

**COURSE TITLE/FIELD: P280 Eurasia: Geopolitics, Religion, and Security**  
**Spring 2018, Wednesday, 3:20 p.m. – 5:20 p.m.**  
**Mugar 235**

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### **COURSE INTRODUCTION**

This course explores the classical and critical schools of geopolitics as they relate to control over and construction of Eurasia, as a territorial and cultural space, with particular emphasis on issues of religion and security as part of contemporary geopolitical contestation in and about Eurasia.

The course focuses primarily on the relationship between the United States and Russia, but the US-Russia focus is intended to provide a contemporary framework for thinking about broader geopolitical processes, issues, and trends 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, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, et al), complex security interests and threats (state, non-state, and human), and rich, if unevenly distributed, natural resources (oil, natural gas, minerals, water).

Taking into account these features and characterizations of Eurasia, this course analyzes the geopolitics of Eurasia as a territorial and cultural space of contestation and drawing from the assumption, common to the classical and contemporary arguments in the geopolitical tradition, that control over Eurasia is a *sine qua non* for global hegemony. Indeed, since the end of the Cold War and, especially, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Eurasia is a geopolitical playing field where scholars and policymakers are debating whether Western (mainly defined in terms of NATO and the EU) and Eastern (primarily understood in terms of Russia and, to a lesser extent, China) interests and identities are locked into a zero-sum competition.

The domains of security and religion are especially crucial to the contemporary geopolitics of Eurasia. This course considers the multi-dimensional and intersecting dimensions of security (including changing technologies of force projection, transportation, communication, and information; and distinctions of state, non-state, and human security), as well as the features of religion (including ideas, institutions, and actors; and, the causes and effects of religious pluralism versus homogenization), for understanding different modalities of control over and construction of Eurasia.

The course relies on a combination of readings in theory, case study analysis, guest presentations by academic and policy 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) and, to understand the nexus between religion and security in the geopolitics of Eurasia.

Throughout the course, we will stay focused on the NATO-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 whether the US and its European allies share the same perspective and approach to Russia. We will consider the alternative possibility that, especially in terms of the religion-security nexus, there may be rationality and possibility for cooperation between NATO and Russia; likewise, we will consider the role of China as a possible hegemon in Eurasia. Finally, we will touch on the role of China as it relates to the tendency to reduce the current geopolitics of Eurasia to a US-Russia competition.

## **COURSE DESIGN AND GOALS**

**This course is deliberately designed as an introduction and is organized into two parts.**

### **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<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> century origins, to evolution through 20<sup>th</sup> century and renewal and reconfiguration in 21<sup>st</sup> century. Focus on both classical geopolitics and critical geopolitics and their mutual reinforcement. Consider the notion “no Eurasia, no geopolitics.” Evaluate differences between Eurasia, Eur-Asia, Europe and/versus Asia.

**Part Two (Case Studies): Eurasia, Geopolitics, and the Religion-Security Nexus.** Consider case studies that illustrate the reality of Eurasia as a massive geospace with regional and local specificities. Consider the integration of classical and critical perspectives to understand how interests, alliances, and enemies are determined. Examine the impact of technology on both classical and critical frameworks for analyzing conflict and order in Eurasia. Identify reflexivities between religion and security in case studies as they relate to geopolitical contests for hegemony in Eurasia.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

The course will rely on a combination of lectures and regular discussion. Attendance at all classes is mandatory, and students are expected to arrive promptly 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. We will also incorporate real-time events as relevant to our weekly topics.

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).

**Class Attendance and Participation.** Regular class attendance is mandatory, and active participation is expected. There is only so much “air time” available for in-class discussion, so we will strike a careful balance in time spent on discussion and in allowing opportunities for everyone to participate. 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 regarding the expectation of regular preparation of materials.

