

IR 345: Russian and Post-Soviet Foreign Policy (Spring 2006)

Prof. Robert English
phone: 821-3090
e-mail: renglish@usc.edu

office: VKC 305
hours: Mon. 11:30-12:30
Tues. 1:00-2:00
- or by appointment -

Course Objectives: This course explores the vital international relations of Russia and the other post-Soviet states. Beginning with an historical survey, it examines various geopolitical, cultural, and other factors in analyzing the origins and nature of the Russian empire. This is followed by study of the Soviet era, i.e. the rise, conduct, and collapse of the Cold War (and the USSR) in which power, ideology, institutions, and leadership are scrutinized. The remainder of the course is given to analysis of post-Soviet foreign policy, both events in particular regions (e.g. the Baltics, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Caucasus-Caspian) as well as critical issues in relations with Asia, the Middle East, Europe and America (trade, terrorism, nuclear security, peacekeeping, NATO expansion, missile defense, etc.). Though the “what, where and when” of post-Soviet foreign policy may predominate at times, understanding the “why” is our underlying goal. That is, while knowledge of specific foreign policy developments is essential, so is viewing these developments in the context of international relations theory—economic vs. ideological analyses, foreign or domestic influences, the roles of individuals and institutions, the impact of nationalism and the politics of identity, etc.

Course Format: This is primarily a lecture course, though there will also be a significant discussion component. The general pattern will be instructor lecture for approximately one hour, followed by time for Q & A. As well, an additional section meeting for supplementary discussion or video screening (historical, documentary, sometimes cultural/artistic subjects) will be held many Tuesdays from 12:00 to 12:50. There will also be two examinations and a research paper (see below for details).

Course Requirements: One is to be an active participant, not only in e-mail and class discussion (see below) but first and foremost by timely completion of the reading assignments; without this, successful engagement with the ideas and information vital to understanding post-Soviet foreign policy is impossible. The assignments are from three books and one special journal, available for purchase at the University bookstore:

Robert H. Donaldson and Joseph L. Noguee, *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2005) third edition

Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border Between Geopolitics and Globalization* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2002)

Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, *Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin's Russia and the End of Revolution* (NY: Scribner's, 2005)

Current History (October, 2005) issue covering Russia and Eurasia

There will be also be a course reader available for purchase (in the IR office, VKC 330). In addition, handouts will sometimes be distributed in class (available *only* on that day—if you miss class, it is your responsibility to get a copy from classmates). I will also occasionally announce new internet sources or send articles to you via e-mail. We will be using computers fairly extensively in this course—in your research papers, of course, but also for these additional readings and other announcements—so frequent visits to the USC “Blackboard” are encouraged. Reading assignments, deadlines, and other useful information will be posted, so please monitor it regularly.

There will also be two exams—one in-class, one final—that together make up a large portion of your final grade. Finally, the single most important assignment is a 12-15 page research paper. This presents an opportunity to explore in detail one or another issue of interest (see below) as well as giving you a product that can be helpful in future internship, job or grad school applications. Needless to say, in all these assignments strict adherence to the honor code is expected and violations will be dealt with harshly.

Class Participation Ideally, our in-class discussions will be spontaneous and free-flowing, an opportunity to raise questions and debate interpretations of various issues that come up in readings, lectures, and current events. But owing to a common tendency toward procrastination in reading, as well as to variations in students' volubility, interest, and prior experience, such discussions are often dominated by a small number of voices. To counter this tendency, each student will be required *no later than 11:00 am each Wednesday* to e-mail the instructor a brief paragraph that critiques one or more of the readings, or raises a question relating the readings to some issue discussed in lecture. This practice is intended both to encourage timely reading and to serve as a basis for our in-class discussions (meaning that I may call on students to elaborate on their written messages to stimulate a larger conversation). Together these two elements—weekly e-mail critiques and frequent discussions—will comprise the “class participation” portion of your grade.

Research Papers These may explore any topic (historical, contemporary) through any approach (empirical, theoretical) that is related to Russian, Soviet and post-Soviet foreign policy. They require significant outside research and a bibliography of at least 15 sources—books, chapters, articles, and web-based sources. Topics will be chosen in consultation with the instructor. Deadlines for proposals, outlines, etc., are noted in the course schedule. The final paper is due by noon on Monday, May 1st. Extensions will be granted only in cases of genuine emergency; coincidence with other academic deadlines or extracurricular events does *not* constitute such an emergency.

Final grades will be determined according to these weights:

first exam:	20 %
class participation, discussion:	20 %
research paper:	30 %
final exam:	30 %

Examinations These will be conducted according to standard University procedures, on the schedule noted. Students with documented disabilities will be accommodated through DSP, and are encouraged to initiate the necessary arrangements early.

