

**POLS 675 Russian Foreign Policy
Fall 2016**

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Office Hours: Tue.: 10–11am &
12:30-1:30pm; Thur.: 10-11am & by
appointment

Meeting Time and Location

Tuesdays and Thursdays from 11am to 12:15 p.m., Blake 114

Description and Goals of the Course

As the largest state of the world with diverse national interests, Russia has always pursued a dynamic foreign policy designed to attain and secure its regional and global position. The impetus to understand and explain the foreign policy of the modern Russia comes at the juncture of several important developments in the world. The first is the resurgence of Russia, which is no longer insolvent and weak. The country has regained the necessary capabilities and posture for political and military intervention in internal affairs of sovereign states, defying international sanctions and condemnation. The second development encompasses ongoing changes in the structure of international relations as well as economic and political influences on the global order managed by the United States. If the West hopes to engage Russia in solving an array of global problems, it must have a solid grasp of the Russian foreign policy interests and how they align with international priorities of Western states.

On this backdrop, the course is set out to accomplish to aims. First, it seeks to provide students with sufficient knowledge of historical roots, sources, and major issues of Russia's foreign policy in its relations with the West, republics of the former Soviet Union, and other nations. Another motivation for teaching this course is to impart students with the necessary analytical tools for making informed and impartial judgments about different aspects of the past, present, and future directions of Russian foreign policy.

Toward the achievement of these goals, we will start out by looking at Russia's foreign policy through historical lens for identifying trends and enduring patterns as well as differences and changes in Russia's foreign affairs. Next, we will focus on different theoretical approaches to analyzing and understanding foreign policy. A significant portion of the class will be dedicated to the analysis of the impact of various international and domestic factors on Russian foreign policy. In the second part of the semester, we will apply the knowledge gained in the first part of the course for examining Russia's relation with the outside world: Europe, US, NATO, the former republics of the Soviet Union, China, and the Middle East.

Course format

Russian foreign policy is an advanced course of study that will be conducted more like a seminar, than in a traditional lecture mode. I will introduce most of the topics with brief lectures tying up the material or presenting new knowledge. I will also attempt to allocate sufficient time for instructor- or student-led discussion of the readings that you all will have done, their relationship to the lectures, and class assignments.

Required Texts

Andrei P. Tsygankov, 2013. *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. 3rd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. The text can be purchased in KU Bookstore

Note: There are also earlier editions of this book that were published in 2006 and 2009, and a new addition that appeared last year. The earlier editions are outdated, and I prefer that you purchase the most recent edition of the book.

Besides the text, you will be required to do additional readings on various topics of Russian foreign policy for each class. The additional readings were included into the reading packet of photocopies available for purchase in the Political Science Main Office, 504 Blake Hall.

Course Requirements

Class Participation and Reading: The success of this class depends on your commitment and willingness to learn. Students do learn best when they are actively involved in the process of acquiring, reading, writing about, examining, discussing, and evaluating information. Therefore, during the class meetings, I will engage students in the learning process by asking questions, encouraging comments, instigating discussion, or using other techniques to ensure students' participation. Students, themselves, should raise questions, offer comments, suggest topics for discussion, answer questions and comment on other students' responses. All these activities constitute participation.

Preparing for each class is imperative for student participation. Students are required to do all reading assignments in a thoughtful manner prior to class meetings and come to class prepared to discuss what they have learned. There will also be a series of short and reasonable in-class assignments designed to check on students' preparedness for classes that will be counted toward participation in the course.

Russia's Foreign Policy News Presentation: The students are encouraged to keep abreast with the developments in Russia's foreign policy. The knowledge of contemporary issues and processes in Russian foreign policy and ability to critically analyze and evaluate them is an indispensable part of this course. Each student will be required to prepare a short report on current Russia's foreign policy events. We will start each class by listening to the news report about Russia's foreign policy. Preferably, the news report should be tied to the topic of the class meeting. I will provide students with further guidelines for news reports.

Mid-Term Exam: The mid-term exam will test your basic knowledge of major historical and contemporary facts, figures, geography, and institutions discussed in the class.

