

**Centre for Russian & Central Asian Studies  
School of International Studies, JNU**

Course:	Ph.D
Course Title:	Russian Foreign Policy
Course Type:	Optional Course
Course Teacher:	Prof. Archana Upadhyay & Dr Rajan Kumar
Credits:	Four
Course Code:	SE 623
Semester	Winter Semester
Contact Hours:	Two per week

### **Course Objectives**

This course will examine Russia's engagement with the outside world with special reference to the historical, ideational and structural factors. It aims at providing a context rich and informed understanding of the key processes that have shaped the core of Russian foreign policy discourse. Divided into five broad sections, the course will analyse the tools, methods and major directions of Russia's foreign policy.

The first section will analyse the historical context of Russia's international relations, taking into account the identity debates, the historical dilemmas and the role of ideology in the evolution of its foreign policy. The following four sections will deal with the transformation of Russia's foreign policy during the Yeltsin and Putin period, Russia's interactions with pivotal states, its near abroad and key global organisations. The contemporary points of contestations and convergence between Russia and other international actors through the prism of evolving ideas in the Russian political space will form the core of the discussions. Finally, the course will conclude with an assessment of Russia's role in global governance.

### **Learning Outcomes**

On completion of the course, the student will be able to:

1. Comprehend and analyse Russia's interaction with the outside world by applying concepts and theories of International Relations.
2. Identify and explain the salient features of Russia's foreign policy discourse.
3. Make informed judgements about the role and influence of Russia in regional and global politics.
4. Interpret current developments in Russian foreign policy in a context-rich way.
5. Summarise and assess foreign policy documents, concepts and strategies.

## **Evaluation Methods**

Class performance (10%) /Assignments: Term paper, Book review,  
Seminar presentation (30%) /End Semester Exam (60%)

## **Course Content**

### **Foundations of Russian/Soviet Foreign Policy**

- Identity debates, key concepts and factors shaping Russia's foreign policy discourse
- Instruments of Russian Foreign Policy: Diplomacy, Military Force, Energy, SoftPower
- The basis of Soviet Foreign Policy under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Gor-bachev
- Soviet Union and the West, Soviet Foreign Policy and the Third World

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## Readings

- Carr, E.H. (1948). *International Relations Between the Two World Wars, 1919-1993*, New York: Macmillan (Entire Book)
- Kennan, George, F. (1960). *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin*, Boston: Little Brown and Co (Entire Book)
- White, Stephen (1993). “The Soviet Union and the Wider World”, *After Gorbachev*, Cambridge University Press, Chapter -6 pp. 186-220
- Upadhyay, Archana (2021). “‘Religion’ in Russia’s Strategic Thinking: Internal and External Dimensions”. In Archana Upadhyay (Ed). *Transitions in Post-Soviet Eurasia, Identity, Polity and Strategic Choices*, London and New York, Routledge, pp. 181-199.
- White, Stephen (1993). “Towards a New Russia”, *After Gorbachev*, Cambridge University Press, Chapter -8, pp. 261-285
- White, Stephen (1993). “Gorbachev and the Politics of Perestroika”, *After Gorbachev*, Cambridge University Press, Chapter -7, pp. 221-258

## Post-Soviet Russia: Transformation of Russian Foreign Policy

- The Early Phase in the 1990s: The Yeltsin years, economic transformation and attempts at integration with the West
- Ascendancy of Putin and Foreign Policy reorientation (2000-2010); Pragmatic cooperation
- Beginning of confrontation (2010 onwards); Russia’s assertion and confrontation with the West
- Russia and the West: US, EU, NATO

## Readings

Cohen, Stephen. (2009). *Soviet Fates and Lost Alternatives: From Stalinism to the New Cold War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Desai, Padma. (2006). *Conversations on Russia: Reforms from Yeltsin to Putin*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Dugin, Alexander. (2015). *Last War of the World Island: The Geopolitics of Contemporary Russia*. London: Arkato.
- The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation 2000. <https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/econcept.htm>.
- The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation 2008. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/786>.
- Kumar, Rajan (2018). Russia's Foreign Policy: An Overview of 25 Years of Transition, *International Studies*, 50 (3-4), Sage.
- Lavrov, S. (10 April, 2016). "Shift to multipolar world: Lavrov says Russia working to adjust foreign policy to new reality." <https://www.rt.com/news/339082-russia-new-foreign-policy-multipolar/>
- Trenin, Dmitri. (March 18, 2016). "A Five-Year Outlook for Russian Foreign Policy: Demands, Drivers and Influences", *Task Force on U.S. Policy towards Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia Project*. Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center. Available at: <http://carnegie.ru/2016/03/18/five-year-outlook-for-russian-foreign-policy-demands-drivers-and-influences/ivkm>.
- Trenin, Dmitri. (February 22, 2017). "New Triangular Diplomacy Emerges Amid Changing Global Political Landscape". *Global Times*. <http://carnegie.ru>.
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2016) *Russia's Foreign Policy, Change and Continuity in National Identity*, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2020). *Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy*, New York, London: Routledge

