

Russia and the West

POLS V 3675

Spring 2009

Mon. and Wed. 2:40-3:55pm

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Course Description and Objectives

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, even as a path to salvation from Russia's endemic social and economic woes. Russia and the West have never treated each other with indifference, and this love/hate relationship is in full force today. In this course, we will examine why this has been the case, and particularly what it means for Russian foreign and security policy today. Drawing on contributions from philosophers and historians as well as international relations scholars and practitioners, we will discuss whether Russia's interaction with the West has been driven primarily by realist great power considerations, by a cultural cycle of Orthodox Slavic nationalism 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, thereby honing their critical reasoning and argumentation skills. A simulation of an international summit meeting will hone students' speaking and oral presentation skills. Students will leave the course with a broad, factual knowledge about selected current and historical Russian political, foreign policy, and security issues, as well as with an introduction to some of the current theoretical debates among scholars of international relations and Russian foreign policy. Through reading the works of both Russians observing the West, and Westerners observing Russia, students will also have the opportunity to reexamine some of their own views on the broader meaning and significance of Western culture.

Course Requirements and Grading

Students will take an **in-class midterm exam on Mar. 11**, as well as a **final exam** at the date and time set by the College (which has not yet been announced). For both the midterm and final, which are otherwise closed-book, students may bring with them one 8 ½" by 11" sheet of paper, on which they have written or typed anything they like.

Simulation Exercise and Assignments

A significant portion of the class will involve a simulation of a summit meeting among state leaders over a current international security issue involving Russia and the West. (The specific issue will be chosen by Prof. Marten at the start of the semester, based on current events; see separate handout for details.) Each student will be randomly assigned a role in the summit meeting, representing a domestic persona (a diplomat, a military official, a business leader, or the representative of a religious or nationalist group) from one of seven countries. The roles will be assigned during February.

Each student will write a **5- to 7-page page position memo (due at the start of class on Apr. 13**, so that Prof. Marten can return comments to students on Apr. 20 before the simulation starts) based on significant independent research of current press materials, written in the voice of the assigned persona on the summit issue, and for an internal audience. The memo should outline *both* the interests *and* the negotiating positions of the persona. (Background information on the summit issue and on negotiation and research techniques will be presented **in class on Mar. 9**.) **An additional page attached to the memo** should present a separate analysis of the memo (written in the student's own voice). If the student is assigned a Russian persona, this one-page analysis should focus on how the persona's viewpoints relate to class themes. If the student is assigned to a non-Russian persona, this one-page analysis should focus on what the likely Russian reactions will be to the persona's viewpoints, based on class themes.

Each country team of four students will work with the Barnard Leadership Initiative Speaking Fellows to prepare a unified initial **oral presentation to the group on Apr. 22**. Following the initial presentations, each country team will regroup to negotiate and plan a strategy which takes into account the other countries' presentations. (Backdoor negotiation with other country teams outside of course time is highly encouraged.) Public negotiations across groups will occur in class on **Apr. 27**; on **Apr. 29**, negotiations will conclude with a final presentation by each country team of its closing position, along with its country's vote on the summit issue. Finally, on the last day of class, **May 4**, each student will turn in a **3 to 5-page page summary and analysis** of the negotiation experience, relating it to themes that are raised in the Fisher and Ury book.

Midterm exam: 25% of total course grade

Analytic position paper: 20% of total course grade

Negotiation summary and analysis paper: 10% of total course grade

Oral presentation and class participation: 20% of total course grade. Any student who attends all classes (one class, *except* for the simulation classes, may be missed for any reason without penalty) and who puts good-faith effort into the oral presentation will automatically receive an A- for this portion of the grade; straight A's will reward outstanding performance.

