptist-Kleptocratic Regime? *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 27 (4), 331-365.

Lo, B. (2015). *Russia and the New World Disorder*, Chapter 1, The Domestic Context of Russian Foreign Policy.

Govella, K. and Aggarwal, V. (2012). *Russian Foreign Policy: Challenging the Western Liberal International Order* (Chapter 8 from *Responding to a Resurgent Russia*)

Also, look at this description of Russia’s failing economy, budgetary slashes (interactive graphics):

<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/04/12/world/europe/russian-economy-tumbling.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region&region=top-news&WT.nav=top-news>

**Quiz 2.2:** Due by Thursday, December 29 midnight

### Discussion 2.2:

Read Kokoshin (2012) Globalization and Russia’s Security in *Russian Foreign Policy in Transition*. He outlines several Russian foreign policy challenges due to globalization. Do you think globalization may introduce new important actors in Russian foreign policy and/or marginalize the existing ones?

Due by Friday, December 30 noon

### Reaction Paper 2:

Compare these two ways to analyze Russian foreign policy: by focusing on the role of fragmented elites with conflicting interests in Russian foreign policy and by regarding Russian foreign policy as a coherent, unified strategy under the control of Putin. Do

these approaches contradict or complement each other? Can you think of another way to study Russian foreign policy? Which approach do you prefer and why?

**Reaction Paper 2** due by Friday, December 30 midnight

**Peer Critiques:** Due by Saturday, December 31 midnight

### Module III

#### A Brief History of Russia's Foreign Policy during Tsarist and Soviet Periods

Saturday, December 31 – Tuesday, January 3

**Questions to Consider:** To what extent the personal characteristics of Russian leaders and the centuries-long presence of authoritarianism in Russia have affected Russian foreign policy? Are there discernible foreign policy trends that can be traced back to the early stages of Russia's geopolitical history? Is the shadow of the Soviet era diminishing in Russia's relations with Eastern Europe and other countries? Do neighboring countries have different narratives in regard to Russia's history? Can historic memories be overcome in favor of pragmatic foreign policy?

#### Class 3.1 – The Development of the Russian State and Its Foreign Policy.

**Topics covered:** The early history of Russia: from the Kiev Rus to the Muscovy. The rise of the Imperial Russia: Ivan IV, Peter I, Alexander II. Russia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century world order. Russia's expansion during the 16-19<sup>th</sup> centuries: Siberia, Poland, Ukraine, the Baltics, Central Asia, and the Far East. Setbacks: the Livonian War, the Crimean War, the Eastern Question, Russo-Japanese war, the World War I.

#### Readings 3.1:

##### Required:

Gvosdev, N. and March, C. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Chapter 1

##### Recommended:

Kissinger, H. (2014). *World Order*, Chapter 2, The European Balance-of-Power System and Its End, pp. 49-82

Legvold, R. (2007). Russian Foreign Policy during Periods of Great State Transformation. In Legvold, R. (ed.), *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and the Shadow of the Past*, Chapter 2

**Quiz 3.1:** Due by Saturday, December 31 midnight

### **Discussion 3.1:**

Are there broad similarities in the foreign policy ambitions of Russian tsars? Are there any tsars whose foreign policy course differed from the foreign policy course of their predecessors? For what reasons and in what ways was their foreign policy unusual?

Due by Sunday, January 1 noon

### **Class 3.2 – The Soviet Period, 1918-1991.**

**Topics covered:** Lenin: Brest-Litovsk Treaty; the dual foreign policy. Stalin: Relations with Germany and other Western powers; the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its consequences; the alliances of the World War II and the post-war conferences; the split with Yugoslavia. Khrushchev: The Iron Curtain and the Thaw; crises in Eastern Europe, the split with China; the Warsaw Pact; the Cuban Missile crisis. Brezhnev: the Brezhnev Doctrine; the Prague Spring, the Jewish emigration; the consolidation of Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe and Asia; the war in Afghanistan; nuclear politics. Gorbachev: gradual demilitarization and reconciliation with the West; the Soviet withdrawal from the Eastern Europe.