## Russia's Policy towards its Near Abroad

- Ukraine Crisis
- Regional Conflicts: Georgia, Moldova, Nagorno Karabakh
- Russia and Central Asia

## Readings

- Askerov, Ali, Stefan Brooks and Lasha Tchantouridze (2020). *Post-Soviet Conflicts, The Thirty Years Crisis*, Lanham, MD & London: Lexington Books.
- 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, pp. 210-239
- Dawisha, Karen & Bruce Parrott (1994). *Russia and the New States of Eurasia: The Politics of Upheaval*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-55.
- Demirdirek, Hulya (2008). "In the Minority in Moldova: (Dis) Empowerment through Territorial Conflict". In Oliver Schmidtke and Serhy Yekelehyk (eds), *Europe's Last Frontier?: Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine Between Russia and the European Union*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 115-131.
- Gotz, Elias (2017). "Putin, the State and War: The Causes of Russia's Near Abroad Revisited", *International Studies Review*, No.19, pp.228-253
- Gotz, Elias (ed.) (2019). *Russia, the West, and the Ukraine Crisis*, London: Routledge, pp 1-18
- Kappeler, Andreas (2014). "Ukraine and Russia: legacies of the imperial past and competing memories", *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, July, pp. 107-115.
- Laenen, Ria (2012). "Russia's 'Vital and Exclusive' National Interests in the Near Abroad". In Maria Freire Raquel and Roger E. Kanet (eds.) *Russia and its Near Neighbours*, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17-38.
- Pallin, Carolina Vendil & Fredrik Westerlund (2009). "Russia's War in Georgia: lessons and Consequences", *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, vol. 20, no. 2, June, pp. 400-424

- Svarin, David (2016). “The construction of ‘geopolitical spaces’ in Russian foreign policy discourse before and after the Ukraine crisis”, *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, July, pp. 129 -140.
- Toal, Gerard (2017). *Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus*, Oxford UK: Oxford University Press.
- Upadhyay, Archana (2017). “Borderland Geopolitics in Estonia, The Case of Narva- The Russian Majority Enclave”, *World Affairs*, vol. 21, No.3, July- September, pp.160-168.

### **Russia’s ‘Turn to the East’**

- Russia’s policy towards Asia: India and China
- Asia- Pacific/Indo-Pacific
- East Asia

### **Readings**

- Article by Russian President Vladimir Putin (2000), “Russia: New Eastern Perspectives,” November 9, 2000, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/21132>.
- Bordachev, Timofey (2017) “Russia-China -An Alliance for Peace” *Russia in Global Affairs*, June 20, 2017, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Russia- China-An-Alliance-for-Peace-or-War-18783>.
- Bond, Ian Bond (2016) “Russia and China: Partners of Choice and Necessity?” Centre for European Reform Report, December 8, <http://www.cer.org.uk/publications/archive/report/2016/russia-and-china-partners-choice-and-necessity>.
- “Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation: Approved by President of the Russian Federation V. Putin on 12 February 2013,” February 18, 2013, [http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/-/asset\\_publisher/CptICk B6BZ29/content/id/122186](http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICk B6BZ29/content/id/122186).
- “Joint Declaration between the Russian Federation and the Republic of India on Deepening the Strategic Partnership to Meet Global Challenges,” December 7, 2009, <http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/408>.

- Lukin, Alexander (2018). *China and Russia: A New Rapprochement*, Polity.
- Lo, Bobo (2008). *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the New Geopolitics*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Lo, Bobo (2017). *A Wary Embrace: What the China-Russia Relationship Means for the World*, Melbourne: Penguin and Lowy Institute.
- Makarychev, Andrey (2017) “Russia’s Engagement with Asia Pacific: International Socialization, Multipolarity and Regionalism” *Rising Powers Quarterly*, vol. 2, no 1, pp 105-119.
- Putin, Vladimir (2016) “Speech at a Ceremony Marking the 15th Anniversary of Signing of the Treaty on Good-Neighbourliness, Friendship and Cooperation between the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China,” June 25, 2016, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/52274/print>.
- Shagina, Maria (2020) “Russia’s Pivot to Asia: Between Rhetoric and Substance,” *Orbis*, vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 447-460.
- Trenin, Dmitri (2015) “From Greater Europe to Greater Asia? The Sino-Russian Entente,” *Carnegie Moscow Center*, April 9, 2015, <http://carnegie.ru/2015/04/09/from-greater-europe-to-greater-asia-sino-russian-entente-pub-59728>.
- Upadhyay, Archana (2020) “Russia and the two Koreas”. In Jagannath P. Panda (Ed.) *The Korean Peninsula and Indo-Pacific Power Politics*, London, New York, Routledge, 2020, pp. 137-148.
- Upadhyay, Archana (2015) “India and Russia in the Changing World”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 50, No 33, 15 August, pp.23-26.
- Watts, John Sofia Ledberg and Kjell Engelbrekt (2016) "Brothers in Arms, Yet Again? Twenty-First Century Sino-Russian Strategic Collaboration in the Realm of Defence and Security," *Defence Studies*, 16(4): 444.
- Ying, Fu (2016) “How China sees Russia: Beijing and Moscow are close but not Allies”, *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb.

