

MODULE #1

“RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY: MODERN CHALLENGES”

This intensive Module on Russian foreign policy will focus on major courses: **“Russia’s Foreign Policy: Modern Challenges”** and **“Empirical Study of Russian Politics (Political Process in Contemporary Russia)”** and a course of the Russian language.

The Module study plan will also include: an interactive lecture “Russia's Position in World Politics: Foreign Strategy Challenges and Prospects” by a distinguished political analyst, MGIMO Professor Andrey Bezrukov, followed by a discussion; a round-table discussion of current foreign policy topical issues chaired by Maxim Samorukov, Member of the Research Council and the Foreign and Security Policy Program of Carnegie Moscow Center; a lecture “Energy Component as an Integral Part of International Policy” by Sergey Vasiliev, Director of MGIMO-University Odintsovo Branch, followed by a discussion of the key role played by Energy Diplomacy in the foreign policy of the 21st Century.

“Russia’s Foreign Policy: Modern Challenges”

The course is designed to facilitate understanding of contemporary Russia’s foreign policy and its challenges. It is based on the study of Russia’s foreign policy documents – both national and international. As any big power, Russia pursues multidimensional foreign policy. The course will explore the role Russia plays in the post-bipolar global international system. Russia’s interests in the post-Soviet space, in Europe, in the Middle East, in the Asia-Pacific region and Central Asia will be discussed as well as US-Russia relations. Special attention will be paid to the role of numerous international organizations and structures – where Russia is a member – in Russia’s foreign policy: UN, G-8, G-20, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS, etc.

The course is a graduate-level general introduction to modern Russia’s foreign policy. It begins with an assessment of the consequences of the collapse of the USSR and the changes that it brought to the global international system and Russia’s place in it.

The course is based on the study of major foreign policy documents: Russia’s National Security concepts, its Military doctrines and Concepts of Foreign Policy developed throughout the past two decades (with special attention paid to the most recent ones), agreements with its major counterparts such as the United States, EU, China, etc. Special attention will be paid to Russia’s multilateral treaties in the post-Soviet space and beyond: the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the CIS Customs Union, Eurasian Economic Union, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO) and others.

Security is an inherent concern for any nation. In the case of Russia it has been exacerbated by the nation’s historic experience as it suffered numerous foreign invasions and asserted itself in bitter and devastating struggle for its own survival – the latest one being the World War II in which the country lost more than 30 million of its sons and daughters.

Russia’s security concerns will be discussed from different perspectives, including the eastward expansion of NATO and US plans to deploy forward-based antiballistic missile defense systems in European countries bordering on Russia.

In 1996 Russia became a member of the Council of Europe where it cooperates with its members in pursuing the goals of improving its democratic institutions. Russia recognizes the authority of the European Court of Human Rights.

EU is Russia’s one of the most important dialogue partners. Relations with Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Poland and other European powers will be discussed.

Since Russia is an Asia-Pacific state, Russia’s relations with major powers in the Pacific – Peoples’ Republic of China and Japan, with both Koreas, will be explored.

Relations of Russia with Arab states and Israel, with Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Tajikistan, as well as Russia's growing involvement in the Middle East Peace process, will be analyzed.

Fighting international terrorism is a multidimensional mission in Russia's politics. It presents domestic, regional and international challenges for Russia.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: MODERN CHALLENGES

**Moscow State Institute for International Relations
(MGIMO-University) Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia**

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: MODERN CHALLENGES

COURSE PROGRAM

**Professor Yuri A. Dubinin
Department of International Relations
and Russia's Foreign Policy
MGIMO University**

Moscow 2018

© Yuri Dubinin
© MGIMO University

1. General Description of the Course

Prerequisites

This course does not presume any background in Russian politics. The aim is to provide a foundation for graduate level and senior undergraduate students to understand contemporary Russia's foreign policy, its historic background, its origins, the challenges it meets. However, some political science background and/or completion of an 'International Relations' (or a related course) are desirable for a more profound understanding of the issues to be discussed.

Course Description

The course is a graduate-level general introduction to modern Russia's foreign policy.

It begins with an assessment of the consequences of the collapse of the USSR and the changes that it brought to the global international system and Russia's place in it. It will describe both the Western and the Russian assessment of those changes to give the students the opportunity to make their own judgment.

We will analyze the correlation between the domestic developments in Russia and the formulation of its foreign policy priorities; assess the country's foreign policy strengths and weaknesses, the 'hard' and the 'soft' power of Russia at various stages of its development and the evolution of its foreign policy. We will see that Russia wants to play its own role in achieving its foreign policy goals corresponding to its economic and military power, foreign policy traditions and capabilities, its peoples' beliefs and attitudes concerning the realization of its national interests.

The course is based on the study of basic foreign policy documents: internal, bilateral and multilateral where Russia is a party. They include Russia's National Security concepts, its Military doctrines and Concepts of Foreign Policy developed throughout the past two decades (with special attention paid to the most recent ones). Certain bilateral agreements by Russia with its major counterparts (such as the United States, EU, China, etc.) will be also studied. Special attention will be paid to Russia's multilateral treaties in the post-Soviet space and beyond: the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Collective Security Treaty Organization, the CIS Customs Union, Eurasian Economic Union, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO) and others.

Discourse in Russia's political elite on foreign policy issues is another subject of interest since from the time immemorial Russian intellectuals have been debating on the properties and the character of Russia as a civilization of its own. The two traditional approaches were the Eurasianists and the Westernizers. Similar pattern of public debate on foreign policy is overtly or covertly present in the post-Soviet Russia.

Security is an inherent concern for any nation. In the case of Russia it has been exacerbated by the nation's historic experience as it suffered numerous foreign invasions and asserted itself in bitter and devastating struggle for its own survival – the latest one being the World War II in which the country lost more than 30 million of its sons and daughters. So Russia's security concerns will be discussed in various aspects:

- a) Physical security vis-à-vis changing geostrategic environment with the eastward expansion of NATO and US projects to create its forward-based antiballistic missile systems in close proximity to Russia's territory;
- b) Energy security concerns due to possible disruptions of hydrocarbon transit routes in neighboring countries;
- c) Perceived threats to societal security and ethnic violence that could be dangerous for the country with such ethnic and religious diversity.

