

Russian and post-Soviet Foreign and Security Policy

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Office: C345

Spring term 2009/10

MA Option

Seminars: Wed 11-13

Office Hours: Monday 14.00-15.00 and by arrangement

Aims and objectives of the course:

This course explores the international politics of post-Soviet Russia and the former Soviet space. After a period of relative decline in the 1990s, Russia has more recently been described as "rising Great Power" and developments in the CIS have returned to the news - from "gas wars" to the conflict between Russia and Georgia , from the "democratic revolutions" in Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan to the apparent erosion of democracy in Russia and talk of a "new Cold War" between Russia and the West. These are developments with implications for Western Europe and beyond, touching on traditional and new security issues alike, and shedding light on the implications of Western democracy promotion and the role of norms and identity in contemporary global politics. The course will investigate the background for and current development of international relations in the region - in particular Russia's status as Great Power, the "colour revolutions" in Ukraine and Georgia and the 2008 war between Georgia and Russia, NATO and the US in the former Soviet space, the question of Europe's "energy security" and its relations with Russia, and what has been called the "new Great Game" between Russia, China and the US in Central Asia.

At the end of the course, you should be able to

1. evaluate theoretical and conceptual debates with reference to the region and work with suitable concepts in arguments on the international politics of Russia and the CIS
2. Have formed a broad understanding of the historical background and recent developments of international politics in the region – i.e. an understanding of the contexts, pressures and constraints (international and domestic) with which Russian and Eurasian foreign policy makers have to deal.
3. Exhibit an intellectual sensibility to historical, political and cultural specificities of Russia and the CIS and the interrelations of the region with broader international trends.

Course Summary:

This course is student-led and teaching will take place in a weekly 2-hour seminar format, involving research presentations, discussion and group work. In the last hour of the seminar I will introduce the following week's topic and give a background lecture to put the readings into context.

Seminar plan:

- **Week 1 Introduction: history and identity in the study of Russia and the FSU**
- **Week 2 Inside/outside: Russian foreign policy and the domestic context**
- **Week 3 Challenging US hegemony? Russia's place in the post-9/11 international order**
- **Week 4 New dividing lines? Russia and European institutions in the post-Cold War era**
- **Week 5 Is there still a post-Soviet space? Regionalism and multilateralism in the FSU**
- **Week 6 Russia and military intervention in the Caucasus**
- **Week 7 Ukraine, Belarus and Russia - from identity politics to gas wars**
- **Week 8 Central Asia - geopolitical puzzle or "new Great Game"?**
- **Week 9 Energy – Russia as energy superpower?**
- **Week 10 Global multipolarity? Russia, China and the SCO**

Seminar Attendance

Attendance at seminars is compulsory. If you cannot attend a seminar for any reason you should inform me by telephone or email. Attendance includes preparation – as a minimum you are expected to have completed the core readings and have a thoughtful answer to the guiding questions that you can repeat in class.

Readings:

It is assumed that you will have read, and thought about, the essential readings assigned for each week before attending the seminar. While the readings may appear to be a lot at first sight (i.e. more than three per class), you will find that many of them are rather short, often about 10 pages or less. We are covering different questions in each seminar, and the core readings are selected to give you an overview of the most important issues. As always, the more you read, the more you will profit from the seminars, and the essential readings are really the minimum you need to understand the topic. The syllabus also provides a list of **additional readings** for each week so that you can pursue a topic in greater depth. These are a starting point for your long essay, though you will need to supplement these with your own research.

Coursework:

This course is assessed by means of a 5000 word long essay, on a topic and title that **must be agreed with me by the end of week 5**. An **outline** and a list of the material you have found so far is due by **week 8** of the Spring term. The deadline for submission is the end of **week 1 of the Summer term**. You must submit 2 copies of your work. The ABSOLUTE deadline is 4pm, any work submitted after this time will be penalized. For definitive details on hand-in dates and locations, please see your Sussex Direct pages

Dissertation Outline

Your dissertation outline is due in week 8 of the Spring Term. I will give you feedback on the outline by week 10. The outline should be between 1 and 2 sides of A4 and include a list of the most important sources for your project, presented in a recognised bibliographic format.

In writing your outline, you should:

- write a “core statement”, about a paragraph in length. Set out the topic and question you intend to address in the dissertation, including the background context. Why are your topic and question important and interesting, and what is your (tentative) argument?
- Discuss the empirical cases you will use in the dissertation and the conceptual/theoretical framework that you will use to analyze them.
- Outline what research you intend to do, and how you intend to do it.

