

Russia and the West
POS W4875
Spring 2015
Mon. and Wed. 2:40-3:55pm

Prof. Kimberly Marten

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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

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 Feb. 25 after class, and the exam will be due via Courseworks at midnight on Thursday Mar.12.

Research Paper: All research papers will be submitted via Courseworks, and are due at midnight on the last day of class, Monday May 4. 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 Monday Feb. 23.

Undergraduate students will complete an independent research paper of at least 3,000 words, 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 at least 6,000 words, on a topic related to course materials that they choose in consultation with the instructor. 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 handed out after class on the last day of class, Monday May 4; 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 13 at 4pm.

Class participation: Discussion is a crucial component of this course. Students are expected to attend all classes, 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 in advance for an extension; in most cases you must document your emergency; and in most cases undergraduates must have their student dean send an email to Prof. Marten supporting the request.

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.

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.

Bellamy, Chris. *Absolute War: Soviet Russia in the Second World War.* New York: Random House/Vintage, 2007.

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.)

Figes, Orlando. *The Crimean War: A History.* New York: Picador, 2010.

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.

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. 21: Introduction

Columbia eLibrary: David Remnick, "Letter from Moscow: Watching the Eclipse," *The New Yorker*, Aug. 11, 2014. Students are expected to have read this before the semester begins; it is a terrific introduction to many course themes.

Section I. Theoretical Models: Does Putin Matter?

Jan. 26: The theory of realism and Russian foreign policy

Columbia eLibrary:

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

Dmitry Trenin, "Russia Leaves the West," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 4 (July-Aug. 2006): 87-96.

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/>

Tatyana Romanova, "Neoclassical Realism and Today's Russia," *Russia in Global Affairs* (Russian International Affairs Council), Oct. 7, 2012, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Neoclassical-Realism-and-Todays-Russia-15681>

Jan. 28. 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).

Kimberly Marten, "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy," 2014 (unpublished paper).

Feb. 2. Individual psychology: Putin as decision-maker.

Note: at the start of class today, Prof. Marten will illustrate some of the terrific research resources available via Columbia Library Web. You will be expected to use these sources in your research papers.

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.

Open web:

Paul Starobin, "The Accidental Autocrat," *The Atlantic*, Mar. 2005, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/03/the-accidental-autocrat/303725/>

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

Feb. 4. International sanctions and Russian politics

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>

Kimberly Marten, "Why Sanctions Against Russia Might Backfire," Huffington Post, Aug. 21, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kimberly-marten/why-sanctions-against-rus_b_5696038.html

Kimberly Marten, "The Flawed Logic of Russian Sanctions (and Why They Might Be Useful Anyway)," Huffington Post, Sept. 28, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/kimberly-marten/the-flawed-logic-of-russi_b_5896214.html

Donald N. Jensen, "Republican Congress to Push Harder Russia Line," Institute of Modern Russia, Nov. 18, 2014, www.imrussia.org/en/analysis/world/2085-republican-congress-to-push-harder-russia-line

Feb. 9: Constructivism and ideas part I: Slavophiles versus Westernizers

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

Open Web: "The History of Slavophiles and Westernizers in Russia" (material associated with the Valdai Club [Putin's annual state-sponsored outreach to selected Western scholars], 7th meeting), RIA Novosti, Sept. 2, 2010.

Courseworks Files:

Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought: From the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1979), ch. 6 and 8 (pp. 92-114 and 135-51).

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

Feb. 11: Constructivism and ideas part II: The Eurasianists and Putin

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

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.

Marlene Laruelle, "Introduction: Eurasianism—Marginal or Mainstream in Contemporary Russia?" and "Conclusion: The Evolution of the Eurasian(ist) Idea," in *Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2012), pp. 1-15 and 202-222.

Columbia eLibrary:

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

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

Feb. 16: 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:

Michael Wines, "In Czar Peter's Capital, Putin Is Not as Great," *New York Times*, May 20, 2002.

"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>.

Amy Knight, "Putin's Propaganda Man," *New York Review of Books Blog*, Mar 31, 2012, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2012/may/31/putins-propaganda-man/>

Feb. 18: No class meeting; Prof. Marten in New Orleans for annual International Studies Association convention. Use the time to work on the page-long proposal for your research paper, due by noon on Feb. 23, and to get started on the Figes book.