**30% (15% each) Reflection Essays.** Each student must write two 750-word reflection essays on readings from the syllabus. These assignments begin on week three. The goal of the reflections is for you to present a critical synthesis of the readings for that week, identifying the key concepts, arguments, and utility of the readings as they relate to the classical and critical approaches to geopolitics, with particular attentions to a. the conceptualization of security either explicitly or implicitly presented in the readings and to b. the relevance/irrelevance of religion to the territorialization of Eurasia and to the definition of security associated therewith. **These are intended to be short think-pieces or, if you wish, memo-style essays—not polished pieces of writing—that allow you to get on paper your main takeaways from the readings. You must submit your essays (to the folder on Canvas) by midnight on the day preceding the class.**

**30% Reflective Pause, Reading & Essay.** We will have a “reflective pause” at the seventh week of the course. There is no class meeting this week. Instead, you will use the week to read the short book (the book is really a long essay) by Carnegie expert Dmitri Trenin, entitled *Should We Fear Russia?* and to write a three-five page double-spaced (750-1000 words) review of the book, having the benefit of reading the book against the backdrop of our first six class meetings.

**40% (20% written product, 20% class presentation) Final Project Assignment: Team Policy Report.** In place of a final exam or paper, there is a team policy initiative that requires student collaboration in the research, design, and writing of a strategic policy document. The goal of this assignment is to allow you to apply what you have learned about geopolitics, religion, and security in Eurasia to a key threat in contemporary international relations. Your audience for the policy initiative is an 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. You must identify the membership and rationale for membership of your IATF (in no more than one page) at the outset of your policy document. As you write your report, keep in mind that your report should be an example of 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** (45 pages of text; a two-page Executive Summary; one page of IATF membership and rationale; and, up to 12 pages of appendices, including maps, charts, etc.). Your report should clearly identify the specific threat (what is the nature of the threat to stability in Eurasia and, most specifically, how what is the nature of the threat to US strategic interests in Eurasia), the timeline for the emergence and evolution of the threat, as well as the time horizon for addressing the threat; the specific policy mechanisms (e.g. types of diplomatic engagements, use and preparation for use of force, possibilities for collaboration with multilateral and inter-governmental organizations to mitigate threat). You have broad decision-making 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” developments/events, and above all, the threat should incorporate the nexus between religion and security.** By the third 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. You should begin discussing your topic as soon as possible. Following the midterm break, each team must submit a one-page abstract of our topic. You will present your topic in a 30-minute presentation in the final class meeting, with 20 minutes of questions and responses from the class. This presentation is intended as a kind of “dry run,” in the event that you have a real policy audience to which you eventually present your work, and as a means to allow you to work out any remaining questions or kinks in your analysis, by incorporating input and feedback from class response to your presentation. **The goals of this exercise are: critical thinking, innovative and efficacious policymaking, development of policy presentation skills, and a final written product that you can share with prospective employers and/or consider as the basis for capstone ideas.**

**The assignment is due by e-mail on May 6 at midnight.**

### **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 for professional purposes.

Our guest speakers are confirmed as follows, and there will be a few additions as the semester unfolds:

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

**Dr. David Kanin**, Dir. of Analytics, CENTRA Technologies

**Dr. Christopher Miller**, The Fletcher School

**Dr. Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl**, The Belfer Center Middle East Initiative, UVA Prof. of Political Science

**Dr. Nikolas K. Gvosdev**, Prof. of National Security, US Naval War College

**James Mackey**, NATO, Head of Euro-Atlantic and Global Partnerships

**Dr. Sharyl Cross**, Global Policy Scholar, Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.c.

### **COURSE READINGS**

**All journal articles and selected book chapters will be posted to the course site on Canvas.**

The long list of books and articles below is intended merely intended as a reference for students interested in the various dimensions and cross-disciplinary treatments of geopolitics, religion, and security relating to Eurasia.

### Selected Journal Articles and Book Chapters

Agnew, John A. and Duncan, James S., "Introduction," in *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imagination*, eds. John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan. (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

Alexandrova-Arbatova, Nadia. "European Security and International Terrorism: the Balkan Connection," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 4, Issue 3, September 2004.

Art, Robert J., "Europe Hedges Its Security Bets," in eds., T.V. Paul, James J. Wirtz, and Michel Fortmann, *Balance of Power Revisited: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004.)

