

FOREIGN POLICIES OF RUSSIA AND EURASIA

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INTA 3121A
TR 3:00-4:15pm
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COURSE OBJECTIVES AND DESIGN

Transformation of the foreign and security policies of the successor states of the Soviet Union over the past quarter century reflects fundamental changes to the international system and the ways that we analyze it. In addition to altering the global balance of power and contributing to the end of the Cold War, the foreign policy revolution(s) in the post-Soviet space catalyzed ethnic, national, and resource disputes between and among the successor states, sub-national actors, and the outside world. Moreover, the fluid change in Russian and Eurasian foreign and security policies created new opportunities for international cooperation to resolve global problems—such as nuclear nonproliferation, energy security, terrorism, environmental security-- as well as generated new risks of international instability and conflict, as evidenced by the ongoing crises in Ukraine and Syria and political outrage over Russian meddling in Western elections.

The purpose of this course is to examine the many dimensions to the foreign and security policies of Russia and the other new post-Soviet states in Eurasia. The approach is analytical, as each student will be required to *read* and *think* rather than memorize and regurgitate. Accordingly, specific emphasis is placed on understanding the:

- continuities and discontinuities in the overall Imperial/Soviet/post-Soviet foreign policy agendas;
- systematic influence of geostrategic, regional and sub-national factors on the international behavior of Russia and its neighbors throughout Eurasia; and
- critical contemporary U.S. foreign policy challenges and opportunities presented by Russian foreign policy in Eurasia, Europe, and beyond.

Another goal of this course is to strengthen your skills for thinking practically but systematically about the dynamic transformation underway in Eurasia and international affairs, in general. For example, is Russia today a “rising” or “declining” great power? What are the implications for U.S. security? Answers to such questions require abilities to identify, critically analyze, and apply distinguishing traits/perspectives/formulations/institutions in comparative, strategic, and policy issue contexts. Consequently, there will be strong emphasis placed on teasing out logically consistent policy implications from alternative theoretical explanations and inventive problem-solving. In pursuit of these goals, the class will engage in interactive discussions (with each other and prominent guest speakers), as well as structured, policy analytical

debates. To free up time for these activities, the course will de-emphasize detailed historical description, rote memorization, and lengthy research papers.

The course will begin with a review of the historical record and accompanying analytical debates surrounding the different phases of Imperial Russian/Soviet/post-Soviet foreign policy. Particular attention will be placed on the role of information in shaping Soviet/Russian policymaking and policies. The focus will shift to a discussion of alternative conceptual frameworks and approaches for explaining the post-Soviet international behavior of Russia and other newly independent states. This part of the course will analyze systematically the impact of geostrategic, regional, national, and sub-national pressures on the formulation and implementation of contemporary Russian and Eurasian foreign and security policies. Emphasis will be placed on studying these approaches as alternative explanations for various trends in international behavior, discerning the relative significance of different arguments. The final section of the course will integrate conceptual understanding of the sources of international behavior in prominent policy issue areas that preoccupy the contemporary foreign and security agendas of Russia and the other Soviet successor states. The latter will be capped by a set of in-class group deliberations and individual policy memos.

Learning Outcomes

Students will demonstrate proficiency at critiquing alternative explanations for the sources and consequences of Russian/Eurasian foreign and security policies. By embracing comparative perspectives, they also will become more aware of the diversity of strategic, regional, institutional political, historical/cultural, and normative approaches to Russian international behavior. In addition, students will enhance their professional development by learning to communicate effectively in applying critical analysis to generate concrete policy recommendations on international security issues at the nexus of U.S./European and Russian relations at various levels.

REQUIRED READING

This class will use a combination of articles and books. Selected articles are available in electronic form via t-square or the Internet.

The following five books (required) are available for purchase at GT *Barnes & Noble Bookstore*:

Robert H. Donaldson, Joseph L. Noguee, and Vidya Nadkarni, *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2014);

Angela E. Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: U.S.-Russia Relations in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014);

Brian D. Taylor, *The Code of Putinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018);

Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and

Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan, *The Red Web: The Kremlin's War on the Internet* (New York: Public Affairs, 2017).

Recommended books for purchase include:

*Michael McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018).

*Andrei Tsygankov, *Russia's Foreign Policy, 4th Edition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016).

Readings are intended to complement lectures, and lectures will not simply reformulate material in the readings. Therefore, all reading is mandatory, unless otherwise indicated, and should be completed by the assigned date.

