

CENTRE FOR RUSSIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, JNU

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| Course: | MA |
| Course Title: | Foreign Policy of New Russia (IS 564N) |
| Course Type: | Optional |
| Course Teacher: | Prof. Sanjay Kumar Pandey and Dr. Amitabh Singh |
| Credits: | Four |
| Course Duration: | One semester (winter) |
| Contact Hour: | Four hours per week |

Course Objectives:

Russia, with its unique civilization, and imperial and Soviet-Communist past, has played an important role in Europe, Asia, and the world during the last three centuries. It has also been a close friend and partner of India for the past seven decades. Belying predictions of its decline it has reasserted its global position, not just militarily but also as a challenger to US-Western dominance. The focus of this course will be to develop an Indian perspective, beyond the cliched stereotypes, about this very important country.

Learning Outcomes:

- **To highlight Russia's geopolitical importance, natural (including energy) and scientific resources, and military prowess, which makes it an influential global player.**
- **To create an understanding of the main determinants, priorities and trajectories of Russia's foreign policy.**
- **To evolve a new framework and perspective to study Russia - India ties at bilateral, regional, and global levels.**

Evaluation Method:

Term Paper/ Seminar Presentation (10 percent), Mid-Semester Exam (20 percent), Class Participation (10 percent), and End Semester Exam (60 percent).

COURSE CONTENT:

I. BACKGROUND

- **Major Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy.**
- **Perestroika and Transformation of Soviet Foreign Policy.**

II. FOREIGN POLICY OF NEW RUSSIA

- **Determinants of Russia's Foreign Policy: History and Identity, Location and Resources, Domestic Politics and Leadership, Regional Dynamics and Global Geopolitics, etc.**
- **Major debates on Russian Foreign Policy.**
- **The Foreign Policy and National Security Concepts of the Russian Federation.**
- **Evolution of Foreign Policy of New Russia since 1991.**

III. RUSSIA'S RELATION WITH SELECT REGIONS / COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

- **Russia's Relations with the US, European Union, and NATO.**
- **Russia participation in CIS, CSTO, EEU, SCO, BRICS.**
- **Russia's policy towards neighbours (Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, South Caucasus and Central Asian States).**
- **Russia and Asia: India, China, Japan, Korea, Iran etc.**
- **Russia and the UN.**

Essential Readings

- Borozna, Angela (2021), *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy Assertiveness*, Switzerland: Springer Nature.
- Carr, E.H. (1948), *International Relations between the Two World Wars: 1919-1993*, New York: Macmillan. (Entire Book)
- Curanović, Alicja (2021), *The Sense of Mission in Russian Foreign Policy: Destined for Greatness*, London: Routledge.
- Donaldson, Robert H., and Vidya Nadkarni (2018), *The foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*, New York: Routledge.
- Kennan, George, F. (1960), *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin*, Boston: Little Brown and Co. (Entire Book)
- Lo, Bobo (2017), *A Wary Embrace: What the China-Russia Relationship Means for the World*, Melbourne: Penguin and Lowy Institute.
- Lukyanov, Fyodor (2016), “Putin’s Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia’s Rightful Place”, *Foreign Affairs*, 95 (3): 30–37, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43946855>.
- Marochkin, Sergey and Yury Bezborodov (2022), *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Exploring New Horizons*, London: Routledge.
- Mearsheimer, John (2016), “Global Order and Great Power Politics in the 21st Century”, Valdai Club.
- Pisciotta, Barbara (2020), “Russian revisionism in the Putin era: an overview of post-communist military interventions in Georgia, Ukraine, and Syria”, *Italian Political Science Review/Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, 50 (1): 87-106.
- Rumer, Eugene B. (2017), *Russian Foreign Policy Beyond Putin*, London: Routledge.
- Shiraev, Eric and Konstantin Khudoley (2019), *Russian Foreign Policy*, UK: Red Globe Press.
- Strycharz, Damian (2022), *Role Theory and Russian Foreign Policy: Rolling Changes in National Role Conceptions*, London: Routledge.
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2016), *Russia’s Foreign Policy, Change and Continuity in National Identity*, New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2020), *Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy*, New York and London: Routledge.
- Velikaya, Anna A and Greg Simons (2020), *Russia's Public Diplomacy: Evolution and Practice*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wallander, Celeste A., and Anne Wildermuth (2019), *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy After the Cold War*, London: Routledge.