Word Limits

The maximum length of formal submissions (e.g. essays or dissertations - see Glossary for definition) is specified in course material. Excessive length may be penalised. The limits as stated include footnotes and/or endnotes, and quotations in the text, but do not include the bibliography, appendices, abstracts, maps, illustrations, transcriptions of linguistic data, or tabulations of numerical or linguistic data and their captions. You will be asked to state on each cover sheet the approximate number of words in the assessment. If the examiners consider that an unfair advantage has been gained by exceeding the given length for an assessment they will reduce the mark for that assessment. This may be by any amount up to, but not more than, 10% of marks available for the assessment concerned. This does not mean there is a 10% word limit margin around the given length of an assessment.

Plagiarism:

Essays must be entirely your own work, though of course they will be based upon what you have read, heard and discussed. It is very important that you avoid plagiarism, the presentation of another person's thoughts or words as though they were your own. This **includes paraphrasing without quotation and "accidental plagiarism"**. According to Sussex University's *BA and LLB Examinations: Handbook for Examiners and Examination Board*,

"...plagiarism is the use, without acknowledgment, of the intellectual work of other people and the act of representing the ideas or discoveries of another as one's own in written work submitted for assessment. To copy sentences, phrases or even striking expressions without acknowledgment of the source (either by inadequate citation or failure to indicate verbatim quotations) is plagiarism; to paraphrase without acknowledgment is likewise plagiarism." (p.45).

If in any doubt about what constitutes plagiarism, check out the following online introduction, which clearly explains what does and what doesn't count as plagiarism: <http://www.vts.intute.ac.uk/detective/>. If you still have doubts, ask your tutor. I will not accept excuses on the grounds that you did not understand what plagiarism is.

Internet resources:

A good empirical knowledge of the often complex developments concerning Russia's foreign policy and developments in the former Soviet space is absolutely crucial, and in addition to reading the academic material that is required for each seminar, I strongly recommend that you get into the habit of regularly browsing a selection of the following websites:

<http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/default.cfm> archive of news reports from Russia and the US along with some discussion among subscribers; you can also subscribe to the newsletter

<http://www.rferl.org/> Radio Free Europe, news and analysis on Russia and the CIS; supported by the CIA

<http://www.jamestown.org> covers Russia and the CIS

<http://www.csis.org/index.php> to access PONARS policy papers, short pieces on current affairs by Area specialists

<http://www.carnegie.ru/en/> Briefing Papers and Working Papers sections of the Carnegie Moscow Center

<http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/reesweb/> index of electronic resources on FSU and CEE

www.opendemocracy.org has useful background analysis on many issues relating to the post-Soviet space

<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/> commentary on Russian foreign policy by leading Russian academics

www.eurasianet.org news about Central Asia and the Caucasus

www.fergana.ru Central Asian news, run by Central Asian journalists

<http://www.registan.net/> blog on Central Asia

Other useful websites for this course include:

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. www.mid.ru
President of the Russian Federation. Official Website. www.kremlin.ru
Council of Europe. www.coe.int
European Union. External Relations website. Russia:
www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/russia/intro/index.htm.
NATO. www.nato.int
OSCE www.osce.org
Voice of Russia. www.vor.ru

Most Russian newspapers are available online free of charge, some have English versions, e. g. www.kommersant.com

Journals:

Articles on Russian and Eurasian foreign and security policies can be found in all the major international relations journals, including *Foreign Affairs*; *International Affairs* (London); *International Security*; *International Studies Quarterly*; *Orbis*; *Review of International Studies*; *Survival*; *The Washington Quarterly*; and *World Politics*.

The following periodicals have a more specific focus on the topics covered by the course: *Central Asian Survey*; *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* (formerly *Studies in Comparative Communism*); *European Security*; *Europe-Asia Studies* (formerly *Soviet Studies*); *International Affairs* (Moscow); *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* (formerly *Journal of Communist Studies*); *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* (formerly *The Journal of Soviet Military Studies*); *New Times*; *Problems of Post-communism* (formerly *Problems of Communism*); *Russia in Global Politics*; *Slavic Review*; *Transition* (formerly *RFE/RL Research Report*).

Recommended Books:

There is no overall textbook which covers the whole course; however the following books are useful background reading for different aspects of the course. By far the best general textbook on Russia is:

Sakwa, Richard. *Russian Politics and Society*. 4th ed. London: Routledge, 2008 is excellent for a detailed overview not only of domestic politics, but also the end of the Soviet Union, the development of the CIS, and foreign and defence policy.

