

SPRING SEMESTER 2006  
**RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY**  
MC 328, SECTION 001  
5:00P.M.-6:20P.M. TUESDAY/THURSDAY  
CASE HALL, ROOM 339

**Instructor:** Dr. Matthew Pauly  
**Office hours:** W 10-12

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**Course Description:** This course will investigate precedents for and patterns of contemporary Russian foreign policy. It will begin with a consideration of Soviet foreign policy at the beginning of the Cold War, examine its main objectives, and outline the role individual leaders played in setting strategy. Of fundamental concern will be a discussion of whether interests defined during the Cold War period motivate Russian foreign policy makers today. The course will then consider multiple dimensions of contemporary Russian foreign policy, addressing in specific Russia's relationship with the West and the states of the former Soviet Union. It will study Russian influence on political events in Eurasia, foreign reaction to Russian involvement in this region, and debate whether a Euro-Atlantic orientation on the part of the Russian Federation is occurring or likely (and whether such an approach is contradictory to a continued commanding presence in Eurasia). As a case study of Russian regional policy, it will examine the federation's relationship with states in Central Asia and the Caucasus and role in energy trade. Lastly, it will introduce domestic factors behind Russian foreign policy. In addition to a survey of institutional and political forces, it will examine Russia's articulation of an internal "war against terror" and analyze the international consequences of the Chechen war.

**Course Goals:** This course provides students with a historical understanding of Russian foreign policy and an appreciation of current Russian approaches to outstanding and evolving issues. Students will build an awareness of the principal themes of Russian foreign policy and the process behind its making. They will also be given an opportunity to develop critical reading and writing skills and practice in defining a research agenda.

**Texts:**

The following texts are **required** and are available at surrounding bookstores:

Donaldson, Robert and Joseph Noguee. *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*. 3rd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2005.

Zubok, Vladislav and Constantine Pleshakov. *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Trenin, Dmitri. *The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border between Geopolitics and Globalization*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002.

Kleveman, Lutz. *The New Great Game: Blood and Oil in Central Asia*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003.

Malashenko, Aleksei and Dmitri Trenin. *Russia's Restless Frontier: The Chechnya Factor in Post-Soviet Russia*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004.

\*Regular reading of stories on Russian/Eurasian foreign policy in *The New York Times*.

**Course Assignments:**

**Mid-Term & Final Examination:** The mid-term and final examinations will test material discussed in the assigned readings and lectures. The mid-term will be distributed in class on February 14 for completion at home. It is due on February 21. The final will be held in class on May 4. Both exams will be essay format.

**Research Paper:** Students will complete a research paper that addresses a major issue of Russian foreign policy. Topics may include, but are not limited to, an examination of the Russian position on a specific international or bilateral issue, analysis of a bilateral relationship or a relationship with an international organization and/or region, or a historical study of a past event or lasting theme. The research paper will be evaluated on the students' ability to clearly describe the problem being researched and its importance, argue effectively, and critically analyze and incorporate a broad scope of substantive literature on the topic.

The selection of a topic should be made in consultation with me. Students must be prepared to formally submit their topic in class on January 31. A 500 word abstract of the proposed paper and a preliminary bibliography that annotates at least 10 print sources is due in class on March 14. The final paper is due on April 27. It must be 15-20 pages in length, typed, and double-spaced. An electronic version will not be accepted.

**Position Paper:** Students will complete a short position paper that *draws upon an issue to be raised in their proposed research paper*. The position paper will be written from the perspective of a Russian ambassador/high-ranking MoF official and will be addressed to Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov. It must provide background to the problem, describe past Russian action and foreign response, and recommend a well-reasoned course for the future that anticipates and rebuts alternative approaches. The paper should integrate and cite existing secondary literature on the subject. It should be 5-7 pages in length, typed, and double-spaced and is due in class on April 4. An electronic version will not be accepted.

**Participation:** The success of this course depends in large measure on the level of student preparation. Students are expected to have read the required reading before the day it is assigned and participate in discussion. Students are also responsible for surveying and reading *The New York Times* for stories related to Russian/Eurasian foreign policy and come to class prepared to report and debate ongoing issues.

**Grades:**

The above assignments account for the following proportions of the final grade:

Mid-Term Examination	20%
Position Paper	15%
Research Paper	35%
Final Examination	20%
Participation	10%

Written assignments are due at the beginning of the class on the days indicated in the Class

Schedule. If an emergency arises, and you cannot make it to class on the day assignments are due, you need to contact and inform me of the situation prior to the due date. Un-excused late assignments will be assessed a 1.0 deduction for each day late.

### Attendance Policy

It is fully expected that you attend all the class sessions and participate in discussions. The class is designed so that the more you attend and participate, the better able you will be to successfully complete your assignments. Excessive absences will affect your final grade.

### E-Mail Policy

During the class week, I attempt to respond to e-mails within a 24-hour period. Sometimes my response will be immediate, but please do not plan on this occurrence (e.g. I may not receive notification that you will not attend class if you send it on the day of class). If you have a concern over a grade, you must meet with me in person.

