

RUSSIAN FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

Norwegian University Centre in St Petersburg

Semester: Spring Semester 2017
Lecturer: Associate Professor, Dr. Andrey Pavlov (St Petersburg State University)
Period: February-May 2017
Dates/Time: TBA
Exam: Hand-in of essay: TBA

Course Description:

The aim of the course is to provide students with the necessary theoretical and empirical background for the analysis of Russian foreign and security policy, taking into account its specificity and general patterns.

The course is divided in general and specific parts. The general one looks at the ideas behind the Russian foreign policy, institutional structure of Russian foreign policy as well as its instruments.

The specific part looks at how the three come into play in specific regions. In doing that the course concentrates on Russia's relations with the EU, major security organizations in Europe, US, post-Soviet states and major Asian partners.

Course requirements:

The course consists of 12 classes (2 academic hours each).

Final grade for the course will be based on the following criteria:

Class attendance, preparation and participation	10%
Start of the term test	10%
Research paper	40%
Final written exam	40%

Students are expected to attend the lectures and participate actively in the seminars.

The start of the term test will be held at the beginning of the first class meeting and based on the introductory readings (see below). All students are required to complete the introductory readings before classes begin.

The students will write a paper related to one of the topics discussed in the course. The topic should be agreed with the professor. The paper should be 10–15 pages long (single-spaced, font 12 Times New Roman, including references/literature) and be submitted at the exam. The date of the exam will be announced later in the term.

Introductory readings:

1. REMINGTON, T. F. *Politics in Russia*. New York: Pearson/Longman, 2011. Chapter 9.

2. TSYGANKOV, A. P. *Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006. 217 p.

The students are required to complete introductory readings listed above *before* the start of the term in St. Petersburg. A short test will be held at the first class meeting to check students' familiarity with the basic facts of Russian domestic politics and foreign policy. The test will be based exclusively on the introductory readings.

Additional compulsory and optional readings are assigned to selected lectures. Their primary purpose is to familiarize the students with the Russian debate.

Articles from "Russia in Global Affairs" are available from <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/>

Lecture topics

1. History and Ideology: influence on Russian foreign and security policy
2. Decision-making in Russia's foreign and security policy
3. Russia and the West: USA
4. Russia and the West: Europe
5. Russian foreign policy: the post-Soviet space
6. Asian dimension of Russia's foreign and security policy: Asia-Pacific
7. Asian dimension of Russia's foreign and security policy: Greater Middle East
8. Northern dimension of Russian foreign policy
9. National security issues: international issues
10. National security issues: domestic issues
11. Case study I
12. Case study II

TOPIC 1: History and Ideology: influence on Russian foreign and security policy

Core readings:

1. Sergey Lavrov. *Russia's Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective* // *Russia in Global Affairs*. march 2016.
2. KOSACHEV, K. *Russia and the West: Where the Differences Lie* // *Russia in Global Affairs*. 2007. No. 4.
3. Alexey Arbatov. *Collapse of the World Order?* // *Russia in Global Affairs*. September 2014.

Supplementary readings:

4. MEZHUEV, B. Modern Russia and Postmodern Europe // *Russia in Global Affairs*. 2008. No.1.
5. NEUMANN, I. B. Russia as a Great Power, 1815–2007 // *Journal of International Relations and Development*. 2008. Vol. 11. No. 2.
6. PAIN, E. Russia Between Empire and Nation // *Russian Politics and Law*. 2009. Vol. 47. No. 2. March–April.

TOPIC 2: Decision-making in Russia’s foreign and security policy

Core readings:

1. KOSACHEV, K. Russian Foreign Policy Vertical // *Russia in Global Affairs*. 2004. August 10.
- 2.
3. LUKIN, A. From a Post-Soviet to a Russian Foreign Policy // *Russia in Global Affairs*. 2008. October – December. No. 4

Supplementary readings:

4. BUSYGINA, I. Russia’s Regions in Shaping National Foreign Policy In: J. Gower and G. Timmins (eds.) *Russia and Europe in the Twenty-First Century*. Anthem Press, 2007.
5. POLIKANOV, D. Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Formation. In: J. Gower and G. Timmins (eds.) *Russia and Europe in the Twenty-First Century*. Anthem Press, 2007.
6. WHITE, S. Elite Opinion and Foreign Policy in Post-Communist Russia // *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*. Vol. 8, No. 2, 147 – 167, June 2007
7. ROMANOVA, T. Energy Policy of Russia: Still in a State of Flux? // *Energy Pulling the Baltic Sea Region Together or Apart?* (A. Spruds and T. Rostoks (eds.)). Riga: Zinatne, 2009