Arbatova, Nadia Alexandrova. "European Security After the Kosovo Crisis: The Role of Russia," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 1, Issue 2 (May 2001).

Aydin, Mustafa. "Europe's New Region: The Black Sea in the Wider Europe Neighborhood," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 5, Issue 2 (May 2005).

Bassin, Mark. "The Emergence of Ethno-Geopolitics in Post-Soviet Russia," in *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (March 2009).

Bassin, Mark, Glebov, Sergey, and Laruelle, Marlene, eds. *Between Europe & Asia: The Origins, Theories, and Legacies of Russian Eurasianism*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015).

Bechev, Dimitar. "Contested Identity: the Case of Regionalism in Southeast Europe," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 4, Issue 1 (January 2004).

Camillus, John C. "Strategy as a Wicked Problem," in *Harvard Business Review* (May 2008).  
<https://hbr.org/2008/05/strategy-as-a-wicked-problem>

Clover, Charles. "Dreams of the Eurasian Heartland: The Reemergence of Geopolitics," in *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1999, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/1999-03-01/dreams-eurasian-heartland-reemergence-geopolitics>.

Cohen, Saul B. "The Geopolitics of Turkey's Accession to the European Union," in *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 45, Issue 8 (2004).

Cohen, Saul B. "The Eurasian Convergence Zone: Gateway or Shatterbelt?," in *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 46, Issue 1, January 2005.

Dittmer, Jason and Sharp, Joanne, eds. *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*. (Routledge, NY: 2014).

Ersen, Emre. "The Evolution of 'Eurasia' as a Geopolitical Concept in Post-Cold War Turkey," in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 18, Issue 1 (January 2013).

Foster, John Bellamy. "The New Geopolitics of Empire," in *Monthly Review*. 2006, Volume 57, Issue 08 (January). <http://monthlyreview.org/2006/01/01/the-new-geopolitics-of-empire/>

*Geopolitics*. Special Issue. "Religion and Geopolitics," Vol. 11, Issue 3 (2006).

Hann, Chris. "Imperative Eurasia," in *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (August 2014).

King, Charles and Melvin, Neil J. "Diaspora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy, and Security in Eurasia," in *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Winter, 1999-2000).

Mamadough, Virginia and Diknik, Gertjan. "Geopolitics, International Relations and Political Geography: The Politics of Geopolitical Discourse," in *Geopolitics* 11, no 3 (2006).

Mavelli, Luca and Wilson, Erin K. , eds. *The Refugee Crisis and Religion: Secularism, Security and Hospitality in Question*. (NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

Mesbahi, Mohiaddin. "Islam and Security Narratives in Eurasia," in *Caucasus Survey*, Volume 1, Issue 1 (October 2013).

Milner, Helen V. "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis of International, American, and Comparative Politics," in *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn 1998).

Huntington, Samuel P. "The Clash of Civilizations?," in *Foreign Affairs* 72, no 4 (1993).

Morozova, Natalia. "Eurasianism and Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin," in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 14, Issue 4 (November 2009).

Nodia, Ghia. "The Revenge of Geopolitics," in *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 25, No. 4 (October 2014).

Nodia, Ghia. "The Wounds of Lost Empire," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (April 2009).

Oktem, Kerem. "Between Emigration, de-Islamization and the Nation-State: Muslim Communities in the Balkans Today," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 11, Issue 2 (June 2011).

O'Tuathail, Gearoid. "Geopolitical Structures and Cultures: Towards Conceptual Clarity in the Critical Study of Geopolitics," in *Geopolitics: Global Problems and Regional Concerns*, ed. L. Tchantroudize (Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: Centre for Defense and Security Studies, 2004).

Prodromou, Elizabeth H. "Paradigms, Power, and Identity: Rediscovering Orthodoxy and Regionalizing Europe," in *European Journal of Political Research*, 30, (September 1996).

Sarajlic, Eldar. "The Return of the Consuls: Islamic Networks and Foreign Policy Perspectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 11, Issue 2 (June 2011).

