

Russia and the West
POS W4875
Spring 2018
Mon. and Wed. 2:40-3:55pm
Room: Barnard Hall 409
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Course Description

Throughout history Russia has had an ambiguous relationship with the Western world. Sometimes the West has been vilified as a threat or an enemy, and other times it has been held up by Russians as a model to emulate. Russia and the West have never treated each other with indifference, and this love/hate relationship is in full force today. Historical memories and parallels abound in popular discussions. In this course, we will examine why this has been the case and what it means for Russian foreign and security policy today. Drawing on contributions from philosophers, historians and international relations scholars and practitioners, we will discuss whether Russia's interaction with the West has been driven by realist great power considerations, by a cultural cycle of Orthodox Slavic nationalism or "Eurasianism" vs. pro-Western internationalism, by domestic economic pressures, or by the idiosyncratic visions and interests of individual Russian leaders—and in turn, how choices made by the West have affected all of these things. Students will be encouraged to come up with their own answers to these riddles, in class discussions and assignments including a final independent research paper. This is not a survey course, but no background knowledge is required—only a deep interest in understanding Russia and its relationship to the West. There are no prerequisites.

Learning Objectives

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

- Demonstrate broad factual knowledge of selected key current and historical Russian political, foreign policy, and security issues.
- Apply causal theories drawn from the political science literature and other sources, to analyze, compare, and evaluate events and trends in Russian relations with the West.
- Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively, through both in-class oral discussions and written assignments.
- Perform rigorous and independent research, including through use of sources available electronically through the Columbia Library system.
- Write a compelling independent research paper.

Course Requirements and Grading

All written assignments should be double-spaced, in 12pt Times New Roman font with normal margins, and must be in either MS Word or PDF format. All assignments will be submitted via Courseworks/Canvas. Please note that undergraduates and graduates will be graded separately (in other words, undergraduates are not competing against the graduate students in the course.)

Midterm Exam: All students will complete a take-at-home midterm exam, writing two essays of approximately 1,000 words each (2,000 words total), on their choice among several assigned topics. Questions will be emailed to students on Wednesday Feb. 21, and the exam will be due via Courseworks at **5pm on Friday March 9** (i.e., the day before the official start of Spring Break).

Research Paper: All research papers are due via Courseworks at **noon on the last day of class, Monday Apr. 30**. All students will turn in a one-page research proposal on their paper topic, outlining their research question and what their preliminary reading has led them to think about the subject; due via Courseworks by **noon on Wednesday Feb. 21**. Performance on this research proposal assignment will be folded into the final course grade, and should be taken seriously; Prof. Marten will provide extensive comments on the proposal, which should help in creating the final paper.

Undergraduate students will complete an independent research paper of approximately 3,000 words (10-12 double-spaced pages), comparing at least two theories of the student's choice, to explain one or more Russian or Soviet foreign policy outcome of the student's choice.

Graduate students will complete an independent research paper of approximately 5,000 words (15-20 double-spaced pages), on a topic related to course materials that they choose in consultation with Prof. Marten. Grad students must make significant use of Russian/Soviet primary-source materials, such as memoirs, press or television interviews, government documents, etc. Students who read Russian are encouraged to use these sources in the original; students who do not read Russian are expected to use English translations of Russian materials.

Final Exam: All students will complete a take-at-home final exam, completing two essays of 1,000 words each (2,000 words total). On one question there will be a choice of topics; the second question will ask students to defend their preferred theoretical explanation for Russia's relations with the West. Questions will be emailed to students on Monday April 24; the exam will be due via Courseworks at the date and time set by the university for the final exam in this course: **Wednesday May 9 at 4pm** (please note the earlier hour; Barnard rules require all take home finals to be due at the close of the regularly scheduled exam).

Class participation: Discussion is a crucial component of this course. Students are expected to attend all class sessions, to have completed the assigned course readings before class, and to be prepared to comment on assigned readings. For many classes Prof. Marten will hand out discussion questions in advance. Most class sessions will have Prof. Marten lecturing in the first half, and open discussion in the second half.