Given the highly fluid nature of the subject matter, there is no substitute for keeping abreast of the news. Therefore, it is expected that each student will read regularly either a daily newspaper, such as the *New York Times* (www.nyt.com), *Washington Post* (www.washingtonpost.com), or a weekly newsmagazine like the *Economist*. There are also extensive Internet resources on political developments in Russia and Eurasia, such as the *RFE/RL Daily Report* that can be received free of charge by sending an e-mail to: newsline-request@list.rferl.org with the word *subscribe* as the subject of the message. Similarly, students are encouraged to read on a regular basis short analytical pieces and commentaries available on *Russia Matters* (<https://www.russiamatters.org/>). In addition, students are encouraged to peruse *Russia Today* to compare/contrast reporting of the same events by U.S. and Russian media sources. For RT, see www.rt.com; for reporting on U.S. news see www.rt.com/usa. Throughout the course there will be discussion of contemporary events in Russia and across the former Soviet space, and basic familiarity with ongoing international events and foreign policy developments will be assumed.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

The course will consist of lectures and in-class discussion. There will be five sets of graded assignments.

First, students will be expected to attend and participate actively in all class sessions. This will include informal *discussion and graded quizzes, as well as occasional preparatory assignments and group deliberations*.

Second, all students will take an in-class *mid-term exam* on **October 11th**. This will consist of IDs and short essays. A list of exam questions will be handed out in advance.

Third, each student is required to write a 5 page (double-spaced) critical review of an assigned reading or approved outside reading (e.g. analysis on *Russia Matters*, journal article) related to **Part II**. The assignment seeks to prepare students for critical thinking by honing skills related to paraphrasing the main argument and identifying prominent assumptions and causal logics, identifying logical inconsistencies in the argument, and teasing out the practical implications of the critique for assessing Russian/Eurasian contemporary foreign policies. All essays are due in class on **November 15th**.

Fourth, students will work in groups to draft a 3 page (single-spaced) position paper for an in-class debate on a designated contemporary issue of Russian and NIS foreign policy specified in Part III. The papers should briefly summarize issues at the crux of the assigned debate over contemporary U.S. or Western policy (and related issues/questions TBA), and take a stand by specifying the determinants and consequences of Russian/NIS foreign policies, presenting key empirical evidence to support respective claims versus rival arguments, and offering a policy choice/recommendation. The latter should be addressed to a specific audience (U.S. government, NATO, international organization, company, or civil society). The position paper does not require citations but must include a bibliography. Each group will present its analysis and address constructive critique from the class. **Due in class on date of respective policy debate in Part III.**

Finally, each student will write an *individual policy memo*. This paper (7-10 pages, double-spaced) will address a contemporary policy debate of each student's choosing. Each paper will require sections devoted to a) succinctly describing the issue at hand; b) summarizing contending debates over respective policy response(s); c) critically analyzing the assumptions and arguments related to the sources and consequences of related Russian/NIS foreign policies associated with at least two sides of the debate; and d) presenting logically-consistent policy recommendations to target audiences (government, non-governmental agency, firm). Footnotes are not required, but all sources must be included in the bibliography. Topics must be approved. **Brief outlines of each paper are due no later than November 29th, and final policy memos are due by 5:00pm on December 11th.** Late papers will not be accepted without prior approval.

Websites of Interest

<https://www.brookings.edu/topic/russia/>
<https://www.csis.org/programs/russia-and-eurasia-program>
<http://carnegieendowment.org/programs/russia/>
<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/programs/dinu-patriciu-eurasia-center>
<http://www.ponarseurasia.org/>
<https://www.aei.org/policy/foreign-and-defense-policy/europe-and-eurasia/>
<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/>
<http://chathamhouse.org>
http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/project/62/usrussia_initiative_to_prevent_nuclear_terrorism.html
<http://economist.com>
<http://www.levada.ru/en/>

GRADING

- 10% Class Participation & In-Class Assignments
- 20% In-class Mid-term
- 20% Critical Review
- 15% Policy Debates
Group position paper (10%)/In-class presentation/participation (5%)
- 35% Individual Policy Memo

Decorum & Integrity

Learning together requires that everyone must feel welcome and able to trust others in the class. A central aim of the course is to encourage students to think and be critical. Accordingly, all students are expected to exchange freely ideas while respecting the opinions of each other. Similarly, each student must recognize that academic dishonesty (such as cheating on a test/quiz or plagiarism on a paper) completely undermines the mission of this course, is surprisingly easy to detect, and is taken very seriously by the Institute. Do not be tempted to take a short cut to complete an assignment— consult the GT honor code/Honor Advisory Council (<http://www.honor.gatech.edu/index.php>)-- if there are any questions.

