

## Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Ideologies, Decision-making

Tuesday, 12:30-1:45pm

Professor Chris Miller

This course will examine decision-making processes in Russian foreign policy. It will begin with two historical case studies to illustrate the complexity of Russian foreign policy decision making processes. Then, the course will turn to analyzing major players in the Russian foreign policy process: the security services, the military, the church, oligarchs, and freelancers. Finally, the course will conclude by applying these concepts to understand several recent important Russian foreign policy decisions.

In accordance with federal and state law, Tufts University provides reasonable accommodations to students with documented disabilities. If you believe you require an accommodation, e-mail [accessibility@tufts.edu](mailto:accessibility@tufts.edu) or [Catherine.Flynn@tufts.edu](mailto:Catherine.Flynn@tufts.edu)

### **Tuesday, September 11      Current Trends in Russian Foreign Policy**

Readings:

- The foreign policy concept of the Russian federation:  
[http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/-/asset\\_publisher/CptlCk6B6BZ29/content/id/2542248](http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptlCk6B6BZ29/content/id/2542248)
- Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy*, ch. 1-2.

### **Tuesday, September 18      The Serbian Intervention of 1876**

Readings:

Note: please read these documents in order

- Rostislav Fadeev, *Opinion on the Eastern Question*, ch. 9 (PDF on Google Books)
- Selected documents on the Serbian crisis
- David MacKenzie, *The Lion of Tashkent: The Career of General M. G. Cherniaev*, ch. 8-10.
- Michael Boro Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Pan Slavism, 1856-1870*, ch. 9.

### **Tuesday, September 25      The Security Services in Russian Foreign Policy**

Readings:

- [https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/1780961057/ref=dbs\\_a\\_def\\_rwt\\_bibl\\_vppi\\_i2](https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/1780961057/ref=dbs_a_def_rwt_bibl_vppi_i2)

- [https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR\\_169 -  
INSIDE RUSSIAS INTELLIGENCE SERVICES \(WEB AND PRINT\) 2.pdf](https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR_169_-_INSIDE_RUSSIAS_INTELLIGENCE_SERVICES_(WEB_AND_PRINT)_2.pdf)
- <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2017/also-in-2017/russian-intelligence-political-war-security/EN/index.htm>
- <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/01/fsb-kgb-putin/513272/>
- Soldatov and Borogan, *The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB*, ch. 1-11, 16-end

## **Tuesday, October 2                      Oligarchs and Business Interests in Russian Foreign Policy**

### Readings:

- Weber chapter on 'Petropolitics' in Routledge Handbook on Russian Foreign Policy
- Mikhail Zygar, *All the Kremlin's Men*, ch 7-8, 11
- Chris Miller, *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia*, ch. 1-3.
- [https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2017-05-02-  
eurasian-economic-union-dragneva-wolczuk.pdf](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/publications/research/2017-05-02-eurasian-economic-union-dragneva-wolczuk.pdf)
- [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/29/business/energy-environment/russia-venezuela-  
oil-rosneft.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/29/business/energy-environment/russia-venezuela-oil-rosneft.html)

## **Tuesday, October 9                      Freelancers in Russian Foreign Policy**

### Readings:

- <https://www.ft.com/content/84481538-1103-11e4-94f3-00144feabdc0>
- <https://warontherocks.com/2018/07/the-puzzle-of-russian-behavior-in-deir-al-zour/>
- <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2016/06/13/evgeny-prigozhin-s-right-to-be-forgotten>
- Zygar, ch. 19.

## **Tuesday, October 16                      Ideologies: The Orthodox Church and 'Eurasianists'**

### Readings:

- [http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Curanovic\\_GuardiansTraditionalValues\\_Feb15\\_web.pdf](http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Curanovic_GuardiansTraditionalValues_Feb15_web.pdf)
- Zygar, ch. 14
- Charles Clover, *Black Wind, White Snow*, ch. 11-15
- Snyder, *Road to Unfreedom*, p. 133-150
- Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield*, ch. 28.