Midterm exam: 25% of total course grade

Research paper: 30% of total course grade

Final exam: 25% of total course grade

Discussion participation: 20% of total course grade

Exams and papers must be submitted when due; late work will be significantly penalized. Up to 24 hours late, 1/3 grade off (e.g., an A- paper will earn a B+); up to 48 hours late, 2/3 grade off (e.g., an A- paper will earn a B); beyond that, 1 full grade off (e.g., an A- paper will earn a B-). **No late work will be accepted after one week.** If you face a medical or family emergency that prevents your turning in work on time, you must get Prof. Marten's permission for an extension (in advance, if at all possible), and provide documentation of the emergency.

Prof. Marten has served on the Barnard College Honor Board, and takes the issues of academic integrity and plagiarism very seriously. For all written assignments, students may consult whomever they want about anything they wish, **until** they begin outlining and writing. Both the organizational structure and the written content of each assignment must be the student's alone. Students (whether or not they are Barnard College students) must sign the Barnard College Honor Code statement on all submissions, affirming that their written work is completely their own. All sources used in the research papers must be fully and accurately referenced, including all web-based and unpublished sources (for example, prior student papers). Any student violating the Honor Code will receive an F as the final

course grade, and will face the disciplinary rules of his or her home college or school. All undergraduate students are welcome to use the Barnard or Columbia Writing Centers for all assignments.

Readings

Students should finish the assigned readings before class, so that we can discuss them in class. Many of the assigned pieces are short newspaper or blog articles. On longer and complex assignments in particular, students are not expected to read things word-for-word. Instead, it is important to learn the skill of strategic skimming—reading for the key arguments and content of each piece. Remember that you can refer back to all readings when writing the exams—and class discussions will likely highlight new aspects of assignments for all students. Please read them in the order that they are listed on the syllabus, as items listed earlier within each class session will provide important background for those that follow.

The following books have been placed on reserve at Barnard's Wollman Library; all are also available for purchase at the Book Culture Bookstore (536 West 112th Street). Students are welcome to purchase used copies elsewhere.

Cracraft, James, ed. *Major Problems in the History of Imperial Russia*. New York: Houghton/Mifflin, 1994. (Please note that this book is out of print, so only used copies are available.)

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. *A History of Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press. Any relatively recent edition is fine, 5th and higher. Please note that page numbers will vary by edition. (Please note that the split-volume edition is not a good choice for this course.)

Zubok, Vladislav. *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

In addition, many journal articles available through the Columbia Library Website and other web sources are also required, as are book excerpts posted on eReserves. These articles are just as important as the books.

CLASS SCHEDULE

Jan. 17: Introduction.

Please read these pieces before our first class if possible. They are short, and bring up course themes we will return to all semester.

Columbia eLibrary:

Stephen Kotkin, "Russia's Perpetual Geopolitics: Putin Returns to the Historical Pattern," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 2-9.

Fyodor Lukyanov, "Putin's Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia's Rightful Place," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 30-37.

Section I. Theoretical Models: Does Putin Matter? Does Trump?

Jan. 22: The theory of realism and Russian foreign policy

Columbia eLibrary:

Stephen M. Walt, "One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring 1998): 29-46.

Courseworks Files:

William C. Wohlforth and Vladislav Zubok, "An Abiding Antagonism: Realism, Idealism, and the Mirage of Western-Russian Partnership after the Cold War," *International Politics* 54, no. 4 (2017), pp. 405-419.

Tatiana Romanova, "Russia and the Liberal International Order: A Neo-Revisionist Challenge," *The International Spectator (Italian Journal of International Affairs)*, page proofs, Nov. 16, 2017.

Jan. 24. Domestic politics: the informal patronage system and Russian foreign policy

Courseworks Files:

Henry Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2014), chapters 2-3 (pp. 19-60).