All lectures and discussions are not to be taped or recorded, unless approved by the professor. Students must turn off cell phones, pagers, and other electronic devices that could be distracting during class. Exceptions in certain situations can be made upon prior approval of the professor.

COURSE SCHEDULE

PART I: The Historical and Analytical Legacy

AUGUST 21	INTRODUCTION
AUGUST 23	The Imperial Legacy: Historical Trends and Political Culture Donaldson, Nogee, & Nadkarni Chps. 1 (peruse) and Chap. 2 Andrei Tsygankov, <i>Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin</i> (New York; Cambridge University Press, 2012), Chp. 4 (t-square).
AUGUST 28- SEPTEMBER 4	Lenin & Stalin: From Revolution to Breathing Space to Cold War Donaldson, Nogee, and Nadkarni, Chp. 3 & pp. 72-76. Sudaplatov (t-square). Kennan's "Long Telegram" (t-square). Soladatov & Borogan, Chp. 1 CIA Document: ORE 46-49, May 1949, "Possibility of Direct Soviet Military Action During 1948-1949," (t-square).
SEPTEMBER 6	Khrushchev: Postwar Peaceful Coexistence Donaldson, Nogee & Nadkarni, pp. 76-89. CIA Document: CIA/SRA-1, June 1956, "The 20th CPSU Congress in Retrospect: Its Principal Issues and Possible Effects on International Communism," (t-square). "Soviet Perspective on the Cuban Missile Crisis from Nikita Khrushchev's Son," https://news.usni.org/2012/10/24/soviet-perspective-cuban-missile-crisis-nikita-khrushchevs-son

SEPTEMBER 11, 13 (quiz)

Brezhnev: From Detente to Confrontation

Donaldson, Noguee & Nadkarni, pp. 89-100.

Savel'yev & Detinov, pp. 31-54 (t-square).

CIA Document: SR RP73-1, June 1973, Soviet

Nuclear Doctrine: Concepts of
Intercontinental and Theater War," (t-
square).

* Jiri Valenta, The Bureaucratic Politics
Paradigm and the Soviet Invasion of
Czecholovakia," *Political Science
Quarterly* 94:1 (Spring 1979)

*Recommended

**SEPTEMBER 18-
OCTOBER 4**

Gorbachev: From New Thinking to Collapse

Donaldson, Noguee, Nadkarni, pp. 101-113;

Stent, Prologue.

Soldatov & Borogan, Chp. 2

Stephen F. Cohen, *Soviet Fates and Lost*

Alternatives (New York: Columbia
University, 2009), Chp. 5 (t-square).

Jeffrey W. Knopf, "Did Reagan Win the Cold
War?" *Strategic Insights* III:8 (August
2004) (t-square)

*Tsygankov, Chp. 2.

*Savel'yev & Detinov, pp. 111-122; 141-150

SEPTEMBER 20

IN-CLASS VIDEO LECTURE

William Taubman, "Why Did the Soviet Union
Collapse"

OCTOBER 9

NO CLASS- FALL RECESS

OCTOBER 11

MID-TERM EXAM

PART II: Sources of Post-Soviet Foreign Policies

OCTOBER 16-18

Russian/NIS Foreign Policy Overview

Donaldson, Noguee & Nadkarni, Chp. 7;

Stent, Chp. 1.

Cooley, Chp. 2.

“Sergey Lavrov: The Interview,” *The National Interest*. March 29, 2017

<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/sergey-lavrov-the-interview-19940>.

*Tsygankov, Chps. 3-5.

*Fyodor Lukyanov, “Putin’s Foreign Policy,” *Russia in Global Affairs* (May 4, 2016),

<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/redcol/Putins-Foreign-Policy-18133>

OCTOBER 23-25

Geostrategic Impulses

Donaldson, Noguee & Nadkarni, Chps. 8 & 9.

Cooley, Chps. 3-5.

Stent, Chps. 2, 4, 6, 9, 10.

Soldatov & Borogan, Chp. 10, 16-Epilogue

*Tsygankov, Chp. 6.

*Sergey Lavrov, “Russia in the 21st-Century World of Power,” *Russia in Global Affairs*, 27 December 2012

<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russia-in-the-21st-Century-World-of-Power-15809>

**OCTOBER 30-
NOVEMBER 1**

Eurasian Security Dilemmas

Donaldson, Noguee, Nadkarni, Chp. 6.