Eight dimensions of Russia's foreign policy will be explored in depth. They include:

1. Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries. The post-Soviet space is an area of paramount importance for Russia because throughout the centuries of history of Russian empire and of the Soviet Union that space had developed as a single entity in all aspects: political, economic, military, technological, cultural, etc. Multilateral institutions in the post-Soviet space and Russia's bilateral relations with CIS countries will be discussed including Belarus, Georgia and Ukraine.
2. Russia's approach to the international structures, like the UN, G-7/8, G-20, APEC, WTO etc. will be explored since the new Russia attaches considerable importance to the primacy of international law and the role of international organizations in the post-bipolar world. Active participation in the abovementioned and other international fora has become an important element of Russia's foreign policy.
3. US-Russia relations will be explored in various aspects including the strategic issues, political matters, economic relations. The Obama administration 'reset' policy towards Russia is the third attempt to build new US-Russia relations after the end of the 'cold war', each previous and the current one has failed and we'll try to understand why and who is to blame for that. Special attention will be paid to discussing the issues concerning the new START treaty its ratification and beyond. The retrospect and prospects of US-Russia relations with special attention to 'reset' options will be also explored.
4. Discussion on the European dimension in Russia's foreign policy will cover several areas:
 - A) The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that convened its latest summit in Astana in December 2010 calls upon itself much criticism for the lack of efficient mechanisms to resolve emerging the conflicts and critical situations on the European continent. Russia has proposed to conclude a legally binding treaty for European security based on the principle of comprehensive security and presented a draft text in 2009 which was left in limbo.
 - B) NATO after the 'cold war' has expanded its membership from sixteen to twenty eight remains an uneasy partner for Russia. Over the years Russia has established a unique set of relationship with NATO based on a series of bilateral documents. The latest Russia-NATO summit in November 2010 in Lisbon produced an agreement to discuss pursuing joint missile defense cooperation. CFE Treaty prospects – Russia's posture.
 - C) From 1996 Russia has become a member of the Council of Europe where it cooperates with other members in pursuing the goals of improving its democratic institutions. Russia recognizes the authority of the European Court of Human Rights.
 - D) EU is Russia's one of the most important dialogue partners. Regular Russia-EU summits discuss various matters of bilateral cooperation, including creation of four common spaces (trade and economic cooperation; common security and foreign policy; legal matters; science, culture and education). EU has declared its support to Russia's plans for modernization of its economy.
 - E) Besides active engagement with multilateral European structures Russia maintains active bilateral relations with individual European nations. Relations with Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Poland and some other European powers will be discussed.
5. Russia in East Asia and the Pacific. As Russia is not only a European, but also an Asia-Pacific power, relations in that geographical area attract considerable interest here. Russia's policy in this region (like in Europe) also has bilateral as well as multilateral dimension. We will explore Russia's relations with major powers in the Pacific – Peoples' Republic of China and Japan, analyze Russia's policy in the Korean peninsula, its relations with both Korean states. Further on we will discuss Russia's relations with ASEAN and various multilateral fora that have emerged under the auspices of this organization. The activities of

the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO) will be also analyzed. In the end we will discuss Russia's relations with India and BRICS.

6. Russia's Near and Middle East policy will cover relations with nations of South-West Asia, the Arab states and Israel. In each case we'll encounter the enhanced involvement of Russia in regional affairs and its growing cooperation with the nations of the region. The above is best illustrated by Russia's relations with Turkey where Russia has become the largest trading partner, by the quadrilateral summits of Russia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Tajikistan, by Russia's growing participation in the Middle East Peace process.
7. Russia is activating its political presence in Africa and Latin America. Unlike the Soviet experience in these regions when ideology was the main driving force it is motivated primarily by Russia's economic interests. We will discuss relations with Russia's major partners on the African continent like Algeria, South African Republic, etc. as well as new emerging relations with Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and other nations in Latin America.
8. Fighting international terrorism is a multidimensional mission in Russia's politics. It presents domestic, regional and international challenges for Russia. At home Russia faces terrorist threat in the Northern Caucasus region fuelled by Islamist and terrorist links with foreign forces. In the CIS it engages the Collective Security Treaty Organization and its antiterrorist structures to cooperate with the post-Soviet partners. In Afghanistan Russia is building its cooperation with NATO ISAF forces. An important and threatening by-product of international anti-terrorist struggle is growing drug trafficking that badly hits human security of Russian people. Russia works closely with its international partners to prevent this peril.

Reading materials

As the MGIMO University library is designed primarily for the Russian-speaking students, it does not possess vast collection of English-language materials on Russian foreign policy. Apart the few books recommended in the current syllabus students should rely on recommended English-language articles in Russian and international scholarly journals, Internet resources for documents and news sources.

Course Requirements

Course Requirements include regular attendance at the class meetings. Students must complete the assigned readings by class time and be prepared to discuss them in class. Students are expected to read additionally a range of publications for current domestic and international commentary on international relations.

Despite the lecture style classroom in which we meet, in-class discussion and student presentations will be incorporated into the meetings.

Course requirements include active participation in class discussions and will count for 35% of the grade. Written exam will add up to 100%. Students are expected to do all assigned readings before each class session including the first class meeting and to be prepared to discuss them in class.

Academic Integrity Statement:

The Moscow State Institute of International Affairs (University) does not tolerate cheating and/or plagiarism in any form. Those students who violate the Code of Academic & Professional Conduct will be subject to the Dean's Disciplinary Procedures.

General Structure of the Course

The Course consists of 15 classes: 12 lectures-seminars/discussions – 24 hours; written exam – 4 academic hours.

CLASS 1. The influence of the breakup of the USSR on the global international system. Options for Russia in the new international environment

Changes in the global international relations system as a result of the break-up of the USSR: 1) termination of bipolar system of international relations established after World War II; 2) redistribution of balance of forces; 3) new socio-economic pattern; 4) changed ideological paradigm.

Discussion on the new emerging configuration of the international relations system – is it a unipolar or a multipolar one with new emerging powers, evolution of the existing and creation of new alliances?

Russian and Western assessments of the results of the cold war, the emerging international relations system and Russia's place in it.

Required reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapters 1 & 2.

Suggested additional reading:

Nancy Birdsall & Francis Fukuyama. The Post-Washington Consensus. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67456/nancy-birdsall-and-francis-fukuyama/the-post-washington-consensus>. Foreign Affairs. March/April 2011.

John Ikenberry The Future of the Liberal World Order. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67730/g-john-ikenberry/the-future-of-the-liberal-world-order>. Foreign Affairs. May/June 2011.

CLASS 2. Russia in the new international system

Discussion of the formulation of Russia's national interest by the nation's political elite. Approaches of various political parties toward nation's foreign policy goals ('westernizers' versus 'eurasianists'). Assessment of Russia's potential strengths and weaknesses in foreign policy sphere: country's economic potential, industrial and technological strength; stability of political Russia's system; nation's military capacity including conventional and nuclear strength; "soft power" factors – science, education, culture etc. Additional foreign policy strengths and weaknesses – allies and friends, potential adversaries.

Required reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapter 1.

Suggested additional reading:

Andrei Shleifer & Daniel Treisman. Why Moscow Says No. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67044/andrei-shleifer-and-daniel-treisman/why-moscow-says-no>. January/February 2011.

Robert Legvold The Russia File. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65154/robert-legvold/the-russia-file>. Foreign Affairs. July/August 2009.