Smith, Graham. "The Masks of Proteus: Russia, Geopolitical Shift and the New Eurasianism," in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (1999).

*Southeast Europe and Black Sea Studies*. Special Issue. "The Security Context in the Black Sea Region," Vol. 9, Issue 3 (2009).

Suny, Ronald Grigor. "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia," in *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Winter, 1999-2000).

Dimitrios Triantaphyllou. "The Security Paradoxes of the Black Sea Region," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 9, Issue 3 (September 2009).

Vahl, Marius and Celac, Sergiu. "Ready for a Breakthrough: Elements for a European Union Strategy Towards the Black Sea Region," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 2 (June 2006).

### Other Books

Bjelic, Dusan I. and Savid, Obrad, eds. *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

Buzan, Barry and Little, Richard. *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations*. (London: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Cross, Sharyl and Zevelev, Igor. eds., *Global Security Beyond the Millennium: American and Russian Perspectives*. (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

Garrard, John and Garrard, Carol. *Russian Orthodoxy Resurgent: Faith and Power in the New Russia*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Hauner, Milan. *What Is Asia to US? Russia's Asian Heartland Yesterday and Today*. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990.)

Kaplan, Robert D. *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us About Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*. (NY: Random House, 2012).

Kearns, Gerry. *Geopolitics and Empire: The Legacy of Halford Mackinder*. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.)

Kitromilides, Paschalis M. *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of Southeastern Europe*. (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Varorium, 1994). Ch. X.

Klare, Michael T. *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. (NY: Holt, 2002).

Klare, Michael T. *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy*. (NY: Holt, 2009).

Leustean, Lucian N., ed. *Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945-1991*. (NY: Routledge, 2010).

Meyendorff, John. *Rome, Constantinople, and Moscow: Historical and Theological Studies*. (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003). Chs. 7 and 8.

Paul, T.V., James, Wirtz, and Wirtmann, Michel, eds., *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Perkins, Mary Anne. *Christendom and European Identity: The Legacy of a Grand Narrative since 1789*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004).

Sengupta, Anita. *Heartlands of Eurasia: The Geopolitics of Political Space*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.)

Sidorov, Dmitrii. *Orthodoxy and Difference: Essays on the Russian Orthodox Church(es) in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*. (San Jose, CA: Pickwick Publications, 2001.)

Sloan, Geoffrey and Gray, Colin, eds. *Geopolitics, Geography, and Strategy*. (London: Frank Cass, 1999).

Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Updated edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009).

Tunander, Ola; Pavel K. Baev, and Einagel, Victoria Ingrid eds, *Geopolitics in Post-Wall Europe. Security, Territory and Identity*. London: Sage, 1997.)

Weaver, Carol. *The Politics of the Black Sea Region: EU Neighbourhood, Conflict Zone or Future Security Community?* (NY: Palgrave, 2013).

Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). Introduction and Conclusion.

### **Other Journal Articles and Book Chapters**

Dunlop, John. "Reintegrating the Post-Soviet Space," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (July 2000).

Lanskoy, Miriam, and Areshidze, Giorgi. "Georgia's Year of Turmoil," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (October 2008).

Megoran, Nick. "Revisiting the 'Pivot': The Influence of Halford MacKinder on Analysis of Uzbekistan's International Relations," in *The Geographical Journal*, 179, No 4 (December 2004).

Kristof, L. "The Russian image of Russia: An Applied Study in Geopolitical Methodology," in *Essays in Political Geography*, ed., Fisher, A. (Methuen, London, 1968).

Nodia, Ghia. "Nationalism and Democracy," in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 3, Number 4 (October 1992).

Roslycky, Lada L. "Russia's Smart Power in Crimea: Sowing the Seeds of Trust," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 11, Issue 3 (September 2011).

Stepan, Alfred C. "Religion, Democracy, and the 'Twin Tolerations,'" in *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 11, No. 4 (October 2000).