Final exam: 25% of the total course grade

Regular class attendance throughout the semester is required, and roll will be taken; any student missing more than one class across the semester will have the class participation grade progressively lowered. (If you must miss class because of illness or

family emergency, you should notify Prof. Marten *in advance*, and submit a one-page course readings summary and comment paper to substitute for class attendance if you do not want the absence to count against you.) **Attendance on the three days of the summit simulation is an absolute requirement** (in the event of illness or family emergency, Prof. Marten will work with the individual student to craft an acceptable substitution assignment, involving a different form of oral presentation before the class on the last day of class, or if necessary, to Prof. Marten in her office after the close of the semester). **Exams must be taken when scheduled, and papers must be submitted when due.**

Prof. Marten has served on the Barnard College Honor Board, and takes the issues of academic integrity and plagiarism very seriously. For each exam, all students (whether or not they are Barnard College students) must sign the Barnard College Honor Code statement, affirming that their written work is completely their own. All sources used in the papers must be fully and accurately referenced, including web-based sources. Any student found to have violated the Honor Code will receive an F on the assignment in question, and will also face the disciplinary rules of his or her home college. **No laptops or other electronic devices may be used during lectures.** Individual exceptions for extraordinary reasons may be granted after consultation with Prof. Marten.

Readings

The following books are required reading. All have been placed on reserve at Barnard's Wollman Library; all but the Kennan are also available for purchase at the Book Culture Bookstore (formerly Labyrinth, 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.

Fisher, Roger **and William Ury** with Bruce Patton. *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving In*, 2nd ed. New York: Penguin, 1991.

Jack, Andrew. *Inside Putin's Russia: Can There Be Reform without Democracy?* New York: Oxford, 2006.

Kennan, George F. *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin*. Note: this book is out of print and hence not ordered at the bookstore, but is widely available used, in a cheap paperback edition.]

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V. *A History of Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press. Either 5th or 6th edition is fine.

In addition, many journal articles available through the Columbia Library Website and other web sources are also required, as noted in the syllabus.

Class Schedule

Jan. 21: Introduction

Websource:

Lucy Ash, "How Putin Is Inspired by History," BBC News Service, Feb. 25, 2008, at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7262661.stm>

PART I: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Jan. 26: Using theory to understand Russia's choices.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

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

Ebook chapter, available from Columbia Library Web:

Kimberly Marten Zisk, *Weapons, Culture, and Self-Interest: Soviet Defense Managers in the New Russia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), chapter 1 (pp. 1-25).

Jan. 28: Cultural roots and intellectual debates in Russia.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Nikolas K. Gvosdev, "Russia: European but not Western?" *Orbis* 51, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 129-40.

Riasanovsky: the brief section on Westernizers and Slavophiles in the 19th century, titled "Ideologies" and located within chapter XXVIII (pp. 360-66).

Cracraft: pp. 4-35 (essays by Pipes, Trubetzkoy, and Masaryk, plus commentary by Cracraft); pp. 282-3 (paragraph of commentary about Haxthausen) and 302-12 (essay by Haxthausen); pp. 327-8 (paragraphs of commentary about Herzen) and pp. 329-40 (essay by Herzen).

PART II: IMPERIAL THEMES AND CONTEMPORARY ECHOES

Feb. 2, Feb. 4: Great power competition and Potemkin villages: Peter the Great and Catherine the Great.

Riasanovsky: pp. 213-41, 254-73, and 285-99.

Cracraft: pp. 81-2, 99-125 (commentary by Cracraft on Peter the Great, plus documents), 166-179, 197-205 (essay by de Madariaga, commentary by Cracraft, plus excerpts from "The Instructions"), 222-52 (commentary and essay by Cracraft, essay by Raeff, plus documents on Peter and Catherine as empire-builders).

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Anne Applebaum, "Russia's Caribbean Farce" (op ed), *Washington Post*, Dec. 2, 2008.

Feb. 9: The West as political polarizer: the Decembrists and Nicholas I.

Riasanovsky: pp. 319-40.

Cracraft: pp. 268-302 (essay by Riasanovsky, commentary and documents by Karamzin and the Marquis de Custine).

Websource:

Vadim Volkov, "Will the Kremlin Revive the Russian Idea?" PONARS Policy Memo #370, December 2006, at:

https://gushare.georgetown.edu/eurasianstrategy/Memos/2005/pm_0370.pdf

Feb. 11: The consequences of halfway revolutions: Alexander II and Gorbachev.