Columbia eLibrary:

Kimberly Marten, "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62 (2015): 71-87. (Note: This was published before Russia's September 2015 military intervention in Syria.)

Jan. 29. Individual psychology: Putin as decision-maker.

Note: at the start of class today, we will discuss some of the terrific research resources available via the Columbia eLibrary. You will be expected to use these sources in your research papers, and hence attendance at this class session is absolutely mandatory.

Courseworks Files:

Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, "Decision-Making: The Individual Level," chapter 5 in *Causes of War* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 128-61.

Columbia eLibrary:

Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, "Putin and the Uses of History," *The National Interest* 117 (Jan./Feb. 2012): 21-31.

Andrew S. Weiss, "Putin the Improviser," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 20, 2015.

Open web:

"Vladimir Putin: Personal Website," <http://eng.putin.kremlin.ru/bio>.

Jan. 31. Status, emotions, decline, and nationalism

Columbia eLibrary:

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, "Russia Says No: Power, Status, and Emotions in Foreign Policy," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47 (Sept. 2014): 269-79.

Courseworks files:

Ayşe Zarakol, *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), chapters 1-2 (pp. 1-110).

Feb. 5: Philosophical roots, part I: Slavophiles versus Westernizers

Riasanovsky: "Ideologies," located within chapter 28 (pp. 360-66 in 6th ed.).

Courseworks Files:

Vera Tolz, "The West," in *A History of Russian Thought*, ed. William Leatherbarrow and Derek Offord (New York: Cambridge, 2010), pp. 197-216.

Feb. 7: Philosophical roots, part II: The Eurasianists

Courseworks Files:

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, "The East," in *A History of Russian Thought*, ed. William Leatherbarrow and Derek Offord (New York: Cambridge, 2010), pp. 217-40.

Cracraft: pp. 21-31 (N.S. Trubetzkoy, "The Legacy of Genghis Khan")

Columbia eLibrary:

Alexander Lukin, "Eurasian Integration and the Clash of Values," *Survival* 56, no. 3 (June-July 2014): 43-60.

Courseworks Files:

Marlene Laruelle, "Dangerous Liaisons: Eurasianism, the European Far Right, and Putin's Russia," in Laruelle, ed., *Eurasianism and the European Far Right* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), pp. 1-31.

Feb. 12-14 A case-study: Russia's intervention in Ukraine, 2014-15

Columbia eLibrary:

Samuel Charap & Timothy J. Colton, "Breaking Point," chap. 3 in *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia*, Adelphi Series [electronic journal—note, this was also published as a book, but the Adelphi Series version is accessible online] 56, no. 460 (2016): 113-50. (This provides a definitive description of exactly what happened when in the Ukraine crisis.)

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2014; and the response, Michael McFaul; Stephen Sestanovich; John J. Mearsheimer, "Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2014.

Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, "Russia's Aggressive Isolationism," *The American Interest* 10, no. 3 (Jan./Feb. 2015): 13-18.

Kimberly Marten, "Putin's Choices: Explaining Russian Foreign Policy and Intervention in Ukraine," *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 189-204.

Open web:

Dmitry Trenin, "The Ukraine Crisis and the Resumption of Great Power Rivalry," Carnegie Moscow Center, July 9, 2014, <http://carnegie.ru/2014/07/09/ukraine-crisis-and-resumption-of-great-power-rivalry/>

Kimberly Marten, "Vladimir Putin: Ethnic Russian Nationalist," Washington Post Monkey Cage blog, Mar. 29, 2014, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/03/19/vladimir-putin-ethnic-russian-nationalist/>

Marlene Laruelle, "Misinterpreting Nationalism: Why Russkii is Not a Sign of Ethnonationalism," Russia in Global Affairs blog, Apr. 13, 2016, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/PONARS-Eurasia/Misinterpreting-Nationalism-Why-Russkii-is-Not-a-Sign-of-Ethnonationalism-18105>

Section II. The Russian Empire: Selected Cases and Historical Legacies

Feb. 19: Peter the Great: Putin's hero, or a Westernizing villain?

