

MOSCOW STATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

(MGIMO-UNIVERSITY)

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

"Modern Russian Foreign Policy Strategy and Global Conflicts"

Department of World Politics

Department of Political Theory

«Approved»

Vice Rector for Educational Development
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«» _____ 201_ г.

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PART 1. COURSE DESCRIPTION AND TEACHING METHODS

1.1. The place and role of the course in the overall curriculum:

The course is designed to provide knowledge about current Russian foreign policy strategy in relation to global and regional conflicts. This course gives theoretical and empirical knowledge about conflict resolution and about specific conflicts that Russia is involved in after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Discussion of conflicts is important to understand Russian role in the world and in Eurasia and the processes of conflict settlement and crisis management.

1.2. The course goals and objectives:

The main goal of the course is to provide students with theoretical and practical knowledge about Russian approaches to conflicts and conflict resolution.

Course objectives are:

1. To introduce students to the contemporary theoretical approaches to conflict settlement and regional cooperation.
2. To provide students with main facts and different opinions on conflicts where Russia is involved as a party to the conflict, or a mediator, or a peacekeeper.
3. To orient students towards independent thinking on Russian approaches to global and regional conflicts.

1.3. Learning outcomes:

The basic principle of the course is individual and group discussion of the topics to find conflicting opinions on the discussed conflicts and try to reconcile them.

Classes are generally held to promote critical thinking skills.

Teaching methods used include Socratic dialogue, discourse analysis.

By the end of this course students should be able to:

1. Detect biased opinions of the parties to the conflicts and critically assess them by eliciting these parties' values and ideologies.
2. Understand the mechanisms of conflict settlement and be able to formulate practical recommendations to politicians of different states.

1.4. Course Requirements

Final examination –the final grade will be based on the performance of the students during the semester. Final oral examination will be held only for those students who received less than 70% (D) for the overall performance during the semester.

How students' work during the semester is assessed (100%):

Participation in discussions and class attendance (20% of the final grade).

Class attendance is required. Unexcused absences will lower the participation grade.

Students are expected to regularly do the homework reading and study according to the lists of sources (books, documents, electronic resources) provided by the lecturer.

On seminars students are expected to take active part in the discussion and produce good acquaintance with content of lectures, documents and respective literature.

To participate in a general discussion you have to read only about 30 pages (usually 1-2 articles).

Poster presentations (30% of the final grade)

Each student has to make a poster presentation.

A poster presentation is a 15 min group discussion based on a poster. Your poster should be sent on Monday to your group e-mail addresses (and seminar-nikitina@yandex.ru as well) so that all the group could look at these posters before class and formulate questions in advance. The author of the poster should be able to answer all the questions and give necessary comments on the poster.

Recommendations how to make posters can be found here:
<http://www.ncsu.edu/project/posters/>

Policy paper (40% of the final grade)

In addition to a poster each student has to write a policy paper on suggested topics of seminars. The exact titles of your policy papers should be discussed with Prof. Yulia Nikitina before writing.

Policy papers are not about facts, but about perspectives and recommendations. They should serve as a reality check and try to give assessments alternative to the political mainstream.

Length: 2000 words.

Structure:

- Political problem
- Why current solutions do not work
- Alternative solutions and recommendations

Policy paper should have references and bibliography. Usually policy papers do not have them, but this time they are needed to check the sources of your ideas.

Policy paper defense (10% of the final grade)

In January at your exam there will be a discussion of your policy paper. You will have to answer questions on the subject of your policy paper and defend your main ideas (prove that they can be implemented in practice)

Final Examination

Oral examination based upon elaborated response by the student to one question on any of the studied topics. Oral examination is taken only in cases when the final grade for the performance during the semester is lower than 70%.

