

## Course syllabus

### RUSSIA IN THE GLOBAL WORLD: FOREIGN POLICY AND BEYOND

#### For the Master Programs 41.04 .04 “Russian Studies”

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Adopted by the Academic Council

of Master Program

№ « » 2019

### Course Description

#### *Prerequisites*

Basics of philosophy, basics of contemporary history, basics of political science (preferable), basics of international relations.

#### *Course Type*

Compulsory. 64 hours of classwork

126 hours of homework

### Abstract

The course is intended to introduce international students to the Russian self-positioning in the global world and to provide understanding of the basis of Russia's relations with other international actors. The course consists of three blocks. The first one analyses Russia's primary foreign policy instruments. It will include an overview of institutional decision-making design, “hard” and “soft” power tools as they are perceived and used by Russian officials. The second block is designed as an overview of major driving forces and stages of the Russian foreign policy starting from the collapse of the USSR. The students will learn of Russia's self-perception and self-positioning in the global multipolar world, as well as relations with other global actors and its participation the global governance institutions. Contemporary Russia's identity in the context of relations with the West and the East will also be discussed in this block. The third block is focused on new global challenges and their influence on Russia's self-perception and positioning in the world. The topics discussed will include: emerging technologies and their impact on international relations and Russia's security; international migrations as a threat or developmental resource and its influence on human capital of modern Russia; economic vulnerabilities produced by growing protectionism, ex-territorial methods of economic pressure and trade wars, sanctions.

The course will combine discourse analysis, constructivist, and neoinstitutional approaches.

### Learning objectives

- competence to understand and analyse major drivers and founding principles of post-Soviet foreign policy of Russia and its dynamics;

- competence to analyse Russia's self-perception and self-positioning in the global world and the respective regions;
- develop skills to analyse and interpret key directions of Russia's foreign policy and relations with other international actors.

### **Grading system**

Participation in the class (attendance, activity, written test, etc): 30 per cent

Short essay: 30 per cent

Final Exam (written): 40 per cent

### **Course Plan**

#### **Theme 1. Studying Russia's foreign policy: the main tools and sources of knowledge**

The main sources of information on Russia's foreign policy: official documents, web-sites, newspapers, media-resources. Media-resources and web-site of the MFA. Analytics on foreign policy and its main producers. Scientific articles and publishing agencies. The role of universities in foreign policy analysis.

### **BLOCK 1. RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY INSTRUMENTS**

#### **Theme 2. Institutional level of decision-making: actors, procedures and tools**

Institutions responsible for foreign policy elaboration and implementation. President. Parliament. MFA. Ministry of Defence. Ministry of economic development. Others. Peculiarities of decision-making process.

#### **Theme 3. Non-governmental level: academic and expert community, NGOs**

Non-governmental level and non-governmental actors of foreign policy process. The role of academic community, think-tanks, NGOs, civil community. Main foreign policy fora. Second-track communication.

### **BLOCK 2. FOREIGN POLICY OF POST-SOVIET RUSSIA: CHALLENGES, OPPORTUNITIES AND IDENTITY**

#### **Theme 4. Post-soviet foreign policy schools and approaches in Russia**

Understanding of post-soviet legacy. Mapping the main IR schools, approaches and topics for research. "Westerners" and "Eurasianists". The rise of *derzhavniki*. Realism. Geopolitics. Globalism. Does Russian postpositivism exist? Foreign policy consensus.

#### **Theme 5. Continuity and discontinuity in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia's foreign policy**

The changes of institutional design of foreign policy decision-making with the collapse of USSR. The evolution of threat perceptions. Main drivers of post-soviet Russia's foreign policy. Periodisation of post-soviet foreign policy. Main foreign policy documents (foreign policy concepts, military doctrines, national security strategies): from Eltsin to Putin-2 era.

#### **Theme 6. Understanding Russia's foreign policy: Western theories against Russia's truth?**

The realist/neorealist power transition theory: status quo vs revisionist state. Peaceful coexistence concept. Soft power concept. Status theories.

### **Theme 7. Modern Russia's foreign policy identity and self-positioning**

Historical roots of Russia's identity discourse. Main dichotomies of Russia's identity. Challenges of post-soviet self-identification. Universalism vs identity. Neo-conservatism as Russia's national idea.

### **Theme 8. Euro-Atlantic vector of Russia's foreign policy**

Relations between Russia and the "West": main stages, key turning points and modern situation. "Greater Europe" idea. Origins of crisis: Russia's view and Western view. Russia-EU relations after the Ukrainian crisis: selective engagement. Common neighbourhood. Politization of economy. Russia-NATO relations. Middle East and Central Asia in Russia-West relations. Common security in Europe – myth or reality? Approaches to global challenges and threats.

### **Theme 9. Eurasian vector of Russia's foreign policy**

Russia's post-soviet approaches to neighbours: interests, opportunities and constraints. Institutional decisions to support cooperation on post-soviet space. Custom Union and Eurasian Economic Union. "Greater Eurasia" idea. Possibility of cooperation between the EU and EAEU. Russia and China cooperation in Central Asia.

