



BAYLOR UNIVERSITY

Spring 2017 PSC 4386 RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

Instructor: Dr. Sergiy Kudelia

Location: Draper 353

Time: TR 2:00PM-3:15PM

Office Hours: After Class or by Appointment Only

Email: Sergiy.Kudelia@baylor.edu

Course Description:

Russia has recently reemerged as a major power striving not only to expand its influence, but also make territorial gains. Its renewed assertiveness and territorial pretensions pose a security challenge both to its immediate neighbors and, more broadly, to the international order. This international relations course will help students analyze and interpret Russia's current policies and devise a proper response to them. It starts by putting Russian foreign policy in a broader historical and ideational context. The course will first examine the drivers and continuities in Russian foreign policy-making since Peter the Great and the shifts in its perception of the sources of external threats. It will then review the dynamics of Soviet-American rivalry after World War II and the reasons for the transition to unipolarity. The second part of the course surveys the post-Soviet political landscape and attempts to look at the post-Cold War world through the lenses of Russian policy-makers in the early 1990s. It will trace the evolution in Russia's security priorities over the last two decades and analyze Moscow's continued grappling with a variety of conventional and non-conventional threats. The course will also review new instruments in its foreign policy "tool-kit" that help Russia in tackling emerging threats and taking a more forceful stance in the pursuit of its goals. Finally, the course will offer an in-depth look into several regions and issues that generate most contention in Russia's relationship with the West. The course will conclude with a forward-looking assessment of Russian foreign policy strategies and evaluate options that other major powers have for dealing with Russia.

Course Objectives:

Upon completion of the course students are expected to acquire the following:

1. Knowledge of the recurring patterns in the history of Russia's foreign policy and intellectual debates about the essence of its national interests;
2. Understanding of the decision-making logic and foreign policy priorities of Russia's current leadership;
3. Ability to analyze the role of various world regions from the standpoint of Russia's national security interests;
4. Detailed grasp of the most contentious issues in Russia's relations with other major powers;
5. Ability to make estimates of Russia's foreign policy strategy.

Course Requirements:

Students are required to complete all the readings, participate in class discussions and fulfill the following assignments:

1. *Policy Review Essay* (20 pts.)

Students will choose one of the topics covered in Weeks 9-11 and write an essay explaining the reasons for rivalry between Russia and the United States in a particular geographic area or over a specific issue. The essay should include critical overview of U.S. policies on a selected topic over the last two decades, evaluate their impact and suggest possible revisions to these policies in the near term. The essay should be 2,000-2,500 words in length and reference the relevant literature from the course. It should be emailed to the instructor 24 hours before the class when the topic is addressed. Students will then summarize their findings and arguments during class discussion. The deadline for choosing a topic for an essay is February 7.

2. *Strategy Memo* (25 pts.) and *Presentation* (5 pts. + 5 pts.)

Students will choose one of the major powers (US/UK/Germany/France/China/Iran) and work in a group (of maximum three students) to develop a comprehensive strategy for dealing with Russia over the next five years based on their national security goals and the current state of bilateral relations with Moscow. The memo should first state what the country seeks to achieve in their relationship, explain how it relates to its broader national interests and then present a set of alternative strategies for achieving these goals depending on the response of Russian leadership and the international context. The memo should be between 2,500 and 3,000 words. Students will present their memos in Weeks 14 -15. Following the presentation each group will field questions from the audience consisting of representatives of other world powers. While the memo is the result of a group effort, each student should be responsible for writing a separate section of the memo. Your memo grade will reflect the strength of the overall group analysis (15 pts.) and the writing quality of your individual section (10 pts.). The deadline for selecting the country for a group project is March 2. The memo will be due on the last day of the class (April 27).

3. *Mid-Term Exam* (25 pts. total):

4. *Attendance and Participation* (10 pts. and 10 pts.)