Other books useful for various aspects of the course:

Allison, Roy and Christoph Bluth (eds), *Security Dilemmas in Russia and Eurasia*. London, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1998.

- Allison, Roy; Margot Light and Stephen White, *Putin's Russia and the Enlarged Europe*, London, RIIA and Blackwell, 2006.
- Baev, Pavel, *Russian Energy Policy and Military Power*. London, Routledge, 2008.
- Donaldson, Robert H. & Joseph L. Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*. Armonk NY & London: M.E. Sharpe, 4th ed. 2009
- Gorodetsky, Gabriel (ed.), *Russia between East and West: Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the Twenty-First Century*. London, Frank Cass, 2003.
- Hedenskog, Jakob; Vilhelm Konnander; Bertil Nygren; Ingmar Oldberg and Christer Pursiainen, *Russia as a Great Power: Dimensions of Security under Putin*. London, Routledge, 2005.
- Kanet, Robert (ed.), *Russia: Re-emerging Great Power*. Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007.
- Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline, *Russia and the World, 1917-1991*. London and New York, Arnold/Oxford University Press, 1998
- Lo, Bobo, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*. London, RIIA and Blackwell, 2003.
- Malcolm, Neil, Alex Pravda, Roy Allison & Margot Light, *Internal Factors in Russian Foreign Policy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Mankoff Jeffrey *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2009
- Moroney, Jennifer, Taras Kuzio, & Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. Westport, Praeger, 2002.
- Motyl, Alexander J., Blair A. Ruble, and Lilia Shetsova. *Russia's Engagement with the West: Transformation and Integration in the Twenty-first Century*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005.
- Nygren, Bertil, *The Rebuilding of Greater Russia: Putin's Foreign Policy towards the CIS Countries*. London, Routledge, 2008.
- Torjesen, Stina and Elena Wilson Rowe (eds), *The Multilateral Dimension in Russian Foreign Policy*, London: Routledge 2009
- Trenin, Dmitri, *The End of Eurasia: Russia and the Border Between Geopolitics and Globalization*. Washington DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2001.

Tsygankov, Andrei, *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

Webber, Mark, *The International Politics of Russia and the Successor States*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1996

Theoretical approaches

The seminars are designed with an emphasis on empirical knowledge of the region – a necessary precondition for understanding the complex developments of the post-Soviet space. Nevertheless, as always theoretical concepts frame explanations of regional developments and you are encouraged to use these concepts in your dissertation. Different IR theoretical approaches can be and have been used to explain the developments in the region. A good overview about this can be found in

Pursiainen, Christer. *Russian Foreign Policy and International Relations Theory*. Aldershot; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2000.

That said, the end of the Cold War was a major factor in the development of constructivist theories of international relations – the empirical developments related to the end of the Soviet Union seemed to confirm much of what the more radical post-structuralist approaches had been highlighting, be it the role of ideas in international affairs (Gorbachev's NPT), the role of nationalism in the break-up of the Soviet Union or the impact of Russia's "identity crisis" on its foreign policy. This brought some of their ideas into the "mainstream", helping to establish what we now know as the "constructivist paradigm". Constructivist approaches as well as critical geopolitics and post-structuralism all have been used in explaining Russian and post-Soviet international relations, though most works only make a fleeting reference to the theoretical framework.

Please contact me about introductory material for all these and other theoretical approaches. Below is a selection of books and articles which use a more explicitly constructivist/post-structuralist approach in explaining the international relations of Russia.

Neumann, Iver B., *Uses of the Other: the "East" in European identity formation*, Minnesota: U of Minnesota Press 1998

Hopf, Ted. *Social Construction of International Politics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell, 2002.

Checkel, Jeffrey, 'Ideas, institutions and the Gorbachev foreign policy revolution', *World Politics*, Vol. 45, No. 2, January 1993, pp. 271-300

English, Robert D. 'Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth', *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 70–92.

Browning, Christopher S. 'The Region-Building Approach Revisited: The Continued Othering of Russia in Discourses of Region-Building in the European North', *Geopolitics*, vol. 8, N 1, Summer 2003, pp. 45 - 71.

Hopf, Ted (ed.), *Understandings of Russian Foreign Policy*, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 1999

Williams, Michael C. and Iver B. Neumann, 'From alliance to security community: NATO, Russia and the power of identity', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2000, pp. 357-387

Prozorov, Sergei, *Understanding Conflict between Russia and the EU: The Limits of Integration*. Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2006.