## **Tuesday, October 23                      The Military and Russian Foreign Policy**

Readings:

- Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy, ch. 10.
- McDermott, “Does Russia Have a Gerasimov Doctrine?”
- Zygar, ch. 17

**Tuesday, October 30**                      **Case Study: The 2016 Montenegro Coup**

Readings:

- Bechev, *Rival Power*, ch. 1-2, skim 6-8.
- <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/aug/12/ex-cia-officer-faces-arrest-over-alleged-montenegro-coup-plot>
- <https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/07/hanging-by-a-thread-russias-strategy-of-destabilization-in-montenegro/>
- <https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/04/the-2016-coup-attempt-in-montenegro-is-russias-balkans-footprint-expanding/>

**Tuesday, November 6**                      **Guest Lecture: Professor Robert Levgold**

Readings: TBD

**Tuesday, November 13**                      **Guest Lecture: Professor Anastasiia Likhacheva**

Readings: TBD

**Tuesday, November 20**                      **No class**

**Tuesday, November 27**                      **Case Study: Russia-Israel Relations**

Readings:

- <https://www.economist.com/business/2015/09/17/welcome-to-the-promised-land>
- <https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/06/moscow-on-the-mediterranean-russia-and-israels-relationship/>

**Tuesday, December 4**                      **Case Study: The Litvenenko Poisoning**

Readings:

- <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160613090818/https://www.litvinenkoinquiry.org/files/2015/07/MPS-Closing-Statement.pdf>
- [https://www.buzzfeed.com/heidiblake/from-russia-with-blood-14-suspected-hits-on-british-soil?utm\\_term=.lcVWAYKDq#.itkwBED79](https://www.buzzfeed.com/heidiblake/from-russia-with-blood-14-suspected-hits-on-british-soil?utm_term=.lcVWAYKDq#.itkwBED79)
- <http://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/1361-6498/aa58a7/meta>
- Steven Lee Meyers, *The New Tsar*, ch 17.
- Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield*, ch. 22

## Russia-U.S. Relations: Contemporary Issues

Fall 2018

**Note:** This course will be taught via video-link with a co-professor and a group of students at MGIMO and the Fletcher School. The class will be capped at 15 students on each side.

**Structure:** This course will examine US-Russian relations through analysis of five major issues in the bilateral relationship. After introductory lectures during the first two class sessions, the course will be divided into five two-week sections, each focused on a major bilateral issue: hybrid warfare and information security; nuclear issues; Ukraine; Syria; and climate change.

In the first week on each bilateral issue, discussion will examine mainstream Russian and US views of the issue. In the second class session on each issue, a group of students will present on a common proposed solution that would be acceptable to the United States and to Russia. Discussion will assess the pros and cons of the proposed solution.

**Schedule:** 12:30-13:45 Boston time / 19:30-20:45 Moscow time [note: Moscow time switches in November]

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

### Assignments

1. Team presentation on an issue in U.S.-Russia relations, combining both MGIMO and Fletcher students. Presentations should propose a solution to an issue as well as contemporary debates about it. Students will work together to prepare their presentations, and each group will write a 3 page, single spaced memo, due 24 hours before class. Presentations should be 20 minutes long.
2. Individual policy paper, 5 pages single spaced, due December 7. Fletcher students will write a policy paper for the Russian government, MGIMO students will advise the U.S. government.

**Grading:** 30% - class participation; 30% - presentation and group paper; 40% - individual policy paper.

### Course Outline

#### **September 13. The History of US-Russian Relations (Lecture by Professor Miller)**

##### *Mandatory 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.

## September 20. Contemporary Drivers of US-Russian Relations (Lecture by Professor Istomin)

### Mandatory Readings:

- Fedyashin, Anton. 2018. American Messianism and Russian-American Relations. In: *Russia and the United States in Evolving World Order*. MGIMO University Press.
- Troitsky, Mikhail. 2017. Negotiating Russia's Status in Post-Soviet Eurasia. In: *Tug of War: Negotiating Security in Eurasia*. CIGI Press.
- Tsygankov, Andrey. 2016. *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Ch. 1. P. 1-32.
- Wohlforth, William and Steven Brooks. 2016. *America Abroad. The United States' Global Role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Ch. 4-5. P. 73-102.

