

Russia and the West

POS V 3675

Spring 2008

Tues and Thurs 10:35-11:50

Prof. [Kimberly Marten](#)

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Office Hours: Tues. 3-5pm, and by appointment

Course Description and Objectives

Prerequisite: POS 1601, "International Politics," or permission of instructor.

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 has never treated the West 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 of individual Russian leaders.

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 furthermore 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. 13**, as well as a **final exam** at the date and time set by the university (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 wish on both sides.

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 one domestic persona (a diplomat, a military official, a business leader, or the representative of a religious or nationalist group) from one of 7 countries. The roles will be randomly assigned during the second week of class.

Each student will write a **5 to 7-page page position memo (due in class on Apr. 15)**, based on significant independent research of current press materials, outlining the interests and opinions of the assigned persona on the summit issue. (Background information on the summit issue and on negotiation and research techniques will be presented **in class on March 11.**) If the student is assigned a Russian persona, the memo should conclude with a one-page analysis of how that persona’s viewpoints relate to class themes. If the student is assigned to a non-Russian persona, the memo should conclude with a one-page analysis of 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 April 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.) Negotiations across groups will occur in class on **April 24**; on **April 29**, negotiations will conclude with a final presentation by each country team of their closing position, along with their country’s vote on the summit issue. Finally, on the last day of class, **May 1**, each student will turn in a **3 to 5-page page summary and analysis** of the negotiation experience, relating it to class themes.

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 summit simulation participation: 20% of total course grade

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 two classes across the semester will have the final course grade 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.

Readings

The following books are required reading. All have been placed on reserve at Barnard's Wollman Library; all are also available for purchase at the Book Culture Bookstore (formerly Labyrinth, 536 West 112th Street). Web-based articles are also assigned.

Berlin, Isaiah. *Russian Thinkers*. New York: Penguin Books, 1979.

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

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Russian Revolution*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994.

Fogelso, David S. *The American Mission and the "Evil Empire."* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

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

Kuchins, Andrew C., ed. *Russia after the Fall*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002.

Legvold, Robert, ed. *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century and the Shadow of the Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

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

Zubok, Vladislav and Constantine Pleshakov. *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Class Schedule

Jan. 22: Introduction.

Riasanovksy: Chapters I and II (“A Geographical Note,” and “Russia before the Russians,” pp. 3-20); VIII (“The Mongols and Russia,” pp. 67-76); the first part of XV (on Ivan the Terrible, pp. 143-55); and XVI (“The Time of Troubles,” pp. 157-74). These brief sections will provide you with crucial pieces of historical context and vocabulary for understanding ongoing debates about Russia’s national interests and cultural heritage: borders and invasions; the legacies of absolutism; and the clash between eastern and western values.

Jan. 24: Using theory to understand Russia’s relationship with the West.

Electronic reserve reading:

Celeste A. Wallander, “The Sources of Russian Conduct: Theories, Frameworks, and Approaches,” in *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, ed. Celeste A. Wallander (Boulder: Westview, 1996), pp. 1-19.

PART I: RUSSIAN LEADERS AND THEIR HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

Jan. 29, 31. Peter the Great, Catherine the Great, and the opening to the West.

Riasanovsky: chapters XX (pp. 213-41), and XXII-XXIV (pp. 254-99).

Feb. 5, 7: Nicholas I, Alexander II, and interactions with the West.

Riasanovsky: chapters XXVI (pp. 323-40) and XXIX (pp. 368-90).

Fogelsong: pp. 7-33.

Feb. 12: Lenin and the West: From “revolution in one country” to the NEP.

Fitzpatrick: pp. 15-119.

Fogelsong: pp. 60-82.

Feb. 14: Stalin and the origins of the Cold War.

Fitzpatrick: pp. 120-47.

Zubok and Pleshakov: pp. 1-53.

Fogelsong: pp. 83-128.

Feb. 19: Khrushchev: thaw and crisis.

Zubok and Pleshakov: pp. 174-209, 236-82.

Fogelsong: pp. 129-42.

Feb. 21: Brezhnev: cold war and stagnation

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

T.H. Rigby, “The Soviet Leadership: Towards a Self-Stabilizing Oligarchy?”

Soviet Studies 22, no. 2 (Oct. 1970): 167-91.

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

Fogelsong: pp. 142-188.

Feb. 26: The Gorbachev phenomenon.

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

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

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

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

Fogelsong: pp. 188-95.

Feb. 28. The Yeltsin era.

Kuchins: chapters by McFaul, Graham, Hellman, Gaddy, and Twigg (pp. 21-61, 93-109, 125-62).

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.

Fogelsong: pp. 196-218.

Mar. 4. An introduction to Putin.

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

Fogelsong: pp. 219-29.

Mar. 11. Simulation lecture: background, negotiation techniques, research techniques.

Fisher and Ury: entire.

Mar. 13. In-class Midterm (covers material through Mar. 4)

Mar. 18 and 20. No class meetings; spring break.

PART II: PATTERNS OF IDEAS IN RUSSIA'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST.

Mar. 25. "Sovereign democracy" and current ideas about the West

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>

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.

Mar. 27. No class meeting; Prof. Marten will be in San Francisco for the annual convention of the International Studies Association.

April 1. The idea of state and empire in Russian history.

Legvold: chapters by Suny (pp. 35-76), McDonald (pp. 145-203), and Wallander (pp. 443-97).

Apr. 3: The idea of “Europe” in Russian history.

Riasanovsky: the brief section titled “Ideologies” and located within chapter XXVIII (pp. 360-66). This provides the context for Berlin, and should be read first.

Berlin: “A Remarkable Decade” (pp. 114-209). Note that this book was the basis for Czech playwright Tom Stoppard’s Tony Award-winning trilogy, “The Coast of Utopia,” performed at Lincoln Center in 2006/7.

Legvold: chapter by Stent (pp. 393-441).

Apr. 8. Varieties of Russian nationalism.

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.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Andrei P. Tsyganov, “Hard-Line Eurasianism and Russia’s Contending Geopolitical Perspectives,” *East-European Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (Fall 1998): 315-34.

Websource:

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

PART III: SELECTED CURRENT POLICY ISSUES

Apr. 10. The *siloviki* (power ministries).

Websource:

Brian D. Taylor, “Russia’s Power Ministries: Coercion and Commerce,” Institute for National Security and Counterterrorism, Syracuse University, Oct. 2007, available at http://insct.syr.edu/Research%20and%20Events/Taylor_Russia%20Power%20Ministries.pdf.

Apr. 15. Chechnya and the “war on terrorism”

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

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Gail W. Lapidus, “Contested Sovereignty: The Tragedy of Chechnya,” *International Security* 23, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 5-49.

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:

Mark Kramer, "The Changing Context of Russian Federal Policy in the North Caucasus," PONARS Policy Memo 416, available at www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/pm_0416.pdf.

Apr. 17: Russian oil and gas and the West.

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.

Kimberly Marten, "Russian Efforts to Control Kazakhstan's Oil: The Kumkol Case," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 23, no. 1 (2007): 18-37.

Apr. 22: Scenario Day I

Apr. 24: Scenario Day II

Apr. 29: Scenario Day III

May 1: Conclusion: Leadership, history, and the future.

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