Seminar Schedule

1. Introduction: history and identity in the study of Russia and the FSU

For centuries, Russia has oscillated between East and West, imperial expansion into Siberia and Central Asia, and claims to recognition as European Great Power. The Soviet period saw Russia adopt a profoundly Western ideology, which implied hostility towards the advanced capitalist countries of the West – and in this added a degree of complexity to Russia’s relationship with its Western “significant Other”. In all of this, mutual perceptions matter – Europe has long been Russia’s central “Other”, but Russia and especially the Soviet Union were also central to the formation of the identity of the “West” as an imagined space. This legacy and the legacy of the Cold War in particular still colours our vision of Russia today. History matters in other ways, too - the dissolution of the Soviet Union has formed the region as we know it today and has left important legacies which shape the relations of the post-Soviet states with each other.

Seminar questions:

- In how far is Russia Europe’s “Other”? What issues does this raise for our analysis of Russia?
- What is the role of the historical legacy (long-term and short-term) in understanding Russia today?
- What could be the legacy of the Soviet break-up for the international relations of the region?

Essential reading

Neumann, Iver B., *Uses of the Other: the “East” in European identity formation*, Minnesota: U of Minnesota Press 1998, Ch. 3

Rieber, “Persistent factors in Russian foreign policy: an interpretative essay”, in: Ragsdale, Hugh ed. *Imperial Russian foreign policy*, Cambridge: CUP 1993

Suny, Ronald, “Living in the Hood: Russia, Empire and Old and New Neighbours” in Legvold, Robert (ed.), *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century and the Shadow of the Past*, New York: Columbia University Press 2007

Recommended:

Russian history and the West

Billington, James H. *The Icon and the Axe*. London: Weidenfels and Nicholson, 1966.
Brennan, Cathryn, and Murray Frame, eds. *Russia and the Wider World in Historical Perspective*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.

- Dallin, Alexander. "The Uses and Abuses of Russian History." In *Soviet Society and Culture: Essays in Honour of Vera S. Dunham*, edited by Terry L. Thompson and Richard Sheldon. Boulder: Westview, 1988.
- Duncan, Peter J.S. *Russian Messianism*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- English, Robert. *Russia and the Idea of the West: Gorbachev, Intellectuals, and the End of the Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Franklin, Simon, and Emma Widdis. *National Identity in Russian Culture: An Introduction*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Hosking, Geoffrey, and Robert Service, eds. *Russian Nationalism, Past and Present*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.
- Hosking, Geoffrey. *Russia - People and Empire*. London: Fontana Press, 1998.
- Ishboldin, Boris. "The Eurasian Movement." *Russian Review* 5, no. 2 (1946): 64-73.
- Lieven, Dominic. "The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union as Imperial Polities." *Journal of Contemporary History* 3, no. 4 (1995): 607-36.
- McDaniel, Tim. *The Agony of the Russian Idea*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Neumann, Iver B. *Russia and the Idea of Europe*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Poe, Marshall T. *The Russian Moment in World History*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Service, Robert. *Russia - Experiment with a People*. Basingstoke and Oxford: Macmillan, 2002.

The break-up of the Soviet Union and the nationalities question:

- Slezkine, Yuri: "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism". *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2
- Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, *A State of Nations*, Oxford: OUP 2001
- R. Solchyanuk, Ukraine, The (Former) Center, Russia, and "Russia", *Studies in Comparative Communism*, March 1992
- K. Dawisha & B.Parrott (eds.) *Russia and the New States of Eurasia. The Politics of Upheaval*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994
- R. Denber (ed.) *The Soviet Nationality Reader. The Disintegration in Context*, Boulder/Oxford: Westview Press, 1992
- J. Hughes & G. Sasse (eds.) *Regions in Conflict: Ethnicity and Territory in the Former Soviet Union*, London: Frank Cass, 2002, also as Special Issue, *Regional and Federal Studies*, Vol. 11, No.3, Autumn 2001
- C. King & N. Melvin (eds.), *Nations Abroad: Diaspora Politics and International Relations in the Former Soviet Union*, Westview, CO: 1998
- D. D. Laitin *Identity in Formation. The Russian-Speaking Population in the Near Abroad*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998
- G. Smith et al. *Nation-building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998
- V. Tishkov *Ethnicity, nationalism and conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The mind aflame*, London: Sage, 1997
- Taras Kuzio, "History, Memory and Nation Building in the Post-Soviet Colonial Space", *Nationalities papers* 30/2 2002