Final Research Paper (Option 1): For the final paper, students will need to confront an empirical puzzle or a controversial issue of Russian foreign policy, consider possible explanations of the issue or solutions to the problem linked to the theoretical approach discussed in the class, and create and defend an argument linking the identified issue or puzzle with the proposed solution or explanation. The issue can be specific and related to Russia's foreign relations with one of the

states or international organizations. Or, it can be a general issue of Russian foreign policy, but in the latter case it still needs to be illustrated by using an example of Russia's foreign relations with another nation or other states listed on the syllabus. You will need my permission to work on a state or a region that is not included into the content of the course.

The paper will be completed in stages, each of which will be an opportunity for feedback. I will provide students with additional guidelines and handouts at each stage of the final paper.

- Topic and question of Russian foreign policy that will be analyzed in the paper; A state or several states that will be used for examining the issue – Due: **Sep. 15**
- Tentative explanation(s) of the question linked to the pertinent theoretical approaches discuss in the class (this includes the assessment of alternative explanations). Due: **Oct. 6**
- First draft of the paper – Due: **Nov. 15**
- Second draft of the paper - Due: **Dec. 1**
- Final paper – **Due on the day when the final exam is scheduled for the class or earlier**

The final paper should be about 10 pages long (double-spaced), including the list of references and footnotes or endnotes (those can be singled-spaced). The paper should be typed in Times New Roman, size 12 font, 1 inch margins.

Option 2 (for graduate students and a few advanced undergraduate student willing to commit to some extra work): This class has been chosen by the US Department of State to serve as a **Diplomacy Lab**. This means that students in this class will work on topics and questions for the Department of State and develop a final policy brief for them. The Department of State is “course-sourcing” research for their work through US universities across the country. “Students participating in the Diplomacy Lab explore real-world challenges identified by the Department and work under the guidance of faculty members with expertise in a field related to the project. Students also discuss these issues with State Department officials several times throughout the semester. The Diplomacy Lab allows students to contribute directly to the policymaking process, while helping the State Department tap into an underutilized reservoir of intellectual capital.”

To learn more about Diplomacy Lab, go here: <http://www.state.gov/s/partnerships/ppp/diplab/>
The University of Oklahoma hosts the secretariat for the Diplomacy Lab:
<http://www.ou.edu/diplomacylab.html>

KU has been selected to be a partner university for two Diplomacy Lab projects. This course has been chosen by the US Mission in Ukraine to assist the Embassy with assessing Democracy in Donbass (with focus on Donetsk).

REES MA students are required to take part in this project (given their language proficiency). Interested undergraduate students should email to the instructor.

This is a group project that will call for a few meetings outside the classroom, including two video-conferences with the staff of the US Embassy in Kyiv. The students will be given an opportunity to present the final project at a Brownbag in the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies on December 6 (Tuesday, noon).

This project will also be considered service learning. You should contact the KU Center for Civic and Social Responsibility to document your service-learning activity.

You will write the memo collectively, and you will turn in a short paper that represents your intellectual contribution to the brief. The group paper will be 25% of your grade, and the individual paper will be 15%.

The final grade will be calculated as follows:

Class Participation	20%
Russia's Foreign Policy News Presentation	15%
Mid-Term Exam	25%
Final Research Paper	40%
Total	100%

Course Policies

As an instructor, I have a responsibility to come to class prepared, to be accessible when you have questions, to provide you with feedback on your performance, and to help you find fascination with Russia's foreign policy. With regard to the students, I expect you to read all the required texts, attend classes regularly, and hand in your assignments on time. Attendance is mandatory. You can skip, if it is necessary, up to 3 classes without any penalty on my behalf (though, it might hurt your overall performance in the class). If you miss more than 3 classes (including the ones, which you skip by various family/work/health/etc. reasons) a whole letter grade will be taken off your final grade. Only in the very rare circumstances will I make any exceptions to this requirement after a consultation with the Head of the Department of Political Science.

