

**International Relations Program  
Winter 19**

**Course title:** Foreign Policy of Russia and China

**Language of instruction:** English

**Professor:** Dr. Anastassia V. Obydenkova

**Professor's contact and office hours:**

[Anastassia.Obydenkova@eui.eu](mailto:Anastassia.Obydenkova@eui.eu) (office hours by appointment)

**Course contact hours:** 45

**Recommended credit:** 3 US credits – 6 ECTS credits

**Course prerequisites:**

- Interest in studies of foreign policy, interest in Russia and/or in China.
- Previous background in international relations or comparative politics would be an advantage but it is not a formal requirement.

**Language requirements:** English

**Course focus and approach:** Foreign Policy, Eurasia, Russia, China, International Relations, Comparative Politics

**Course description:**

This course offers insights into foreign policy of China and Russia in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with special focus on their overlapping geopolitical goals and strategies. Both states are located in Eurasia. They have overlapping interests, competing goals, and they face sometimes similar external challenges. The course offers insights into strategy of foreign policy of both states, contrasting and comparing their geopolitical battles. The course is structured in the following way: (1) theory of foreign policy analysis; (2) historical legacies in foreign policy; (3) goals and challenges of foreign policies of two states; (4) shared geopolitical space (struggle over the dominance in Central Asia); (5) implications of their foreign policies and their impact on the region. The topics above will be discussed within the context of specific case-studies. This course examines comparatively the development of foreign policy of China and Russia in Eurasia (so-called “near abroad”) and in the World Politics. The first part of the course will focus on foreign policy of Russia and China in Eurasia. The second part of the course will focus on foreign policy of both states in global context. It will look at how both states deal with these challenges. Moreover, the course will focus on the analysis of the strategies employed by China and Russia in terms of their own cooperation as well as competition over geopolitical space (e.g., access to energy resources).

**Learning objectives:**

The goals of the course are:

- To acquire practical knowledge of analysis of foreign policy;

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- To familiarize with historical legacies in foreign policy of China and Russia;
- To develop ability to compare and contrast the strategy of foreign policies;
- To identify goals of foreign policy (security, economic and political development);
- To place foreign policy of Russia and China within a global context of world politics.

**Course workload:** Reading material assigned per each class, participation in class discussions, in-class assignments, team-working (groups' presentations), individual presentations, midterm exam and final exam.

### Teaching methodology:

The course has 22 sessions, combination of lectures and seminars (one lecture and one seminar each week). Lectures are interactive. The seminars are based on individual presentations. Presenter is required to use power point to discuss one of the required or recommended or suggested readings and to consider 5 questions in the end of the presentation. The questions must be stated on the last slide of power point and are meant to initiate and lead the class discussion. The evaluation of the presentation includes the quality of the questions and the discussion. The power point must be sent to Dr. Obydenkova 48 hours before the presentation *including* the questions for discussion on the last slide (earlier submissions will be appreciated).

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### Assessment criteria:

The overall grade is calculated based on attendance, participation, team-working (groups' presentations), individual presentations, midterm exam and final exam.

- Participation in discussions (10%)
- Group's presentations (15%)
- Individual Presentations *and* follow-up discussion (25%)
- Mid-term exam (25%)
- Final Exam (25%)

**Absence policy:** Attending class is mandatory and will be monitored daily by professors.

Missing classes will impact on the student's final grade as follows:

Absences	Penalization
Up to two (2) absences	No penalization
Three (3) absences	1 point subtracted from final grade (on a 10 point scale)
Four (4) absences	2 points subtracted from final grade (on a 10 point scale)
Five (5) absences or more	The student receives an INCOMPLETE ("NO PRESENTAT") for the course

The PEHE/HESP attendance policy does not distinguish between justified or unjustified absences. The student is deemed responsible to manage his/her absences. Emergency situations (hospitalization, family emergency, etc.) will be analyzed on a case by case basis by the Academic Director of the program.

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### Classroom norms:

- No food or drink is permitted in class
- This is a **screen-down class**: no laptops, tablets or mobiles can be used in this class.<sup>1</sup>
- Students may use *printed* materials, notes, and *printed* readings during the class.
- Students will have a ten-minute break after the first hour of each session

### Weekly schedule

#### WEEK 1 (Classes 1-2): Introduction to Foreign Policy and the Region.

What are the driving forces of foreign policy of a state? How can we explain the difference between the strategies of foreign policy of the states? This session provides introduction to foreign policy analysis and two states under study (Russia and China).