### Note on Plagiarism

Plagiarism will not be tolerated in any form. If you have any questions as to what constitutes plagiarism, ask me, the Director of Academic Affairs, or consult the James Madison College Policy on Academic Dishonesty, available in the Student Handbook.

### Honors Option

Students may write a 5-7 page critical review of *Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin's Russia and the End of Revolution* (by former Moscow bureau chiefs for the Washington Post, Peter Baker and Susan Glasser) to receive honors credit. Prospective H-option students should consult with me by the end of January to inform me of their interest. No student whose cumulative grade is less than 3.5 can receive honors credit.

### Class Schedule

#### Part I: Historical Prologue

##### *Week 1*

Jan. 10 Course Introduction (no readings)  
 Jan. 12 Tsarist Foreign Policy  
Reading: Donaldson, Chapt. 1-2, p. 3-36

##### *Week 2*

Jan. 17 Bolshevik Revolutionary and Interwar Foreign Policy  
Reading: Donaldson & Noguee, Chapt. 3, 37-74  
 Jan. 19 Stalin and the Beginning of the Cold War  
Reading: Zubok, Prologue & Chapt. 1-2, p. 1-77

##### *Week 3*

Jan. 24 Europe Divided  
Reading: Zubok, Chapt. 3-4, p. 78-137  
 Jan. 26 Atomic Diplomacy and the Rise of Khrushchev  
Reading: Zubok, Chapt. 5-6, p. 138-209

*Week 4*

Jan. 31

The Sino-Soviet Split and the Cuban Missile Crisis  
Reading: Zubok, Chapt. 7-8 & Postmortem, p. 210-282

**Research Topics Due**

Feb. 2

The Brezhnev Doctrine and the Politics of Détente  
Reading: Trenin, Intro., p. 1-24; Donaldson, Chapt. 4, 75-119

*Week 5*

Feb. 7

The Spatial Imperative and Abandonment: Gorbachev, Europe, and the U.S.  
Reading: Trenin, Chapt. 1, p. 25-76

Feb. 9

The Break Up of the Soviet Union, Yeltsin, and the CIS  
Reading: Trenin, Chapt. 2, p. 77-127

**Part II: The Putin Foreign Policy Agenda and Debate***Week 6*

Feb. 14

Russia and the West  
Reading: Trenin, Chapt. 3, p. 131-166; Donaldson, Chapt. 7, p. 229-280

**Midterm Distributed**

Feb. 16

LIBRARY RESEARCH SESSION: MAIN LIBRARY INSTRUCTION ROOM (EG2), 5PM

*Week 7*

Feb. 21

Russia and the "Near Abroad"  
Reading: Trenin, Chapt. 4, p. 167-200; Donaldson, Chapt. 6, p. 179-228

**Midterm Due**

Feb. 23

Russia and the "Non-West"  
Reading: Trenin, Chapt. 5, 201-224; Donaldson, Chapt. 8, p. 281-350

*Week 8*

Feb. 28

Domestic Boundaries, Internal Regionalization, and the Russian Diaspora  
Reading: Trenin, Chapt. 6, p. 227-269

Mar. 2

Fitting Russia into Europe?  
Reading: Trenin, Chapt. 7 & Conclusion, p. 270-330

*Week 9*

SPRING BREAK

**Part III: Eurasian Priorities - Russian Relations with the Caucasus and Central Asia***Week 10*

Mar. 14

The Caucasus  
Reading: Kleveman, p. 1-50

**Abstract and Annotated Bibliography Due**

Mar. 16

Pipelines and "New Oil": Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan  
Reading: Kleveman, p. 51-95

*Week 11*

Mar. 21

Regional Players: China, Iran, and Central Asia  
Reading: Kleveman, p. 96-164

Mar. 23 NO CLASS (At ASN Annual Conference)

*Week 12*

Mar. 28 Russia and "Managed Democracy": Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan

Reading: Kleveman, p. 165-198

Mar. 30 Russia and Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq

Reading: Kleveman, p. 199-271

**Part IV: Chechnya and the Russian War on Terror**

*Week 13*

Apr. 4 Domestic Factors: Institutional and Political

Reading: Donaldson, Chapt. 5, p. 120-178

**Position Paper Due**

Apr. 6 Russia and the Global War on Terror

Reading: Donaldson, Chapt. 9, p. 351-375

*Week 14*

Apr. 11 Introduction to the Chechen War

Reading: Malashenko, Chapt. 1-2, p. 1-48

Apr. 13 The Chechen War and Russian Society

Reading: Malashenko, Chapt. 3-4, p. 49-102

*Week 15*

Apr. 18 The Chechen War and the Russian Military

Reading: Malashenko, Chapt. 5, p. 103-164

Apr. 20 International Dimensions of the Chechen War

Reading: Malashenko, Chapt. 6, p. 165-207

*Week 16*

Apr. 25 Chechnya, the Laws of War, and Human Rights

Reading: Malashenko, Chapt. 7-8, p. 209-228

Apr. 27 COURSE CONCLUSION AND REVIEW

**Research Paper Due**

*Finals Week*

May 4 **Final Examination**