1.5. Grading plan:

- Participation in discussions and class attendance – 20%
- Poster presentation – 30%
- Policy memo - 40%
- Policy paper defense – 10%

PART 2. COURSE CONTENTS

2.1 Types of work

Types of work	Academic hours
Total	72
Total for lectures, seminars	36
Lectures	16
Seminars	20
Homework	36
Policy memo+Poster	20
Preparation for seminars	16

2.2 Course outline

Course Outline	Academic hours			
	Lectures	Seminars	Homework	Academic hours per topic
Part 1 Theoretical and empirical approaches to conflicts in Eurasia (lectures)				

Lecture 1. Russian Foreign Policy Concepts	2		2	4
Seminar 1. Analysis of the evolution of Russian FP approaches		2	2	4
Lecture 2. UN Charter and Evolution of UN Peace Support Policies. Soviet/Russian approach to the issue. Global and Regional International Institutions in Security Field and Conflict Resolution.	2		2	4
Lecture 3. Russia-NATO relations. Conflicts in Former Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Kosovo, etc.) and interference of International Organizations	2		2	4
Lecture 4. Russia and strategic security (including Iranian Nuclear Dossier and DPRK nuclear program)	2		2	4
Lecture 5. Russian role in regional security organizations in Eurasia (CSTO and SCO)	2		2	4
Lecture 6. Conflicts in Eurasia (1). CIS Peace Operation in Tajikistan, and International Coalition Operations in Afghanistan. Transnistria conflict.	2		2	4
Lecture 7. Conflicts in Eurasia (2): Russia/CIS Operations in South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Russian-Georgian War of 2008 and color revolutions.	2		2	4
Lecture 8. Terrorism/Counter-Terrorism: Political and Legal Aspects	2		2	4
Part 2 Analysis of specific conflicts and their settlement (seminars)				
Seminar 2. Methodological seminar on conflicts		2	2	4
Seminar 3. Identity conflicts: Russia and the West		2	2	4
Seminar 4. Political conflicts: democracy vs stability, “color” revolutions		2	2	4
Seminar 5. Regional security organizations in		2	2	4

Eurasia: approaches to conflict resolution and crisis reaction				
Seminar 6. Conflicts -1. Poster presentations		2	2	4
Seminar 7. Conflicts -2. Poster presentations		2	2	4
Seminar 8. Conflicts -3. Poster presentations		2	2	4
Seminars 9 and 10. Final discussions		4	4	8
Total:	16	20	36	72

2.3. COURSE CONTENTS

Lectures' topics description:

1. Introductory lecture. Russian Foreign Policy Concepts

Course outline. Literature. Main requirements.

Four generations of Russian FP doctrines. Main issues in Russian official FP discourse.

2. UN Charter and Evolution of UN Peace Support Policies. Soviet/Russian approach to the issue. Global and Regional International Institutions in Security Field and Conflict Resolution.

Principles for conflict mediation and “soft peace-keeping” in Chapter 6 of the UN Charter. Principles for coercive peace-enforcement in Chapter 7 of the UN Charter. Mixed formats (operations ”Six-and-a-Half” and “Seven-and-a-Half”).

Commission on Sovereignty and Conflicts and “Responsibility to Protect” UN Report. UN Department of Peace Operations. Modern typology and statistics of peace operations. UN lessons learned from engagements in conflicts.

Principles of decision-making on security issues in UN Security Council, General Assembly and in G-8 format. Regional security organizations under provisions of the Chapter 8 of the UN Charter. “Families” of regional security/political regional organizations on five continents. Relations between global and regional institutions, share of responsibilities and functions.

3. Russia-NATO relations. Conflicts in Former Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Kosovo, etc.) and interference of International Organizations

Evolution of NATO’s role in post-Soviet period. NATO’s enlargement policy and conflicts. Rome Declaration, Lisbon summit Strategic concept. NATO’s role in former Yugoslavia. NATO’s role in international operations in Afghanistan. NATO operation in Libya. Rules and exceptions. International debates on responsibilities and methods of NATO’s involvements into conflicts.

Dynamics of NATO-Russia relations in post-Soviet period. Crises in relations in 1999 and 2008. Two “editions” of NATO-Russia Council and principles of its operation. Principles for potential strategic partnership between Russia and the NATO. Interaction of Afghanistan. Prospects for

joint conflict resolution policy and necessity for coordinated conflict response. Internal debates in Russia on ideological/political aspects of relations with the NATO.

Collapse of former Yugoslavia and conflicts of early 1990s. UN and NATO interaction on operations in Bosnia. Russia's involvement in joint NATO-Russian peace-keeping in Bosnia under the UN mandate.

Problematic Russian-Western cooperation on conflict resolution in Kosovo. Crisis in relations, Russian withdrawal from Kosovo. Political parallels between debates around non-recognized states of former Yugoslavia and in post-Soviet space.

