

April 2, 2018

PoliSci 213A | PoliSci 313A | REES 213A | IPS 231A

Russia and the West

Term: Spring 2018

Units: 5 units

Instructor: Michael McFaul

Teaching Coordinator: Anya Shkurko, ashkurko@stanford.edu

Time: Mondays 3:00p-5:50p

Location: 200-107

Course Description

Most agree that relations between the United States and Russia today are at one of the low points in decades. Why? Some attribute this current clash to decisions taken by foreign policymakers in Washington and Moscow. These analysts cite variation in Russian-American relations – sometimes relations have been “good”, other times “bad” – to highlight the role of more contingent factors in driving the ups and downs of U.S.-Russia relations. Another school focuses on regime type as the central driver of conflict and cooperation. Others point to more enduring, structural features of this bilateral relationship such as the balance of power in the international system or cultural differences between “East” and “West.”

In this seminar, we will seek to evaluate these competing theories by examining Russian-American relations over the last hundred years or so. At times, our lens will expand to include Russia’s relations with the West more generally. But the focus will be Russian-American relations. This course will analyze shifts in U.S.-Russia relations over several decades, but with a particular emphasis on the post-Cold War era.

Office Hours

Friday afternoons and by appointment only, schedule with Magdalena Fitipaldi (magdafb@stanford.edu)

Assignments

We will meet once a week for three hours. Students are expected to attend every class session and complete all required readings before each session. Students with an excused absence must notify the course assistant in writing before the start of class. More than one excused absence will affect class participation grading. Students must come to class each week ready to discuss the readings and engage in discussion. This course is not a lecture class. Sessions will be highly participatory.

Beginning in week four, four students will present on four different theories (realism, culture, institutions, and individuals) to explain the historical period being discussed that week. Students will write a 4-6-page paper on their analysis before each class, which will be posted on Friday night. All students will be expected to read these papers before Monday's seminar.

The final paper will address the central question of the course: what are the causes of cooperation and/or confrontation in Russian-American relations?

Evaluation

30%: class participation.

20%: short paper and presentation

50%: final paper.

Technology Policy

The use of laptops, tablets, mobile phones, and any recording devices is prohibited during seminar discussions. This condition is important to me. If you cannot abide by it, please do not take this class.

Course Materials

Martin Malia, *Russia under the Eyes of the West* (Cambridge: HUP, 1999).

Michael McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace* (New York: HMH, 2018).

Selected readings posted on Canvas.

COURSE SCHEDULE

April 2: Introduction

Get ahead on future readings now!

April 9: Structural Theories: Realism and Culture

Required Readings:

John Mersheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (2001), chapter one, pp. 1-28.

Benn Steil, "Russia's Clash with the West Is About Geography, Not Ideology," *Foreign Policy*, February 12, 2018

Samuel Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs*, 1993, Vol 72, #3.

Andrey Tsygankov, *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*, Chapter one, pp, 1-27.

Stephen Walt, "International Theories: One World, Many Theories," *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998).

Jack Snyder, "One World, Rival Theories," *Foreign Policy* (1999).

Edward Hallett Carr, "Realism and Idealism" in Richard K. Betts, ed. *Conflict After Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace*, Third Edition (New York: Pearson-Longman 2008).

Sergey Lavrov, "Russia's Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective," *Russia in Global Affairs*, March 30, 2016, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russias-Foreign-Policy-in-a-Historical-Perspective-18067>

April 16: Agency and Institutional Theories: Individuals, Ideas, Regimes, and Bureaucracies

Required Readings:

Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 12(3): 205–35 (1983)

John Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Fall 1994) pp.87-125.

Michael Tomz and Jessica L.P. Weeks. 2013. Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace. *American Political Science Review* 107 (4):849–65 (selected pages)

Jessica Weeks, "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 106 (2):326–47 (selected pages).

Adeed Dawisha et al, "Ideology, Realpolitik, and US Foreign Policy: A Discussion of Frank P. Harvey's Explaining the Iraq War: Counterfactual Theory, Logic and Evidence." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 2 (2013): 578-581.

Elizabeth N. Saunders, "Transformative Choices Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security*, Volume 34, Number 2, Fall 2009, pp. 119-161

Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models of the Cuban Missile Crisis," *American Political Science Review*, 63, (September 1969) pp. 689-718.

Recommended:

Steve Krasner, "Are Bureaucracies Important (Or Allison in Wonderland), *Foreign Policy*, 7 (Summer 1972), pp. 159-179.

Dan Drezner, "Ideas, Bureaucratic Politics and the Crafting of Foreign Policy," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 44. No. 4 (October 2000), pp. 733-749.

Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace," in Hans Reiss ed., H. B. Nisbet (trans.), *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge University Press 1991) pp. 93-109.

Alex Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It," *International Organization* Volume 46, Issue 2 (Spring 1992).

April 18: Movie screening “Nemtsov” (Attendance required)

7 pm – 9 pm, Cubberley Auditorium

April 23: Russia and America in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Required Readings:

Martin Malia, *Russia under the Eyes of the West*, chapters 3 & 4, pp. 161-286.

State Department, *United States Relations with Russia: Establishment of Relations to World War Two* <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/fs/85739.htm>

David Foglesong, *The American Mission and the “Evil Empire”*: (Cambridge 2007) chapters 1&2.

Recommended:

George Kennan, *Russia and The West under Lenin and Stalin*.

David Foglesong, *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina

April 30: The Cold War

Required Readings:

Malia, *Russia under the Eyes of the West*, chapter 5, pp. 287- 408.