Riasanovsky: pp. 368-90.

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

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

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.

Feb. 16. No class meeting; Prof. Marten is presenting a paper this afternoon at the International Studies Association annual meeting. Please note that the readings assigned for the surrounding dates are longer and more complex than most, and students should use the extra time to complete those readings.

PART III: THE SOVIET HANGOVER

Feb. 18: Confrontation vs. cooperation, under the Bolsheviks and... Yeltsin?

Kennan: pp. 37-157, 198-212.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Kimberly Marten Zisk, "Contact Lenses: Explaining U.S.-Russian Military-to-Military Ties," *Armed Forces and Society* 25, no. 4 (Summer 1999): 579-611.

Feb. 23: Stalin: villain and hero

Kennan: pp. 228-45, 276-346

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Sarah E. Mendelson and Theodore P. Gerber, "Soviet Nostalgia: An Impediment to Russian Democratization," *Washington Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (Winter 2005/6): 83-96.

Websource:

Igor Bukker, "Russian Communists Celebrate Stalin's 125th Birthday," *Pravda*, Dec. 22, 2004, available at <http://english.pravda.ru/russia/history/7526-stalin-0>.

Feb. 25: US and Soviet views of the Cold War

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

Melvyn P. Leffler, "Inside Enemy Archives: The Cold War Reopened," *Foreign Affairs* 75 (July/Aug. 1996): 120-35.

Raymond Garthoff, "American-Soviet Relations in Perspective," *Political Science Quarterly* 100, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 541-59.

Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 36-60.

Mar. 2: The Soviet political economy and its consequences

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Janos Kornai, Eric Maskin, and Gerard Roland, "Understanding the Soft Budget Constraint," *Journal of Economic Literature* 61 (Dec. 2003): 1095-1136. [Note: please do not worry about the mathematical equations that are in this article. The text provides an excellent, easy-to-read explanation of the major source of inefficiency in the Soviet economy.]

Ebook chapter, available from Columbia Library Web:

Kimberly Marten Zisk, *Weapons, Culture, and Self-Interest: Soviet Defense Managers in the New Russia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), ch. 2 (pp. 26-64).

Mar. 4: Privatization, the nomenklatura, and the new elite

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

Olga Kryshanosvakaya and Stephen White, "From Soviet *Nomenklatura* to Russian Elite," *Europe-Asia Studies* 48, no. 5 (1996): 711-33.

Vadim Volkov, "Standard Oil and Yukos in the Context of Early Capitalism in the United States and Russia," *Demokratizatsiya* 16, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 240-264.

Mar. 9: Simulation lecture: background, negotiation techniques, research techniques.

[Note: it is not expected that students do all of the assigned readings *before* today's class. However, enough of the Fisher and Ury should be read in advance so that students are familiar with the distinction between "positions" and "interests;" and the two Ukraine-related readings are important fundamentals that will be useful to everyone in preparing for the simulation. Today's materials will *not* be covered on the midterm exam.]

Fisher and Ury: entire.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Mark Kramer, "Ukraine's Orange Evolution," *Current History* 107, no. 407 (Mar. 2008): 112-18.

Websource:

Andrey S. Makarychev, "Russian Policy After the Color Revolutions," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 4 (March 2008), available at:

<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/51608.html>

Mar. 11: In-class midterm.

Mar. 16 and 18: Spring break. No classes.

Mar. 23: NATO expansion and the end of empire

Book chapter, available from Columbia E-reserves:

Ronald Grigor Suny, "Living in the Hood: Russia, Empire, and Old and New Neighbors," in *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century and the Shadow of the Past*, ed. Robert Legvold (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), pp. 35-76.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Martin A. Smith, "A bumpy road to an unknown destination? NATO-Russia relations, 1991-2002," *European Security* 11, no. 4 (2002): 59-77.

Websource:

Oleksandr Sushko, "Ukraine's NATO Membership Action Plan (MAP) Debates," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 9 (March 2008), available at:
<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/51622.html>

PART IV: PUTIN, MEDVEDEV, AND THE WEST

Mar. 25. Putin and the *siloviki* (power ministries).

