

Russian and Post-Soviet Foreign Policy

Dr. Azar Babayev

Course Objectives

This course explores the vital international relations of Russia and the other post-Soviet states. Beginning with an historical survey, it examines various geopolitical, cultural, and other factors in analyzing the origins and nature of the Russian empire. This is followed by study of the Soviet era, especially the rise, conduct, and collapse of the Cold War (and the USSR) in which power, ideology, institutions, and leadership are scrutinized. The remainder of the course is given to analysis of post-Soviet foreign policy, both events in particular regions (e.g. the Baltics, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Caucasus-Caspian) as well as critical issues in relations with Asia, the Middle East, Europe and America (trade, terrorism, nuclear security, peacekeeping, NATO expansion, missile defense, etc.). Though the “what, where and when” of post-Soviet foreign policy may predominate at times, understanding the “why” is our underlying goal. That is, while knowledge of specific foreign policy developments is essential, so is viewing these developments in the context of international relations theory—economic vs. ideological analyses, foreign or domestic influences, the roles of individuals and institutions, the impact of nationalism and the politics of identity.

Course Format

This is primarily a lecture course, though there will also be a significant discussion component. The general pattern will be instructor lecture for approximately one hour, followed by time for questions and answers. As well, an additional section meeting for supplementary discussion or video screening (historical, documentary, sometimes cultural/artistic subjects) will be held once a week. There will also be two examinations and a research paper (see below for details).

Course Reading

The assignments are from four books and one special journal, available for purchase at the University bookstore. Additional readings will be made available to you electronically.

1. Robert H. Donaldson and Joseph L. Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*, 4th Edition (Armonk & London: ME Sharpe, 2009).
2. Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*, (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011).
3. Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border Between Geopolitics and Globalization* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2002)
4. Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, *Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin's Russia and the End of Revolution* (NY: Scribner's, 2005)
5. *Current History* (October 2005) issue covering Russia and Eurasia

Course Requirements

One is to be an active participant, not only in class discussion but first and foremost by timely completion of the reading assignments; without this, successful engagement with the ideas and information vital to understanding post-Soviet foreign policy is impossible. Ideally, our in-class discussions will be spontaneous and free-flowing, an opportunity to raise questions and debate interpretations of various issues that come up in readings, lectures, and current events. There will also be two exams—one in-class, one final—that together make up a large portion of your final grade. Finally, the single most important assignment is a 12-15 page research paper. This presents an opportunity to explore in detail one or another issue of interest (see below) as well as giving you a product that can be helpful in future internship, job or grad school applications. Needless to say, in all these assignments strict adherence to the honor code is expected and violations will be dealt with harshly.

Research Papers: These may explore any topic (historical, contemporary) through any approach (empirical, theoretical) that is related to Russian, Soviet and post-Soviet foreign policy. They require significant outside research and a bibliography of at least 15 sources—books, chapters, articles, and web-based sources. Topics will be chosen in consultation with the instructor. Deadlines for proposals, outlines, etc., are noted in the course schedule. The final paper is due by noon on [Friday of the last week of instruction]. Extensions will be granted only in cases of genuine emergency; coincidence with other academic deadlines or extracurricular events does not constitute such an emergency.

Final grades will be determined according to these weights:

- First exam: 20%
- Class participation: 20%
- Research paper: 30%
- Final exam: 30%

Course Schedule

Day 1

Theories of Foreign Policy and Empire, Mongols to Muscovy; Origins of the Russian State

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 3-16
- Raeff, ed., *Peter the Great* (Lexington, 1963), chaps. by Platonov, Kliuchevsky, Shmurlo, Plekhanov

Day 2

Peter: Russia's First Emperor

- *Testament of Peter the Great*
- Vernadsky, *A History of Russia* (New York, 1959), chap. VI on "The Empire in the 18th Century"

Day 3

Catherine, Russia in Europe and Asia; Paradoxes of Russian Imperial Might

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 17-36
- Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power* (New Haven, 1999), chap. 9
- Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (Boston, 1990), chaps. 4-5
- Excerpts from Troyant (*Daily Life in Russia Under the Last Tsar*) and Ransel (*Mothers of Misery*)

Day 4

World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 37-61

Day 5

Domestic and Foreign Politics of the New Soviet State; Stalin's Terror, Hitler's Pact

- Kennan, *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin* (Boston, 1961), chaps. 12, 17, 20

Day 6

The Great Fatherland War

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 61-80
- Kennan, *Russia and the West*, chaps. 21-23

Day 7

Cold War I: Origins

- Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947
- Zubok & Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War* (Cambridge, 1996), chap. 2
- Trenin, introduction

Day 8

Post-Stalin Thaw and Peaceful Coexistence

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 80-101
- Zubok & Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War*, chap. 8

Day 9

Cold War II: Domestic Decline and Imperial Overstretch

- Tucker, "Swollen State, Spent Society," *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1981-82
- Trenin, chap. 1

Day 10

Gorbachev and the Epoch of Perestroika

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 101-119
- Wohlforth, ed., *Cold War Endgame* (Univ. Park, 2004), chaps. 7-9 (Zubok, English, Brooks & Wohlforth)