#### *Required reading:*

Bueno de Mesquita, B., and A. Smith (2012) Domestic Explanations of International Relations. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15:161-181

#### *Suggested reading:*

Edward Mansfield, Helen Milner and Peter Rosendorff (2002), “Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements,” *International Organization*, 56, 477–513;  
Kurt Taylor Gaubatz (1996), “Democratic States and Commitment in International Relations”, *International Organization* 50, 109-139.

#### WEEK 2 (Classes 3-4): China and Russia: Regional and Global Approaches

The session will introduce students to geopolitical games in Eurasia. It will focus on main so-called “game-players” – the European Union, the US, Russia and China. It will focus on the overlapping interests and challenges as well as on compatibility and conflict in Eurasia. The session will introduce the concept of “international security” into debate.

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<sup>1</sup> Please consult recent research that shows that students learn more when they take notes by hand and they learn less when laptops are in the classroom:

Mueller & Oppenheimer “**The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard. Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking**” <http://pss.sagepub.com/content/25/6/1159>

Sanaa, et. al. “**Laptop multitasking hinders classroom learning for both users and nearby peers**” <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0360131512002254?np=y>

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*Required reading:*

Larson, D.W., and A. Shevchenko (2010) Status Seekers: Chinese and Russian Responses to the U.S. Primacy. *International Security* 34:63-95 (Global Approach)

Libman, A., and Obydenkova, A., (2018) “The Challenge of Authoritarian Regionalism” in *Journal of Democracy*, 29(4). (Regional Approach)

*Further reading:*

Pevehouse, J.C. (2002a). With a Little Help from my Friends? Regional Organizations and the Consolidation of Democracy. *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 611-626

Peceny, M., Beer, C.C., and S. Sanchez-Terry (2002) Dictatorial Peace? *American Political Science Review* 96:15-26

**WEEK 3 (Classes 5-6): Foreign Policy of Russia**

How do understand the foreign policy of modern Russia? How do historical legacies account for foreign policy and strategy of this state? What are the motivations behind the actions? What are the elements of decision-making in foreign policy of Russia? This session will introduce students to Russian foreign policy in so-called “near abroad”, that is, Russia’s relations with former Soviet Republics.

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*Required reading:*

Allison, R. (2017) Russia and the post-2014 International Legal Order: Revisionism and Realpolitik. *International Affairs* 93: 519-543

Mankoff, Jeffrey. 2014. “Russia’s Latest Land Grab: How Putin Won Crimea and Lost Ukraine.” *Foreign Affairs* 93(3): 60–68

*Further reading:*

Obydenkova, A., and A. Libman (2014) Understanding the Foreign Policy of Autocratic Actors: Ideology or Pragmatism? Russia and the Tymoshenko Trial as a Case Study. *Contemporary Politics* 20: 347-364

Mikhail Molchanov (2018) Russian–European relations in the Balkans and Black Sea region: Great Power identity and the idea of Europe” Book Review, *International Affairs*, 94(3), 679–680.

Whewell, Tim. 2014. “The Russians Fighting a ‘Holy War’ in Ukraine.” *BBC News Magazine* December 17. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-30518054>

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Kudelia, S. (2014) The House that Yanukovych Built. *Journal of Democracy* 25:19-34

### WEEK 4 (Classes 7-8):

#### **Russia in Regional International Organizations: the CIS and the EEU.**

The session investigates whether and how regional organizations created by Russia can be used for the regime survival of their member-states. Numerous regions of the world have witnessed a proliferation of regional organizations set up by powerful authoritarian states. The session analyzes how these organizations can indeed matter for the external influences on regime survival and eventual consolidation. The session will focus on the case of the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU) and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (both international organizations founded and sponsored by Russia) to explore various strategies of Russia vis-à-vis different countries of the post-Soviet Eurasia. The session will help students to learn to identify strategic models of behavior of a leading state. The class will evaluate the benefits of the strategy for both a leading state and targeted states.

#### *Required reading:*

Kubicek, P. (2009) The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism? *Review of International Studies* 35:237-256

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#### *Further reading:*

Libman, A., and A. Obydenkova (2013) Informal Governance and Participation in Non-Democratic International Organizations. *Review of International Organizations* 8:221-243.

### **WEEK 5 (Classes 9-10): Foreign Policy of China and Russia: Overlapping Geopolitics**

The session will introduce students to geopolitical overlapping strategies of China and Russia through the case-study of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The SCO has a bipolar structure, with Russia and China being the key members. The SCO has also a very clear focus on its security agenda. The session will analyze the role of the SCO in some political issues (e.g., resolving border conflicts between Eurasian countries and China). The session introduce both cooperation and conflict between Russia and China (e.g., while China has shown some interest in advancing its economic agenda, Russia has consistently blocked such efforts). Finally, the role of the SCO in Eurasia and beyond will also be discussed. That is, the session will consider some of the aspects of complex relationship between the SCO, Europe, the US, and Iran. The session will place the role of the SCO within global focus considering its strategy and impact.