- D. Trenin, "The Break-Up of the USSR: A break in continuity", in his *The End of Eurasia*, Carnegie Endowment Washington 2002
- M. Beissinger *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*, Cambridge, CUP, 2002
- J. Löwenhardt *The Reincarnation of Russia. Struggling with the Legacy of Communism, 1990-1994*, London: Longman, 1995
- P. Kolstoe 'Nation-Building in Eurasia', *Journal of Democracy*, 7, 1, 132, 1996
- R. Strayer, "Decolonization, Democratization, and Communist Reform: The Soviet Collapse in Comparative Perspective" *Journal of World History* 12/2 2001

Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War:

- Collins, Alan R. 'Grit, Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War', *Review of International Studies*, Vol 24, No. 2, April 1998, pp. 201-19
- Checkel, Jeffrey, 'Ideas, institutions and the Gorbachev foreign policy revolution', *World Politics*, Vol. 45, No. 2, January 1993, pp. 271-300
- English, Robert D. 'Power, Ideas, and New Evidence on the Cold War's End: A Reply to Brooks and Wohlforth', *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 70–92.
- Galeotti, Mark, *The age of anxiety: security and politics in Soviet and post-Soviet Russia*. London New York: Longman, 1995.
- Garthoff, Raymond L. *The Great Transition: American-Soviet Relations and the End of the Cold War*. Washington, DC, Brookings Institution, 1994
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, *Perestroika: new thinking for our country and the world* (2nd edition), London, Fontana Collins 1988.
- Legvold, Robert, 'The revolution in Soviet foreign policy', *Foreign Affairs*, 68, 1, 1989, pp. 82-98.
- Shearman, P., 'New political thinking reassessed', *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 19, 1993
- De Haas, Marcel, 'An analysis of Soviet, CIS and Russian military doctrines 1990-2000', *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4, December 2001, pp. 1-34.
- Wallander, Celeste A. (ed.), *The sources of Russian foreign policy after the Cold War*. Oxford: Westview Press, 1995
- Mendelson, Sarah, *Changing Course: Ideas, Politics and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan*. Princeton UP, 1998.
- Larson, Deborah Welch and Alexei Shevchenko, 'Shortcut to Greatness: The New Thinking and the Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy', *International Organization*, Volume 57, No.1, January 2003, pp 77-109.

2. Inside/outside: Russian foreign policy and the domestic context

Russia after 1991 was very much a new state which had to find a new identity, given that Yeltsin had very much rejected the Soviet past – one of the reasons given for

why Russia's "identity crisis" had a disproportionately large impact on its foreign policy making. It appears, in any case, that Russia's domestic development cannot be separated from its foreign policy. It matters, for example, that Russia is a new state with an underdeveloped institutional structure – and while this was very visible in the incoherent foreign policy of Yeltsin's Russia, it still matters under Putin and Medvedev, though for different reasons.

Guiding questions:

- In how far does the fact that Russia is a new state matter for its foreign policy?
- What is the institutional framework for Russia's foreign policy decision making?
- What role does identity play in the formation of Russian foreign policy? Has this role changed or diminished since 1991?
- Why is the Kremlin so obsessed with Russia's status as a Great Power? What is the Kremlin's current world-view?
- What matters most for understanding Russian foreign policy – its domestic set-up, its status as a Great Power, or the unique post-Soviet nature of Russia?

Essential reading

Light, Margot, 'In search of an identity: Russian foreign policy and the end of ideology', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol 19, September 2003, pp. 42-59

Smith, Graham, "The Masks of Proteus: Russia, Geopolitical Shift and the New Eurasianism", *Transactions of the institute of British Geographers* 24/4 1999

Trenin, Dmitry, and Lo, Bobo. *The Landscape of Russian Foreign Policy Decision-Making*. Moscow: Moscow Carnegie Center, 2005. Available at http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/pubs/books/9211doklad_fin.pdf

Tsytkin, Alexander "Russian politics, Policy making and American Missile Defence", *International Affairs* 85/4 2009

Additional:

Adomeit, Hannes, 'Russia as a 'great power' in world affairs: images and reality', *International Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 1, January 1995, pp. 35-68.

Andrei Tsygankov, 'Vladimir Putin's vision of Russia as a normal great power', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2005, pp. 132-158.

Arbatov, Alexei G. 'Russia's Foreign Policy Alternatives', *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Fall 1993, pp. 5-43.

Braumoeller B.F. 'Deadly Doves: Liberal Nationalism and the Democratic Peace in the Soviet Successor States', *International Studies Quarterly*, 1997, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 375-402.