4. Russia and strategic security (including Iranian Nuclear Dossier and DPRK nuclear program)

Invention of nuclear weapons and dangers of WMD. Concept of nuclear deterrence. Strategic, middle range and tactical weapons. Non-Proliferation Treaty and problems with the NPT regime. Missile Technologies Control Regime (MTCR).

IAEA and principles of its operation. Additional protocols and systems of IAEA inspections. Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). Prospects for Fissile Materials Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT).

Logic of nuclear and conventional arms race/disarmament.

US-Soviet SALT negotiations and START-1 Treaty. Problems with START-2 and SORT treaties. Main parameters of the START-3.

ABM Treaty of 1972 and modern political difficulties with the new ABM systems. INF Treaty and its implementation. Conventional disarmament and CFE Treaty.

Early post-war years cooperation between Western countries and Iran on nuclear issues. Change of policies after Iranian revolution of 1979. Russian cooperation with Iran on peaceful nuclear developments. IAEA suspicions and Western policies towards Iran. Problem of sanctions and inspections. Case of India-USA nuclear deal and its relevance to Iranian dossier.

Ideological roots of contradictions around divided Korean peninsula. Chains of nuclear and political cooperation: China-Pakistan-North Korea. Clandestine nuclear programs of DPRK. Withdrawal from the NPT. Nuclear and missile tests. IAEA conditions. Six-party talks and interests of world powers. Potential scenarios for denuclearization of Korean peninsula.

5. Russian role in regional security organizations in Eurasia (CSTO and SCO)

Collective Security Treaty of 1992 and basic principles of security cooperation between the new independent states. Stages of political-military integration. CIS Military Cooperation Coordination Staff. CIS / CSTO comparative study.

Institutionalization of CSTO in 2002-2003. Dilemma of working with “new” and “old” security challenges. Impasse in CSTO-NATO relations. Achievements and problems of CSTO policies on various directions.

Creation of Shanghai Cooperation Organization on the basis of system of negotiations over the borders. Interests of Russia, China and Central Asian states regarding SCO. SCO “enlargement” (observers and partners). Erosion of SCO’s functions: from security to general social-economic cooperation. CSTO / SCO comparative study.

6. Conflicts in Eurasia (1). CIS Peace Operation in Tajikistan, and International Coalition Operations in Afghanistan. Transnistria conflict.

Civil war in Tajikistan and CIS peace operation in 1992-2000. UN observer’s role. Tajik Peace accords of 1997 and their implementation.

Russian involvement in Afghanistan in 1979-1989. Regime of Taliban and preventive creation of the CIS Collective Rapid Response Forces in 2000. US and UN operations on Afghanistan. Political aspects of the western coalition actions in Afghanistan. Role of Russia and CSTO in course of 2001-2011 operation and coordination of roles for the post-coalition Afghanistan after 2014.

Civil war in Moldova in early 1990s and Russian-Moldavian interstate agreement of 1992. Trilateral operation in Transnistria. Later role of EU and OSCE. Modern scenarios of conflict resolution for Moldova/Transnistria.

7. Conflicts in Eurasia (2): Russia/CIS Operations in South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Russian-Georgian War of 2008 and colour revolutions.

Civil wars and revolutions in South and in North Caucasus in the 1990s. Chechen war and conflicts in Georgia. Russian-Georgian interstate agreements of 992 and trilateral operation in South Ossetia. CIS mandate and operation in Abkhazia.

Georgian operation of restoring control over Ajaria. Tensions of 2007-2008 and 5-days Russian-Georgian war of 2008. Reactions of NATO, EU, UN, CSTO, CIS. International-legal aspects of the Russian-Georgian war.

“Color” revolutions in Ukraine, Georgia, Kirgizstan and their political implications. Recent upgrade of crisis response coordination mechanism within the CSTO (2010-2011).

8. Terrorism/Counter-Terrorism: Political and Legal Aspects

History of Terrorism. Convention of League of Nations. 16 basic UN conventions on terrorist activities. UN Anti-criminal Committee's definition of terrorism. EU and Council of Europe basic documents on terrorism. African Union Convention. League of Arab States Convention.