### **Readings 3.2:**

#### **Required:**

Gvosdev, N. and Marsh, C. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Excerpts from Chapters 3 – 10. (Ch. 3: pp. 67 – 79; Ch. 4: pp.123 - 128; Ch. 5: pp. 157-164; Ch. 6: pp. 201 – 211; Ch. 8: pp. 293 - 296; Ch. 9: pp. 335 - 338; Ch. 10: pp. 365 - 367)

#### **Recommended:**

Hoffmann, E. (2006). *Soviet Foreign Policy*, Chapter 1.

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy*, Chapter 2.

Trenin, D. (2002). *The End of Eurasia*, Chapter 2, The Break-Up of the USSR, pp. 77-106.

**Quiz 3.2:** Due by Monday, January 2 midnight

### **Discussion 3.2:**

How did Soviet Union's split with Yugoslavia and China affect its relations with the West? How may international relations have changed if these countries had maintained close ties with the Soviet Union?

Due by Tuesday, January 3 noon

### **Reaction Paper 3:**

Which of the national security issues that arose between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries do you see as particularly important for the post-Soviet Russian foreign policy? How do these issues affect Russian relations to its neighbor countries currently?

Due by Tuesday, January 3 midnight

**Peer Critiques:** Due by Wednesday, January 4 midnight

## The Midterm

**Midterm questions will be posted** by Tuesday, January 3 noon.

**Midterm** is due by Thursday, January 5 noon.

## Module IV

### The Post-Soviet Period of Russian Foreign Policy during Yeltsin, 1991-2000

Thursday, January 5 – Monday, January 9

**Questions to consider:** What options did Russian foreign policy makers have at the onset of the 1990s besides seeking an integration with the West? Why didn't Yeltsin/Kozyrev's policies have lasting popular or elite support? What effects did the liberal policies of the early 1990s have on the future development of RFP? What was the role of mutual distrust and disappointment in shaping Russia's relations with the West in the 1990s?

### Class 4.1 – Searching for New Paths, 1991-1996

**Topics covered:** Russia enters an uncharted course for its foreign policy. Its domestic context: internal chaos, external retrenchment, the birth of Russian Federation and the CIS. Kozyrev's new foreign policy course of integration with the West. Russia's relations with the former Soviet space, Europe, the US, and Asia. Russia's security, energy and diaspora politics.

**Readings:**

**Required:**

Jackson, N. (2007). *Russian Foreign Policy and the CIS*, Chapter 4.

Gvosdev, N. and Marsh, C. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Chapter 3 (pp.79-83),

Chapter 5 (pp.165-168 and 172-174), Chapter 6 (pp 221-224), Chapter 7 (pp. 245-247, 253-255, 261).

**Recommended:**

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy*, Chapter 3.

**Quiz 4.1:** Due by Thursday, January 5 midnight

**Discussion 4.1:**

Briefly compare Gorbachev's *New Thinking* (Gvosdev and Marsh, p.77) and Kozyrev's *Integration with the West* (p.55). What were their similarities, differences, and the rate of success?

Due by Friday, January 6 noon

**Class 4.2 – The Transformation of Russian Foreign Policy in 1996-2000**

**Topics covered:** The articulation of new, more assertive Russian foreign policy under Primakov. Russia's relations with the CIS, Baltics, Eastern Europe, NATO, the EU and the US, China. Russia's advocacy and participation in new international organizations.

**Readings:**

**Required:**

Gvosdev, N. and Marsh, C. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*, Chapter 3 (pp.83-84), Chapter 6 (pp 210-212, 224-226).

**Recommended:**

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy*, Chapter 4.

**Quiz 4.2:** Due by Saturday, January 7 midnight

**Discussion 4.2:**

What were the effects of the expansion of NATO and the Western intervention in the Balkans on Russian foreign policy in the late 1990s? How did they contribute to regional stability or instability?

Due by Sunday, January 8 noon

**Reaction Paper 4:**

Read Stankevich's (1992) outline of Russian foreign policy. What are your opinions about its viability, and its implications for post-Soviet Russian foreign policy? Had Russian foreign policy makers of the early 1990s adopted these principles, how may it have changed Russia's relations with the West, the CIS, and Asian countries? How does it contrast with the actual RFP of 1991-1999?