#### *Required reading:*

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- Brummer, M. (2007) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Iran: A Power-Ful Union. *Journal of International Affairs* 60:185-198.
- Bailes, A. (2007) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Europe. *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 5: 13-18 (5 pages)

*Further reading:*

- Frost, A. (2009) The Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and Russia's Strategic Goals in Central Asia. *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 7:83-102.
- Song, W. (2014) Interest, Power and China's Difficult Game in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Journal of Contemporary China* 23:85-101
- Yuan, J.-D. (2010) China's Role in Establishing and Building the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). *Journal of Contemporary China* 19:855-869
- Germanovich, G. (2008) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Threat to American Interests in Central Asia? *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 6:19-38
- Ambrosio, T. (2008) Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia. *Europe-Asia Studies* 60:1321-1344.
- Rahman, K. (2011) Central Asia, Energy Security and Shanghai Cooperation Organization. *Policy Perspectives* 8: 65-76

**WEEK 6 (Classes 11-12):****Summary of foreign policy of China and Russia in Eurasia and Mid-term Exam**

This week is dedicated to summary of the topics that have been covered in previous sessions, consultations on group's presentations, and a mid-term exam. Mid-term exam takes place during Class 12. To help students to prepare well for the mid-term exam, **there will be no readings assigned for this week.**

**WEEK 7 (Classes 13-14): China in the World Politics**

The session discusses so-called "new diplomacy" of China in the world. The session continues with analysis of the role of China beyond the region of Eurasia. What tools does China use in its foreign policy? The session will look into international development finance and regional development banks and the role of China. Specifically, the case-study will be dedicated to understanding the functioning of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).

*Required reading:*

- Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones (2018) "China challenges global governance? Chinese international development finance and the AIIB" *International Affairs*, 94(3), 573–593.



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Medeiros, Evan and Taylor Fravel. 2003. "China's New Diplomacy." *Foreign Affairs* 82 (6): 22–35

*Further reading:*

Ikenberry, John. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 87(1): 23–37

Masanori Hasegawa (2018) "The geography and geopolitics of the renminbi: a regional key currency in Asia" in *International Affairs*, 94(3), pp. 535–552.

Johnson, K. (2015) China Invests Billions in Its 'All-Weather Friendship' With Pakistan. *Foreign Policy* <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/04/16/china-invests-billions-in-its-all-weather-friendship-with-pakistan-silk-road-gwadar-indian-ocean/> Accessed on 11 March, 2016

Evan Osnos, "Making China Great Again," *The New Yorker*, 8 Jan 2018. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/01/08/making-china-great-again>

Edward Wong, "A Chinese Empire Reborn", *The New York Times*, 5 January 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/05/sunday-review/china-military-economic-power.html>

Anja Manuel, "China is Quietly Reshaping the World," *The Atlantic*, 17 October 2017. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/china-belt-and-road/542667/>

Rohni Kamal and Kevin Gallagher, "China goes global with development banks," *Bretton Woods Project*, 2016. <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2016/04/20508/>

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**WEEK 8 (Classes 15-16): Russia in the World**

This session has double aim: to address a few main issues in foreign policy of Russia beyond its "near abroad" and to conclude on the main discussions of the course. The session will discuss the case-study of Russia and Syria and Russia and the EU. The session will look separately into complex impact of international ties on Russia – democratic western influences (coming from the European Union) and autocratic external influences (associated with Soviet historical legacies and former Soviet trade ties).

Allison, R. (2013) Russia and Syria: Explaining Alignment with a Regime in a Crisis. *International Affairs* 89: 795-823

**WEEK 9 (Classes 17-18): The US and China and Groups' Presentations**

The week will be dedicated to the analysis of relationship between China and the US. The class will analyze the cooperation as well as tensions between two states and project this into understanding foreign policy of both actors to each other. It requires analysis of both China and the US as economic partners. The class will discuss interrelationship between trade partnership and foreign policies of two states with special focus for administration of Barack Obama and Donald Trump comparatively. The class will discuss similarities and differences of the US-

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China relations over the period of 2009-2017 versus 2017-2019. The session will analyze the foreign policy strategy of China and its implications for world politics within the officially declared China paradigm of “peace, modernization, and development”, on the one hand. On the other hand, foreign policy of China is also based on Princeton of “territorial integrity” and its implications for separatism. The session will focus on a few key-issues of China foreign strategy (e.g., establishment of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank).