The policy of the College of Arts and Sciences states that students who fail to attend at least seventy-five percent of class sessions will fail the course. Students will receive full attendance credit if they miss less than 10% of classes. They will receive 5 points for attendance if they miss 10-20% of classes. They will receive 3 points if they miss 21-25% of classes.

Students' informed participation in the class discussion is an important way of learning for them and their peers. So they are strongly encouraged to participate not only by responding to the instructor's questions (passive participation), but also by engaging the arguments of other students, posing own questions and promoting dialogue on topics relevant for each class (active participation). I will count only substantive contribution to the class discussion towards participation grade. They will receive full credit for participation only if they contribute to the discussion in over half of the classes that they attend. They will receive 5 points if they participate in 25% of classes or more and 3 points if they participate in less than a quarter of classes.

Grading

The system of grading for this course is based on points. You will receive a set amount of points for each assignment and your total for the course will amount to a maximum of 100 points. Your final grade will be decided using Baylor's normal grading scale with your points total corresponding to a percentage point on the scale.

Grading Scale:

93-100=A	90-92=A-	87-89=B+	86 - 83=B
80-82=B-	77-79=C+	73-76=C	70-72=C-
60-69=D	Below 60=F		

Honor Code:

Students should uphold and abide by Baylor's Honor Code: <http://www.baylor.edu/honorcode/index.php?id=44060>. The violation of the Honor Code may result in the failed grade for an assignment, an exam or for the entire course depending on severity of a violation. You should pay particular attention to the rules concerning proper identification of another author's work and the use of your own papers that had been earlier submitted for credit in other courses. This course has a zero-tolerance policy for plagiarism. Any instance of plagiarism in the submitted work will immediately result in a failed grade (zero points for an assignment).

Title IX Office

If you or someone you know would like help related to an experience of sexual violence including sexual assault, harassment, domestic violence, dating violence, stalking or other

type of non-consensual sexual conduct, please contact Kristan Tucker, the Title IX Coordinator at Baylor University, by email (Kristan_Tucker@baylor.edu) or phone (254-710-8454).

Books for Purchase:

Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015);

Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus: Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010);

Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010).

The following book will be available on reserve at Moody Memorial Library:

Fyodor Dostoevsky, *A Writer's Diary* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1949).

The rest of the readings are accessible in electronic form via Bearcat or Baylor Library. The course reserve password is **Kudelia4386.01**

Additional Resources to Consult on Russian Foreign Policy:

- 1) Key Official Documents Guiding Russia's Foreign Policy: http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents
- 2) *Johnson's Russia List* – the most comprehensive daily index of the key articles on Russian affairs published in Russian and world press: <http://www.russialist.org/>. You can subscribe for free to receive a daily email newsletter listing all the new articles.
- 3) *Carnegie Moscow Center* – leading U.S. think-tank studying Russia: <http://carnegie.ru/?lang=en>
- 4) *Center for Strategic and International Studies/Russia and Eurasia* – Washington-based think-tank: <https://www.csis.org/regions/russia-and-eurasia/russia>
- 5) *Russia in Global Affairs* – Russian foreign policy journal publishing articles of prominent Russian experts: <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/>

CLASS SCHEDULE

Week 1: Ideas and Institutions Behind Russia's Foreign Policy

1.1 January 10: Introduction

1.2 January 12: What is Russia?

Peter Chaadaev, "Russia and the World: From Letters on the Philosophy of History, 1829 – 31," in *Readings in Russian Civilization*, ed. Thomas Riha (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 304 – 308 [[available as e-book at Baylor Library](#)].

Nikolai Danilevsky, "The Slav Role in World Civilization," in *Readings in Russian Civilization*, ed. Thomas Riha (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 383 – 389 [[available as e-book at Baylor Library](#)].