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Books

- Ambrosio, Thomas (2005), *Challenging America's Global Preeminence: Russia's Quest for Multipolarity*, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing.
- Arrbatova, Nadia Alexendra and Rorsvanshogrkdan (2001), *Russia and Europe: The Foreign Policy of Yeltsin's Russia*, Swedish National Defence College.
- Barkanov, Boris (2015) "Crisis in Ukraine: Clash of Civilizations or Geopolitics?", in Roger. E Kanet and Matthew Sussex (eds.) *Power, Politics and Confrontation in Eurasia*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chenoy, Anuradha (2001), *The Making of New Russia*, New Delhi: Har Anand Publishers.
- Chopra, V.D. (2001), *Indo-Russian Relations: Prospects, Problems and Russia Today*, Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.
- Dawisha, Adeed and Karen Dawesha (1995), *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*, Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
- Donaldson, Robert H. and Joseph L. Noguee, (1998), *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*, Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
- Fawn, Rick (2003), *Realignments in Russian foreign Policy*, London: Frank Cass.
- Gorodetsky, Gabriel (2003), *Russia between East and West: Russian Foreign Policy on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century*, London: Frank Cass.
- Gowen, J., Graham Timmins and Lord Robertson (2007), *Russia and Europe in the Twenty-first Century: an Uneasy Partnership*, Anthem Press.
- Imam, Zafar (2001), *Foreign Policy of Russia 1991-2000*, New Delhi: New Horizons Publishers.
- Imam, Zafar and Romonovsky, N.V. (2003), *Yeltsin years in Russia 1990-1999*, New Delhi: Sanskriti.
- Jha, Shashikant and B. Sarkar (2002), *Amidst Turbulence and Hope: Transition in Russia and Eastern Europe*, New Delhi: Lancer Books.
- Jones, Scott A. (2003), *Whither Ukraine? Weapons, State Building and International Cooperation*, U.K.: Ashgate.
- Kanet, Roger E. (2005), *The New Security Environment: The Impact on Russia, Central and Eastern Europe*, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Lo Bobo (2002), *Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era: Reality, Illusion and Mythmaking*, New York: Palgrave.
- Lo Bobo 2003, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lo, Bobo (2008), *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the New Geopolitics*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Mandelbaum, M. (1998), *The New Russian Foreign Policy*, New York: Council

of Foreign Relations.

- Morozov, V. (2001), *The Baltic States in Russian Foreign Policy Discourse: Can Russia Become a Baltic Country?*, Copenhagen Peace Research Institute.
- Nygnen, Bentil (2007), *The Rebuilding of Greater Russia: Putin's Foreign Policy Towards CIS*, Routledge.
- Saikal, Amin and William Maley (1995), *Russia in Search of Its Future*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shams-ud-Din (2001), *India and Russia towards Strategic Partnership*, New Delhi: Lancer Books.