Academic Misconduct

The University of Kansas prohibits academic misconduct. According to the Rules and Regulations of the University Senate (Art. II, Section 6), academic misconduct is defined as "the disruption of classes; threatening an instructor or fellow student in an academic setting; giving or receiving of unauthorized aid on examinations or in the preparation of notebooks, themes, reports or other assignments; knowingly misrepresenting the source of any academic work; unauthorized changing of grades; unauthorized use of University approvals or forging of signatures; falsification of research results; plagiarizing of another's work; violation of regulations or ethical codes for the treatment of human and animal subjects; or otherwise acting dishonestly in research."

Academic misconduct and academic dishonesty (plagiarism and cheating) will be treated in accordance with the University Regulations and the Student Academic Misconduct Policy put forth by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Kansas. If you are unfamiliar with either of these documents, I suggest you read the closely for a better understanding of this very important area of concern.

University Senate Rules and Regulations can be found at <http://www2.ku.edu/~unigov/usrr.html>

The Student Academic Misconduct Policy put forth by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences is available at <http://www2.ku.edu/~clas/faculty/policies/misconduct.pdf>

Some courtesy rules:

- (1) Do not be late for the classes.
- (2) Keep your cell-phones off during the classes.
- (3) Do not engage in any extraneous activity during the classes such as reading newspapers (you should read about international and domestic news but do it before or after the class), doing homework, or solving puzzles.

WEEK	DATE	TOPICS, READINGS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND DUE DATES
Week I	Aug. 23	Overview of the Course, Its Policies and Assignments
	Aug. 25	What and Where is Russia? What is Foreign Policy? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia: Country Profile. Library of Congress, 2006. https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/profiles/Russia.pdf • Marijke Breuning, Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction. Palgrave, 2007. Read Ch.1 “Why Study Foreign Policy Comparatively?”, pp.1-26
Week II	Aug. 30	Understanding Sources of Foreign Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rittberger, Volker. 2004. <i>Approaches to the Study of Foreign Policy Derived From International Relations Theories</i>. https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10900/47326/pdf/tap46.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y • Tsygankov pp. 1-30
	Sep. 1	Soviet Time, Gorbachev Era and New Thinking in Russia’s Foreign Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tsygankov, pp. 31-56. • Blum, D.W. 1993. “The Soviet Foreign Policy Belief System: Beliefs, Politics, and Foreign Policy Outcomes,” <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 37(4), read pp. 373-394.
Week III	Sep. 6	Russia’s Foreign Policy during Yeltsin’s Term <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tsygankov, chs. 3-4
	Sep. 8	Putin’s Russia and Foreign Policy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tsygankov, Chs. 5-6
Week IV	Sep. 13	International Influences on Russian Foreign Policy: Material vs. Ideational John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin”, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Sep./Oct. 2014. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault Erik Ringmar, “The Recognition Game: Soviet Russian Against the West,” <i>Cooperation and Conflict</i> , 37 (2, 2002): 115-136.

	Sep. 15	Library Session Prepare a one-paragraph description of the topic and issue of Russian foreign policy that you will analyze in the final paper. Please, also mention a state or a group of states (region) that will be used for examining the issue and explain why you chose this topic/issue (what is its significance?).
Week V	Sep. 20	International [Ideational] Influences on Russian Foreign Policy Tsygankov, Ch. 7-8
	Sep. 22	Library Session (for graduate students working on the Diplomacy Lab project) The rest of the class will work on the revisions of a one-paragraph description of the paper.
Week VI	Sep. 27	Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy: Overview of Institutions and Power Relations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marcin Kaczmarek, 2014. "Domestic Power Relations and Russian Foreign Policy", <i>Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization</i> 22(3): 383-409. • Olga Oliker, et al. 2009. <i>Russian Foreign Policy: Sources and Implications</i>, RAND, Ch.2 (pp. 9-44).
	Sep. 29	Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy: Military, Defense, and Security Establishments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ian Bremmer and Samuel Charap. 2006. "The Siloviki in Putin's Russia: Who They Are and What They Want", <i>The Washington Quarterly</i> 30(1): 83-92. • Jackson, W.D. 2002. "Encircled Again: Russia's Military Assesses Threats in a Post-Soviet World." <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> 117(3). • Nikolay Shevchenko. 2016. "Will Russia's New Military Influence Its Foreign Policy? Russia Direct, May 18. http://www.russia-direct.org/russian-media/will-russias-new-military-influence-its-foreign-policy
Week VII	Oct. 4	Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy: Economic and Energy-Related Interest Groups <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Duncan, P. 2007. "'Oligarchs', Business and Russian Foreign Policy: From El'tsin to Putin." (Economics Working Papers 83). Centre for the Study of Economic and Social Change in Europe, SSEES, UCL: London, UK • Lomagin, N.A. 2015. "Foreign Policy Preferences of Russia's Energy Sector: A Shift to Asia?" in <i>Russia, Eurasia, and the New Geopolitics of Energy</i>. Palgrave, pp. 137-165 • Stulberg, 2015. "Out of Gas?: Russia, Ukraine, Europe, and the Changing Geopolitics of Natural Gas", <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 62(1).