### **Theme 10. Russia's pivot to the East: opportunities and constraints**

Asian vector of Russia's foreign policy: interests and opportunities. Russia's "pivot to the East": main stages, key partners. "Belt and Road Initiative" and Russia's stake at the project. Russia-China model of cooperation. Expectations and reality. Russia's identity and "pivot to the East".

### **Theme 11. Russia in multilateral cooperation organizations**

Fast developing countries and new emerging superpowers: the origins of G20 and BRICS. Russia's interests in BRICS and G20. Multilateral security cooperation: SCO. Russia's position on the UN security reform. Russia's return to the Council of Europe. OSCE as the only platform for Russia-EU security cooperation?

### **Theme 12. Russia's soft power: challenges and reasons of limited success**

Russia's interpretation of Joseph Nye's concept. The idea of "attractiveness". Institutional approach to soft power. Russia's soft power institutions. Does Russia have soft power strategy? Effectiveness of Russia's soft power.

## **BLOCK 3. NEW CHALLENGES TO RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

### **Theme 13. Emerging technologies and their impact on international relations and Russia's security**

New technologies as security challenge. Influence of new technologies on international relations. E-political mobilization. Artificial Intelligence (AI) challenges. In search of strategy: Russia and other international actors in the emerging technologies realm. Technology and innovation superiority. Selective symmetric/asymmetric response. Asymmetric disruptive response. Emerging Technologies as problem-setters. Dissemination/loss of power. International rules and regulations. Russian foreign policy in the context of emerging technologies.

### **Theme 14. International migrations: a threat or development resource for Russia?**

Current demographic trends in Russia. The influence of demography on the labor market. Migration – challenge or resource? The balance of immigration and emigration. The basic characteristics of the immigrants flow. The problem of correlation between the demand and supply of labor market in the context of migration. Russia's migration strategy.

### **Theme 15. Russia's integration into the global economy: sovereignty vs development dilemma**

Russia in the system of global economic relations. The understanding of economic interdependence by Russia's ruling class. Sovereignty vs development dilemma. Economic interdependence in the era of sanctions and trade wars.

#### **Readings (required)**

1. Sergunin A. (2016) Explaining Russian Foreign Policy Behavior. Theory and Practise. In Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society. Vol.147. Stuttgart.
2. Russian Foreign Policy in Transition. Anthology. Introduction, by Andrei Melville and Tatyana Shakleina. CEU Press, 2005.
3. Putin V. (2007) Speech and the Following Discussion at the Munich Conference on Security Policy. February 10 // <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034>
4. Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016)   
[http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents](http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents)
5. Lavrov S. (2018) Russia's Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective // <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russias-Foreign-Policy-in-a-Historical-Perspective-19445>
6. Lukianov F. (2016) Putin's Foreign policy. The Quest to Restore Russia's Rightful Place. Russia in Global Affairs. 4 May, 2016. <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/redcol/Putins-Foreign-Policy-18133>
7. Thesis on Russia's foreign policy and Global Positioning (2017 – 2024). Center for Strategic Research, Moscow, June 2017. [https://csr.ru/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Theses\\_foreign\\_policy.pdf](https://csr.ru/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Theses_foreign_policy.pdf)
8. Lavrov S. Russia's Foreign Policy Philosophy // "International Affairs", March 2013. <https://www.rusemb.org.uk/article/211>
9. Tsygankov A. Contested Identity and Foreign Policy. In International Studies Perspectives. 2014. 15. 19-35.
10. Lavrov S. World at a Crossroads and a System of International Relations for the Future // Russia in Global Affairs. 20 September 2019. <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/World-at-a-crossroads-The-future-system-of-international-relations-20199>

#### **Readings (optional)**

1. Bratersky M. V. The Evolution of National Security Thinking in Post-Soviet Russia // Strategic Analysis. 2016. Vol. 40. No. 6. P. 513-523.
2. Tsvetov A. (2019) The Centers Cannot Hold: What's the Next Step for Think Tanks? RIAC. [https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/the-centers-cannot-hold-what-s-the-next-step-for-think-tanks/?sphrase\\_id=31015126](https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/the-centers-cannot-hold-what-s-the-next-step-for-think-tanks/?sphrase_id=31015126)