Finally, on keeping up with the fast-changing politics of Russia and the former USSR. As noted, I will assign additional readings as events dictate. But you are also expected to stay abreast of major developments, ideally by perusing such periodicals as *Foreign Affairs* or *Foreign Policy* but at a minimum by frequent reading of *The New York Times* or *The Economist*. For the more ambitious, those with a special interest or simply seeking to get a jump on their research projects, I suggest looking over such specialized journals as *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *International Security*, and *Problems of Post-Communism*.

I also recommend the websites of: Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty (www.rferl.org); The Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (www.fas.harvard.edu/~ponars/); The Center for Defense Information (www.cdi.org/russia); The Institute for War and Peace Reporting (www.iwpr.net); Transitions On-Line (www.tol.cz); The Eurasia Foundation (www.eurasia.org); and Eurasianet (www.eurasianet.org). Most of these contain links to additional sources, and some also include subscription instructions that enable you to receive daily or weekly bulletins of useful material.

IR 345

Course Schedule

<u>date</u>	<u>topic</u>	<u>reading assignments</u>
Jan 9	Theories of Foreign Policy and Empire; Mongols to Muscovy: Origins of the Russian State	Donaldson & Nogee, <i>The Foreign Policy of Russia</i> (Armonk, 2002), pp. 3-16
Jan 11	Peter: Russia's First Emperor	Raeff, ed., <i>Peter the Great</i> (Lexington, 1963), chaps. by Platonov, Kliuchevsky, Shmurlo, Plekhanov <i>Testament of Peter the Great</i> Vernadsky, <i>A History of Russia</i> (New York, 1959), chap. VI on "The Empire in the 18 th Century"
* Tuesday video on Peter the Great *		
* no class Jan 16, Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday *		
Jan 18	Catherine, Russia in Europe and Asia; Paradoxes of Russian Imperial Might	Donaldson & Nogee, pp. 17-36 Lieven, <i>Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power</i> , (New Haven, 1999), chap. 9 Kissinger, <i>Diplomacy</i> (Boston, 1990), chaps. 4-5 Excerpts from Troyant (<i>Daily Life in Russia Under the Last Tsar</i>) and Ransel (<i>Mothers of Misery</i>)
* Tuesday video on Empress Catherine *		
Jan 23	World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution	Donaldson & Nogee, pp. 37-61
Jan 25	Domestic and Foreign Politics of the New Soviet State; Stalin's Terror, Hitler's Pact	Kennan, <i>Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin</i> (Boston, 1961), chaps. 12, 17, 20
* Tuesday video, on Stalin and WW II *		
Jan 30	The Great Fatherland War	Donaldson & Nogee, pp. 61-80 Kennan, <i>Russia and the West</i> , chaps. 21-23
Feb 1	Cold War I: Origins	Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , July 1947 Zubok & Pleshakov, <i>Inside the Kremlin's Cold War</i> (Cambridge, 1996), chap. 2 Trenin, <i>The End of Eurasia</i> (Carnegie, 2002), introduction
* Tuesday video on Cold War Crises *		
Feb 6	Post-Stalin Thaw and Peaceful Coexistence	Donaldson & Nogee, pp. 80-101 Zubok & Pleshakov, <i>Inside the Kremlin's Cold War</i> , chap. 8
Feb 8	Cold War II: Domestic Decline and Imperial Overstretch	Tucker, "Swollen State, Spent Society," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , Winter 1981-82 Trenin, <i>The End of Eurasia</i> , chap. 1
* Tuesday video on "Second Russian Revolution" *		

IR 345, contd.

date topic

reading assignments

Feb 13 Gorbachev and the Epoch of Perestroika

Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 101-119
Wohlforth, ed., *Cold War Endgame* (Univ. Park, 2004)
chaps. 7-9 (Zubok, English, Brooks & Wohlforth)
Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, chap. 2

* Tuesday video on the Cold War's End *

* **no class Feb 20, Presidents' Day holiday** *

Feb 22 Post-Soviet Overview: Domestic and Foreign
Politics of Russia and the Former USSR

Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 120-175
Pipes, "Russia's Past, Russia's Future,"
Commentary, June 1996
Stankevich, "Toward a New National Idea," in
Sestanovich, ed., *Rethinking Russia's National
Interests* (Washington, DC, 1994)
Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, chap. 3

* **Feb 27, midterm examination** *

Mar 1 Russia and the Western Former USSR:
Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova

Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 176-194, 204-217
Karatnycky, "Meltdown in Ukraine," *Foreign
Affairs*, May-June 2001
Baranovsky, "NATO and the EU," and Zaiko, "Belarus,"
in Lieven & Trenin, *Ambivalent Neighbors* (DC, 2003)
Transitions excerpts on the Baltics, Belarus, Moldova
Sergounin, "Kaliningrad," in Lieven & Trenin,
Ambivalent Neighbors
Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, chap. 3

* Tuesday discussion of the Baltic states,
Kaliningrad, and security in N. Europe *