### Optional background Readings:

- *Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation 2016*. [http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/-/asset\\_publisher/CptlCk6BZ29/content/id/2542248](http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptlCk6BZ29/content/id/2542248)
- *U.S. National Security Strategy 2017*. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf>

## September 27. Arms Control and Nonproliferation in the 21st Century

### Introductory comments: Prof. Istomin

### Mandatory readings:

- Arbatov, Alexey. 2015. *An Unnoticed Crisis: The End of History for Nuclear Arms Control*. [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP\\_Arbatov2015\\_n\\_web\\_Eng.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP_Arbatov2015_n_web_Eng.pdf)
- Nina Tannenwald, "The Great Unraveling: The Future of the Nuclear Normative Order," in [https://www.amacad.org/multimedia/pdfs/publications/researchpapersmonographs/New-Nuclear-Age\\_Emerging-Risks/New-Nuclear-Age\\_Emerging-Risks.pdf](https://www.amacad.org/multimedia/pdfs/publications/researchpapersmonographs/New-Nuclear-Age_Emerging-Risks/New-Nuclear-Age_Emerging-Risks.pdf)
- Istomin, Igor. 2018. From Nuclear Centrality to Political Instrumentalism: Changing Role of Arms Control in Russian-American Relations. In: *Russia and the United States in Evolving World Order*. MGIMO University Press.

### Optional background Readings:

- Karaganov, Sergey. 2017. Taking a New Look at Nuclear Peace. *Russia in Global Affairs*. <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Taking-a-New-Look-at-Nuclear-Peace-18752>
- *Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation*. 2014. <https://rusemb.org.uk/press/2029>
- *U.S. Nuclear Posture Review Summary*. 2018. <https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872877/-1/-1/1/EXECUTIVE-SUMMARY.PDF>
- James Acton, "Technology, Doctrine, and the Risk of Nuclear War," in [https://www.amacad.org/multimedia/pdfs/publications/researchpapersmonographs/New-Nuclear-Age\\_Emerging-Risks/New-Nuclear-Age\\_Emerging-Risks.pdf](https://www.amacad.org/multimedia/pdfs/publications/researchpapersmonographs/New-Nuclear-Age_Emerging-Risks/New-Nuclear-Age_Emerging-Risks.pdf)
- Gavin, Francis J. 2015. Strategies of Inhibition: US Grand Strategy, the Nuclear Revolution, and Nonproliferation. *International Security*, 40(1), 9-46.

#### **October 4. How to Address Arms Control? (Student presentations on Solutions)**

#### **October 11. Hybrid Warfare and Information Security, Domestic Orders and Foreign Subversion**

*Introductory comments: Prof Miller*

*Mandatory Readings:*

- Deyermond R. 2015. Disputed Democracy: The Instrumentalisation of the Concept of Democracy in US-Russia Relations during the George W. Bush and Putin Presidencies. *Comillas Journal of International Relations*. Vol.3: 28-43.
- Krutskikh, Andrey and Anatoly Streltsov. 2014. International law and the problem of international information security. *International Affairs* 60.6: 64-76.
- U.S. Office of the Director of National Intelligence. 2017. *Background to "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections": The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution*. URL: [https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA\\_2017\\_01.pdf](https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf)
- Indictment of Multiple Individuals for Interference in the U.S. 2016 presidential election, July 13, 2018, <https://d3i6fh83elv35t.cloudfront.net/static/2018/07/Muellerindictment.pdf>