Riasanovsky: chapter 20 (pp. 213-41 in the 6th ed.)

Cracraft: pp. 82-109 (E.V. Anisimov, "Peter I: Birth of the Empire," and Cracraft, "Kliuchevsky on Peter the Great"), pp. 224-34 (Cracraft, "Empire versus Nation"), pp. 243 and 245-8 ("P.P. Shafirov Justifies the Empire, 1717", plus the prior paragraph explaining it); and the documents "Peter Changes the Calendar," "Peter's Decree on Wearing German Clothes," "Peter's Decree on Shaving" (pp. 110-11), and "Peter Funds an Academy of Arts and Sciences," "Reforming the Church" (pp. 116-23).

Courseworks Files:

Vladimir Churov statement, in Vladimir Putin, *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait* (NY: Public Affairs, 2000), pp. 89-90.

Open web:

"Taking the Lies out of the Myths," *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, Feb. 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sponsored/rbth/society/4798322/Vladimir-Medinsky-explores-Russian-stereotypes.html>.

Feb. 21: Catherine the Great: the most realist Russian tsar of them all (even though she was a Prussian princess named Sophia).

Riasanovsky: chapter 22 section on Catherine the Great (pp. 254-73 in 6th ed.)

Cracraft: pp. 249-51 ("Russia Annexes Crimea").

Columbia eLibrary:

William Persen, "The Russian Occupations of Beirut, 1772-74," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 42, no. 3-4 (1955): 275-86.

Open web:

Carolyn Harris, "When Catherine the Great Invaded the Crimea and Put the Rest of the World on Edge," *Smithsonian.com*, Mar. 4, 2014, www.smithsonianmag.com/history/when-catherine-great-invaded-crimea-and-put-rest-world-edge-180949969/

Simon Sebag Montefiore, "Putin's Imperial Adventure in Syria," *New York Times*, Oct. 9, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/09/opinion/putins-imperial-adventure-in-syria.html>

Feb. 26: The West as political polarizer: the Decembrists and Nicholas I

Riasanovsky: chapters 25-27

Courseworks Files:

Vitaly Bogatov, "The Decembrists," in *A History of Russian Philosophy*, vol. 1, ed. Valery A. Kuvakin (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994), pp. 103-112.

Open web:

Sean Cannaday and Paul Kubicek, "Nationalism and Legitimation for Authoritarianism: A Comparison of Nicholas I and Vladimir Putin," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 5, no. 1 (Jan. 2014): 1-9.

Feb. 28, Mar. 5: Halfway revolutions and the international system: Alexander II and Gorbachev (two interwoven sessions).

Riasanovsky: chapter 29

Cracraft: pp. 340-44 (The Emancipation Manifesto).

Columbia eLibrary:

Valerie Bunce, "Domestic Reform and International Change: Gorbachev in Historical Perspective," *International Organization* 47 (Winter 1993): 107-138.

M. Steven Fish, "The Hazards of Half-Measures: Perestroika and the Failure of Post-Soviet Democratization," *Demokratizatsiya* 13, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 241-53.

Mar. 7: No class meeting, so that students have extra time to work on the midterm exam--due on Courseworks at 5pm on Friday, March 9.

Mar. 12-14: Spring Break, no class meetings.

Section III. The Cold War Overhang.

Mar. 19. Stalin: popular villain, or misunderstood hero?

Open web:

Thomas de Waal, ed., *The Stalin Puzzle: Deciphering Post-Soviet Public Opinion* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013), pp. 1-54,

<https://www.ciaonet.org/catalog/31319>

Columbia eLibrary:

Timothy Snyder, "Hitler vs. Stalin: Who Killed More?" *New York Review of Books* 58, no. 4 (Mar. 10, 2011), and Snyder, "Stalin & Hitler: Mass Murder by Starvation," *NYRB* 59, no. 11 (Jun 21, 2012). These two articles provide a good feel for Snyder's controversial 2010 book, *Bloodlands*, which is highly recommended.