3. What Will the New Century of «Think Tanks» Bring? RIAC Seminar. 13 January, 2019. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/news/what-will-the-new-century-of-think-tanks-bring-riac-seminar/>
4. Kortunov A. (2019) Russia and the Bologna Process: 20 Years Later. RIAC. [https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/russia-and-the-bologna-process-20-years-later/?sphrase\\_id=31015284](https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/russia-and-the-bologna-process-20-years-later/?sphrase_id=31015284)
5. Lebedeva M. Russian studies of international relations. In Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society. Vol.187. Stuttgart, 2018. [https://www.ibidem.eu/media/catalog/product/9/7/9783838208510\\_inhaltsverzeichnis.pdf](https://www.ibidem.eu/media/catalog/product/9/7/9783838208510_inhaltsverzeichnis.pdf)
6. Ivanov I. (2002) An overview of Russian foreign policy. In The new Russian diplomacy. Brookings Institution Press and Nixon Centre. Pp.7-37.
7. Trenin D. (2008) Russia's foreign policy: self-affirmation, or a tool for modernization? // <https://carnegie.ru/2008/05/13/russia-s-foreign-policy-self-affirmation-or-tool-for-modernization-pub-20130>
8. Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. Igor Ivanov Speaks at Georgetown University. RIAC. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/news/russian-foreign-policy-in-the-21st-century-igor-ivanov-speak/>
9. Malinova O. (2014) Obsession with status and resentment: Historical backgrounds of the Russian discursive identity construction. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47, 291-303.
10. Trenin D. (2005) Reading Russia Right // <https://carnegieendowment.org/files/pb42.trenin.FINAL.pdf>
11. Tsygankov A. (2005) Vladimir Putin's Vision of Russia as a Normal Great Power. In *Post-Soviet Affairs*. April 2005.
12. Trenin D. (2007) Getting Russia right. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. [https://books.google.ru/books?id=\\_OuMZuJNpqsC&printsec=frontcover&source=gb&at\\_b&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.ru/books?id=_OuMZuJNpqsC&printsec=frontcover&source=gb&at_b&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false)
13. Malinova O. Obsession with status and resentment: Historical backgrounds of the Russian discursive identity construction // *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 47 (2014). Pp. 291-303.
14. Trenin D. (2009) Russia's Spheres of Interest, not Influence, *The Washington Quarterly*, 32:4, 3-22, DOI: 10.1080/01636600903231089. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01636600903231089>
15. Kortunov A. False Conflict: Universalism and Identity, Russian International Affairs Council, October, 2017.
16. Melville A. Y. Neo-Conservatism as National Idea for Russia?, in: *State and Political Discourse in Russia*. Rome: Reset-Dialogues on Civilizations, 2017. Ch. 5. P. 147-160.
17. Trenin D. Russia's Changing Identity: In Search of a Role in the 21st Century. RIAC. 31 July, 2019. [https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/comments/russia-s-changing-identity-in-search-of-a-role-in-the-21st-century/?sphrase\\_id=31017504](https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/comments/russia-s-changing-identity-in-search-of-a-role-in-the-21st-century/?sphrase_id=31017504)
18. Trenin D. (2007) Russia's strategic choices. Carnegie Endowment for International Piece. Policy Brief 50, May 2007. [https://carnegieendowment.org/files/pb50\\_trenin\\_final.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/pb50_trenin_final.pdf)
19. Romanova T. (2016) Russia and Europe: Somewhat different, somewhat the same? RIAC Policy Brief, No.5, July 2016. <https://russiancouncil.ru/common/upload/Russia-Europe-Policybrief5-en.pdf>

20. Kortunov A. Seven Phantoms of the Russia's Policy Toward the European Union // Russian International Affairs Council, April, 2016. <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/sem-fantomov-rossiyskoy-politiki-v-otnoshenii-es/>
21. Kortunov A. Russia and the West: What Does "Equality" Mean? // Russian International Affairs Council, November, 2016. <http://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/russia-and-the-west-what-does-equality-mean/>
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27. Trenin D. Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story, Published July 06, 2011 by Washington.
28. Prospects for Russian-Chinese Cooperation in Central Asia. No 28 / 2016 / [A.A. Kazantsev, I.D. Zvyagelskya, E.M. Kuzmina, S.G. Luzyanin]; [I.S. Ivanov, Editor-in-Chief]; Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC). Moscow: NPMP RIAC, 2016.
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30. Toward the Great Ocean-3 Creating Central Eurasia. The Silk Road Economic Belt and the priorities of the Eurasian states' joint development. Valdai Discussion Club. Moscow, June, 2015. <http://karaganov.ru/content/images/uploaded/a7a117d7310c6e15bf14bf0f6d2f56ae.pdf>
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34. Malinova O. Russian Identity and the "Pivot to the East". An Analysis of Rhetorical References to the American and Chinese "Others" in Political Elite Discourse. In Problems of Post-Communism. Volume 66, 2019 - Issue 4.
35. Gabuev A., Zuenko I. The "Belt and Road" in Russia: Evolution of Expert Discourse. In Russia in the Global Affairs. 17 January 2019. <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/The-Belt-and-Road-in-Russia-Evolution-of-Expert-Discourse-19915>

36. Luzyanin S., Huasheng Zh. Russian–Chinese Dialogue: The 2018 Model. Available at: <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/activity/publications/russian-chinese-dialogue-the-2018-model/>
37. Gabuev, A. (2016). Friends with benefits? Russian-Chinese relations after the Ukraine crisis. [online] Carnegie Moscow Center. Available at: <https://carnegie.ru/2016/06/29/friends-with-benefits-russian-chinese-relations-after-ukraine-crisis-pub-63953>
38. Gabuev, A. (2017). Belt and road to where? [online] Carnegie Moscow Center. Available at: <https://carnegie.ru/2017/12/08/belt-and-road-to-where-pub-74957>
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49. Burlinova N. Russian soft power is just like Western soft power, but with a twist. Russia Direct. 7 April 2015. <https://russia-direct.org/opinion/russian-soft-power-just-western-soft-power-twist>
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