Nikolai Berdyaev, "The Strength of Russia" (1917):
http://www.berdyaev.com/berdiaev/berd_lib/1917_254.html

Anton Barbashin and Hannah Thoburn, "Putin's Philosopher," *Foreign Affairs*, September 20, 2015: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-09-20/putins-philosopher>

Week 2: Russian Foreign Policy Across Centuries

2.1 January 17: Imperial Russia and the Quest for Expansion

Dominic Lieven, "Russia as Empire and Periphery," in *The Cambridge History of Russia, Vol. 2: Imperial Russia, 1689 – 1917*, ed. Dominic Lieven (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Ch. 1, pp. 7 – 26 [[available as e-book via Baylor Library](#)]:
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.baylor.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521815291>

Fyodor Dostoevsky, "Rumors of Peace. 'Constantinople Must Be Ours' – Is That Possible? Various Opinions," in *A Writer's Diary*, vol. 2, November 1877, Ch. 3, Part 1 [on reserve at Moody].

Sergey Lavrov, "Russia's Foreign Policy: Historical Background," *Russia in Global Affairs*, March 3, 2016: http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2124391

2.2 January 19: Soviet Russia and the Quest for Domination

Ted Hopf, "Moscow's Foreign Policy, 1945 – 2000: Identities, Institutions, Interests," in *The Cambridge History of Russia, Vol. 3: The Twentieth Century*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny (Cambridge University Press, 2006), Ch. 24, pp. 662 – 705 [[available as e-book via Baylor Library](#)]: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.baylor.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446>

Week 3: Cold War and Its Legacy

3.1 January 24: Deterrence, Containment and Coexistence

X (George Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/1987-03-01/containment-40-years-later-sources-soviet-conduct>

Walter Lippmann, “The Cold War” (Response to X, 1947): <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1987-03-01/containment-40-years-later-cold-war>

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (Penguin, 2005), Chs. 4 – 5, pp. 119 – 194.

Recommended:

Henry Kissinger, “Reflections on Containment,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, No. 4, May/June 1994, pp. 113 – 130: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1994-05-01/reflections-containment>

FILM: *Dr. Strangelove or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964)

3.2 January 26: The End of Bipolarity

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (Penguin, 2005), Chs. 6 – 7, pp. 195 – 257.

“President Gorbachev’s Last Phone Call,” *The New York Times*, December 23, 2016: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/23/opinion/president-gorbachevs-last-phone-call.html>

Week 4: Russia’s Post-Cold War Choices

4.1 January 31: Rapprochement with the West

Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: US-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), Ch. 1, pp. 13 – 35.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, “A Premature Partnership,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 73, No. 2, March/April 1994, pp. 67 – 82: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1994-03-01/premature-partnership>

Michael Mandelbaum, “Preserving the New Peace,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1995: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/belarus/1995-05-01/preserving-new-peace>

4.2 February 2: Neo-Imperial Risorgimento

Stent, Ch. 2, pp. 35 – 48 & Ch. 6, pp. 135 – 158.

Strobe Talbott, “The Making of Vladimir Putin,” *Politico*, August 19, 2014:
<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/08/putin-the-backstory-110151?paginate=false>

Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia’s New Nationalism* (Yale University Press, 2016), Ch. 13, pp. 267 – 284 (ONLY) [available as e-book via Baylor Library].

Week 5: Revisiting Post-Communist Landscape

5.1 February 7: Autocrats and Nationalists

Henry Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Ch. 6, pp. 123 – 177 [available as e-book via Baylor Library].

Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus: Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), Ch. 5, pp. 131 – 166.

5.2 February 9: Reformers and Revolutionaries

Stent, Ch. 5, pp. 97 – 123.

Week 6: Russia’s National Security Priorities

6.1 February 14: NATO, Terrorism and Arms Control

Stent, Chs. 3, 9 & 10, pp. 49 – 82; 211 – 254.

6.2 February 16: Energy, Trade and Post-Soviet Integration

Stent, Ch. 8, pp. 177 – 210.

Dmitri Trenin, *Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story* (Washington, DC: CEIP, 2011), Ch. 3, pp. 144 – 173 [available as e-book via Baylor Library].

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, “Why Moscow Says No,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, No. 1, January/February 2011, pp. 122 – 138.

