

Russia-U.S. Relations: Contemporary Issues

Draft 09/05/2017

Note: This class will be taught via video-link with a co-professor and a group of students at MGIMO, a university in Moscow. The class will be capped at 15 students on the Fletcher side.

Schedule: Tuesday 8:55am [changes to 7:55am] Boston time / 3:55pm Moscow time. First meeting: Tuesday, September 12.

Faculty: Prof Igor Istomin, MGIMO and Prof Chris Miller, Fletcher School

Assignments

- 1 Individual policy paper, 5 pages, due week 8. Fletcher students will write a policy paper for the Russian government, MGIMO students will advise the U.S. government
- 2 Team paper, written in group of 3 students, tasked with finding a solution for a problem in U.S.-Russia relations. Prof Istomin and Prof Miller will provide a list of potential topics. A first draft of the paper is due in week 12. The final draft is due the week of Dec 11. 15 pages.

Grading: 30% - class participation; 30% - paper #1; 40% - paper #2.

Course Outline

Class 1. Introduction

Class 2. The Historical Roots of US-Russian Relations

Readings:

- Stephen Cohen, *Soviet Fates and Lost Alternatives*, ch. 6-7.
- Andrei Tsygankov, "Authoritarian at Heart, Expansionist by Habit," *Europe-Asia Studies* 64, no. 4 (June 2012).
- William Wohlforth, "Realism and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994): 91-129.
- Angela Stent, *Limits of Partnership: U.S.-Russian Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, prologue and ch. 1.

Class 3. Perspectives on Global Order

Readings:

- Robert Kagan, "Why the World Needs America," *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 11, 2012.
- Vladimir Putin, Munich Speech, 2007; Valdai Speech, 2014

- Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations>
- Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The National Interest* (1989).
- Larson and Shevchenko, "Russia says no: Power, status, and emotions in foreign policy," *Communist and post-communist studies*, 47, no. 3 (2014): 269-279.
- A. Makarychev, "Multipolarity in plural: resignification (s), language games, and Russia's multiple identities," (2011) http://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/44076/ssoar-2011-makarychev-Multipolarity_in_plural_resignifications_language.pdf?sequence=1

Class 4. Nuclear and Military Stability in the 21st Century

Readings:

- James Acton, "Russia and Strategic Conventional Weapons," <http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/02/03/russia-and-strategic-conventional-weapons-pub-62676>
- Steven Pifer, "Multilateralize the INF Problem," <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/03/21/multilateralize-the-inf-problem/>
- Sergey Karaganov, "Taking a New Look at Nuclear Peace," <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Taking-a-New-Look-at-Nuclear-Peace-18752>
- Alexey Arbatov, "An Unnoticed Crisis: The End of History for Nuclear Arms Control," http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Arbatov2015_n_web_Eng.pdf

Class 5. Normative Agendas and the Effect of Values on Relations

Readings:

- Vladimir Khoros, "Cluster of Civilizations," <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Cluster-of-Civilizations-18760>
- "US Must Put Democracy at the Center of its Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/16/the-u-s-must-put-democracy-at-the-center-of-its-foreign-policy/>
- Alicja Curanovic. *The Guardians of Traditional Values. Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church in the Quest for Status.* Transatlantic Academy Paper Series. 2015. Vol. 1. <https://ru.scribd.com/document/254503820/The-Guardians-of-Traditional-Values-Russia-and-the-Russian-Orthodox-Church-in-the-Quest-for-Status>

Class 6. Euro-Atlantic Order and Conventional Security

Readings:

- Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Rivalry*, ch. 4.
- Ivan Timofeev, "Russia and NATO: A Paradoxical Crisis," <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Russia-and-NATO-A-Paradoxical-Crisis-18793>
- Forsberg, Tuomas & Graeme Herd. 2015. Russia and NATO: From Windows of Opportunities to Closed Doors. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*. 23(1): 41-57.
- Krickovic, Andrej. 2016. When ties do not bind: the failure of institutional binding in NATO Russia relations, *Contemporary Security Policy*. 37(2): 175-199.