CLASS 3. Formulation of Russia's foreign policy goals

Major official documents to formulate Russia's foreign policy goals: National Security concepts (strategy), Foreign Policy concepts, Military doctrines. Assessment of threats to Russia's national security – domestic and foreign threats, and deliberation of measures to counter them. Conditions of use of military force (including nuclear weapons) in Russia's Military doctrines. Russia's foreign policy goals according to Russia's Foreign Policy concepts: global priorities, regional priorities.

Legal and organizational structure of Russia's foreign policy – role of the President, the Government, the Parliament, Ministry of foreign affairs, other governmental structures in formulating, defining and implementing foreign policy.

Required reading:

Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation – <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-osndoc.nsf/e2f289bea62097f9c325787a0034c255/0f474e63a426b7c344257b2e003c945f!OpenDocument>

Suggested additional reading:

On Russia's Military Doctrine 2010 – <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/documents/show/133>

On Russia's National Security Strategy 2009 – <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=4888caa0-b3db-1461-98b9-e20e7b9c13d4&lng=en&id=101960>

Dmitry Trenin Vladimir Putin's Fourth Vector – <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Vladimir-Putins-Fourth-Vector---16048> 30 June 2013

Sergey Karaganov A Lop-Sided Power – <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/A-Lop-Sided-Power-16279> 26 December 2013

CLASS 4. Discourse in Russia's political elite on foreign policy issues

Russia's intellectuals traditional debates on the properties and the character of Russia as a civilization. The Eurasianists versus the Westernizers discussing whether Russia is a part of European civilization or an entity of its own making. The concept of 'the third Rome'. Russia's encounters with other civilizations in the West and in the East. Russia's perception of security and vulnerability. Aspects of security: military security, energy security, societal security, ethnic harmony etc.

Required reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapter 3.

Dmitri V. Trenin. Getting Russia Right. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2007. Chapter 2.

Suggested additional reading:

[Yevgeny Primakov Perception of Russia in the World –](http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Perception-of-Russia-in-the-World-15926)
<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Perception-of-Russia-in-the-World-15926> 15 April 2013

[Kathryn Stoner-Weiss](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/features/readinglists/what-to-read-on-russian-politics) What to Read on Russian Politics.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/features/readinglists/what-to-read-on-russian-politics> – Foreign Affairs. June 1, 2009.

CLASS 5. Russia's policy in the post-Soviet space (Russia and the CIS)

Challenges presented to Russia's policy by the dissolution of the USSR. The legal succession of the Soviet Union: material and immaterial aspects. The Soviet military arsenal including the nuclear weapons: the Lisbon protocol – posture by Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine; the Soviet navy including the Black sea fleet; the Soviet foreign assets and liabilities; adherence to international treaties and membership in international organizations.

Russia and creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States: major documents; security, political and economic matters; configuration of various institutions. CIS structure and main organs: Council of heads of states, Council of heads of governments, Interparliamentary Assembly, Council of foreign ministers, Council of defense ministers, Interstate economic committee, Economic court, Commission on human rights.

Role of the Organization of Collective Security Treaty.

Creation of the CIS Customs Union, Eurasian Economic Union

Achievements and failures of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Required reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapter 3.4.

Suggested additional reading:

Russia in Global Affairs – current issue: <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/115>

CLASS 6-7. Russia and the post-Soviet countries

Russia and conflicts in the post-Soviet space (Nagorny Karabach, Transnistria, Southern Ossetia and Abkhazia): matters of security, peacekeeping and diplomacy. Conflict in the Caucasus of 2008 and its aftermath (CIS and international aspects).

Energy issues in Russia's relations with the post-Soviet states, specific features with regard to producing nations and transiting nations. Russia's decision to construct new gas and oil pipelines independent of sticky transit problems.

Problem of the Caspian sea in relations among the CIS countries: delimitation of water resources and the seabed.

Russia's relations with individual post-Soviet states: Belarus – the united state; Kazakhstan + Belarus – the Customs union and the United economic space; Ukraine – uneasy relations (gas transit, the naval base and problem of NATO membership) current crisis in and around Ukraine; Georgia – increasingly deteriorating path; republics of Central Asia.

Required reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapters 3.4, 4.4, 5.4, 6.5.

Suggested additional reading:

Russia in Global Affairs – current issue: <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/115>

CLASS 8. Russia in the international organizations and structures

Role of international organizations and structures in Russia's foreign policy. Special attention paid by Russia to the role of international law and the necessity to strengthen international and regional control regimes. Significance of the United Nations Organization in Russia's foreign policy; Russia's support of UN peacekeeping operations, humanitarian missions; Russia's voting pattern in the UN General Assembly and the Security Council. Russia's posture in the process of reforming the United Nations Organization.

Russia and G-7: decision by G-7 leaders to bring President Yeltsin to annual discussions on political issues. Gradual evolution of Russia's participation in G-7; decision to expand the structure into Group of Eight (G-8); Russia's presidency in G-8 in 2006. G-8 minus Russia?

Russia and international economic organizations and structures. Russia's accession to IMF and the World Bank. Role of the international financial institutions in Russia's reforms in 1990's; Russia's international indebtedness to IMF and World Bank covered by 2006. Russia's proposals to reform the international financial institutions.

Russia and regional organizations and structures: APEC, ShCO, BRICS (to be discussed at classes on Russia's regional policies).

Required reading:

Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation – <http://www.mid.ru/bdomp/ns-osndoc.nsf/e2f289bea62097f9c325787a0034c255/0f474e63a426b7c344257b2e003c945f!OpenDocument>

CLASS 9-10. US – Russia relations

Importance of the United States as the sole superpower in Russia's foreign policy. Change in US attitude to Russia as Moscow started its march towards economic and political reforms.

The three presidential pairs (B. Clinton – B. Yeltsin, G.W. Bush – V. Putin, B. Obama – D. Medvedev): each tried to start new relationship and each time they did not achieve the desired goal. What went wrong? Perceptions of bilateral relations by political elites of each nation: degree of importance each attaches to those relations. Current stage in bilateral relations.

Political dimension of US-Russia relations. Bilateral issues: relaxation of travel formalities, legal matters, US offices in Russia and Russian offices in the US etc. International issues: various critical situations, e.g. Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Korean peninsula, Iran, Libya, Syria etc. NATO activities including NATO eastward expansion. Prospects of US-Russia relations in view of President Obama's 'reset' policy and its failure.

Security issues in US-Russia relations. Reduction of strategic weapons. START-II treaty (1993) and problems in its ratification in Russia. US projects of anti-ballistic missile defense and American withdrawal from ABM treaty (2002). Strategic offensive reduction treaty (2002). Russia's reaction to US plans to deploy anti-ballistic missile defense systems in Poland and the Czech Republic. The new START treaty (2010), problems with its ratification and lies beyond it. Further proposed steps in nuclear disarmament. Proliferation issues and the Test ban treaty – significance in US-Russia relations.