Due by Sunday, January 8 midnight

**Peer Critiques:** Due by Monday, January 9 midnight

**Policy paper topics will be posted by Monday, January 2, 2017.**

**You will have to select your policy paper topic and have it approved by your instructor by January 4, 2017.**

## **Module V**

### **Russian Foreign Policy from 2000-the present**

Monday, January 9 – Friday, January 13

**Questions to consider:** What is the role of Putin in the formation and the direction of the current RFP? To what extent is he in charge and to what extent is he constrained by external and domestic circumstances and needs to respond to changing international environment? What is the role of historic and geopolitical continuities? To what degree does RFP follow a long-term plan, or is it spontaneous? And, inevitably, one ought to ask: What does the current RFP bode for the foreseeable future of Russia, its surrounding region, and the world?

#### **Class 5.1 – Putin’s First Term, 2000-2004**

**Topics covered:** Putin, domestic politics, and RFP. Changes in Russia’s relations with the CIS, the US/NATO, Europe, and China. The impact of 9/11 on US/Russian relations. The expansion of NATO and the EU. Revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine.

#### **Readings 5.1:**

##### **Required:**

Gvosdev, N. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*. Excerpts from Chapter 3 (pp. 84-88); Chapter 4 (pp.128-132); Chapter 5 (168-172; 183-185); and Chapter 7 (pp. 248-249; 255-256; 271-273).

##### **Recommended:**

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy*. Chapter 5, The World After 9/11 and Pragmatic Cooperation.

**Watch:** *The Beginning of Putins’ Rule*, a BBC documentary

*Putin, Russia, and the West*, Part I at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZjlfVZA37o0>

**Quiz 5.1:** Due by Monday, January 9 midnight

#### **Discussion 5.1:**

Why was Putin more open to cooperation with the US in 2000-2004? Can a similar period of reconciliation be repeated (e.g., cooperation with Europe in migration control)? Can it happen without a transformative event?

Due by Tuesday, January 10 noon

### **Class 5.2 – Russian Foreign Policy from 2004 – the present.**

**Topics covered:** The effects of the continuous NATO expansion on RFP. Russia's relations with the CIS, Europe, the US, China, and the Far East. Russian energy politics and RFP. The establishment of new international institutions. The New Security Strategy for 2016.

#### **Readings 5.2:**

##### **Required:**

Gvosdev, N. (2014). Excerpts from Chapter 3 (pp. 84-110), Ch. 4 (pp. 132-152), Ch. 5 (pp. 175-176; 188-194), Ch. 6 (pp. 212-219; 226-232), Ch. 7 (pp. 249-252; 256-260; 263-266), and Ch. 9 (pp. 386 -390).

##### **Recommended:**

Tsygankov, A. (2013). Chapter 6 (pp.175-202) and Chapter 7.

**Watch:** BBC Documentary, *Putin, Russia, and the West*, Part II, *Democracy Threatens*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3wVGfY0ac>

**Quiz 5.2:** Due by Wednesday, January 11 midnight

##### **Discussion 5.2:**

Are there similarities between RFP course during Putin's and Medvedev's presidencies? Were there any transformative events during these periods?

Due by Thursday, January 12 noon

##### **Reaction Paper 5:**

Read the summary of Russian National Security Strategy for 2016.

<http://csis.org/publication/unpacking-russias-new-national-security-strategy>

Does this strategy conform to the traditional RFP goals? What are these goals? Is there anything new or unusual in this strategy? Describe at least three "vectors" and "sectors" (using Gvosdev's terminology) upon which this strategy will have the greatest effect.

Due by Thursday, January 12 midnight

**Peer Critiques:** Due by Friday, January 13 midnight

**By now, your work on your policy paper should be in full progress**

## Module VI

### Russia at War: Case Studies of Georgia, Ukraine, Syria and Future Hotspots

Friday, January 13 – Monday, January 16

**Questions to consider:** Why did Russia opt for military solutions in Georgia and Ukraine? Was it an inevitable result of a long chain of events, an *ad hoc* decision, or a combination of various convergent factors? What other strategies Russia, its allies and adversaries could have pursued instead? Has Russia's involvement in Syria created a precedent for the future? What are future prospects for Russia's problem areas in Europe and Caucasus? And lastly, how has Russia's perception of international environment affected, and will continue to affect its foreign policy decision making?