Mar 6 Central Asia and the Caucasus: Instability
and Intervention

Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 194-204
Starr, "Power Failure in the Caspian," *The National
Interest*, Spring 1997

Mar 8 Chechnya I: Defeat and its Repercussions

Transitions excerpts on Central Asia, the Caucasus
Rashid, "The New Struggle in Central Asia," *World
Policy Journal*, Winter 2000-01
Lieven, *Tombstone of Russian Power*, chaps. 2, 5
Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, chap. 4

* **no class Mar 13-17, Spring recess** *

Mar 20 New Security Challenges: Narcotics, Nukes,
Crime and Corruption

Craft, Grillot & Anderson, "The Dangerous Ground,"
Problems of Post-Communism, Nov-Dec 2000
ZumBrunnen & Trumbull, "Environmental Policy
Challenges," in Wegren, ed., *Russia's Policy
Challenges* (Armonk NY, 2003)

Mar 22 Russia and the West: Politics and Economics

Glinkina, Rutland & Kogan, excerpts on organized
crime and corruption, *Transitions*, March 1998
Wedel, "Tainted Transactions," and Ermarth, "Seeing
Russia Plain," *The National Interest*, 1999-2000
Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 218-268

* Tuesday video, "Avoiding Armageddon" *

IR 345, contd.

date topics

reading assignments

Mar 27 The Balkans, Kosovo, and NATO

Goble, "Dangerous Liaisons," in Ullman, ed., *The World and Yugoslavia's Wars* (New York, 1996)
Transitions excerpts on Russia and the Kosovo War
Arbatov, "Transformation of Russia's Military Doctrine," and Rubinstein, "Russian Strategic Uncertainty," in Gorodetsky, ed., *Russia Between East and West* (London, 2003)

Mar 29 Nationalism and National Identity

Guroff & Guroff, "The Paradox of Russian National Identity," in Szporluk, ed., *National Identity and Ethnicity* (Armonk, NY, 1995)

*** paper proposals due by Friday, April 1 ***

Laqueur, *Black Hundreds* (excerpts)

NB: begin Baker & Glasser, *Kremlin Rising* (Scribner, 2005)

Apr 3 The Political Geography of Oil

Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 293-319
Rutland, "Paradigms for Russian Policy," in Ebel & Menon, eds., *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Lanham, MD, 2000)

Apr 5 The Caspian, Central Asia, and Beyond

Lieven, "The (not so) Great Game," *The National Interest*, Winter 1999-2000
Shaffer, "From Pipedream to Pipeline," and Olcott, "Autocrats, Islamists," in *Current History*, Oct. 2005
Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 276-293
Harrison, "Gas and Geopolitics in Northeast Asia," *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2002-03
Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, chap. 5
continue Baker & Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*

Apr 10 Vladimir Putin: Stability and Authority

Donaldson & Noguee, pp. 328-342
Aslund, "The Russian Economy," in Kuchins, ed., *Russia After the Fall* (DC, 2002)
Goldman, "Political Graft" and Lipman, "The Media in Putin's Russia," both in *Current History*
Menon & Fuller, "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War," *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2000
Lieven, "Against Russophobia," *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2001-2002

Apr 12 Chechnya II: Putin's War

Politkovskaya, *A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches from Chechnya* (Chicago, 2003), excerpts

*** Tuesday video, "Russia's Forgotten War"**

Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, chap. 6
continue Baker & Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*

*** paper outlines, prelim. biblios due by Friday, April 14 ***

IR 345, contd.

date topics

reading assignments

Apr 17 Russia and America after 9/11

Pravda, "Putin's Foreign Policy After 11 September,"
and Sakwa, "Transforming the East," in Gorodetsky
ed., *Russia Between East and West*

Apr 19 Europe, Borders, Identity

Nichols, "Russia's Turn West: Sea Change or
Opportunism?", *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2003
Donaldson & Noguee (finish book)
McFaul, "Russia and the West," in *Current History*
Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, chap. 7

Apr 24 Russia, a "Normal" Country at Last?

Taylor, "Russia is Finished," *The Atlantic Monthly*,
May 2001
Shleifer and Treisman, "A Normal Country," *Foreign
Affairs*, March-April 2004
Herspring, "Putin and the Armed Forces," in
Herspring, *Putin's Russia* (Lanham, MD, 2003)
complete Baker & Glaser, *Kremlin Rising*

Apr 26 Current Crises, Future Outlook

Luong & Weinthal, "New Friends, New Fears in Central
Asia," Victor & Victor, "Axis of Oil?", both in *Foreign
Affairs*, Mar-April 2002, 2003
Arel, "Is the Orange Revolution Failing?" in *Current
History*
Trenin, *The End of Eurasia*, conclusion

*** Research papers due Monday, May 1, by 12:00 noon ***

*** Exam review sessions: Friday, May 5th (time and place TBD) ***

*** Final examination: Monday, May 8, 2-4 p.m. ***