National laws on terrorism (USA, UK, Russia, etc.). International coordination of counter-terrorist activities. Main parameters of legal/political regulation of terrorist/counter-terrorist activities.

Seminars

Seminar 1. Discussion of Russian Foreign Policy documents (seminar)

Students are provided with a reading material with excerpts from official Russian documents (24 pages). The task is to discuss Russian approaches to the main international and regional problems to formulate major foreign policy strategies.

Seminar 2. Methodological seminar on conflicts

Reading list will be provided after clarification of students' background knowledge and research interests

Seminar 3. Identity conflicts: Russia and the West

Is Russia civilizationally a Western or Eurasian country? Does Russia belong to the Western democratic community? How does Russian attitude to the West influence its foreign policy? What are "the West" and "the East"? What for are these concepts needed in the Russian political and civilisational discourse? Do you think that Eurasianism as a concept can reconcile two opposite Russian political and cultural vectors towards the West and the East? Do you think there is a need to choose between the two?

Reading list:

- Andrei P. Tsygankov. Self and Other in International Relations Theory: Learning from Russian Civilizational Debates / *International Studies Review* (2008) 10, 762–775
- Andrei P. Tsygankov. Finding a Civilisational Idea: "West," Eurasia," and "Euro-East" in Russia's Foreign Policy / *Geopolitics*, No 12, 2007. – pp. 375–399.
- Rosalind Marsh. The Nature of Russia's Identity: The Theme of "Russia and the West" in Post-Soviet Culture / *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 35, No. 3, July 2007. – pp. 555-578.
- Marlene Laruelle. The Two Faces of Contemporary Eurasianism: An Imperial Version of Russian Nationalism / *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 32, No. 1, March 2004. – pp. 115-136.

Seminar 4. Political conflicts: democracy vs stability, "color" revolutions

What are the factors of political instability in Eurasia? Did color revolutions lead to greater stability and prosperity?

Policy memo: choose one case of revolution and assess its results for the current development of the country

Reading list:

Nikolai Petrov, Masha Lipman, Henry E. Hale. Overmanaged Democracy in Russia: Governance Implications of Hybrid Regimes http://carnegieendowment.org/files/overmanaged_democracy_2.pdf (28 p.)

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way THE RISE OF COMPETITIVE AUTHORITARIANISM http://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/files/SL_elections.pdf (15 p.)

A.Makarkin. An Orange-Tinged Revolt // Russia in Global Politics. – 2005. – N 2 (April-June) http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_4957

A. Moshes. A Special Case? // Russia in Global Politics. – 2008. – N 2 (April-June) http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_10926

Yu. Sharkov. “Colour Revolution”: Uniformity in Diversity // International Affairs. – 2008. – Vol. 54, Issue 4. (*try to access it in the MGIMO library databases*)

L.Way. The real causes of colour revolutions // Journal of Democracy. – 2008. – Vol. 19, Issue 3. (*try to access it in the MGIMO library databases*)

M. Zhrebkin. In search for a theoretical approach to the analysis of “colour” revolutions: transition studies and discourse theory // Communist and Post-Communist Studies. – 2009. – Vol. 42, Issue 2.

R.Medvedev. A Splintered Ukraine // Russia in Global Politics. – 2007. N3. http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_9136

A.Schipani-Aduritz. Through the Orange-Coloured Lens: Western Media, Constructed Imaginery, and Colour Revolutions // Demokratizatsiya. - 2007. – Vol. 15. – Issue 1. <http://www.demokratizatsiya.org/bin/pdf/DEM%2015-1%20Schipani-Aduriz.pdf> (This article shows how, while covering the events in these three former Soviet republics, Western journalists depicted scenarios in a similar vein to the October 2000 Serbian election and the Czechoslovakian Velvet Revolution of 1989)

V.Dubnov. The Orange Color of the Bourgeoisie // Russia in Global Politics. – 2005. N1. http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_4412

K.Zatulín. Fighting for Ukraine: What's Next? // Russia in Global Politics. – 2005. N2
http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/n_4955

Seminar 5. Regional security organizations in Eurasia: approaches to conflict resolution and crisis reaction

Development of security organizations in Eurasia and their potential in conflict settlement and crisis reaction.

