COURSE TITLE/FIELD: P280 Eurasia: Geopolitics, Religion, and Security  
Spring 2017

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Office hours: (Tuesdays 1-5 p.m.) and by appointment  
Course meets once weekly (Mondays afternoons)

COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course explores the intersection of geography, religion, and security in the trans-regional, trans-continental space of Eurasia. The course focuses primarily on the relationship between the United States and Russia, as the framework for thinking about broader geopolitical processes, trends, and developments in Eurasia writ large.

Eurasia is a vast geographic expanse characterized by regime-type diversity (democratic, authoritarian, totalitarian, hybrid, illiberal, sultanistic), religious pluralism (Western and Eastern Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, et al), complex state and human security interests and needs, and rich natural resources (oil, natural gas, minerals) with uneven distribution. We analyze the geopolitics of Eurasia as a geographic space of multiple and overlapping contestations of power and culture.

Efforts for control over Eurasia have been characterized by some international security experts as “a new Cold War” between the US and Russia, have been described by others in terms of a “new Great Game” and “the expansion of the Silk Road.” All of these characterizations share an assumption common to the classical and contemporary arguments in the geopolitical tradition—namely, that control over Eurasia is a sine qua non for aims of global hegemony.

Since the end of the Cold War and, especially, in this second decade of the 21st century, Eurasia is a geopolitical playing field where Western (mainly defined in terms of NATO and the EU) and Eastern (primarily understood in terms of Russia, what Moscow views as its “Near Abroad,” and, to a lesser extent, China) are perceived to collide in a zero-sum game.

To explore the security and religion in the geopolitics of Eurasia, we consider changing technologies of force projection, transportation, and communication, including cyber technologies, as they have affected military dominance and control over natural resources. Regarding religion, we consider the impact on state legitimacy (foreign policy implications and domestic regime type) stemming from the religious dimensions of nationalism, as well as the impact of religious radicalism, terrorism, and religious pluralization on state and regional stability.

The course relies on a combination of readings in theory, case study analysis, guest presentations by and interactions with policymaking experts, collaborative classroom assignments, and focused debates.

The course is designed with the following goals in mind: (1) to introduce students to the tradition of geopolitics, both in terms of classical and critical geopolitics; (2) to introduce Eurasia as intrinsic to the field of geopolitics and to arguments about global hegemony in geopolitics and international relations; (3) to develop understanding of the geographies of power and geographies of culture that have defined Eurasia and that shape competition for control over Eurasia; (4) to
understand the nexus between religion and security in the geopolitics of Eurasia and the impact of material and cultural factors in conceptualizing and responding to threats and opportunities in the religion-security nexus.

Throughout the course, we will stay focused on the US-Russia relationship as the primary reference point for understanding the intersection of religion and security in the geopolitics of Eurasia. Therefore, we will be questioning the evidence and logic for the growing perception and discourse among US and Russian political and security elites that Washington and Moscow are competitors, foes, and enemies in Eurasia. We will consider the alternative possibility that, especially in terms of the religion-security nexus, there may be rationality in joint West-East approaches to managing challenges and threats in Eurasia understood as a shared, integrated geospace.

COURSE DESIGN

This course is deliberately designed as an introduction, and is organized into three, inter-related parts: first and foremost, as an introduction to theories of geopolitics and the relationship to IR theory more broadly; second, as an introduction to the origins of Eurasia as a geographic space where security is linked to and informed by religio-cultural valences; and third, as a treatment of comparative cases that give purchase into the importance of history in shaping current linkages between security and religion in the geopolitics of Eurasia.

Part One (Theory and Practice): The Return of Geopolitics and the Rediscovery of Eurasia. Introduction to the theory of geopolitics and connections to IR theory. Focus on origins and evolution from late-19\textsuperscript{th} and early-20\textsuperscript{th} century origins, to evolution through 20\textsuperscript{th} century and renewal and reconfiguration in 21\textsuperscript{st} century. Focus on both classical geopolitics and cultural geopolitics and their mutual reinforcement.

Part Two (Geographies, Culture, and History): Eurasia and the Religion-Security Nexus. The classical geopolitical tradition makes no sense apart from an understanding of Eurasia, both in terms of its physical and cultural geography. Focus on the cultural geography of Eurasia, and especially, on religion as a crucial variable in differentiating Europe and Asia, and in instrumentalizing, and justifying friends/foes, interests/threats, in the security matrices of Eurasia.


COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course will rely on a combination of lectures and regular discussion, covering the reading materials and real-time events relevant to our topics. Attendance at all classes is mandatory, and students are expected to arrive promptly at class for the start of each class. There will be cold calling in class, and students should be able to demonstrate thorough preparation of the weekly reading assignments.

The course assignments are designed to ensure that workload is manageable over the duration of the semester, while also assuming graduate and professional standards.
The assignments are also designed to ensure a multi-dimensional pedagogical approach that allows students to learn from and play to their strengths. The assignments are also designed to maximize the opportunities for student engagement in class discussion and debate, as well as to have access to expert guest speakers (see below).

**30% Attendance and Class Participation.** Participation involves quantity and quality, frequency and clarity. Participation also requires respectful engagement with fellow students, as well as concise and clear contributions. There is only so much “air time” available for in-class discussion, so please be aware of the need to share this time with fellow students. This is an introductory course, designed with breadth and generalizability, with specific deep-dives into case studies; therefore, there is no presumption of expertise for success in the course, but there is definitely an assumption that careful, thorough preparation of weekly readings is essential for success in the course and for constructive participation in class discussion.

**30% Point-Counterpoint Class Debate.** We will have a “pause” at Session Six, about midway through the semester, to take stock of the evolving argumentation about geopolitics in contemporary international relations, and most specifically, to consider an alternative to the consolidating perspective that the US and Russia are hostile competitors using all means at their disposal to gain control over Eurasia. The assignment for the week is a very short book (in reality, a long essay) by Dmitri Trenin, entitled *Should We Fear Russia*. Students will be organized into small groups, tasked with presenting point-counterpoint style assessments of the five sections of the book. Each point-counterpoint engagement will run for 20 minutes (10 minutes point, 10 minutes counterpoint). Our goal is to have concise, compelling arguments for each chapter, with the benefit of the analytic lens provided by the readings and class discussions up to this point in the semester.

**40% Final Assignment: Team Policy Initiative.** In place of a final exam or paper, there is a team policy initiative that requires student collaboration in research, design, and writing. The goal of this initiative is to allow students to draw from your foundational knowledge about the classical and cultural schools of geopolitics, in order to identify key threats related to the nexus between religion and security, when it comes to stability and order in Eurasia. Your audience for the policy initiative is an imaginary inter-agency task force (IATF) of US government officials, including representatives from the Departments of State and Defense, from the National Intelligence Community, from the Executive branch and from Congressional Committees. Your initiative should be designed to show how university-based social science research can contribute directly to addressing the most important fundamental knowledge gaps in areas of critical importance to US strategic planning related to religion-security threats in Eurasia. Each team will prepare a document of no more than 60 pages (40 pages of text, including clear identification of the members of your IATF and justification of the composition of the task force; plus up-to an additional 20 pages, including a summary bibliography of cutting-edge social science scholarship and policy research on your topic, as well as appendices including maps, charts, etc.); and a separate Executive Summary of 3 pages (statement of the nature of the threat; rationale for IATF to address the threat; methodology and timeline for addressing the threat; possibilities for collaboration with multilateral and inter-governmental organizations to mitigate threat). You have broad decisionmaking rights over the topic that you select, but you should especially aim to consider the threat in terms of “wicked problems” and/or black swan events; in terms of national, regional, and transnational linkages and reiterations; causation and correlations; cross-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary knowledge and expertise; policy intersectionality; and, in terms of original, innovative possibilities for threat response. By the second week of the semester, students will be assigned on a randomized basis to teams. You can change teams, if you find a classmate who wants to shift with you, and you must notify the professor of the swap. Following the midterm break, each team will have to submit a
one-page page (or less) abstract of your topic. The assignment is due by e-mail on May 8 at 10 a.m.

GUEST SPEAKERS

The course will have occasional guest speakers, in order to allow students to engage with scholars and policymakers with particular expertise on key theoretical and operational topics geopolitics, religion, and security in Eurasia. The guest speakers provide policymaking and practitioner experience, and also offer students a networking opportunity with experts.