Economic aspects of US-Russia relations. American expertise in Russia's transition to market economy in 1990's. Mutual attempts to expand bilateral US-Russian trade. US posture towards Russia's accession to WTO and necessity to repeal Jackson-Vanik amendment. Introduction of the Magnitski Act. Current sanctions and their impact. Energy exploration and transportation in the post-Soviet space. American companies' participation in Russia's modernization program.

Humanitarian matters in US-Russia relations. US perception of political changes in Russia, state of human rights, freedom of public media, election processes etc.

Organizational patterns of US-Russia relations (presidential commission etc.).

Required reading:

Dmitri V. Trenin. Getting Russia Right. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2007. Chapters 3, 4.

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapters 2.4, 3.3, 4.3, 5.3, 6.3.

Suggested additional reading:

'Russia's Wrong Direction' (Council on Foreign Affairs report) – http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Russia_TaskForce.pdf

The Right Direction for U.S. Policy toward Russia – <http://www.nixoncenter.org/RussiaReport09.pdf>
US-Russia Relations. July 2008 – http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080717_graham_u.s.russia.pdf

Matthew Rojansky. Indispensable Institutions. – http://carnegieendowment.org/files/indispensable_institutions.pdf

Alexei Fenenko. After the Reset. – <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/After-the-Reset-15928>
15 april 2013

CLASS 11-12. European dimension in Russia's foreign policy

Russia as a European power – historic traditions, political, economic and cultural links.

Security and cooperation Russia's interests in Europe-wide security space. Russia's efforts to enhance the role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), to transform it into efficient mechanism of European security. Russia's proposal to conclude a legally binding treaty for European security based on the principle of comprehensive security (Russian draft of 2009).

Russia and NATO. Russia's attempts to accommodate itself to NATO in 1990's (joining the Partnership for Peace program, participation in Council for Euro-Atlantic Partnership). Russia's perception of NATO expansion – efforts by NATO and Russia to achieve mutually acceptable solution. Founding Act of 1997. Establishing Russia-NATO partnership in 2002. Russia's discontent with NATO's air strikes against Yugoslavia (1999) and later on with the state of its relations with NATO (President's Putin speech at Munich security conference in 2007). Russia's concerns with NATO anti-ballistic missile plans in Europe. Decisions at 2010 Russia-NATO summit in Lisbon: the agreement has been reached to discuss pursuing joint missile defense cooperation and its failure.

Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty), its major provisions, attempts towards adaptation of the Treaty. The Adapted Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty was signed during the November 1999 OSCE Istanbul summit set national instead of bloc-based limits on conventional armed forces. Failure to ratify the Adapted CFE Treaty by NATO members led to Russia's decision in 2007 to suspend the observance of its treaty obligations.

Russia's relations with the Council of Europe. Russia's attempts to become a member of the Council of Europe and difficulties it faced because of the war in Chechnya. Problem of capital punishment in Russia's relations with the Council of Europe. Russia's recognition of the authority of the European Court of Human Rights. Russia's presidency in the Council of Europe in 2006. Suspension of the Russian representation in March 2014.

Russia and the European Union. Russia's engagement with the EU, signing the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement on the island of Corfu in 1994. Agreement reached in 2003 to reinforce EU-Russia co-operation by creating, in the long term, four common spaces: a common economic space; a common space of freedom, security and justice; a space of co-operation in the field of external security; and a space of research, education, and cultural exchange. Adoption of a single package of Road Maps for the creation of the four Common Spaces at the Moscow EU-Russia Summit in May 2005. Negotiating a new Partnership and Cooperation Agreement – decision taken in 2008. EU support to Russia's modernization plans.

Russia's relations with major European powers. Besides Russia's engagement with various European and Euro-Atlantic institutions extensive bilateral country to country relations play an important role in Russia's European policy. Among major partners Germany, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Poland should be specially mentioned. With each of these countries there exist a vast array of interaction in political matters, economic exchange, energy cooperation, various cultural, educational and human links that will be discussed at some detail.

Required reading:

Dmitri V. Trenin. Getting Russia Right. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2007. Chapters 3, 4.

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapters 2.4, 3.3, 4.3, 5.3, 6.3.

Suggested additional reading:

The Berlin Doctrine – <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/26/1261.html>

Options for the EU-Russia Strategic Partnership Agreement – <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/23/1202.html>

CLASS 13. Russia in East Asia and the Pacific

As a nation whose territory stretches from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, Asian dimension represents an important aspect of Russia's foreign policy. Especially importance it attains in view of Russia's plans to develop its territories in the regions of East Siberia and the Far East.

Multilateral dimension of Russia's policy in Asia-Pacific region. Russia's participation Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC) since 1998. Russia's APEC presidency in 2012.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (ShCO): inaugurated in 2001 by Russia, China and the four republics of Central Asia to enhance regional security, counter international terrorism, drug trafficking and also to expand regional political and economic cooperation. Growing attractiveness of ShCO among Asian countries.

Russia and ASEAN: establishing dialogue partnership and Russia's participation in various ASEAN-sponsored multilateral for a like ASEAN Regional Forum, the Shangri La dialogue and East Asian Summit.

BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa): inaugurated in 2009 in Yekaterinburg, is an important dialogue forum of leaders of emerging economic powers.

Russia's relations with the Peoples' Republic of China toward strategic partnership: political, economic, security and energy cooperation. Scope and dimension of Russia-PRC relations.

Russia's relations with Japan. Enhancing economic, technological and cultural cooperation. Unresolved territorial differences in Russia-Japan relations.

The Korean peninsula, its problems and Russia's policy. Russia's relations with both Korean states. Russia's stance with respect to nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula.

Russia's relations with ASEAN nations. Special attention will be paid to discussing Russia's relations with Indonesia, Vietnam and Malaysia.

Russia and Nations of South Asia. India-Russia relations: political, economic, technological and energy cooperation. Pakistan in Russia's foreign policy; starting a quadrilateral dialogue between Russia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

Required reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapters 2.4, 3.3, 4.3, 5.3, 6.4.

Suggested additional reading:

East Asia and Russia's Development Strategy – <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/18/1088.html>

CLASS 14. Russia's Policy in South-West Asia and the Middle East.

Combating international terrorism

Growing Russia's involvement in regional affairs of South-West Asia and the Middle East. Russian proposal to convene a Middle East peace conference in Moscow when the parties concerned are prepared for the talks. Russia's enhanced relations with Israel, matters of arms exports in Russia-Israeli relations (Israeli arms exports to Georgia and Russia's – to Arab states and Iran). Russia and the Palestinian factions.

Russia and the 'Arab spring' – cases of Libya and Syria.