Week 7: Russia’s Foreign Policy Toolkit

7.1 February 21: MID-TERM EXAM

7.2 February 23: “Russian World,” Orthodoxy and (Dis)information Campaigns

Valentina Feklyunina, “Soft Power and Identity: Russia, Ukraine and the ‘Russian world(s),’” *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 22, No. 4, 2016 pp. 773 – 796.

Nicolai Petro, “Russia’s Orthodox Soft Power,” *Carnegie Council for Ethnic in International Affairs*, March 23, 2015:

http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles_papers_reports/727

Igor Zevelev, “The Russian World in Moscow’s Strategy,” *CSIS*, August 22, 2016:

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/russian-world-moscows-strategy>

Peter Pomerantsev and Michael Weiss, *The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information, Culture and Money* (Institute of Modern Russia, 2015), pp. 8 – 34 (ONLY): http://www.interpretermag.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/The_Menace_of_Unreality_Final.pdf

Week 8: Russia’s Foreign Policy Toolkit II: Hard Power

8.1 February 28: Regional Wars and Military Interventions

Stent, Ch. 7, pp. 159 – 176.

Lawrence Freedman, “Ukraine and the Art of Limited War,” *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, vol. 56, No. 6, December 2014 – January 2015, pp. 7 – 38.

Samuel Charap, “Russia’s Use of Military Force as a Foreign Policy Tool: Is There a Logic?,” *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 433*, October 2016, pp. 1 – 5:

http://www.ponarseurasia.org/sites/default/files/policy-memos-pdf/Pepm443_Charap_Oct2016_4.pdf

“A strategy of spectacle,” *The Economist*, March 19, 2016:

<http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21694997-his-willingness-and-ability-act-abroad-gives-vladimir-putin-big-boost-home-strategy>

8.2 March 2: Energy Supplies and Cyberwarfare

Margarita Balmaceda, *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (University of Toronto Press, 2013), Chs. 4 – 5, pp. 93 – 207 [available as e-book via [Baylor Library](#)].

Eric Lipton et al., “The Perfect Weapon: How Russian Cyberpower Invaded the U.S.,” *The New York Times*, December 13, 2016:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/13/us/politics/russia-hack-election-dnc.html>

“Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections,” *Intelligence Community Assessment*, January 6, 2017:
https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf

SPRING BREAK

Week 9: Zones of Rivalry I

9.1 March 14: Ukraine

Richard Sakwa, *Frontline Ukraine: Crisis in the Borderlands* (IB Taurius, 2014), Chs. 1 & 3, pp. 1 – 25, 50 – 80.

Andrei Tsygankov, “Vladimir Putin’s Last Stand: the sources of Russia’s Ukraine policy,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 279 – 303.

9.2. March 16: NO CLASS (Instructor at a Workshop on US-EU Relations in Germany)

Week 10: Zones of Rivalry II

10.1 March 21: The Caucasus and Central Asia

Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chs. 4 – 8, pp. 51 – 134.

Thomas de Waal, *The Caucasus: Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), Chs. 4 & 6, pp. 98 – 131, 167 – 187.

Scott Radnitz, “Strategic Solidarity: How Central Asia Responds to the Kremlin’s Exhortations,” PONARS Policy Memo 451, November 2016:
<http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/strategic-solidarity-how-central-asia-responds-kremlins-exhortations>

Jeffrey Mankoff, “The South Caucasus Unfreezes,” *Foreign Affairs*, October 10, 2016:
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2016-10-10/south-caucasus-unfreezes>

10.2 March 23: China and The Middle East

Fu Ying, “How China Sees Russia,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 95, No. 1, January/February 2016, pp. 96 – 105.