Jack: pp. 14-87, 131-73, 216-54.

Websource:

Brian Taylor, "Power Surge? Russia's Power Ministries from Yeltsin to Putin and Beyond," PONARS Policy Memo no. 414, Dec. 2006, available at:

https://gushare.georgetown.edu/eurasianstrategy/Memos/2006/pm_0414.pdf

Mar. 30, Apr. 1. Russian oil and natural gas.

Jack: pp. 174-215

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

Clifford Gaddy, "The Russian Economy in the Year 2006," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 23, no. 1 (2007): 38-49.

Michael D. Cohen, "Russia and the European Union: An Outlook for Collaboration and Competition in European Natural Gas Markets," *Demokratizatsiya* 15, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 379-89.

Websource:

Kimberly Marten, "Disrupting the Balance: Russian Efforts to Control Kazakhstan's Oil," PONARS Policy Memo no. 428, Dec. 2006, available at:

https://gushare.georgetown.edu/eurasianstrategy/Memos/2006/pm_0428.pdf

Apr. 6: Nationalism and *Nashi*: *Russkie or Rossisskie?*

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

Taras Kuzio, "The myth of the civic state: a critical survey of Hans Kohn's framework for understanding nationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 20-39.

Michael Schwartz, "Russia's Political Youths," *Demokratizatsiya* 15, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 73-85.

Electronic reserves reading:

Astrid S. Tuminez, "Russian Nationalism and the National Interest in Russian Foreign Policy," in *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, ed. Celeste A. Wallander (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1996), pp. 41-68.

Apr. 8. "Sovereign democracy" and current ideas about the West

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Dimitri K. Simes, "Losing Russia," *Foreign Affairs* 86, no. 6 (Nov/Dec. 2007): 36-52.

Websources:

Dmitry Trenin, "Reading Russia Right," Policy Brief 42, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Oct. 2005, available at

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/pb42.trenin.FINAL.pdf>

Sergei Lavrov, "The Present and the Future of Global Politics," *Russia in Global Affairs* no. 2 (April-June 2007), available at <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/19/1102.html>

Apr. 13. Chechnya.

[Note: policy memo due at the start of class today.]

Jack: pp. 88-130, 255-96.

Electronic reserves reading:

Mikhail A. Alexseev, "Back to Hell: Civilian-Military 'Audience Costs' and Russia's Wars in Chechnya," in *Military and Society in Post-Soviet Russia*, ed. Stephen L. Webber and Jennifer G. Mathers (New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 97-113.

Websource:

Pavel K. Baev, "Has Russia Achieved a Victory in its War against Terror?" PONARS Policy Memo #415, December 2006, available at:

https://gushare.georgetown.edu/eurasianstrategy/Memos/2006/pm_0415.pdf

Apr. 15. Understanding Russian/Georgian relations

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics* 53, no. 4 (July 2001): 524-552.

Alexander Cooley and Lincoln A. Mitchell, "No Way to Treat Our Friends: Recasting Recent U.S.-Georgian Relations," *Washington Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (Jan. 2009): 27-41.

Apr. 20: Russia and the East: The China question.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Harley Balzer, "Russia and China in the Global Economy," *Demokratizatsiya* 16, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 37-47.

Websources:

Sheila M. Puffer and Daniel J. McCarthy, "Emerging Capitalism in Russia and China: Implications for Europe," *European Journal of International Management* 1, no. 1-2 (2007): 146-65, available at:

<http://inderscience.metapress.com/media/23ppyjvgxnt6fcxwhkdr/contributions/a/t/5/p/at5p98ftw2ctvr40.pdf>

Mikhail A. Alexseev, "The Chinese Are Coming: Public Opinion and Threat Perception in the Russian Far East," PONARS Policy Memo #184, Jan. 2001, available at http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/pm_0184.pdf

Apr. 22: Scenario Day I

Apr. 27: Scenario Day II

Apr. 29: Scenario Day III

May 4: Thinking about the future.

[Note: simulation analysis due at the start of class today.]