- Buszynski, Leszek, *Russian Foreign Policy after the Cold War*. Westport & London: Praeger, 1996.
- Dawisha, Adeed & Karen Dawisha (eds), *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*. Armonk, London, ME Sharpe, 1995.
- Donaldson, Robert H. & Joseph L. Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*. Armonk NY & London: M.E. Sharpe, 2009.
- Evangelista, Matthew, 'The paradox of state strength: transnational relations, domestic structures and security policy in Russia and the Soviet Union', *International Organization*, Vol. 49, No. 1, winter 1995, pp. 1-38.
- Godzimirski, Jakub M. *New and Old Actors in Russian Foreign Policy*. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2000
- Hopf, Ted. *Social Construction of International Politics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell, 2002.
- , ed. *Understandings of Russian Foreign Policy*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.
- Ivanov, Igor, 'The New Russian Identity: Innovation and Continuity in Russian Foreign Policy', *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 3, summer 2001, pp. 7-13
- Kanet, R., Birgeron, S. 'The Domestic Foreign Policy Linkage in Russian Politics: National Influences on Russian Foreign Policy', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 30, No 4, 1997
- Kerr, D., 'The new Eurasianism: the rise of geopolitics in Russia's foreign policy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 6, 1995.
- Kozhemiakin, Alexander V. 'Democratization & foreign policy change: the case of the Russian Federation'. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January 1997, pp. 49-74.
- Kuznetsov, Andrei, Kuznetsova, Olga, "Institutions, Business and the State in Russia" in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol 55, No 6, 2003, pp. 907-922
- Larrabee, Stephen and Theodore Karasik, *Foreign and Security Policy Decisionmaking under Yeltsin*. Santa Monica, RAND, 1997
- Legvold, Robert, 'Russia's unformed foreign policy', *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2001, pp. 62-75.
- Legvold, Robert (ed). *Russia's foreign policy and the shadow of the past*, New York: Columbia University Press 2007
- Light, Margot, 'Democracy, democratization and foreign policy in post-socialist Russia' in Hazel Smith (ed.), *Democracy and International Relations : Critical Theories/ Problematic Practices*. Macmillan, 2000, pp. 90-107
- Lo, Bobo, *Vladimir Putin and the evolution of Russian foreign policy*. London: RIIA and Blackwell, 2003
- Lynch, Allen C. 'The Realism of Russia's Foreign Policy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 1, 2001, pp. 7-31.
- Malcolm, Neil and Alex Pravda, 'Democratization and Russian Foreign Policy', *International Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 2, July 1996, pp. 537-52.
- Malcolm, Neil, Alex Pravda, Roy Allison & Margot Light, *Internal Factors in Russian Foreign Policy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Mankoff Jeffrey *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2009
- McFaul, Michael, 'A Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy', *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 3, Winter 1997/8, pp. 5-35.

- Menon, Rajan, 'Structural constraints on Russian diplomacy', *Orbis*, Vol. 45, No. 4, Fall 2001, pp. 579-96
- Prizel, Ilya. *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Pursiainen, Christer. *Russian Foreign Policy and International Relations Theory*. Aldershot; Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2000.
- Rick Fawn, Ideology and National Identity in the Study of post-Soviet Foreign Policy", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol 19, September 2003
- Stent, Angela. "Restoration and Revolution in Putin's Foreign Policy." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (2008): 1089-106.
- Tsygankov, Andrei, *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Oxford, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.
- Umbach, Frank., 'The role and influence of the military establishment in Russia's foreign and security policies in the Yeltsin era', *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1996.
- Wallander, Celeste A. (ed.), *The sources of Russian foreign policy after the Cold War*. Oxford: Westview Press, 1995.

3. Challenging US hegemony? Russia's place in the post-9/11 international order

Russia has oscillated considerably in its relationship with a US-dominated international order since 1991. It all seemed to point to integration with the West in 1991, but problems soon emerged in the relationship. Nevertheless, Russia's extreme weakness in the 1990s and its dependence on IMF loans meant that its space of action was limited. This, famously, changed under Putin, as Russia's new-found oil wealth made Russia one of the "rising Great Powers". Much has been made of a "new cold war" with the US in recent years, following spates over US plans for a ballistic missile defence shield on Russia's borders and US support of the "colour revolutions" in the former Soviet space in 2003-5. Indeed, it is all too easy to read Russian attitudes to this post-Cold War order as a linear, ideologically motivated, descent into anti-Americanism. However, is this really true? Is the equation of Putin with anti-Westernism a valid one? What are the dynamics of Russia's relationship with the liberal global order, as it increasingly assertively seeks to position itself as a Great Power with more than just regional aspirations? The Georgian war of 2008 is an interesting case in point – has it really caused a rift beyond repair between Russia and the West, as predicted by commentators at the time? Now that Obama has come to power, are relations between Russia and the West beyond redemption or has a "reset button" been pressed?