Todd H. Nelson, "History as Ideology: The Portrayal of Stalinism and the Great Patriotic War in Contemporary Russian High School Textbooks," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31, no. 1 (2015): 37-65.

Mar. 21. The origins of the Cold War from a Russian perspective

Zubok: Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-93).

Mar. 26. Détente and the late Cold War from a Russian perspective.

Zubok: Chapters 6-8 (pp. 163-264).

Mar. 28. Why did the Soviets choose to end the Cold War?

Zubok: Chapter 10 (pp. 303-335).

Columbia eLibrary:

David Holloway, "Gorbachev's New Thinking," *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 1 (Jan. 1989): 66-81.

William C. Wohlforth, "Ideology and the Cold War," *Review of International Studies* 26, no. 2 (Apr. 2000): 327-31.

Mark Kramer, "Realism, Ideology, and the End of the Cold War: A Reply to William Wohlforth," *Review of International Studies* 27, no. 1 (Jan. 2001): 119-30.

Apr. 2. The end of the USSR: legacies of empire.

Courseworks Files:

Ronald Grigor Suny, "Living in the Hood: Russia, Empire, and Old and New Neighbors," in *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century and the Shadow of the Past*, ed. Robert Legvold (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 35-76.

Alexei Arbatov, "Russian Foreign Policy Thinking in Transition," in *Russia and Europe: The Emerging Security Agenda*, ed. Vladimir Baranovsky (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 135-59. Note: concentrate on how this article describes thinking in early-1990s Russia about the post-Soviet space (the "near abroad").

Serhii Plokhy, "Epilogue," in *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), pp. 388-408. Note: concentrate on his argument that the end of the Cold War was not causally related to the breakup of the USSR.

Apr. 4. NATO expansion, the Balkan wars, and Russia in the 1990s

Columbia eLibrary:

Martin A. Smith, "A Bumpy Road to an Unknown Destination? NATO-Russia Relations, 1991-2002," *European Security* 11, no. 4 (2002): 59-77.

Open web:

Kimberly Marten, "Reconsidering NATO Expansion: A Counterfactual Analysis of Russia and the West," *European Journal of International Security* 3, no. 2 (June 2018). "Online first" version here (from this cite you can click on either the HTML or PDF, open access):

<https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2017.16>

Section IV. Russia and the West Today (topics and readings subject to change based on current events)
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Apr. 9. International sanctions and Russian politics

Open web:

For a background summary on current sanctions on Russia, see Angela Dewan, "Russia Sanctions: What You Need to Know," CNN.com, Aug. 2, 2017,

<http://www.cnn.com/2017/07/25/europe/russia-sanctions-explainer/index.html>

Columbia eLibrary:

Daniel W. Drezner, "Sanctions Sometimes Smart: Targeted Sanctions in Theory and Practice," *International Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (Mar. 2011): 96-108.

Open web:

Alexey Eremenko, "Who Is Benefitting from West-Russia Sanctions War?" *Moscow Times*, Aug. 6, 2014, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/business/article/who-is-benefiting-from-west-russia-sanctions-war/504634.html>

Steven Lee Myers, Jo Becker and Jim Yardley, "Private Bank Fuels Fortunes of Putin's Inner Circle," *New York Times*, Sept. 27, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/28/world/europe/it-pays-to-be-putins-friend-.html>

Apr. 11. Oil, natural gas, and Russia-West relations

Columbia eLibrary:

Thomas L. Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," *Foreign Policy*, Oct. 16, 2009.

Thane Gustafson, "Putin's Petroleum Problem," *Foreign Affairs* 91, no. 6 (Nov./Dec. 2012): 83-96.