Class 7. Conflicts in Post-Soviet Space

Readings:

- Ronald Asmus, *A Little War that Shook the World: Georgia, Russia, and the Future of the West*, ch. 1, 8.
- Menon and Rumer, *Conflict in Ukraine: The Unwinding of the Post-Cold War Order*, introduction, ch. 2.
- Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Rivalry*, ch. 6.
- Stephen Aris, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: 'Tackling the Three Evils'. A Regional Response to Non-traditional Security Challenges or an Anti-Western Bloc?" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume [61](#), Issue [3](#) May 2009 , pp 457 - 482
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: The liberal delusions that provoked Putin. *Foreign Affairs*, September/ October.
- Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2015. Vladimir Putin's last stand: the sources of Russia's Ukraine policy. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 31(4): 279-303. DOI: 10.1080/1060586X.2015.1005903

Class 8. Instability in Middle East and Afghanistan

Readings:

- Dmitri Trenin and Alexei Malashenko, "Afghanistan: A View from Moscow," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 2010.
http://carnegieendowment.org/files/trenin_afghan_final.pdf

- Derek Chollet, *The Long Game: How Obama Defied Washington and Redefined America's Role in the World*, ch. 1, 4.
- Vitaly Naumkin, "What Exactly is Russia doing in Syria," <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/What-exactly-is-Russia-doing-in-Syria-17679>
- Vitaly Naumkin, "Middle East Crisis: Foreign Interference and an Orgy of Extremism," <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/valday/Middle-East-Crisis-Foreign-Interference-and-an-Orgy-of-Extremism-17588>
- Ivan Timofeev, "Russia and the West: How to Deal with the Threat of Extremism," <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Russia-and-the-West-How-to-Deal-with-the-Threat-of-Extremism-18728>
- Mark N. Katz, "Russia's Greater Middle East Policy: Securing Economic Interests, Courting Islam" <https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifrirusiamiddleeastkatzengapril2010.pdf>
- Maxim Suchkov, "Russia's Plan for the Middle East" <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/russias-plan-the-middle-east-14908>

Class 9. The Rise of Asia: Russian and American perspectives

Readings:

- Aaron Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, introduction.
- Graham Allison, "The Thucydides Trap: Are the US and China Headed for War?" <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/united-states-china-war-thucydides-trap/406756/>
- Arthur Waldron, "There is no Thucydides Trap," <http://www.straitstimes.com/opinion/there-is-no-thucydides-trap>
- Victor Cha, "Weak but still Threatening," in *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies*, ed. Cha and Kang.
- Georgii Toloraya, "Russia and North Korea: Can Moscow Help Resolve the Korean Problem," *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 2017.
- Timofey Bordachev, "Russia-China: An Alliance for Peace or War," <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Russia-China-An-Alliance-for-Peace-or-War-18783>
- Ekaterina Koldunova. "Russia as a Euro-Pacific power: Dilemmas of Russian foreign policy decision-making," *International Relations*. 2015. Vol. 29. No. 3. P. 378-394.

Class 10. Rules of the Global Economic Game

Readings:

- Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: U.S. Russia Relations in the Twenty-First Century*, ch. 8.
- David G. Tarr and Natalya Vochkova “Foreign Economic Policy at a Crossroads,” in Anders Aslund and Andrew Kuchins (eds) *The Russia Balance Sheet*, ch. 10.
- Evgeny Vinokurov, “Eurasian Economic Union: Current state and preliminary results,” *Russian Journal of Economics*, Volume 3, Issue 1, March 2017, P. 54-70

Class 11. Hybrid Warfare and Information Security, Domestic Orders and Foreign Subversion

Readings:

- Molly McKew, “Putin’s Real Long Game,” *Politico*
<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/01/putins-real-long-game-214589>
- Elena Chernenko, “Political Cyberwar on the Doorstep,”
<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Political-Cyberwar-on-the-Doorstep-18589>
- Oleg Demidov, “International regulation of information security and Russia's national interests,” *Security Index: A Russian Journal on International Security*, 18(4), 2012, P. 15-32.
- Andrey Krutskikh, and Anatoly Streltsov. "International law and the problem of international information security." *International Affairs* 60.6. 2014: 64-76.

Class 12. Russia and the U.S. in Regulating Global Commons

Readings:

- Alexey Fenenko, "International Norms in the New Common Spaces: A New Challenge in the Twenty-First Century." *Challenge and Change*. Palgrave Macmillan US, 2016. 225-245.
- Pavel Gudev, “U.S. Strategy in Global Ocean: Between Consistency and Contradiction,” *International Trends (Mezhdunarodnye Protsessy)*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2016, P. 111-121.
<http://intertrends.ru/system/Doc/ArticlePdf/1258/IKdfL8WBM8.pdf>

Class 13. Final Discussion