Policy memo: choose CSTO or SCO and assess their potential in crisis reaction

Reading list:

CSTO

Collective Security Treaty Organization official website http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index_aengl.htm

Collective Security Treaty http://www.dkb.gov.ru/start/index_azbengl.htm

CSTO Charter http://untreaty.un.org/unts/144078_158780/5/9/13289.pdf

ALYSON J. K. BAILES, VLADIMIR BARANOVSKY AND PÁL DUNAY. Chapter 4. Regional security cooperation in the former Soviet area. SIPRI Yearbook 2007 <http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2007/files/SIPRIYB0704.pdf>

Major (P) John A. Mowchan. The Militarization of the Collective Security Treaty Organization. Center for Strategic Leadership US Army War College, Issue Paper Volume 6-09, July 2008 http://www.csl.army.mil/usacsl/publications/IP_6_09_Militarization_of_the_CSTO.pdf

CSTO: Responsible Security / S.Kulik, A.Nikitin, Y.Nikitina, I.Yurgens. - M.: INSOR, 2011. - 21 p. <http://www.insor-russia.ru/files/CSTO%20Synopsis.pdf>

SCO

SCO official website - <http://www.sectsco.org/EN/>

Alyson J. K. Bailes, Pál Dunay, Pan Guang and Mikhail Troitskiy. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization. SIPRI Policy Paper No. 17 <http://books.sipri.org/files/PP/SIPRIPP17.pdf>

Alyson JK Bailes. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Europe. China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly, Volume 5, No. 3 (2007) p. 13-18 http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/CEF/Quarterly/August_2007/Bailes.pdf

Anna Matveeva and Antonio Giustozzi THE SCO: A REGIONAL ORGANISATION IN THE MAKING. Working Paper 39, LSE Crisis States Research Centre, September 2008 <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/22937/1/wp39.2.pdf>

Dr Marcel de Haas. THE SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANISATION'S MOMENTUM TOWARDS A MATURE SECURITY ALLIANCE. Scientia Militaria, 2008, pp. 14-30 http://www.clingendael.nl/publications/2008/20080100_cscp_haas_art_sm.pdf

Seminars 6, 7, 8. Russian strategy in regional and global conflicts.

Three consecutive seminars will be devoted to the discussion of posters. Topics of posters should be discussed individually with Prof. Yulia Nikitina. Posters can be made on any of the conflicts that Russia is involved or was involved.

Suggested subjects for discussion: conflicts in Eurasia with Russian involvement.

Framework for your analysis:

- Causes of conflicts
- Time frames (military phase, cease-fire, phase of political settlement)
- Main actors/parties to the conflict and their interests
- Third parties (external, regional or non-regional states or organizations) in conflict settlement and their interests
- Type of peacekeeping operation (if any), type of political agreements signed
- Causes that impede definitive political settlement (why conflicts are still frozen?)
- Possible solutions

We will compare conflicts on the basis of these questions. In the following reports there are some parts related to the detailed description of internal political situation or elections, if they do not give you answers to the above questions, you can skip them.

Ideas for a policy paper: choose one conflict and answer the above questions. Give short political recommendations

Reading list:

International Crisis Group reports

Tajikistan

[Tajikistan: An Uncertain Peace](#)
Asia Report N° 30, 24 Dec 2001

Moldova/Transdniestria

[Moldova: No Quick Fix](#)

Europe Report N°147, 12 Aug 2003

Nagorno-Karabakh

[Nagorno-Karabakh: A Plan for Peace](#)

Europe Report N°167, 11 Oct 2005

South Ossetia

[Georgia: Avoiding War in South Ossetia](#)

Europe Report N°159, 26 Nov 2004

Abkhazia

[Abkhazia Today](#)

Europe Report N°176, 15 Sep 2006

If you choose a conflict that is not on the list, ask for individual suggestions for readings.

2.4 POLICY PAPER AND POSTER TOPICS

Topics of all written works should be formulated by students according to their research preferences. Before writing, a student should have a consultation with a lecturer to formulate the subject.

Generally topics should be related to the topics of lectures and seminars.

Important notice: policy paper and poster should be devoted to different subjects

2.5. EXAM TOPICS

Exam consists of policy paper defense.

2.6 EXAM TIMING

- January, according to the schedule