Guiding questions:

- How has Russia tried to situate itself in the US-dominated global order since 1991?

- Why has Russia reacted so forcefully to US democracy promotion in the former Soviet space?
- How did the “war on terror” influence relations between Russia and the US?
- In how far is Russia challenging US hegemony?

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4. New dividing lines? Russia and European institutions in the post-Cold War era

This seminar will look more closely at the way that Russia has interacted with NATO and the EU (and OSCE) in post-Cold War Europe. Relations with NATO were tense from the beginning, culminating in a crisis over the 1999 NATO bombardment of Kosovo. In contrast to the tense relationship between Russia and NATO, Russian attitudes towards the EU for a long time were much more relaxed, if not wholly friction-free. Russia joined the Council of Europe and partnership programmes with the EU were on the whole more productive than with NATO. More recently, relations have become much more complicated, though. As Europe has asserted its "normative hegemony" in Eastern Europe, has embarked on its new neighbourhood policy, and has supported Georgia and Ukraine in the "colour revolutions", Russian distrust of the EU has grown. At the same time, a new issue has arisen that now threatens to dominate the relationship between Russia and Europe – Russian gas and Europe's energy security.

Guiding questions:

- How is "Europe" understood in Russia? Is Russia a part of Europe? Is Europe different from the West?
- Have new dividing lines been drawn between Russia and Europe? Why?
- What is Russia's problem with NATO enlargement?
- Why have Russian relations with the EU become more difficult?
- Can the OSCE still provide an alternative?
- Do we need a new European security architecture?

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5. Is there still a post-Soviet space? Regionalism and multilateralism in the FSU

The CIS started its life as a "means to a civilized divorce", as Yeltsin put it.. Indeed, the CIS has stumbled along, with a bewildering array of initiatives, treaties and summits that mostly have led to nothing. In fact, Russia itself has long preferred bilateral or smaller multilateral arrangement within what many Russian politicians regard as a "near Abroad". Yet, almost 20 years after the break-up, the CIS persists, and as Russia has become more assertive in its "sphere of special influence", the CIS has been one of the means to achieve greater Russian dominance in the post-Soviet space. At the same time, it may be increasingly difficult to speak of a unitary "post-Soviet space", with different regions developing very different dynamics, quite

apart from those countries trying to break away from Russian influence, such as Ukraine and Georgia after the “colour revolutions”, but also Turkmenistan and Moldova.

Guiding questions:

- What are the major multilateral and sub-regional initiatives since 1991, and what do they say about the state of the CIS?
- What does Russia want in the former Soviet space? Is Russia successful in asserting its influence in the CIS, and what tools does it use?
- In the wake of the “colour revolutions”, is there still such a thing as the “post-Soviet space”?
- Why does the CIS persist?

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6. Russia, regional conflict and the use of military power in the Caucasus

The eruption of hostilities between Russia and Georgia in August 2008 has refocused the attention of the world onto a region that is still playing out the problems caused by Stalin's nationalities policy and the breakdown of the Soviet Union, from arbitrary borders to the problems caused by the collapse of the Red Army. Far from being just a war between two sovereign states, the back-story to the conflict is complex – in fact, South Ossetia and Abkhazia are only two examples of the ethnic tensions in the region, among which is also the "frozen" conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and not least Chechnya. This region clearly illustrates the continuing fluidity of borders and the ambivalence of perceptions of domestic and international in the former Soviet space. In fact, these issues are linked to broader concerns, in particular Russia's relations with NATO and the US, and at the same time the Chechen conflict, perceived by many in Moscow as a central threat to the existence of Russia itself. At the same time, these ethnic conflicts have allowed Russia to remain militarily involved in a strategically important region, in the guise of peace-keeping as well as more direct military involvement.

Guiding questions:

- What is the nature of Moscow's military involvement in the region after 1991?
- What does Russia want in the region?
- What security challenges do the states of the South Caucasus face?
- What is the significance of the Chechen conflict for the Kremlin, and what are its repercussions for wider regional politics?
- What is the significance of the outcome of the Georgian conflict, for Russia, Georgia, the West?