TOPIC 3: Russia and the West: USA

Core readings:

1. Sergey Karaganov. Russia and the U.S.: A Long Confrontation? // *Russia in Global Affairs*. September 2014.
2. Fyodor Lukyanov. Global Aikido: Russia's Asymmetrical Response to the Ukraine Crisis // *Russia in Global Affairs*. December 2014
3. SHAKLEINA, T. Russian Debates on Relations with the United States. *International Studies Association*. 51st Annual Convention. 17-21 February 2010, New Orleans

Supplementary readings:

4. GOMART, T. Obama and Russia: Facing the Heritage of the Bush Years. *Russie.Nei.Visions* Paris, Brussels: IFRI, 2009. No. 39.
5. GROMYKO, A. Civilizational Guidelines in the Relationship of Russia, the European Union, and the United States // *Russian Politics and Law*. 2008. Vol. 46. No. 6. November-December.

TOPIC 4. Russia and the West: Europe

Core readings:

1. Dmitry Trenin Vladimir Putin's Fourth Vector // *Russia in Global Affairs*. June 2013.
2. KHRISTENKO, V. Making Headway to Integration // *Russia in Global Affairs*. 2004. February 17.
3. VELYAMINOV, G. Legal Options for Russia-EU Cooperation // *Russia in Global Affairs*. 2009. Vol. 7. No.1.

Supplementary readings:

4. HAUKKALA, H. a Norm-Taker or a Norm-Maker. The Changing Normative Parameters of Russia's Place in Europe // *Russia's European Choice*. T. Hopf (ed.). Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
5. LEONARD, M. POPESCU, N. A Power Audit of EU-Russia Relations. London: ECFR, November 2007. Policy Paper.
6. PERCIVAL, B.R. The Risk of Energy Securitization on the Eurasian Continent. The Hague: Clingendael, 2008.

TOPIC 5: THE POST-SOVIET SPACE IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Core readings:

1. ANDREEV, A. Russians' Views on Foreign Policy. After the Caucasus Crisis // *Russian Politics and Law*. 2010. Vol. 48. No. 6. November-December.
2. KAZANTSEV, A. Russian Policy in Central Asia and the Caspian Sea Region // *Europe-Asia Studies*. 2008. Vol. 60. No. 6.
3. GORENBURG, D., MAKARYCHEV, A. Russia's Discourses on Neighborhood and Identity // *Russian Politics and Law*. 2009. Vol. 47. No. 5.

Supplementary readings:

4. DEYERMOND, R. Matrioshka hegemony? Multi-levelled hegemonic competition and security in post-Soviet Central Asia // *Review of International Studies*. 2009. Vol. 35. No. 1.
5. TRENIN, D. Russia's Spheres of Interest, not Influence // *Washington Quarterly*. 2009. October. Vol. 32. No. 4.
6. VINOKUROV, E. Russian Approaches to Integration in the Post-Soviet Space in the 2000s. In: K. Malfliet, L. Verpoest and E. Vinokurov *The CIS, the EU and Russia*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

TOPIC6: ASIAN DIMENSION OF RUSSIA'S FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY: ASIA-PACIFIC

Core readings:

1. Kevin Rudd. Russia's Role in Asia-Pacific Security Architecture // *Russia in Global Affairs*, June 2016.
2. Timofey Bordachev. The Great Win-Win Game // *Russia in Global Affairs*, September 2016
3. TOLORAYA, G. Russia's East Asian Strategy: The Korean Challenge // *Russia in Global Affairs*. 2008. Vol. 6. No.1.

Supplementary readings:

1. BLANK, S. At a Dead End Russian Policy and the Russian Far East // *DEMOKRATIZATSIYA*. 2009. Spring.
2. KUHRT, N. Russian Policy towards China and Japan: The El'tsin and Putin Periods, London, New York: Routledge, 2008, pp. 111–156.