	Oct. 6	<p>Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy: Personality Factors</p> <p>Fiona Hill. 2015. "How Vladimir Putin's World View Shapes Russian Foreign Policy," in <i>Russian Foreign Policy: Ideas, Domestic Politics, and External Relations</i>, edited by Margot Light and David Cadier. Palgrave, pp. 42-61.</p> <p>Caitlin Smith, 2012. "Personality in Foreign Policy Decision-Making", e-<i>International Relations</i>.</p> <p>http://www.e-ir.info/2012/10/16/personality-in-foreign-policy-decision-making/</p> <p>Prepare and submit tentative explanation(s) to the question linked to the theoretical approaches discussed in class. This includes alternative explanations accompanied by a justification of their 'deficiencies'.</p>
Week VIII	Oct. 11	Fall Break
	Oct. 13	<p>Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy: Public Opinion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theodore P. Gerber. 2015. "Foreign Policy and the United States in Russian Public Opinion". <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 62(1). • Thomas Sherlock. 2014. "Puttin's Public Opinion Challenge." <i>National Interest</i>. August 21. http://nationalinterest.org/feature/putins-public-opinion-challenge-11113
Week IX	Oct. 18	<p>Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy: Ideas and Ideology</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Godzimirski, J.M. 2008. "Putin and Post-Soviet Identity: Building Blocks and Buzz Words." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i>, 55(5): 14-26. • Omelicheva, M. "Critical Geopolitics on Russian Foreign Policy: Uncovering the Imagery of Moscow's International Relations," forthcoming in <i>International Politics</i>
	Oct. 20	<p>Domestic Determinants of Foreign Policy: Culture and Values in Russia's Toolkit of "Soft Politics"</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vladimir Podoprighora and Tatiana Krasnopevtseva, 1995. "Russian Cultural Values and Their Effect on Domestic and Foreign Policy", <i>Demokratizatsiya</i> 3(2): 166-76. • Lankina, Tomila et al. 2015. "Russia's Foreign Policy and Soft Power", in M. Light and D. Cadier, <i>Russia's Foreign Policy: Ideas, Domestic Determinants and External Relations</i>. Palgrave, pp. 97-113.
Week X	Oct. 25	<p>Russia and the West: with the Focus on the US and NATO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sherr, J. 2008. <i>Russia and the West: A Reassessment</i>. The Shrivenham Papers No 6, Defence Academy of the United Kingdom. <p>http://www.da.mod.uk/colleges/arag/document-listings/monographs/Shrivenham%20Paper%206.pdf/view</p>
	Oct. 27	<p>Russia and the West: with the Focus on the US and NATO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrew Monaghan, "Calmly Critical': Evolving Russian Views of US Hegemony", <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i>, 29 (6, 2006): 987-1013 • Jeffrey Tayler, 2016. "Obama Poked Putin: And Putin Poked Back". <i>Foreign Policy</i>, April 14. http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/14/obama-putin-russia-nato-syria-assad/ • Rachelle Marshall. 2016. "Flush with Cold War 'Victory,' U.S. Still Fails to Understand Russia's Security Needs," April 25. <i>Foreign Policy in</i>