Journal Articles

- (2000), "The Foreign Policy Concept of Russian Federation", *Review of International Affairs*.
- Allison, Roy (2004), "Strategic Reassertion in Russia's Central Asia Policy", *International Affairs*, 80 (2): 277-93.
- Bremmer, Ian and Alexander Zaslavsky (2001), "Bush and Putin's Tentative Embrace", *World Policy*, 18 (4):11-17.
- Buszynski, Leszek (2003), "Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2002: Going separate ways", *Asian Survey*, 43 (1): 15-24.
- Cherny, V.V. and Kapkov, Alexander Yu. (2000) "Russia and the USA: The Virtual Games of Superpowers", *European Security*, 9 (3): 123-133.
- Cummings, Sally N. (2001), "Happier Bedfellows? Russia and Central Asia under Putin", *Asian Affairs*, 32(ii):142-152.
- Deshpandey, Sanjay (2001), "Russia's Foreign Policy under Putin", *Mainstream*, 39 (21): 20-23.
- Fischer, Sabine (2020), "Dimensions and Trajectories of Russian Foreign Policy", *Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)*, URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep29454>.
- Frear, M. J., and Honorata Mazepus (2017), "A New Turn or More of the Same? A Structured Analysis of Recent Developments in Russian Foreign Policy Discourse" *EU-STRAT Working Paper Series*.
- Forsberg, Tuomas (2004), "The EU - Russia Security Partnership: Why the Opportunity was Missed", *European Foreign Affairs*, 9 (2): 247-67.
- Frye, Alton (2000), "The New NATO and Relations with Russia", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 23 (3): 92-110.
- Globe, Paul A. (1993), "Russia and Its Neighbours", *Foreign Policy*, (90).
- Glumicic, Dragan (2000), "Foreign Policy Initiatives of the Russian Federation", *Review of International Affairs*, 51 (1096): 18-20.
- Güler, Mehmet Çağatay (2021), "The Quest for Soviet Legacy in Russian Foreign Policy", 283-293.

- Harshe, Rajan (1998), “India and Russia in a Changing World”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33 (9): 457-460.
- Inozemtsev, V. (2002), “The US, EU and Russia in the 21st Century”, *International Affairs*, 48 (6):126-138.
- Ivanov, Igor (2001), “The New Russian Identity: Innovation and Continuity in Russian Foreign Policy”, *The Washington Quarterly*, 24 (3): 7-13.
- Kanet, Roger E. (1989), “Soviet Foreign Policy and the End of the Post war Era”, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 22 (2): 225-232.
- Kaushik, Devendra (2003), “India- Russia Relations: New Prospects”, *World Focus*, 3-24. (Series of articles on the
- Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline and Stephen Welch (2005), “Russia and the United States after 9/11”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 17 (1-2): 279-291.
- Kennedy-Pipe, Caroline (1999), “Russia and the World 1917-1991”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 51 (5): 897-928.
- Kerr, David (1995), “New Eurasianism: The Rise of Geo-politics in Russia’s Foreign Policy”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47 (6): 977-988.
- King, Charles (2008), “The Five day War: Managing Moscow after the Georgia Crisis”, *Foreign Affairs*, 2-28.
- Kortunov, Sergei (2003), “Russia’s National Identity: Foreign Policy Dimension”, *International Affairs* (Moscow), 49(4): 97-106.
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- Likhachev, Vassily (2003), “Russia and the European Union”, *International Affairs*, 49 (1): 55-63.
- Lo, Bobo (2004), “The Long Sunset of Strategic partnership: Russia’s Evolving China Policy”, *International Affairs*, 80 (2): 295-309.
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- Malek, Martin (2004), “Russia. Policy towards South Asia: An Update”, *Asian Survey*, 44 (3): 384-400.
- Marten, Kimberly (2017), “The ‘KGB state’ and Russian political and foreign policy culture”, *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 30(2): 131-151.
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- Narochnitskia, N. (2004), “Russia in the New Geo-political Context”, *International Affairs*, (Moscow), 50 (1): 60-73.
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 - Smith, Graham (1999), “The Mask of Proteus: Russia, Geopolitical Shift and the New Eurasianism”, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24 (4): 481-500.
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 - Tsygankov, Andrei P. (2006), “If Not by Tanks, then by Banks? The Role of Soft Power in Putin’s Foreign Policy”, *Europe- Asia Studies*, 58 (7): 1079-1099.
 - Unnikrishnan, Nandan (2001), “India and Russia in the New Millennium”, *World Focus*, 6-22.
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 - White, Stephen (1993), “The Soviet Union and the Wider World” *After Gorbachev*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - Zhongping, Feng (2003), “EU vs. US, Russia and China”, *Contemporary International Relations*, 12 (3): 18-32.
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