Russia-Iranian relations. Energy cooperation between Russia and Iran. Russia's posture with regard to Iranian nuclear program.

Russia and Turkey: growing economic cooperation, nuclear energy programs, Black sea partnership. The Transcaucasus region and the Russia-Turkey relations.

Fighting international terrorism in Russia's politics. Domestic, regional and international dimensions of international terrorism as a paramount threat to Russia's security. Multilateral anti-terrorist organizations with Russia's participation. Russia's cooperation with NATO in anti-terrorist struggle.

Required reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy. Change and Continuity in National Identity. – 2nd edition. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2010. Chapters 2.4, 3.3, 4.3, 5.3, 6.4.

CLASS 15. Reemerging Russia presence in Africa and Latin America

The place Africa and Latin America played in the Soviet policy during the 'cold war'. Major Soviet partners in those region and nature of Soviet relations with them. Change of Russia's posture to relations with African and Latin American nations after the collapse of the USSR (Russia's withdrawal).

The new Russia's interest in relations with certain countries of Africa and Latin America in the twenty first century. Visits by presidents V. Putin and D. Medvedev to the African continent and to Latin America.

Russia and new revolutionary changes in Northern Africa.

Required reading:

Dmitri V. Trenin. Getting Russia Right. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2007. Conclusion.

Final exam 😊 ☹

Additional reading

Robert Legvold The Russia File. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65154/robert-legvold/the-russia-file>. Foreign Affairs. [July/August 2009](#).

Stephen Brooks & William Wohlforth. Reshaping the World Order. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64652/stephen-g-brooks-and-william-c-wohlforth/reshaping-the-world-order>. Foreign Affairs. [March/April 2009](#).

Richard Haass. The Age of Nonpolarity. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63397/richard-n-haass/the-age-of-nonpolarity>. Foreign Affairs. [May/June 2008](#).

Daniel Drezner. The New New World Order. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/62445/daniel-w-drezner/the-new-new-world-order>. Foreign Affairs. [March/April 2007](#).

Richard Betts. Conflict or Cooperation. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66802/richard-k-betts/conflict-or-cooperation>. – Foreign Affairs. [November/December 2010](#).

Charles Kupchan. NATO's Final Frontier. – <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/66217/charles-a-kupchan/natos-final-frontier>. Foreign Affairs. [May/June 2010](#).

[Kathryn Stoner-Weiss](#) What to Read on Russian Politics. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/features/readinglists/what-to-read-on-russian-politics> – Foreign Affairs. June 1, 2009.

“Empirical Study of Russian Politics (Political Process in Contemporary Russia)”

This course will provide a glimpse into the Russian history of the 20th century and familiarize you with political, social, economic, and cultural foundations of the Soviet system, the role of ideology in the Soviet Union. It will concentrate on the events of 1917 and the Civil war in Russia, on Josif Stalin's dictatorship, his five-year plans, collectivization and industrialization of the USSR, political repressions of the 1930s and their impact on the political elites, army, and the society; Khrushchev's rise to power and Brezhnev's rule; degradation of the political elites and the rule of Andropov and Chernenko as a proof of the need for political and economic reforms; Gorbachev's reforms, the “August” Republic (1991-1993), October 1993 events, modifications to the Russian political system, the Russian political process in the 2000s; Putin's goals and challenges.

This course is designed to highlight main trends of Russia's political process, to show its major actors as well as possible scenarios of its development, taking into account how it all is presented in latest Russian and foreign publications. The course is aimed at studying the Russian political process through the prism of institutionalism, as well as using the theories of modernization, democratic transition, and certain other theoretical frameworks. While considering works on Russia by noted Western and other scholars, this course, at the same time, provides an in-depth knowledge of various aspects of functioning of the Russian political system, avoiding labels like “an Upper Volta armed with missiles”, “an empire of evil”, “a Third World failure”, as well as stereotypes presenting Russia as an aggressive autocracy threatening the World or a country alien to democratic values. Such an approach allows fixing many important nuances and behind-the-scene aspects of the Russian political process.

On this course, you will examine a number of recent historical events that have impacted global politics and international relations today. It will help you to get more out of watching the news or reading the newspapers, and provide you with deeper and broader background knowledge of the events that have shaped the issues that recur in the news today.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia
Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University)

Department of Political Theory

EMPIRICAL STUDY OF RUSSIAN POLITICS

Course program

(2018 Summer School edition)

Moscow

2018

Course program developed by Yan Vaslavskiy, Ph.D., Associate Professor at the Department of Political Theory of MGIMO-University.

© Y. Vaslavskiy, 2009-2018

© MGIMO-University

Section 1: Course Methodology and Organization

1.1. Course description: what makes it different from other courses on Russian Politics?

This course is designed to highlight main trends of Russia's political process, to show its major actors as well as possible scenarios of its development, taking into account how it all is presented in latest Russian and foreign publications. The course is aimed at studying the Russian political process through the prism of institutionalism, as well as using the theories of modernization, democratic transition, and certain other theoretical frameworks. While considering works on Russia by noted Western and other scholars, this course, at the same time, provides an in-depth knowledge of various aspects of the functioning of the Russian political system, avoiding labels like "an Upper Volta armed with missiles", "an empire of evil", "a Third World failure", as well as stereotypes presenting Russia as an aggressive autocracy threatening the world or a country alien to democratic values by nature. Such an approach allows to fix many important nuances and behind-the-scene aspects of the Russian political process. The students get a unique analytic perspective studying at MGIMO-University, Russia's leading academic and research centre, and may then form their own opinions and judgments on the country's performance. The course is designed for overseas post-graduate students at MGIMO-University.

1.2. Course goals

Helping to dismantle the stereotypes about Russia and promoting a multidimensional understanding of Russia's political process is a key goal of this course. This goal is to be achieved by presenting Russia's political process as a complex chain of trends and events with participation of various actors, each having own functions and possessing own resources. The course brings on cornerstones of the country's political history, including the role of ideologies, and such important sides of Russian political process as political culture, political parties, state governance, federalism, constitution-making, missed and still-existing opportunities in the field of institutional design.

The goal of the course is to be achieved by fulfilling the following tasks:

- giving the students an understanding of the essence of the Russian political process and different trends and events that take place within its framework;
- helping the students to develop analytical skills to analyze important substantive issues at macro-, mezzo-, and micro levels of Russian politics;
- letting the students form a truly integral and unbiased picture of Russian politics, to bridge the gap between different approaches to it developed by scholars;
- developing students' abilities to problem structuring and fixing major, fundamental factors when analyzing Russian political process.