[http://muse.jhu.edu/login?type=summary&url=/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v011/11.4stepan.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/login?type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_democracy/v011/11.4stepan.html)



Theophylactou, Dimitrios J. "Geopolitics, Turkey's EU accession course and Cyprus: Power balances and 'Soft Power' Calculations," in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 12, Issue 1 (2012).

## CLASS SESSIONS

**(Shopping Day is Tuesday, January 16)**

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

#### **Session 1 (Wednesday, January 17)**

- 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

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

Walter Russell Meade. "The Return of Geopolitics," in *Foreign Affairs*.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2014-04-17/return-geopolitics>

G. John Ikenberry. "The Illusion of Geopolitics," in *Foreign Affairs*.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2014-04-17/illusion-geopolitics>

Evan Osnos, David Remnick, and Joshua Yaffa. "Trump, Putin, and the New Cold War," in *The New Yorker* (March 2017). <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/03/06/trump-putin-and-the-new-cold-war>

#### **Session 2 (Wednesday, January 24)**

- Origins of Classical Geopolitics and Linkage to Eurasia

Alfred T. Mahan. "Discussion of the Element of Sea Power," in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

Halford J. Mackinder. "The Geographical Pivot of History," in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

Karl Haushofer. "Why Geopolitics?" in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

#### **Session 3 (Wednesday, January 31)**

- Historicizing and Updating Classical Geopolitics
- Technology Matters
- 21<sup>st</sup> Century Specificities: Religion and Security

George F. Kennan. "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

Colin S. Gray. "In Defense of the Heartland: Sir Halford Mackinder and his Critics a Hundred Years On," in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

Zbigniew Brzezinski. "A Geostrategy for Eurasia," in *Foreign Affairs* (September 1997).

Svarin, David. "The Construction of 'Geopolitical Spaces' in Russian Foreign Policy Discourse Before and after the Ukraine Crisis," in *Journal of Eurasian Studies*. Vol. 7, Issue 2 (July 2016).

Laruelle, Marlene. "Eurasianism as a Geopolitical Identity," in Bassin, Mark, Glebov, Sergey, and Laruelle, Marlene, eds. *What Was Eurasianism and Who Made It?* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015).

Cohen, Stephen F. "The US 'Betrayed' Russia, But It Is Not News That's Fit to Print," in *The Nation*. <https://www.thenation.com/article/the-us-betrayed-russia-but-it-is-not-news-thats-fit-to-print/>

#### **Session 4 (Wednesday, February 7)**

- Readings in Critical Geopolitics: Deconstructing and Constructing Eurasia
- Culture and History as Raw Materials in the Geography of Eurasia
- Occident, Orient and Religion: Civilizationalism and Eurasianism

Edward Said. "Orientalism," in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

Samuel P. Huntington. "The Clash of Civilizations?" in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

Elizabeth H. Prodromou. "Paradigms, Power, and Identity: Rediscovering Orthodoxy and Regionalizing Europe," in *European Journal of Political Research* (September 1996).

Luiza Bialasiewicz. "The Uncertain State(s) of Europe?," in Jason Dittmer and Joanne Sharp, eds., *Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader*.

Gertjan Dijkinck. "When Geopolitics and Religion Fuse: A Historical Perspective," in *Geopolitics* (July 2006).

John Agnew. "Religion and Geopolitics," in *Geopolitics* (11: 2).

Graham Smith. "The Masks of Proteus: Russia, Geopolitical Shift and the New Eurasianism," in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (Vol. 24, No. 4, 1999).

#### **Session 5 (Wednesday, February 14)**

- 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

Sidorov, Dmitrii. "Post-Imperial Third Romes: Resurrections of a Russian Orthodox Geopolitical Metaphor," in *Geopolitics* (11: 2006).

Petro, Nicolai N. "Russia's Orthodox Soft Power," in *Carnegie Council for Ethics and International Affairs*. [https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles\\_papers\\_reports/727](https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/publications/articles_papers_reports/727)

Mohiaddin Mesbahi. "Islam and Security Narratives in Eurasia," in *Caucasus Survey*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 2013).