TOPIC 7: ASIAN DIMENSION OF RUSSIA'S FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY: GREATER MIDDLE EAST

Core readings:

1. ALLISON, ROY. Russia and Syria: explaining alignment with a regime in crisis. // *International Affairs*. July 2013, Vol. 89 Issue 4.
2. Samuel Charap. Russia, Syria and the Doctrine of Intervention // *Survival*. vol. 55 no. 1 , February–March 2013
3. TRENIN, D. Russia's Policy in the Middle East: Prospects for Consensus and Conflict with the United States. New York: The Century Foundation, 2010.

Supplementary readings:

4. KATZ, M. Comparing Putin's and Brezhnev's Policies toward the Middle East // *Society*. 2008. Vol. 45. No. 2.
5. KATZ, M. Russia's Greater Middle East Policy: Securing Economic Interests, Courting Islam // *Russie.Nei.Visions* Paris, Brussels: IFRI, 2010. No. 49.
6. TRENIN, D., MALASHENKO, A. Afghanistan. A View from Moscow. Moscow: Carnegie, 2010.

TOPIC 8: NORTHERN DIMENSION OF RUSSIA'S FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

Core readings:

1. Lev Voronkov. The Arctic for Eight // *Russia in Global Affairs*. June 2013
2. Valery Konyshchev, & Alexander Sergunin. Is Russia a revisionist military power in the Arctic? // *Defense & Security Analysis*, 2014.
3. Alexander Sergunin, Valery Konyshchev. Russia in search of its Arctic strategy: between hard and soft power? // *The Polar Journal*, June 2014.

Supplementary readings:

1. Valery Konyshchev and Alexander Sergunin. Russia's Policies on the Territorial Disputes in the Arctic // *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy*. March 2014, Vol. 2, No. 1.
2. Moe, Arild, 'Norway and Russia: Neighbours with Strong Interests in the Arctic'. In Hooman Peimani (ed), *Energy Security and Geopolitics in the Arctic*. Singapore, World Scientific Publishing, 2013

TOPIC 9: National security: international issues

Core readings:

1. AVERRE, D. From Pristina to Tskhinvali: the legacy of Operation Allied Force in Russia's relations with the West // *International Affairs*. 2009. Vol. 85. No. 3.
2. ANTONENKO, O. Russia and the Deadlock over Kosovo // *Survival*. 2007. Vol. 49. No. 3.
3. KARAGANOV, S. Russia's Choice // *Survival*. 2010. February-March.

Supplementary readings:

4. BRAUN, A. NATO and Russia: Post-Georgia Threat Perceptions. *Russie.Nei.Visions* Paris, Brussels: IFRI, 2009. No. 40.

5. JOENNIEMI, P., BROWNING, C.S. Geostrategies of the European Neighbourhood Policy // European Journal of International Relations. 2008. Vol. 14. No. 3. Pp. 519-551.
6. MONAGHAN, A. Russia, NATO and the EU: A European Security Triangle or Shades of a New Entente? Paris: IFRI, May 2006.

TOPIC 10: National security: domestic issues

Core readings:

1. KOKOSHIN A.A. Notes on the Creation of an “Innovative Russian Army” // Russian Politics and Law. 2010. Vol. 48. No. 3. May-June.
2. Athena Bryce-Rogers. Russian Military Reform in the Aftermath of the 2008 Russia-Georgia War // Demokratizatsiya. Summer 2013, Vol. 21 Issue 3
3. RYBAS, A. Breakthrough Into the Global Arms Market // Russia in Global Affairs. 2008. Vol. 6. No. 2.

Supplementary readings:

4. KORPPOO, A. The Russian Debate on Climate Doctrine. Emerging issues on the road to Copenhagen. The Finnish Institute for International Affairs. Briefing Paper No. 33. 5 June 2009.
5. LUKYANOV, F. Europe Needs a New Security Architecture // Russian Analytical Digest. 2009. 18 February 2009. No. 55.
6. MCDERMOTT, R. Russia’s Armed Forces: The Power of Illusion. Russie.Nei.Visions Paris, Brussels: IFRI, 2009. No. 37.
7. EVANS, A.B. Putin’s Legacy and Russia’s Identity // Europe Asia Studies. 2008. Vol. 60. No.

TOPIC 11: Case study I. Topic to be discussed

Topic 12: Case study II. Topic to be discussed