Type of work	Knowledge and competencies checked by corresponding type of work	Share in total mark, %
Essay	An ability to perform an integral analysis of the Russian political process on different levels and in different topical areas	20
Participation in discussions at seminars, writing tests	An ability to participate in discussion, find points of consent and disagreement of the participants, formulate questions and analytical tasks. Submission of at least 90% of response papers.	20
Final test in class		60
Total		100

Forms of knowledge control

Knowledge of the course content is checked at lectures and seminars. In order to obtain a minimum positive mark, a student is required to know main concepts and categories applied towards research of the Russian political process, its key trends and events.

Section 2: Course Structure

2.1. Course schedule

Section and topic	Total hours for topic
1. The Soviet System, Its Demise and Aftermath: What Went Wrong?	2
2. The Uncertain 1990s: The Rise of Presidentialism, Challenges to the Federation.	2
3. Centralization of the Putin Era: centralization and consolidation.	2
4. Partial democracy: is full democratic consolidation non-attainable for Russia?	2

5. Russian modernization as a national project	2
6. Constitutional Development of the Russian Federation: Cornerstones, Main Issues, Perspectives.	2
7. Russian Regions vs. Moscow: Is a Balanced Federation Ever Possible in Russia?	2
8. Politics and Business in Russia: Partnerships, Conflicts, Lobbyism.	2
TOTAL	16

2.2. Course content

1. The Soviet System, Its Demise and Aftermath: What Went Wrong?

Political, social, economic, and cultural foundations of the Soviet system, role of ideology in the life of the country in most of the 20th century.

Events of 1917, and the Civil war. Non-used alternatives for the Soviet Union: the New Economic Policy. Iosif Stalin as one of the strongest dictators of the 20th century. Five-year plans, collectivization and industrialization of the late 1920s and 1930s. Political repressions of the 1930s: impact on the political elites, army, and the society.

Khrushchev's rise to power as the outcome of an inter-elite confrontation. Debunking of the cult of Stalin in 1956. What the years of the "thaw" meant for the Soviet Union and the world?

Brezhnev's rule: from high hopes to slow stagnation. Degradation of the political elites and missed development opportunities. The rule of Andropov and Chernenko as a proof of the need for political and economic reforms.

Discussion about the advantages and failures of Gorbachev's reforms. What was wrong with perestroika and what were the causes of the disintegration of the Soviet Union?

Questions for discussion with students:

1. What were political, social, economic, and cultural foundations of the Soviet system?
2. Why New Economic Policy finally failed?
3. What is your vision of the role of Josef Stalin in the Soviet history?
4. Post-Stalin Soviet Union: opinions on debunking of the cult and "thaw" policy.
5. What went wrong in Brezhnev's rule on some stage?
6. What were the advantages and failures of Gorbachev's reforms? What did the elite plan and did the people expect?

Compulsory readings:

1. Danks Catherine. *Politics Russia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
2. Richard Pipes, "The Communist System", in: Alexander Dallin and Gail W. Lapidus (eds.), *The Soviet System in Crisis. A Reader of Western and Soviet Views*, Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford, pp. 16-27.
3. Sewerin Bialer, "Domestic and International Factors in the Formation of Gorbachev's Reforms", in: Alexander Dallin, Gail Lapidus (eds.), *The Soviet System in Crisis. A*

Reader of Western and Soviet Views, Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford, pp. 28-36.

4. Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th ed, Routledge, L, NY, 2008, pp. 3-39.

Additional readings:

1. Donald Treadgold, *Twentieth Century Russia*, Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco, London, 1990, pp. 2-27.
2. Andrei Melville, "A Personal Introduction", in: Andrei Melville, Gail Lapidus (eds.), *The Glasnost Papers. Voices on Reform from Moscow*, Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford, 1990, pp. 1-18.
3. Frederick Starr, A Usable Past, in: Alexander Dallin, Gail Lapidus (eds.), *The Soviet System in Crisis. A Reader of Western and Soviet Views*, Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford, 1991, pp. 11-15.
4. Alfred B. Evans, Jr, "A Russian Civil Society?", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 98-101, 115-119.
5. Thomas F. Remington, *Politics in Russia*, 4th ed., Pearson, NY, 2006, pp. 31-53.

2. The Uncertain 1990s: The Rise of Presidentialism, Challenges to the Federation.

High expectations followed by disillusion, crash of hopes, and frustration. "Shock therapy" of the Gaidar government, Chubais-administered privatization, and their impact on the political system of Russia in the early 1990s.

Application of the theories of democratic transition to the processes in CIS as a whole and Russia in particular.

The "August" Republic (1991-1993). Executive-legislative relations and the conflict of 1992-1993: presidential and parliamentary visions of Russia's constitutional development. The events of October 1993: defeat of the Supreme Soviet and adoption of the new constitution.

Assessing the 1993 constitution: separation of powers at the federal level, federalism, local self-government. Analyzing the Russian political process in 1990s in the framework of the 1993 supreme law.

Yeltsin's main challenges, his achievements and failures. Russian political elites in the 1990s: the federal center, regional leaders, and political parties.

Questions for discussion with students:

1. Was Gaidar's "shock therapy" policy necessary after all?
2. What went wrong in the "August" Republic?
3. How can you characterize the 1993 Constitution?
4. What were Yeltsin's main challenges? What did he achieve and where did he fail?
5. How can theories of democratic transition be applied to the processes in CIS as a whole and Russia in particular?

Compulsory readings:

1. Danks Catherine. *Politics Russia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
2. Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th ed, Routledge, L, NY, 2008, pp. 40-59.
3. Andrei Melville, "Post-Communist Russia as a Challenge to Transition Theories", in: Stuart S. Nagel (ed.), *Handbook of Global Political Policy*, Marcel Dekker, Inc., New York, Basel, 2000, pp. 461-487.
4. Stephen White, *Russia's New Politics: The Management of a Postcommunist Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 70-106.
5. Andrei Ryabov, "Legislative-Executive Relations", in: Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov (eds.), *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-*

Communist Political Reform, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2004, pp. 83-104.

Additional readings:

1. Lilia Shevtsova, *Russia: Lost in Transition*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2007, pp. 1-35.
2. Thomas F. Remington, "Parliamentary Politics in Russia", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 40-50.
3. Michael McFaul, "The Electoral System", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 61-72.
4. Alfred B. Evans, Jr, "A Russian Civil Society?", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 101-107.

3. The Putin Era: centralization and consolidation.

Peaceful transfer of power in 1999-2000: a miracle or a long-felt need?

Modifications to the Russian political system: driving towards centralization and consolidation.

Overview of the Russian political process in the 2000s: potential and powers of the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary.

Medvedev's liberalization attempt: successes and faults.

Putin back in 2012: new goals and challenges.

Questions for discussion with students:

1. How did peaceful transfer of power in 1999-2000 become possible?
2. What were Putin's main challenges?
3. How did the relations between Putin and Yeltsin's "family" develop?
4. What is "vertical of power" in Putin's vision and which role did it play in his policies?
5. How did the Russian political system change in comparison with the 1990s?
6. What is the difference in goals between Putin's 1st and 2nd terms?
7. What were key results of Medvedev's presidency?
8. What are key goals and challenges for Putin during his 3rd term?