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War* (Cambridge, 2007), chapters 1 & 2.

Alexander Dallin, “the Soviet Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics: A Framework for Analysis,” *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 2, (1969), pp. 250-265

National Security Council Paper NSC-68 (entitled “United States Objectives and Programs for National Security”)

Nikita Khrushchev, "For New Victories of the World Communist Movement," at the meeting of party organizations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, January 6, 1961.

Ronald Reagan's Address to Members of the British Parliament, June 8, 1982,
<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/archives/speeches/1982/60882a.htm>

Recommended:

John Lewis Gaddis, *What We Know Now: Rethinking Cold War History*, Oxford 1997.

May 4 (Friday, in lieu of the May 7th class): The End of the Cold War

Required Readings:

McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace*, chapters 1 & 2.

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," *The National Interest*, 1989

John Mersheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 1990) pp. 5-56.

James M. Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, "A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 467-491.

Recommended:

William Taubman, *Gorbachev: His Life and Times* (NY: Norton, 2017)

Michael McFaul, "1789, 1917 Can Guide '90s Soviets," *San Jose Mercury News*, August 19, 1990.

May 14: *Democratic Russia and Democratic America?*

Required Readings:

President Yeltsin, address before Joint Session of Congress, June 17, 1992,
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?26640-1/boris-yeltsin-address-congress>

President Clinton, Remarks to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Annapolis, *April 1, 1993*,
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=46392>

William Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5-41.

McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace*, chapters 3-4.

Peter Rutland, "Yeltsin: the Problem, Not the Solution," *The National Interest*, 1997,
<http://nationalinterest.org/print/article/yeltsin-the-problem-not-the-solution-389>

Richard Pipes, "Russia's Past, Russia's Future," *Commentary*, 101, no. 6 (June 1996): 30-38.

George Kennan, "A Fateful Error", *New York Times*, February 1997

John Lewis Gaddis, 'History, Grand Strategy and NATO Enlargement', *Survival*, vol. 40, no. 1, Spring 1998, pp. 145-51.

Putin's Speech at the Munich Conference on Security Policy, February 10, 2007,
<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034>

Recommended:

McFaul, "The Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy," *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Winter 1997/98), pp. 5-35.

Condoleezza Rice, "Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2000

Vladimir Putin, Nataliya Gevorkyan, Natalya Timakova, and Andrei Kolesnikov. *First person: an astonishingly frank self-portrait by Russia's President Vladimir Putin*. Public Affairs, 2000.

May 21: Reset + May 28: End of Reset

Required Readings:

McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace*, chapters 5-14.

President Obama, "Remarks by The President at The New Economic School Graduation," *The White House*, July 7, 2009.

David Kramer, "America's Silence Makes Us Complicit in Russia's Crimes," *Washington Post*, September 20, 2010.

Gary Kasparov, "The Rewards of the Obama Doctrine: Offering a Helping Hand to America's Enemies in Iran, Russia and Cuba Will Ruin Lives and Many More Will Die," *Wall Street Journal Opinion*, September 9, 2015.

Fyodor Lukyankov, "Russian Dilemmas in a Multipolar World," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No 2 (Spring/Summer, 2010)

Recommended:

Ariel Cohen, "Rethinking Reset: Re-Examining the Obama Administration Russia Policy," Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, July 7, 2011.

End of Reset (extra session after the class on May 21st)

Required Readings:

McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace*, chapters 15-23.

President Putin, "Speech at a rally in support of presidential candidate Vladimir Putin," March 4, 2012, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/14684>

Alexei Bayer, "Putin's Slavophiles Gain Over Westernizers," *Moscow Times*, October 1, 2012, <https://themoscowtimes.com/articles/putins-slavophiles-gain-over-westernizers-18168>

"Sergey Lavrov: The Interview," *The National Interest*. March 29, 2017
<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/sergey-lavrov-the-interview-19940>

Michael McFaul, Stephen Sestanovich, and John Mearsheimer, "Faulty Powers: Who

Started the Ukraine Crisis?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 93, No. 6 (November/ December 2014): pp. 167-178.

Aleksandr Dugin, "Pussy Riot = Information Warfare against Russia,"
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WwqYDMDhZk>

Recommended:

Shaun Walker, "Putin's Quest for Lost Glory," *The Guardian*, February 17, 2018,
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/18/putins-quest-for-lost-glory>

June 6 (Wednesday): Trump-Putin

Required Readings:

McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace*, Epilogue.

National Security Strategy of the United States of America, December 2017, pp. 25-26, 47-48 <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>

Damien Sharkov, "Putin Ally Gives Thumbs Up to Trump as his Choice for President," *Newsweek*, April 26, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/putin-ally-hails-trump-pragmatic-choice-president-452665>

Joshua Keating, "Russia Resurgent," *Slate* (January 2017).
http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/cover_story/2017/01/how_vladimir_putin_engineered_russia_s_return_to_global_power.html

Sergei Karaganov, "A Year of Victories. What's Next?" *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, January 15, 2017. In English here: <http://karaganov.ru/en/publications/427>

Robert Kagan, "Superpowers Don't Get to Retire," *The New Republic* (May 26, 2014).

Recommended:

Evan Osnos, David Remnick, and Joshua Yaffa, "Trump, Putin and the New Cold War. What lay behind Russia's interference in the 2016 election – and what lies ahead?" *The New Yorker*, March 6, 2016,
<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/03/06/trump-putin-and-the-new-cold-war>