Pending final confirmation, some of our guest speakers are anticipated as follows:

Despina Afentouli, Director of NATO Public Diplomacy Division (Southeastern Europe and the Caucasus)

Stacy Bernard Davis, Unit Chief for Europe and Eurasia, Office of International Religious Freedom (DRL/IRF), US Department of State

Dr. Sharyl Cross, Global Fellow, Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Dir. of the Kozmetsky Center at St, Edward’s University

Dr. Bruce Everett, Prof. of International Business, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

Dr. Nicolas Kazarian, Dir. of the Observatory on the Geopolitics of Religion, Institut de Relations Internationales et Strategiques

Hon. Geoffrey Pyatt, US Ambassador to Greece, former US Amb. to Ukraine

COURSE READINGS

All journal articles and selected book chapters will be posted to the course site on Trunk. The long list of books and articles below is intended merely as a reference for students interested in the various dimensions and cross-disciplinary treatments of geopolitics, religion, and security relating to Eurasia.

Foundational Texts


Selected Journal Articles and Book Chapters


**Other Books**


**Other Journal Articles and Book Chapters**


**CLASS SESSIONS**

(Shopping Day is January 17th)

**PART 1: (Theory and Practice): The Return of Geopolitics and the Rediscovery of Eurasia**

**Session 1 (January 23)**

- Introduction to the Old and New Debates: Return of Geopolitics, Rediscovery of Eurasia
- Clarity and Stability or Confusion and Conflict: Geopolitics Everywhere, a Concept So Compelling, Yet So Opaque
- Mining Current Debates to Discover Old Templates: Finding Geopolitics and Eurasia


Michael Herzfeld. “Welcome to Greece (but Not to Europe),” in *Foreign Policy* (February 25, 2015).


**Session 2 (January 30)**

- Origins of Classical Geopolitics and Linkage to Eurasia


**Session 3 (February 10—note change in class date)**

- Historicizing Classical Geopolitics through IR Paradigms: From Cold War to Post-Cold War, Continuities and Innovations

- Implications for Friends and Foes in Eurasia and the World: Repositioning and Recycling the US and Russia, Occident and Orient


**PART 2: (Geographies, Culture, and History): Eurasia and the Religion-Security Nexus.**

**Session 4 (February 13)**

- Readings in Critical Geopolitics: Deconstructing and Constructing Eurasia
• Culture and History as Raw Materials in the Geography of Eurasia
• Guest speaker: Dr. Nicolas Kazarian


Nick Danforth. “Turkey’s New Maps are Reclaiming the Ottoman Empire,” in Foreign Policy (October 23, 2016)

Session 5 (February 22—note change in class date; university on Wednesday schedule)
• Religion and Eur-Asia, Religion and Security in the Geopolitics of Eurasia
• Religion-Security Nexus in the Geopolitics of Eurasia: Sacralization of Threats and Alliances
• Guest speaker: Tracy Bernard


Session 6 (February 27)
• Pause: Considerations on the Old/New Geopolitics of Eurasia and the Religion-Security Nexus
• Taking Stock Before the Deep Dive Into Case Studies
• Point-Counterpoint on Dmitri Trenin’s Should We Fear Russia?
In-class groups to be assigned in Week Two of the course.

PART 3: (Case Studies) The Complex Geopolitics of Eurasia: Religion, Security...What Else?

Session 7 (March 6)
Who’s To Blame in Ukraine? Geopolitics of Transatlantic versus Russian Foreign Policy in Ukraine

- Readings to be assigned.
- Guest speaker: Amb. Geoffrey Pyatt

Session 8 (March 13)
Taking Religion Seriously: NATO Views on Religion and Security in Eurasia

- Readings to be assigned.
- Guest speaker: Despina Afentouli

NOTE: No class on March 20 (Spring Break the week of March 20)

Session 9 (March 27)
Geopolitics in Syria: Religion and Security in Eurasia's Levant

- Readings to be assigned.
- Guest speaker

Session 10 (April 3)
Geopolitics of Energy Security and Religion: Heartland, Rimland, World Island

- Readings to be assigned.
- Guest speaker: Dr. Bruce Everett

Session 11 (April 10)
China and Russia: Taking a Broad View of 21st-century Geopolitics

- Readings to be assigned.
- Guest speaker: Dr. Sharyl Cross

NOTE: No class on April 17 (university holiday: Patriots’ Day)

Session 12 (May 1: final class day)
- Takeaways and Lessons Learned
- Possible guest panel