## Global Governance and Russia's Multilateralism

— Russia's role in International Organisations and Fora

— UN, G20, BRICS, SCO, CSTO, WTO, IMF, World Bank

### Readings

- Bond, I. (2015) "Russia in International Organizations: The Shift from Defence to Offence". In: Cadier, D., Light, M. (eds) *Russia's Foreign Policy*. Palgrave Studies in International Relations Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London.  
[https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137468888\\_12](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137468888_12)
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew (2009) "The Group of Two That Could Change the World," *Financial Times*, January 13, 2009, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d99369b8-e178-11dd-afa0-0000779fd2ac.html>.
- "China and Russia Sign the Joint Declaration of Feasible Study on Eurasian Economic Partnership Agreement," Ministry of Commerce, People's Republic of China, July 6, 2017, <http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/article/newsrelease/significantnews/201707/20170702605903.shtml>.
- "Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's News Conference on the Sidelines of the BRICS and SCO Summits in Ufa, July 9, 2015," [http://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/sanhajskaa-organizacia-sotrudnicestva-sos-/-/asset\\_publisher/0vP3hQoCPRg5/content/id/1551620](http://www.mid.ru/en/web/guest/sanhajskaa-organizacia-sotrudnicestva-sos-/-/asset_publisher/0vP3hQoCPRg5/content/id/1551620).
- Karaganov, Sergey (2016) "From East to West, or Greater Eurasia," *Russia in Global Affairs*, October 25, 2016, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/pubcol/From-East-to-West-or-Greater-Eurasia-18440>.
- Marochkin, Sergey and Yury Bezborodov (2022) *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Exploring New Horizons*, Routledge, 2022.
- Mearsheimer, John (2016) "Global Order and Great Power Politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', Valdai Club, 18 October, 2016.

- “Xi Calls for Reforms on Global Governance,” *China Daily*, September 29, 2016, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2016-09/29/content\\_26931697.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2016-09/29/content_26931697.htm).
- “Joint Declaration between the Russian Federation and the Republic of India on Deepening the Strategic Partnership to Meet Global Challenges,” December 7, 2009, <http://en.kremlin.ru/supplement/408>.
- Putin, Vladimir (2012) “Russia and the Changing World,” RT, February 27 at <https://www.rt.com/politics/official-word/putin-russia-changing-world-263/>
- Lukin, Alexander (2015) “Russia, China and the Emerging Greater Eurasia,” *Asan Forum*, <http://www.theasanforum.org/russia-china-and-the-emerging-greater-eurasia/>.
- Rozman, Gilbert (2014) *The Sino-Russian Challenge to the World Order: National Identities, Bilateral Relations, and East versus West in the 2010s*, Stanford Univ Press, 2014.
- Joint Declarations of the BRICS Summits, 2009- 2022. BRICS Website.
- Joint Declaration of the SCO Summits, 2014-2022. SCO Website.
- Kumar, Rajan et.al (2022), *Locating BRICS in the Global Order: Perspectives from the Global South*, Routledge, London, 2023.
- Kumar, Rajan and Biju Thomas (2022), “BRICS in Global Governance: A Gradual but Steady Expansion”, *Governance and Politics*, Moscow, 2022.

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## Essential Readings

Carr, E.H (1948) *International Relations Between the Two World Wars, 1919-1993*, Macmillan, New York

Donaldson, Robert H. and Vidya Nadkarni (2019) *The Foreign Policy of Russia, Changing Systems, Enduring Interests* (Sixth Edition), New York, London: Routledge

- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. and Christopher Marsh (2014) *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors and Sectors*, Los Angeles: CQ Press
- Kennan, George, F. (1960) *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin*, Boston: Little Brown and Co
- Rumer, Eugene, B. (2017) *Russian Foreign Policy Beyond Putin*, London, New York: Routledge
- Shirayev, Eric and Konstantin Khudoley (2019) *Russian Foreign Policy*, UK: Red Globe Press
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2016) *Russia's Foreign Policy, Change and Continuity in National Identity*, New York, London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tsygankov, Andrei (2020). *Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy*, New York, London: Routledge.