Timofei Bordachev, “Russia and China in Central Asia: The Great Win-Win Game,” *Valdai Papers # 50*, June 2016: <http://valdaiclub.com/files/11127/>

Dmitry Adamsky, “Putin’s Game in the Middle East,” *Foreign Affairs*, April 3, 2016:
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2016-04-03/putins-game-syria>

Week 11: Issues of Contention

11.1 March 28: Global Energy and the Arctic

Nikos Tsafos, “A U.S. Gas War with Russia?,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 2016:
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2016-05-15/us-gas-war-russia>

Adnan Vatansever, “Energy Sanctions and Russia: What Comes Next?,” *Atlantic Council*, September 2015:
http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/Energy_Sanctions_and_Russia_0910_web.pdf

Lassi Heininen, Alexander Sergunin and Gleb Yarovoy, “Russian Strategies in the Arctic: Avoiding a New Cold War,” *Valdai Report*, September 2014, pp. 4 – 25, 43 – 55:
http://vid-1.rian.ru/ig/valdai/arctic_eng.pdf

11.2 March 30: Eurasian and Euro-Atlantic Security

John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusion That Provoked Putin,” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October, 2014, pp. 1 – 12.

Michael McFaul, “Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?,” *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2014, pp. 167 – 171.

Daniel Treisman, “Why Putin Took Crimea,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 95, No. 3, May/June 2016, pp. 47 – 54.

Charles Kupchan, “NATO’s Final Frontier: Why Russia Should Join the Atlantic Alliance,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 89, No. 3, May/June 2010, pp. 100 – 112.

Sergei Karaganov, “Eurasian Way Out of the Crisis,” *Russia in Global Affairs*, June 8, 2015: <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/pubcol/Eurasian-Way-Out-of-the-European-Crisis-17505>

Week 12

12.1 April 4: DIADELOSO

12.2 April 6 (NO CLASS – Instructor at MPSA Conference in Chicago): Group Work on Memos

Week 13: What’s Next for Russia?

13.1 April 11: The View from Moscow

Fyodor Lukyanov, “Putin’s Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia’s Rightful Place,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 95, No. 3, May/June 2016, pp. 30 – 37.

Sergei Karaganov, “Russia and the US: A Long Confrontation?,” *Russia in Global Affairs*, September 23, 2014: <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russia-and-the-US-A-Long-Confrontation-16990>

David Herszenhorn, “Mikhail Khodorkovsky: Treat Putin as a Bandit,” *Politico*, November 22, 2016: <http://www.politico.eu/article/mikhail-khodorkovskys-advice-treat-vladimir-putin-as-a-bandit-russia/>

2016 Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation:

http://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2542248?p_p_id=101_INSTANCE_cKNonkJE02Bw&_101_INSTANCE_cKNonkJE02Bw_languageId=en_GB

13.2 April 13: The View from the West

Graham Allison and Dimitri Simes, “A Blueprint for Donald Trump to Fix Relations with Russia,” *The National Interest*, December 18, 2016: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/blueprint-donald-trump-fix-relations-russia-18776?page=show>

Michael McFaul, “How Trump Can Play Nice with Russia, Without Selling Out America,” *Foreign Policy*, January 6, 2017: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/06/how-trump-can-play-nice-with-russia-without-selling-out-america/>

Leon Aron, “Changing Putin’s Mind,” *Foreign Affairs*, December 15, 2016: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2016-12-15/changing-putin-s-mind>

Ivan Krastev and Mark Leonard, “Europe’s Shattered Dream of Order: How Putin is Disrupting the Atlantic Alliance,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, No. 3, May/June 2015, pp. 48 – 58.

Week 14: Devising Russia Strategy

14.1 April 18: World Summit I (U.S/U.K.)

14.2 April 20: World Summit II (France/Germany)

Week 15: Devising Russia Strategy Cont’d.

15.1 April 25: World Summit III (China/Iran)

15.2 April 27: Conclusion: Seeking Common Ground (FINAL MEMO DUE)

George Kennan, "America and the Russian Future," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 69, No. 2, 1951, pp. 157 – 166.

Thomas Graham, "The Sources of Russian Conduct," *The National Interest*, August 24, 2016: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-sources-russian-conduct-17462>

Eric Schlosser, "World War Three, By Mistake," *The New Yorker*, December 23, 2016: <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/world-war-three-by-mistake>