#### **Class 6.1 – The Russo-Georgian War (2008) and Russia's Conflict with Ukraine (2014-the present)**

**Topics covered:** The Russo-Georgian War preliminaries, the war, and the postlude. Russia's conflict with Ukraine: the result of decades-long failed foreign policy. Putin's goals and strategies in Ukraine. Academic analyses of Putin's policies in Ukraine.

#### **Readings 6.1:**

#### **Required:**

Gvosdev, N. and Marsh, C. (2014). Russian Foreign Policy, Chapter 5 (pp.177 - 179).

#### **Recommended:**

Guriey, S. (2015). Deglobalizing Russia. Carnegie Moscow Center.

Tsygankov, A. (2015). Vladimir Putin's Last Stand: The Sources of Russia's Ukraine

Policy. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 31(4).

**Watch:** *Putin, Russia, and the West*, Part III, about the Russo-Georgian war

at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B8MrwJ218q8>

and *Putin's Gamble in Ukraine*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fQyrVtpL5x0>

**Quiz 6.1** due by Friday January 13 midnight

### **Discussion 6.1:**

Read Guriiev's *Deglobalizing Russia*

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/12/16/deglobalizing-russia/in6c>

This article suggests that Putin's foreign policy has led Russia to international isolation. Due to falling oil prices, Russia needs to find new sources of regime legitimacy, such as the annexation of Crimea which was hugely popular in Russia. Also, to compensate for the economic and political losses due to the Western sanctions, Putin has turned to the East: China and Eurasian organizations.

Discussion Questions: Can Russia's turn to the East compensate for its losses in the West? Will the popular support of Putin's policies continue? Or, has Putin miscalculated the true costs of his Ukrainian policies?

Due by Saturday, January 14 noon

## **Class 6.2 – From Ukraine to Syria and Beyond: Future Trouble Spots and Perspectives for Russia's Foreign Policy**

**Topics covered:** Russia's foreign policy in Syria. The Russian foreign policy issues associated with Kaliningrad and the frozen conflicts in Transdnistria, Nagorno-Karabakh, and South Ossetia/Abkhazia, and its burgeoning policies in the Arctic.

### **Readings 6.2:**

#### **Required:**

Gvosdev, N. (2014). *Russian Foreign Policy*. Chapter 5 (pp. 172 - 177) and Chapter 8 (pp.315 - 323)

Koshkin, P. (2015). *Some You Win, Some You Lose: Russia's Foreign Policy in 2015*.  
<http://www.russia-direct.org/qa/some-you-win-some-you-lose-russias-foreign-policy-2015>

Lynch, C. (2015). Why Putin Is So Committed to Keeping Assad in Power. *Foreign Policy*, October 7, 2015  
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/10/07/putins-russia-is-wedded-to-bashar-al-assad-syria-moscow/>

McLeary, P. (2015). Meet the New Fulda Gap. *Foreign Policy*, September 29, 2015.  
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/29/fulda-gap-nato-russia-putin-us-army/>

#### **Recommended:**

Tsygankov, A. (2013). *Russia's Foreign Policy*, Chapter 8.

**Listen to the podcast:** The Future of Putin's Russia and the Syria Dilemma

<http://foreignpolicy.com/tag/podcast-2/>

**Quiz 6.2:** Due by Sunday, January 15 midnight

#### **Discussion 6.2:**

Read *What Russia Could Look Like in 2035*

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/06/04/what-russia-could-look-like-in-2035-if-putin-gets-his-wish/>

Does this article present merely an amusing Russia's foreign policy wish list, or does it contain a melancholy kernel of truth? What does it predict for the areas of the "frozen conflicts" and Eastern Europe? How does this scenario resonate with you?

Due by Monday, January 16 noon

Tuesday, January 17 is reserved for any last-minute questions or comments, and, most importantly, for polishing your paper!

**The Final (Policy Paper): Due by Wednesday, January 18, 2017 11:59 pm**