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7. Ukraine, Belarus and Russia - from identity politics to gas wars

Ukraine and Belarus seem to illustrate both extremes of the diverging paths taken by the new post-Soviet states after 1991. Belarus under Lukashenko has been called the “last Soviet dictatorship” and has long been desperate to reunite with Russia, in the process becoming little more than a Russian satellite. Ukraine has seemingly turned away from Russia in the “Orange Revolution” in 2003, seeking EU and NATO membership and entering a series of “gas wars” with Russia, the last of which in January 2009 saw the lights go out in parts of the EU. Yet, as always, things are not quite that straightforward. Ukraine and Russia have a special identity relationship, and the country is genuinely divided in its attitude to Russia. On the other hand, there has recently been a cooling of relations between Russia and Belarus. Ultimately, both Belarus and Ukraine have to navigate between more powerful neighbours – the EU to the West and Russia to the East. Both Ukraine and Belarus once again illustrate the intertwining of domestic and foreign policy in the former Soviet space.

Guiding questions:

- Why has identity been such a central issue in the relations of Russia with Ukraine and Belarus?
- What is the state of the union between Russia and Belarus? Is reunification likely?
- What do the “gas wars” between Ukraine and Russia say about the nature of Ukrainian –Russian relations? Is Russia using energy as a foreign policy tool?
- Has the “Orange Revolution” fundamentally altered Ukrainian-Russian relations?
- Will Ukraine turn East or West eventually?

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8. Central Asia - geopolitical puzzle or "new Great Game"?

Central Asia has recently acquired geopolitical importance not just for Russia, but also for the US and the EU and indeed China. Its location close to Afghanistan

means that the US relies on air bases in the region. At the same time, some of the Central Asian states, namely Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, have vast oil and gas fields, though they are not easily accessible from Europe. Some observers have talked about a “new Great Game” between the US, Russia and China in the region. At the same time, the politics of the region is determined by very different matters: scarcity of resources, especially water, ethnic conflict and civil war (notably the war in Tajikistan, now a “frozen conflict”, but also clashes in the Fergana valley); a growing problem with drug trafficking from Afghanistan and effects of climate change; and at the same time an unwillingness among the many dictators of the region to solve these problems collectively.

Guiding questions:

- what are the five –stans, and what is their post-Soviet development?
- What are the specific regional challenges?
- How does the Soviet legacy influence the international politics of the region?
- Is Russia now hegemonic in the region?
- Is there a “new Great Game” in Central Asia?

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9. Russia as “energy superpower” and energy security – the geopolitics of energy in the former Soviet Union

There are those who have pointed out that the “new Great Game” is ultimately over energy. Energy plays an important role in Russian strategies to re-establish its influence in the CIS; and indeed energy has become a, if not the, major issue in relations between Russia and the EU. Given that Russia is the biggest exporter of natural gas (and one of the biggest oil producers, especially with regard to as yet unexploited resources), this is also of primary concern to the US. That all this is not disconnected from broader questions on Russian-Western relations is suggested by the way that the rise of the question of Europe’s “energy security” arose in response to the “gas wars” between Russia and Ukraine, which in turn have been read as a Russian response to the Orange Revolution. Central Asia, the Caspian and the South Caucasus are also involved in the geopolitics of energy.

Guiding questions:

- What is energy security? What does energy security mean for the West/Europe and for Russia? Are these compatible visions?
- What are the issues impacting on Europe’s attempt to diversify its energy supply? Is it a feasible project?
- Is the European fear of Russia’s energy monopoly more than hysteria?
- Is Russia using energy as a foreign policy tool in the former Soviet space?
- Can Russia be a leading Great Power if its economy remains so dependent on energy?

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10. Conclusion: Global multipolarity? Russia, China and the SCO

In the wake of US failures in Afghanistan and a general perceived decline in the power of the US in the last Bush years, Russian commentators have begun to talk about multipolarity and Russia’s Great Power status as a fact rather than an aspiration. This is reflected in the West in a broader discourse about the rise of the BRICs – which is fuelled, however, not so much by the rise of Russia, but the rise of China. One of the questions raised by this is precisely whether a multipolar world order has become a reality – and if so, what is Russia’s place in this world order? The other issue concerns the place of Russian-Chinese in an evolving international context. Russia and China have traditionally had a difficult relationship, illustrated by the sino-Soviet split during the Cold War. In recent years, however, their relationship has taken a positive development, illustrated by the growing role of the SCO in Central Asia. In this final session, we will look at evolving Russian-Chinese relations and what they say about a changing world order.

Guiding Questions:

- What is the role and function of the SCO? Does it have more than regional significance?
- Can Russia fulfil its aim to be one of the power poles of a multipolar order?
- Are Russian-Chinese relations going to grow closer?
- How will this affect the United States? The EU?

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