Compulsory readings:

1. Danks Catherine. *Politics Russia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
2. Lilia Shevtsova, *Russia: Lost in Transition*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2007, pp. 36-112.
3. John P. Willerton, "Putin and the Hegemonic Presidency", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 18-39.
4. Harley Balzer, "Managed Pluralism: Vladimir Putin's Emerging Regime", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2003, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 189-227.
5. Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov, "Postscript: the 2003 Parliamentary Elections and the Future of Russian Democracy", in: Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov (eds.), *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2004, pp. 293-298.

Additional readings:

1. Lilia Shevtsova, "Elective Monarchy under Putin: Perspectives on the Evolution of the Political Regime and its Problems", Briefing Papers, Carnegie Moscow Center, January 2001, Vol. 3, Issue 01 (<http://www.carnegie.ru/en/print/48320-print.htm>).
2. Lilia Shevtsova, "Between Stabilization and a Breakthrough: Interim Results of Vladimir Putin's Presidency", Briefing Papers, Carnegie Moscow Center, January 2002, Vol. 4, Issue 01 (<http://www.carnegie.ru/en/print/57734-print.htm>).
3. Lilia Shevtsova, "President Putin is Shaping His Own Political Regime: What Will Be the Impact?", Briefing Papers, Carnegie Moscow Center, January 2004, Vol. 6, Issue 01 (<http://www.carnegie.ru/en/print/69486-print.htm>).

4. Partial democracy: is full democratic consolidation non-attainable for Russia?

Addressing the issues of the third phase of democratic transition in Russia. What are Russia's achievements in the field of democratic consolidation? Discussion about social and cultural foundations of democracy in Russia.

Medvedev as Putin's successor: has anything really changed?

Putin's comeback and its aftermath. New party and electoral legislation. Putin's priorities for 2012-2018.

Questions for discussion with students:

1. In what sense did consolidation occur in Russia in the 00's?
2. How did the Russian party system develop?
3. Which ideas and measures were on the top of Medvedev's agenda when he stepped in as President? Did he succeed in his policies?
4. Is there after all any difference between Putin's and Medvedev's rule?
5. What does Putin's comeback mean to Russia and its political system?

Compulsory readings:

1. Danks Catherine. *Politics Russia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
2. Jordan Gans-Morse, "Searching for Transitologists: Contemporary Theories of Post-Communist Transitions and the Myth of a Dominant Paradigm", *Post Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 320-349.
3. Neil Robinson, "The Politics of Russia's Partial Democracy", *Political Studies Review*, 2003, Vol. 1, pp. 149-166.
4. Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th ed, Routledge, L, NY, 2008, pp. 441-477.
5. Nikolai Petrov, "Regional Models of Democratic Development", in: Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov (eds.), *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2004, pp. 239-267.

Additional readings:

1. Valery Bunce, "Rethinking Recent Democratization", *World Politics*, 2003, Vol. 55, No. 2, pp. 167-192.
2. Vladimir Petukhov and Andrei Ryabov, "Public Attitudes about Democracy", in: Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov (eds.), *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2004, pp. 268-291.
3. Zvi Gitelman, "The Democratization of Russia in Comparative Perspective", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 241-256.
4. Stephen White, *Russia's New Politics: The Management of a Postcommunist Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 34-69.

5. Russian modernization as a national project.

Stages of the Russian modernization. The Reforms of Peter the Great. 1861-1914: economic growth and social tension. Stalin's reforms and their impact on the economy and society.

Questions for discussion with students:

1. Modernization periods in Russian history: similarities and differences (Peter the Great; from Alexander II to Nicholas II; Josef Stalin; modernization in the 00's).
2. Russia's modernization in the 21st century: a new historical chance?
3. What are Russia's current modernization priorities?

Readings:

1. Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*, Yale University Press, 2002. Pages to be indicated by the instructor to student groups.
2. Moshe Levin, *The Soviet Century*, London: Verso, 2004. Pages to be indicated by the instructor to student groups.
3. *Modernization of the Russian Economy: from theory to practice*, Report for the 2010 Global Policy Forum, Institute for Public Planning, Moscow, Yaroslavl, 2010, pp. 2-55.
4. *Russian Democracy: From Sustainability to Renovation*. Report for the 2010 Global Policy Forum, The Russian Institute, Moscow, Yaroslavl, 2010, pp. 10-58.

6. Constitutional Development of the Russian Federation: Cornerstones, Main Issues, Perspectives.

Russian experience of constitution-making.

Occasional democratic practices in ancient, tsarist and imperial Russia. Progressive projects proposed to emperors: reasons of failure.

Soviet Russia and the Soviet Union up to the perestroika period: nominal constitutionalism with the leading role of the ruling party fixed in the supreme law. Soviet constitution system as a combination of the Union and republican constitutions, their development synchronized.

The USSR during perestroika and the Russian Federation: reform projects proposed by Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov. Constitutional conflict of the early 1990s. Russian president as a guarantor of the constitution, thus having a unique standing in the Russian political system as well as exclusive options in the political process. Constitutional reforms of the 2000s and further agenda: what should be done next? The role of economic crises in the political and constitutional processes.

Questions for discussion with students:

1. What was the role of occasional democratic practices and constitutional attempts in the Russian history (from ancient to tsarist and imperial Russia)?
2. Why was the Soviet constitutionalism mainly nominal?
3. Why were Solzhenitsyn's and Sakharov's constitution projects rejected?
4. What was the essence of the 1993 conflict from constitutional perspective?
5. What is the role the 1993 Constitution in today's Russia? What are its advantages and disadvantages?
6. What should be done next in the Russian constitution-building?

Compulsory readings:

1. Danks Catherine. *Politics Russia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

2. Victor Sheinis, "The Constitution", in: Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov (eds.), *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2004, pp. 57-82.
3. Thomas F. Remington, *Politics in Russia*, 4th ed., Pearson, NY, 2006, pp. 54-71.
4. Robert Sharlet, "In Search of the Rule of Law", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, 139-147.

Additional readings:

1. Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th ed, Routledge, L, NY, 2008, pp. 61-82.

7. Russian Regions vs. Moscow: Is a Balanced Federation Ever Possible in Russia?

Creation of Russia's federal system as one of the major achievements of the early post-Soviet period.

Origins of federalism in Russia. Analyzing structure, institutions, and development of the Russian federalism.

Moscow's Relations with the regions. "Sovereignty parades", regional rebellions: Tatar and Chechen cases. The center in the regions and regions in the center. Center-region treaties: a means of the survival of the federation? Putin's reforms concerning the strengthening of the role of the federal center.