Stent, Chps. 5, 7, 12.

Cooley, Chps. 7 & 8 (Chp. 10 optional).

*Tsygankov, Chp. 8

*Hanna Smith “Statecraft and Post-Imperial Attractiveness: Eurasian Integration and Russia as a Great Power,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 63 (2016).

NOVEMBER 6-20

Domestic Context of Foreign Policy

The Institutional (formal & informal) Context

Donaldson, Noguee & Nadkarni, Chp. 5.

Taylor, Chp. 3

Cooley, Chp. 9.

Soldatov & Borogan, Chps. , 3, 5-9 (peruse)

Kimberly Marten, "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62 (2015) (T-square).

NOVEMBER 8

Guest Lecture- Professor Charles Ziegler (University of Louisville)

NOVEMBER 15

(Critical Review Due)

Democratization/Modernization and Foreign Policy

Tsygankov, Chp. 7.

Taylor, Chp. 2, 4

*Leon Aron, "Dmitri Medvedev's

Moderization Thaw: Objectives, Actions, and Policy Tests," *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research* (Summer 2010) (t-square)

*McFaul, Part I: *Revolution*

The Putin Factor

Taylor, Chps. 1, 6-7

*McFaul, Part III: *Reaction*

Russian Public Opinion & Foreign Policy

Associate Press-NORC Center for Public

Affairs Research, "Public Opinion in Russia: Russian's Attitudes on Foreign Affairs and Social Issues," (2014).

<http://www.apnorc.org/projects/Pages/HTML%20Reports/public-opinion-in-russia-russians-attitudes-on-foreign-affairs-and-social-issues0401-6253.aspx>

"The Russian Elite 2016: Perspectives on Foreign and Domestic Policy," 2016 Hamilton College Levitt Poll

<https://www.hamilton.edu/documents/russianelite2016final1.pdf>

*Katie Simmon, Bruce Stokes, and Jacob Poushter, "Russian Public Opinion" Putin Praised, West Panned," *Pew Research Center* (June 10, 2015), <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/10/2-russian-public-opinion-putin-praised-west-panned/>

*Theodore P. Gerber, "Foreign Policy and the United States in Russian Public Opinion," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62 (2015) (t-square).

Nationalism and Islam

Henry E. Hale, "Nationalism and the Logic of Russian Actions in Ukraine," *Perspectives on Peace and Security* (August 2014) (t-square).

Alexey Malashenko and Alexey Starostin, *The Rise of Nontraditional Islam in the Urals* (Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center, 2015) (T-square).

*Marlene Laruelle, "Russia as a 'Divided Nation', from Compatriots to Crimea: A Contribution to the Discussion on Nationalism and Foreign Policy," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62 (2015) (t-square).

NOVEMBER 22

NO CLASS- THANKSGIVING

PART III: Special Topics/Student Policy Debates

NOVEMBER 27

Russia and the Ukraine Crisis: How Did We Get Here? Where Do We Go? and What are the Implications for US/NATO Policies?

Stent, Chp. 12.

Soldatov & Borogan, Chps. 11-15 (peruse)

Michael Kofman and Matthew Rojanski, "A Closer Look at Russia's Hybrid War," Kennan Cable 7 (Apring 2015), <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/190090/5-KENNAN%20CABLE-ROJANSKY%20KOFMAN.pdf>

Andrei Tsygankov, "The Sources of Russia's Ukraine Policy," *Russian Analytical Digest* 158 (December 18, 2014), pp. 2-5. (t-square).

*Nick Thompson, "Ukraine: Everything you Need to Know About How We Got Here," *CNN.com, blog post* (August 11, 2016). As of January 2, 2017 at <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/02/10/europe/ukraine-war-how-we-got-here/>.

*Daniel Triesman, "Why Putin Took Crimea" *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2016) (t-square).

* Keir Giles, "Russia's New Tools for Confronting the West: Continuity and Innovation in Moscow's Exercise of Power," *Chatham House Research Paper* (March 2016), <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/research/2016-03-21-russias-new-tools-giles.pdf>

NOVEMBER 29
(Policy Memo Outline Due)

**Russia, Counter-terrorism and the Syrian Crisis:
War by Proxy, Playing with Fire, or Opportunity for
Constructive Engagement?**

Or

**Russia and Western Elections: Spy-Games,
Opportunistic Meddling, or Strategic Red-line**

Reading TBA

DECEMBER 4

CONCLUSION

DECEMBER 11

FINAL POLICY MEMOS DUE (5:00pm)