*Required reading:*

Brook, S.G. and W.C. Wohlforth (2016) The Rise and Fall of Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century. China’s Rise and the Fate of America’s Global Position. *International Security* 40:7-53

*Further reading:*

Bader, J. (2015) China, Autocratic Patron? An Empirical Investigation of China as a Factor in Authoritarian Survival. *International Studies Quarterly* 59:23-33  
, Andy. 2010. “China and the West: The Hedgehog’s Dilemma.” *OpenDemocracyNet* March 9. Retrieved from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/andy-yeo/china-and-west-hedgehogs-dilemma>

**WEEK 10: The US and Russia and Groups’ Presentations**

The session will cover the main issues in the US-Russia relations starting from the 1990s till 2018. Special focus will be on the administration of Barack Obama and Russia, followed up by modern relations under president of Donald Trump and Russia. The class will discuss the issues of relations between NATO and Russia, conflict over the Ukraine and Syria. The class will discuss similarities and differences of the US-Russia relations over the period of 2009-2017 vs. 2017-2019.

*Required reading:*

Legvold, Robert. 2014. “The New Cold War: What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Previous One.” *Foreign Affairs* 93 (July/August): 74–84

*Further reading:*

Nexon, Daniel. 2014. “The ‘Failure’ of the ‘Reset:’ Obama’s Great Mistake? Or Putin’s?” *Washington Post’s Blog Monkey Cage* March 4. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/03/04/the-failure-of-the-reset-obamas-great-mistake-or-putinss/>

**WEEK 11 (Classes 21-22): Conclusions, Consultations, and Final Exam**



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This week is dedicated to summary of the entire course, individual consultations on mid-term exam; individual feedback on overall performance. Final exam takes place during Class 22. Class 21 will provide detailed instructions on preparation for the final exam. **To help students to prepare for the final exam, there will be no readings assigned for this week.**

### Readings (Required and Suggested):

- Allison, R. (2017) Russia and the post-2014 International Legal Order: Revisionism and Realpolitik. *International Affairs* 93: 519-543
- Allison, R. (2013) Russia and Syria: Explaining Alignment with a Regime in a Crisis. *International Affairs* 89: 795-823
- Bailes, A. (2007) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Europe. *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 5: 13-18
- Brook, S.G. and W.C. Wohlforth (2016) The Rise and Fall of Great Powers in the Twenty-first Century. China's Rise and the Fate of America's Global Position. *International Security* 40:7-53
- Brummer, M. (2007) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and Iran: A Power-Ful Union. *Journal of International Affairs* 60:185-198.
- Bueno de Mesquita, B., and A. Smith (2012) Domestic Explanations of International Relations. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15:161-181
- Frost, A. (2009) The Collective Security Treaty Organization, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and Russia's Strategic Goals in Central Asia. *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 7:83-102.
- Germanovich, G. (2008) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Threat to American Interests in Central Asia? *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 6:19-38
- Ikenberry, John. 2008. "The Rise of China and the Future of the West: Can the Liberal System Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 87(1): 23–37
- Kubicek, P. (2009) The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism? *Review of International Studies* 35:237-256
- Legvold, Robert. 2014. "The New Cold War: What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Previous One." *Foreign Affairs* 93 (July/August): 74–84
- Libman, A., and A. Obydenkova (2013) Informal Governance and Participation in Non-Democratic International Organizations. *Review of International Organizations* 8:221-243.
- Libman, A., and Obydenkova, A., (2018) "The Challenge of Authoritarian Regionalism" in *Journal of Democracy*, 29(4).
- Larson, D.W., and A. Shevchenko (2010) Status Seekers: Chinese and Russian Responses to the U.S. Primacy. *International Security* 34:63-95
- Mankoff, Jeffrey. 2014. "Russia's Latest Land Grab: How Putin Won Crimea and Lost Ukraine." *Foreign Affairs* 93(3): 60–68
- Medeiros, Evan and Taylor Fravel. 2003. "China's New Diplomacy." *Foreign Affairs* 82 (6): 22–35
- Obydenkova, A., and A. Libman (2014) Understanding the Foreign Policy of Autocratic Actors: Ideology or Pragmatism? Russia and the Tymoshenko Trial as a Case Study. *Contemporary Politics* 20: 347-364

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- Rahman, K. (2011) Central Asia, Energy Security and Shanghai Cooperation Organization.  
*Policy Perspectives* 8: 65-76
- Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones (2018) “China challenges global governance? Chinese international development finance and the AIIB” *International Affairs*, 94(3), 573–593.