Open web:

Tim Daiss, "Ukraine Celebration: One Year Without Russian Gas," *Forbes.com*, Nov. 27, 2016, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/timdaiss/2016/11/27/ukraine-celebration-one-year-without-russian-gas/#5e69df7b62f4>

April 16. The failure to reform the KGB—and its criminal aftermath.

Open web:

Mark Galeotti, "Putin's Hydra: Inside Russia's Intelligence Services," European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief, May 2016, http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_169_-_PUTINS_HYDRA_INSIDE_THE_RUSSIAN_INTELLIGENCE_SERVICES_1513.pdf

Columbia eLibrary:

Kimberly Marten, "The 'KGB State' and Russian Political and Foreign Policy Culture," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 30, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 131-51.

Brian D. Taylor, "The Russian Siloviki & Political Change," *Daedalus* 146, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 53-63.

Apr. 18. “Information war” and cyber conflict.

Open web:

Keir Giles, “Russia and Its Neighbours: Old Attitudes, New Capabilities,” and James J. Wirtz, “Cyber War and Strategic Culture: The Russian Integration of Cyber Power into Grand Strategy,” in *Cyber War in Perspective: Russian Aggression against Ukraine*, ed. Kenneth Geers (Tallin, Estonia: NATO Cooperative Cyber Defense Center of Excellence, 2015), pp. 19-37,

https://ccdcoe.org/sites/default/files/multimedia/pdf/CyberWarinPerspective_full_book.pdf

Andrzej Kozłowski, “Comparative Analysis of Cyberattacks on Estonia, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan,” *European Scientific Journal* February 2014 /SPECIAL/ edition vol.3, www.eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/download/2941/2770

Kim Zetter, “Inside the Cunning, Unprecedented Hack of Ukraine’s Power Grid,” *Wired*, March 3, 2016, <https://www.wired.com/2016/03/inside-cunning-unprecedented-hack-ukraines-power-grid/>

Apr. 23. Russia, the 2016 U.S. election, and its aftermath.

Open web:

Joshua Rovner, Jon R. Lindsay, Kimberly Marten, and Lindsey A. O’Rourke, “Policy Roundtable 1-7: Russia and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election,” H-Diplo International Security Studies Forum, Mar. 26, 2017, <https://issforum.org/roundtables/policy/1-7-russia>

Eric Lipton, David E. Sanger and Scott Shane “The Perfect Weapon: How Russian Cyberpower Invaded the U.S.,” *New York Times*, Dec. 13, 2016,

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

Dmitry Alperovich, “Bears in the Midst: Intrusion into the Democratic National Committee,” CrowdStrike Blog, June 15, 2016,

<https://www.crowdstrike.com/blog/bears-midst-intrusion-democratic-national-committee/>

Scott Shane, “These Are the Ads that Russia Bought on Facebook in 2016,” *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/us/politics/russia-2016-election-facebook.html>

Apr. 25. A post-Western world order?

Open web:

Fiona Hill and Bobo Lo, “Putin’s Pivot: Why Russia Is Looking East,” ForeignAffairs.com Snapshot Blog, July 31, 2013, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2013-07-31/putins-pivot>

Pavel K. Baev, “Mistrust Sets Low Ceiling for Russia-China Partnership: Deconstructing the Putin-Xi Jinping Relationship,” PONARS-Eurasia Policy Memo 447, Nov. 2016,

<http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/mistrust-sets-low-ceiling-russia-china-partnership-deconstructing-putin-xi-jinping-relationship>

Columbia eLibrary:

Saori N. Katada, Cynthia Roberts, and Leslie Elliott Armijo, “The Varieties of Collective Financial Statecraft: The BRICS and China,” *Political Science Quarterly* 132, no. 3 (Fall 2017): 403-433.

Apr. 30. There is nothing so difficult to predict as the future....

Because the research paper is due before class today, there are no assigned readings for this last class. Instead students should come prepared to debate what they think the future of Russia and the West will look like. Hint: this will be the basis for the second question on the final exam!