*Optional background Readings:*

- Council of Federation of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation. 2018. *Special Report on the Results of the Presidential Elections in the Russian Federation (2018) from the Point of Encroachments on the Russian Electoral Sovereignty*. URL: <http://council.gov.ru/media/files/2uQuCAAwoWu0B8tiDeDExn5x9CtBkTDV.pdf> (available in Russian only).
- Chernenko, Elena. 2017. Political Cyberwar on the Doorstep. URL: <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Political-Cyberwar-on-the-Doorstep-18589>

## **October 18. How to address 'Color Revolutions' vs 'Russian hackers' accusations?**

**(Student Presentation on Solutions)**

## **October 25. Euro-Atlantic Security and Western Eurasia**

*Introductory comments: Prof Istomin*

*Mandatory Readings:*

- Istomin, Igor. 2017. Negotiations under Disagreement: Limitations and Achievements of Russian-Western Talks on NATO Enlargement. *Tug of War: Negotiating Security in Eurasia*. CIGI Press.
- Kropatcheva, Elena. 2012. Russia and the role of the OSCE in European security: a 'Forum' for dialog or a 'Battlefield' of interests? *European security*, 21(3), 370-394.
- Mankoff, Jeffrey. *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Rivalry*, ch. 4.
- Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: The liberal delusions that provoked Putin. And McFaul, Michael. Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis. *Foreign Affairs*, September/ October.

*Optional background Readings:*

- Bolgova and Baykov, ed, "International Relations in Post-Soviet Space," Torkunov, ed, *Russia and the United States in the Evolving World Order*.
- Menon and Rumer, *Conflict in Ukraine: The Unwinding of the Post-Cold War Order*, introduction, ch. 2.
- 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

## **November 1. Is it possible to prevent the Ukraine Conflict from becoming another 'frozen' deadlock? (Student Presentation on Solutions)**

## **November 8. The Middle East and the Challenges of Radical Extremism**

[Note time change for MGIMO class to 8:30pm Moscow time]

*Introductory comments: Prof Miller*

*Mandatory Readings:*

- Ayooob, Mohammed. 2011. American Policy towards the Persian Gulf: Strategies, Effectiveness and Consequences. In: ed. by Mehran Kanraeva *International Politics of the Persian Gulf*.



- Timofeev, Ivan. 2017. *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>
- Katz, Mark N. 2010. *Russia's Greater Middle East Policy: Securing Economic Interests, Courting Islam*. <https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifrirusiamiddleeastkatzengapril2010.pdf>
- Suchkov, Maxim. 2016. *Russia's Plan for the Middle East*. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/russias-plan-the-middle-east-14908>
- Fawaz Gerges, *Obama and the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?*, ch. 1-3.

*Optional background Readings:*

- Naumkin, Vitaly. 2015. *What Exactly is Russia doing in Syria*. <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/What-exactly-is-Russia-doing-in-Syria-17679>
- Humud, Carla E., Christopher M. Blanchard, Mary Beth D. Nikitin. 2018. *Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response*. CRS Report. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33487.pdf>
- Katzman, Kenneth. *Iran Sanctions*. CRS Report. <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS20871.pdf>

**November 15. Can Syria be put together? (Student presentation about solutions)**

**November 22. No class**

**November 29. Parallel pivots to the Asia Pacific/Indo Pacific**

*Introductory comments: Prof Istomin*

*Mandatory readings:*

- Friedberg, Aaron. *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>
- Koldunova, Ekaterina. 2015. *Russia as a Euro-Pacific power: Dilemmas of Russian foreign policy decision-making*. *International Relations*. Vol. 29. No. 3. P. 378-394.
- Torkunov et. al. ed, *Russia and the United States in the Evolving World Order*, ch. 4.

*Optional background readings:*

- Bordachev, Timofey. 2017. *Russia-China: An Alliance for Peace or War*. <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/book/Russia-China-An-Alliance-for-Peace-or-War-18783>
- Cha, Victor. Weak but still Threatening, in *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies*, ed. Cha and Kang.
- Toloraya, Georgii. Russia and North Korea: Can Moscow Help Resolve the Korean Problem," *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, 2017.

**December 6. Is there a way out of the Korean conundrum? (Student presentation about solutions)**