Gvosdev, Nikolas K. "Russia's Hand Is Visible Everywhere in the Middle East," in *The National Interest* (September 12, 2107.) <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/russias-hand-visible-everywhere-the-middle-east-22272>

**Guest speaker: Dr. Nikolas Gvosdev, Prof. of National Security, US Naval War College**

## **PART 2: Case Studies**

### **Session 6 (DAY CHANGE: Tuesday, February 20 | Wednesday is Monday Schedule)**

NATO and the New Geopolitics of Hegemony in Eurasia: Transatlantic (Dis?)Unity

- US/NATO Perspective
- Are Brussels and Washington in sync on Eurasia?
- How does NATO define its greatest threats and opportunities in Eurasia? States (e.g. Russia, China), non-state actors (e.g. terrorism, religious terrorism and radicalism, criminal networks), transnational phenomena (e.g. migration), internal cohesions versus fragmentation (e.g. Turkey, Hungary, Poland)?
- Does it make sense to discuss NATO as a community of values and as a collective security arrangement?

GLOBSEC NATO Adaptation Initiative. "One Alliance: The Future Tasks of the Adapted Alliance" (November 2017) <https://www.globsec.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/GNAI-Final-Report-Nov-2017.pdf>

Keohane, Daniel. "Policy Brief: EU Military Cooperation and National Defense," *The German Marshall Fund of the United States* (4: 2018).

Munich Security Report, 2017: Post-Truth, Post-West, Post-Order?

Committee on Foreign Relations, January 2018. "Putin's Asymmetric Assault on Democracy in Russia and Europe: Implications for U.S. National Security." (*Peruse at your leisure: This is intended as a background, not as an assigned reading.*)

**Guest speaker: James Mackey, Head of Euro-Atlantic and Global Partnership, NATO**

### **Session 7 (Wednesday, February 28) NO CLASS MEETING**

- Read and write book review of Trenin's *Should We Fear Russia?*
- This class is designed as a "reflective pause" in the semester.

**Session 8 (Wednesday, March 7)**

Where Does Ukraine Belong—Europe, Asia, or Eurasia?

- Geopolitics of Transatlantic versus Russian Foreign Policy in Ukraine
- Ukraine as a religiously plural space: competition, cohesion, division
- Ukraine, democracy, and force: Crimea
- Readings to be assigned (See Trunk site.)
- **Guest speaker: Dr. Christopher Miller, The Fletcher School**

Deni, John R. “Tie Lethal Aid for Ukraine to an Admission that NATO Made a Mistake,” in *War on the Rocks* (December 2017) <https://warontherocks.com/2017/12/tie-lethal-aid-ukraine-admission-nato-made-mistake/>

Bateson, Ian. “A People Without a History Won’t Fight: The Battle to Control Ukraine’s Past,” in *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring 2016)

Bremer, Thomas. “Religion in Ukraine: Historical Background and the Present Situation,” in Krawchuk, Andrii and Bremer, Thomas, eds., *Churches in the Ukrainian Crisis*. (NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

Hovorun, Cyril. “Interpreting the ‘Russian World’,” in Krawchuk, Andrii and Bremer, Thomas, eds., *Churches in the Ukrainian Crisis*. (NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

Plokhyy, Serhii. *Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*. (NY: Basic Books, 2015). Chs 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27.

**Session 9 (Wednesday, March 14)**

Geopolitics in Syria: Religion and Security in Eurasia’s Levant

Phillips, Christopher. *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East*. (Yale University Press, 2016). Introduction and chs. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, pg 232.

**Guest Speaker: Dr. Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, The Belfer Center Middle East Initiative, UVA Prof. of Political Science**

**NOTE: No class on March 21 (Spring Break the week of March 18)**

**Session 10 (Wednesday, March 28)**

China and Russia: Taking a Broad View of 21<sup>st</sup>-century Geopolitics

Blanchard, Jean-Mar F., and Flint, Colin. “The Geopolitics of China’s Maritime Silk Road Initiative,” in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2017).

Kaplan, Robert O. “Eurasia’s Coming Anarchy: Chinese and Russian Weakness,” in *Foreign Affairs*, February 15, 2016.