Feb. 23: 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").

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.

Patrick Donahue and Tino Andresen, "Merkel Eye for Russian Empress Shows Putin Ties Are Complex," *Bloomberg News*, March 4, 2014.

Trisha Ping, "Interview: Robert K. Massie: A Biography Fit for a Queen," *Bookpage*, Nov. 2011, <http://bookpage.com/interview/a-biography-fit-for-a-queen#.U9FjwEDhL9g>. Massie's recent biography of Catherine (*Catherine the Great: Portrait of a Woman*, 2011) is a terrific (if long) read, highly recommended.

Feb. 25: The West as political polarizer: the Decembrists and Nicholas I

Open web:

Peter Coy, "Does Vladimir Putin Talk Just Like a Czar?" *Businessweek.com*, Apr. 3, 2014, <http://www.businessweek.com/articles/2014-04-03/does-vladimir-putin-talk-just-like-a-czar>

Riasanovsky: chapters 25-27

Cracraft: pp. 268-83 (Riasanovsky, "The Supreme Commander").

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.

Mar. 2: Crimea then and now: the legacy of the Crimean War.

Open web:

Orlando Figes, "Putin Needs to Show More Restraint than Hero to Avoid a New Crimean War," *The Guardian*, Feb. 28, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/28/putin-restraint-crimea-war-ukraine-russia-nicholas>

Figes: pp. xvii-199 (intro through ch. 6); pp. 319-345 (death of Nicholas I); pp. 385-96 (the fall of Sevastopol); pp. 411-25, 432-65 (the peace and its consequences); pp. 484-93 (Crimea in Russian memory).

Mar. 4: Halfway revolutions and the international system: Alexander II and Gorbachev.

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. 9: The legacies of empire.

Access through 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.

Mar. 11. No class meeting today, so that students can use the extra time to complete the midterm exam, **due on Courseworks at midnight on Thursday, Mar. 12.** Also please get started on the Bellamy book.

Mar. 16-18: Spring Break

Section III. The Cold War Overhang.

Mar. 23. The Great Fatherland War.

Bellamy: chapters 1-6, 8-9, 12-17, 19 (pp. 1-163, 179-238, 313-595, 630-669). Note: in class we will NOT be focusing on the military details, but instead on political decisions and social consequences.

Mar. 25. Stalin: popular villain, or misunderstood hero?

Open web:

Steve Gutterman, "Dead 60 Years, Stalin's Influence Lingers in Putin's Russia," *Reuters*, Mar. 5, 2013, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/03/05/us-russia-stalin-idUSBRE92400120130305>

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. 30. The origins of the Cold War from a Russian perspective

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

Apr. 1. Détente and the late Cold War from a Russian perspective.

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

Apr. 6. 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.

Courseworks Files:

Serhii Plokyh, "Epilogue," in *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), pp. 388-408.

Apr. 8. No class meeting. Prof. Marten is giving an invited research presentation at the University of Notre Dame. Use the extra time to work on your research papers.

Apr. 13. NATO expansion, Bosnia and Kosovo, and Russia

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.

Vladimir Brovkin, "Discourse on NATO in Russia during the Kosovo War," *Demokratizatsiya* 7, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 544-60.

Courseworks Files:

"View from Russia: Russia and NATO: Theses of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy," *Comparative Strategy* 15 (1996): 91-102.

Section IV. Russia and the West Today

Apr. 15. Is NATO (and/or EU) expansion responsible for Ukraine 2014?

Columbia eLibrary:

Daniel Deudney and G. John Ikenberry, "The Unraveling of the Cold War Settlement," *Survival* 51, no. 6 (Dec. 2009/Jan. 2010): 39-62.

Samuel Charap and Mikhail Troitskiy, "Russia, the West and the Integration Dilemma," *Survival* 55 no. 6 (Dec. 2013/Jan. 2014): 49-62.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Getting Ukraine Wrong," *New York Times*, Mar. 13, 2014.

John J. Mearsheimer, "The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2014.