		<i>Focus.</i> http://fpif.org/flush-cold-war-victory-u-s-still-fails-understand-russias-security-needs/
Week XI	Nov. 1	Russia's Policies Toward Europe <ul style="list-style-type: none"> UK Parliament. 2015. "The EU and Russia Before and Beyond the Crisis in Ukraine", read chapters 2 and 6, skim over chapter 5 https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldeucom/115/115.pdf
	Nov. 3	Midterm
Week XII	Nov. 8	Russia and the CIS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Donaldson, R., and J. Noguee. 2014. <i>The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests</i>. 5th edition. M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Ch.6 "Russia and the States of the Former Soviet Union," pp. 158-230
	Nov. 10	Russia-Led Regional Organizations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mariya Omelicheva and Lidiya Zubyska. 2012. "Failures and Prospects of Regional Organizations: Lessons from the Post-Soviet Space and Beyond", <i>The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Affairs</i>, XIII (II): 97-102. Jackson, Nicole J. "The Role of External Factors in Advancing Non-liberal Democratic Forms of Political Rule: A Case Study of Russia's Influence on Central Asian Regimes." <i>Contemporary Politics</i> 16.1 (2010): 101–118.
Week XIII	Nov. 15	Russia and Its "Soft Underbelly" (Central Asia) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marlene Laruelle. 2008. Russia's Central Asia Policy and the Role of Russian Nationalism. http://isdp.eu/content/uploads/publications/2008_laurelle_russias-central-asia-policy.pdf <p>First draft of the final paper is due</p>
	Nov. 17	Russia and Its Southern Tier with the Focus on Russia-Georgia relations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> German, T.C. 2008. "Corridor of Power: The Caucasus and Energy Security." <i>Caucasian Review of International Affairs</i>, 2(2): 64-72. Allison, R. 2009. "The Russian case for military intervention in Georgia: international law, norms and political calculation," <i>European Security</i>, 18(2):173-200. Andrei Tsygankov and Matthew Tarver-Wahlquist, 2009. "Duelling Honors: Power, Identity and the Russia-Georgia Divide", <i>Foreign Policy Analysis</i> 5(4): 307-326.
Week XIV	Nov. 22	Russia and Belarus, Moldova <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Klinke, I. (2008) Geopolitical narratives on Belarus in contemporary Russia. <i>Perspectives</i> 16(1): 109-131. White, S., Light, M. and J. Lowenhardt. 2001. "Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine: Looking East or Looking West?" <i>Perspectives on European Politics & Society</i> 2(2):289-304
	Nov. 24	Thanksgiving
Week	Nov.	Russia and Ukraine

XV	29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bukkvoll, T.A. 2001. “Off the Cuff Politics: Explaining Russia's Lack of a Ukraine Strategy,” <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>, pp. 141-57 • Nikolay Pakhomov. 2014. “Russian Foreign Policy in Ukraine: Fact vs. Fiction”. Oct. 20. http://www.russia-direct.org/analysis/russian-foreign-policy-ukraine-fact-vs-fiction • Kimberly Marten. 2015. “Putin’s Choices: Explaining Russian Foreign Policy”. <i>The Washington Quarterly</i> 38(2): 189-204. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/
	Dec. 1	<p>Russia and The Non-West (China)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donaldson, R., and J. Noguee. 2014. <i>The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests</i>. 5th edition. M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Ch.8 “Russia and the ‘Non-West’”, pp. 282-361. <p>Second draft of the final paper is due</p>
Week XVI	Dec. 6	<p>Russia and the Middle East (Syria and Iran)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russia’s Foreign Policy Toward Iran: A Critical Geopolitics Perspective, <i>Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies</i>, 14(3): 331-344, 2012 • Kimberly Marten, 2015. “Informal Political Networks and Putin’s Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria”, <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i>, 62(2): 71-87.
	Dec. 8	<p>Overview</p> <p>Mariya Y. Omelicheva. “Russian Foreign Policy”, in <i>Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective</i>, Ryan Beasley, Juliet Kaarbo, Jeffrey Lantis, and Michael Snarr (eds.). CQ Press, 2012, pp. 94-117</p>