Local government, municipal elections as a mosaic of local elites representation and influence projection from the federal and regional centers.

Questions for discussion with students:

1. What are the origins of the Russian federalism?
2. Which role did federalism play in post-Soviet Russia?
3. What are main features of Russian inter-regional relations?
4. What are the limits of possibilities of local and regional governments? How are the powers balanced as a whole?
5. What is the future of the Russian federalism?

Compulsory readings:

1. Danks Catherine. *Politics Russia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
2. Nikolai Petrov, "Federalism", in: Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov, and Andrei Ryabov (eds.), *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2004, pp. 213-238.
3. Jeff Kahn, "What is the New Russian Federalism", in: Archie Brown (ed.), *Contemporary Russian Politics. A Reader*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, NY, 2001, pp. 369-411.
4. Vladimir Gel'man, "Leviathan's Return: the Policy of Recentralization in Contemporary Russia", in: Cameron Ross and Adrian Campbell (eds.), *Federalism and Local Politics in Russia*, Routledge, London. NY, 2009, pp. 1-24.
5. Michael Burgess, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: the Russian Federation in a Comparative Perspective", in: Cameron Ross and Adrian Campbell (eds.), *Federalism and Local Politics in Russia*, Routledge, London. NY, 2009, pp. 25-53.
6. Cameron Ross, "Municipal Elections and Electoral Authoritarianism Under Putin", in: Cameron Ross and Adrian Campbell (eds.), *Federalism and Local Politics in Russia*, Routledge, London. NY, 2009, pp. 284-204.

Additional readings:

1. Helmut Wollmann and Elena Gritsenko, "Local Self-Government in Russia: Between Decentralization and Recentralization", in: Cameron Ross and Adrian Campbell (eds.), *Federalism and Local Politics in Russia*, Routledge, London. NY, 2009, pp. 227-247.
2. Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th ed, Routledge, L, NY, 2008, pp. 236-284.
3. Gordon Hanh, "Reforming the Federation", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 148-167.
4. Darrell Slider, "Politics in the Regions", in: Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman, and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th ed., Palgrave Macmillan, NY, 2005, pp. 168-185.

8. Politics and Business in Russia: Partnerships, Conflicts, Lobbyism.

Major economic development issues in contemporary Russia. Main Russian business lobby groups: oil and gas industry, metallurgy, automotive sector, banks, and others. Overview of recent changes in federal and regional elites.

Businessmen in politics: from mayors and businessmen-governors to Duma deputies and ministers.

The development of state corporatism in Russia: re-nationalisation, introduction and strengthening of government representatives to the boards of major Russian companies.

Questions for discussion with students:

1. What are major developmental issues in contemporary Russia?
2. What are Russia's main industries and lobby groups? What is their role in the modernization process?
3. What is the essence of Russian state corporatism?
4. Between privatization and nationalization: where is the best path for Russia?

Compulsory readings:

1. Danks Catherine. *Politics Russia*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.
2. Lilia Shevtsova, *Russia: Lost in Transition*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, 2007, pp. 118-131.
3. Rostislav Turovskii, "The Representation of Business Elites in Regional Politics: etatism, elitism and clientelism", in: Cameron Ross and Adrian Campbell (eds.), *Federalism and Local Politics in Russia*, Routledge, London. NY, 2009, pp. 184-206.

Additional readings:

1. Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th ed, Routledge, L, NY, 2008, pp. 285-313.

Section 3: Courseware

3.1. Knowledge evaluation criteria

Marks for different types of work are given according to the following criteria:

Work type	Mark (percent)	Description of evaluation criteria
Intermediate and final written tests	A (90-100%)	Comprehensive answer to questions posed, an ability to independent analysis and evaluation of facts and circumstances
	B (82-89%)	Full, though "formal" reply to questions posed, limited understanding of the topic
	C (75-81%)	Certain essential circumstances, aspects and/or arguments are missed in the answer, though the essence is presented correctly
	D (67-74%)	About a third of necessary information is given in the answer, poor understanding of the topic
	E (60-66%)	Minimal amount of information given to answer the questions posed in a test (at least one-third)
	F (less than 60%)	Less than a third of information given to answer the questions posed in a test, incomprehension/misunderstanding of the topic
Work at seminars	A (90-100%)	Active participation in discussions on all topics, high (A,B) evaluation of response papers*
	B (82-89%)	Active participation in discussion, student being well-informed on at least 75-80% of topics, high (A,B) evaluation of response
	C (75-81%)	Moderate participation, student being well-informed on all topics, good or lower-middle evaluation of response papers (C, D)
	D (67-74%)	Moderate participation, student being well-informed on at least 75-80% of topics, good or lower-middle evaluation of response papers (C, D)
	E (60-66%)	Low level of discussion participation, student being well-informed on the reading material and topics under study, low (E, F) evaluation of response papers
	F (less than 60%)	Student does not participate in discussions and is not well-informed on the topics and reading material under study, low (E, F) evaluation of response papers

* response papers are evaluated the same way as intermediate and final written tests

3.2. Essay development

Essays should comprise a minimum of 10 000 and up to 15 000 characters (Times New Roman font, size 14, 1.5 interval). Essays should also include footnotes and bibliography in order to show an author's knowledge of the literature on the topic concerned. Besides describing existing approaches and opinions on the subject, student should also present their own positions and judgments in their essays. Essays are to be presented and discussed at the seminars. A successfully presented and discussed essay may be a foundation for a higher mark being given to a student in case of "borderline" situations at the final evaluation procedure (between A and B, B and C, etc.).

Successful (positively discussed and highly evaluated) essays may be later developed into master theses.

Provisional essay topics

- Perestroika: the only scenario possible for the Soviet Union? Analysis of missed opportunities and major outcomes
- Executive-legislative relations in Russia in the early 1990s: was there another way?
- Events of 1993: what the rise of presidentialism meant for the future political development of Russia?
- Assessing the effects of liberalization, privatization, and decentralization on the Russian political process in the early 1990s.
- Yeltsin's rule: positive and negative implications on the Russian political process.
- The rule of Vladimir Putin: major achievements, positive and negative trends in the Russian political process.
- Role of constitution in Russia and its impact on the political process: is it really serious?
- Political parties in Russia: artificial Kremlin gadgets or viable channels of group representation?
- Presidentialism in Russia and its impact on the political process.
- Role of parliament in the Russian political process: can and should Russia become a parliamentary republic?
- Russian federalism: major problems and perspectives.
- Ethnic separatism in Russia as a threat to national security: ways of control.
- Four years of Dmitry Medvedev: did anything really change in Russian politics?
- Business elites in the Russian political process: influence on decision-making and strategy development.
- Building middle-term scenarios of Russia's political development: authoritarianism or democracy?

Students may propose their own essay topics, subject to approval by the instructor.