Michael McFaul; Stephen Sestanovich; John J. Mearsheimer, "Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2014.

Apr. 20: The future of Russian nationalism: *Russkie* or *Rossisskie*, and does it matter?

Open web:

Anastasia Likhacheva and Igor Makarov, "National Identity and the Future of Russia," Valdai Discussion Club Report, Moscow, Feb.

2014, <http://valdaiclub.com/publication/68280.html> (Note: if you are able to read the Russian version, please do so to get a better sense of the use of *Russkie* vs. *Rossisskie*.)

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

Peter Rutland, "By Glorifying WWI, Putin Ignores Its Tragedy," *Moscow Times*, Aug. 4, 2014, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/by-glorifying-wwi-putin-ignores-its-tragedy/504549.html>

Apr. 22. Oil, natural gas, and Russia-West relations

Columbia eLibrary:

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

Rawi Abdelal. "The Profits of Power: Commerce and Realpolitik in Eurasia." *Review of International Political Economy* 20, no. 3 (June 2013): 421-456.

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

Open web:

"West Behind Falling Ruble, Oil Prices—Russian Spy Chief," RT, Dec. 5, 2014, <http://rt.com/news/211599-ruble-oil-sanctions-russia/>

Reuters, "Russia Can Do Little to Shore Up Falling Oil Prices," Nov. 20, 2014, <http://www.voanews.com/content/russia-can-do-little-to-shore-up-falling-oil-prices/2527630.html>

Jay Solomon and Summer Said, "Why Saudis Decided Not to Prop Up Oil," *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 21, 2014, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/why-saudis-decided-not-to-prop-up-oil-1419219182>

Apr. 27. Russia and China: Are we living in a post-Western world?

Open web:

Gordon C. Chang, "China and Russia: An Axis of Weak States," *World Affairs Journal*, March/April 2014, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/china-and-russia-axis-weak-states>

Pavel K. Baev, "Upgrading Russia's Quasi-Strategic Pseudo-Partnership with China," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 337, August 2014, http://www.ponarseurasia.org/sites/default/files/policy-memos-pdf/Pepm337_Baev_August2014.pdf

Alexander Cooley, "Russia and the Recent Evolution of the SCO: Issues and Challenges for U.S. Policy," chap.1 in *The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing U.S. Policy toward Russia*, ed. Timothy J. Colton, Timothy Frye and Robert Legvold (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010), <https://www.amacad.org/content/publications/pubContent.aspx?d=1135>

Elizabeth Wishnick, "The 'Power of Siberia:' No Longer a Pipe Dream," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 332, August 2014, http://www.ponarseurasia.org/sites/default/files/policy-memos-pdf/Pepm332_Wishnick_August2014.pdf

Columbia eLibrary:

Jeremy Page, "Why Russia's President Is 'Putin the Great' in China," *Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 1, 2014.

Apr. 29. The BRICs.

Open web:

Cynthia Roberts, "Building the New World Order BRIC by BRIC," *European Financial Review*, Feb.-Mar. 2011, placed on the web by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at [http://www.brics.mid.ru/brics.nsf/8aab06cc61208e47c325786800383727/0076861093dc5f86c32578bc0045fca4/\\$FILE/Cynthia%20Roberts.pdf](http://www.brics.mid.ru/brics.nsf/8aab06cc61208e47c325786800383727/0076861093dc5f86c32578bc0045fca4/$FILE/Cynthia%20Roberts.pdf)

Courseworks files:

Leslie Elliott Armijo and Cynthia Roberts, "The Emerging Powers and Global Governance," in *The Handbook of Emerging Economies*, ed. Robert E. Looney (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 503-24.

Open web:

Michael Emerson, "Do the BRICS Make a Bloc?" *Centre for European Policy Studies Commentaries*, Apr. 30, 2012, <http://www.ceps.be/book/do-brics-make-bloc>.

Matthew P. Goodman, "Can the BRICS Dominate the Global Economy?" *The National Interest* Buzz Blog, Aug. 12, 2014, <http://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-buzz/can-the-brics-dominate-the-global-economy-11063>.

May 4. There is nothing so difficult to predict as the future....

Because the research paper is due tonight, 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!