Laruelle, Marlene. “Russia’s Eurasianist Soft Power in Central Asia,” in *Eurasian Studies*. (15 August 2017.) <http://greater-europe.org/archives/3190>

Pirro, Ellen B. "Great Power Foreign Relations in Central Asia: Competition, Cooperation, and Congruence," in Kanet, Roger E. and Sussex, Matthew, eds. *Russia, Eurasia and the New Geopolitics of Energy: Confrontation and Consolidation*. (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Cau, Enrico. "The Geopolitics of the Beijing-Moscow Consensus," in *The Diplomat* (4 January 2018). <https://thediplomat.com/2018/01/the-geopolitics-of-the-beijing-moscow-consensus/>

Mattis, Peter. "Contrasting China's and Russia's Influence Operations," in *War on the Rocks*, January 16, 2018.

Lukin, Artyom. "Thinking Beyond China When Dealing with North Korea: Is There a Role for Russia?" <https://www.fpri.org/article/2017/04/thinking-beyond-china-dealing-north-korea-role-russia/>

**Guest Speaker: Dr. Artyom Lukin, Deputy Director for Research at the School of Regional and International Studies, Far Eastern Federal University (Vladivostok, Russia)**

### **Session 11 (Wednesday, April 4)**

- Geopolitics of Eurasian Migration through the Eastern Mediterranean
- How does migration reframe and reshape the perception and reality of the religion-security nexus?
- Does migration help to reconfigure and clarify different meanings, components, needs for security?
- Is religion a driver of migration or is religion activated through migration experience?
- Do the above questions change, depending on migration from the East versus migration from the South? Heartland, rimland, world island?
- How has the migration, religion, security triad affected notions of Europe, Asia, and Eurasia?

Wagenvoorde, Renee. "How Religion and Secularism (Don't) Matter in the Refugee Crisis," in Mavelli, Luca and Wilson, Erin K., eds. *The Refugee Crisis and Religion: Secularism, Security and Hospitality in Question*. (NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

Takešević, Ruzica, and Tatalović, Sinisa. "Securitization (and De-Securitization) of the European Refugee Crisis: Croatia in the Regional Context," in *Teorija in Praksa*, Let. 53. 5/2016.

Armakolas, Ioannis and Karatrantos, Triantaflos. "Infiltration of Terrorists in Mixed Migration Flows in Eastern Mediterranean and the Western Balkans," in Philips, David L., ed. *Balkan Human Corridor*. (NY: Columbia University Institute for the Study of Human Rights, 2016).

Buckley, Cynthia J. "Introduction: New Approaches to Migration and Belonging in Eurasia," in Buckley, Cynthia J., Ruble Blair, and Hofman, Erin Trought, eds. *Migration, Homeland, and Belonging in Eurasia*. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008-2009).

Anthony Cooper. "Where Are Europe's New Borders? Ontology, Methodology, and Framing," in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue 4 (2015).

### **Session 12 (Wednesday, April 11)**

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## Geopolitics of Energy Security and Religion: Heartland, Rimland, World Island

Lomagin, Nikita A. "Foreign Policy Preferences of Russia's Energy Sector: A Shift to Asia Great Power Foreign Relations in Central Asia: Competition, Cooperation, and Congruence," in Kanet, Roger E. and Sussex, Matthew, eds. *Russia, Eurasia and the New Geopolitics of Energy: Confrontation and Consolidation*. (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

- Additional Readings to be assigned. (See Canvas site.)
- **Guest speaker: Dr. Bruce Everett**

### **Session 13 (Wednesday, April 18)**

The Balkans Space: Eurasian Convergence Zone

- Readings to be assigned. (See Canvas site.)
- **Guest speaker: Dr. David Kanin**

### **Session 14 (Wednesday, April 25) PLEASE NOTE: THE FINAL CLASS WILL BE THREE HOURS IN LENGTH.**

- Presenting your Team Policy Initiative: works in progress and feedback for preparation of final submission during exam period

**The assignment is due by e-mail on May 6 at midnight.**