Day 11

Cold War III: The Collapse of Communism and the Dissolution of the Soviet Union

- Trenin, chap. 2

Day 12

Post-Soviet Overview: Domestic and Foreign Politics of Russia and the Former USSR

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 120-175
- Pipes, "Russia's Past, Russia's Future," *Commentary*, June 1996
- Stankevich, "Toward a New National Idea," in Sestanovich, ed., *Rethinking Russia's National Interests* (Washington, DC, 1994)
- Trenin, chap. 3

Day 13

Russia and the Western Former USSR I: Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 176-194, 204-217
- Karatnycky, "Meltdown in Ukraine," *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 2001
- Baranovsky, "NATO and the EU," and Zaiko, "Belarus," in Lieven & Trenin, *Ambivalent Neighbors* (DC, 2003)

Day 14

Russia and the Western Former USSR II: The Baltic States, Kaliningrad, and security in Northern Europe

- *Transitions* excerpts on the Baltics, Belarus, Moldova
- Sergounin, "Kaliningrad," in Lieven & Trenin, *Ambivalent Neighbors* (2003)
- Trenin, chap. 3

Day 15

Central Asia and the Caucasus: Instability and Intervention

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 194-204
- Starr, "Power Failure in the Caspian," *The National Interest*, Spring 1997
- *Transitions* excerpts on Central Asia and the Caucasus

Day 16

Chechnya I: Defeat and its Repercussions

- Rashid, "The New Struggle in Central Asia," *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2000-01
- Lieven, *Tombstone of Russian Power*, chaps. 2, 5
- Trenin, chap. 4

Day 17

New Security Challenges: Narcotics, Nukes, Crime and Corruption

- Craft, Grillot & Anderson, "The Dangerous Ground," *Problems of Post-Communism*, Nov-Dec 2000
- ZumBrunnen & Trumbull, "Environmental Policy Challenges," in Wegren, ed., *Russia's Policy Challenges* (Armonk NY, 2003)

Day 18

Russia and the West: Politics and Economics

- Mankoff, chaps. 3-4
- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 218-268

Day 19

The Balkans, Kosovo, and NATO

- Goble, "Dangerous Liaisons," in Ullman, ed., *The World and Yugoslavia's Wars* (New York, 1996)
- *Transitions* excerpts on Russia and the Kosovo War
- Arbatov, "Transformation of Russia's Military Doctrine," and Rubinstein, "Russian Strategic Uncertainty," in Gorodetsky, ed., *Russia Between East and West* (London, 2003)

Day 20

Nationalism and National Identity

- Guroff & Guroff, "The Paradox of Russian National Identity," in Szporluk, ed., *National Identity and Ethnicity* (Armonk, NY, 1995)
- Laqueur, *Black Hundreds* (excerpts)
- *NB*: begin reading Baker & Glasser

Day 21

The Political Geography of Oil

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 293-319
- Rutland, "Paradigms for Russian Policy," in Ebel & Menon, eds., *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Lanham, MD, 2000)

Day 22

The Caspian, Central Asia, and Beyond

- Shaffer, "From Pipedream to Pipeline," and Olcott, "Autocrats, Islamists," in *Current History*, Oct. 2005
- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 276-293
- Mankoff, chap. 6
- Trenin, chap. 5

Day 23

Vladimir Putin: Stability and Authority

- Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 328-342
 - Aslund, "The Russian Economy," in Kuchins, ed., *Russia After the Fall* (DC, 2002)
- Goldman, "Political Graft" and Lipman, "The Media in Putin's Russia," both in *Current History*

Day 24

Chechnya II: Putin's War

- Menon & Fuller, "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2000
- Lieven, "Against Russophobia," *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2001-2002
- Politkovskaya, *A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches from Chechnya* (Chicago, 2003), excerpts
- Trenin, chap. 6

Paper outlines and preliminary bibliographies due

Day 25

Russia and America after 9/11

- Pravda, "Putin's Foreign Policy After 11 September," and Sakwa, "Transforming the East," in Gorodetsky, ed., *Russia Between East and West*
- Nichols, "Russia's Turn West: Sea Change or Opportunism?," *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2003

Day 26

Europe, Borders and Identity

- Donaldson & Noguee (finish book)
- McFaul, "Russia and the West," in *Current History*
- Trenin, chap. 7

Day 27

Russia, a "Normal" Country at Last?

- Tayler, "Russia is Finished," *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 2001
- Shleifer and Treisman, "A Normal Country," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2004
- Herspring, "Putin and the Armed Forces," in Herspring, *Putin's Russia* (Lanham, MD, 2003)
- Baker & Glaser (finish book)

Day 28

Current Crises, Future Outlook

- Mankoff, "Generational Change and the Future of U.S.-Russian Relations," *Journal of International Affairs* 63, 2 (Spring/Summer 2010)
- Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back," *Foreign Affairs* 87 (January/February 2008)
- Wegren and Herspring, "Whither Putinism?," conclusion of *After Putin's Russia* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2010)

Research papers due

Exam review sessions: time and place TBD

Final examination: time and place TBD