#### **UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO**

Political Science 147B Philip G. Roeder

Russian-American Relations

Spring Quarter 2018

Political Science 147B is an overview of contemporary Russian-American relations. This course assumes no previous study of either international relations or the central Eurasian region. The purpose of the course is to help you develop skills as an American foreign policy analyst.

Throughout the course the focus is on America's "Russia problem." Thus, throughout the course, you should ask: What are Russia's goals concerning this issue? How does this affect America's interests? What options to respond are available to the United States government? How should we expect Russia and others to respond to each of our options? And which option would you recommend that our government choose?

The course is organized as follows:

- I. FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS: A TEMPLATE
- II. EXPLAINING RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOR
  - A. The Dependent Variable: Russian Foreign Policy Behavior since 1991
  - B. Premises for Analysis from Russian Statements of National Security Doctrine
  - C. Premises for Analysis from Competing Theories
- III. KEY ISSUES ON THE CURRENT AGENDA
  - A. The Near Abroad
    - 1. Post-Soviet Boundaries and Failed States in Central Eurasia
    - 2. Competing Alliances in Central Eurasia and Beyond
    - 3. Regime Change in Central Eurasia
  - B. The Eurasian Contact Zone
    - 1. Central Eurasian Energy and Eurasian Power Relations
    - 2. Economic and Military Competition in the Not-so-near Abroad
    - 3. The War on Terrorism
  - C. The Global Arena
    - 1. Arms Races, Arms Control, and Proliferation
    - 2. Cyber, Information, and Hybrid War: Has the War Been Declared?

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Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:00-3:00 pm, and by appointment

**Teaching Assistant:** 

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Readings and Lectures. All assigned readings are available through Geisel Library's on-line course reserves.

The readings focus on very recent developments. Lectures provide the background and larger context within which these developments fit. You should attend all lectures, listen to the podcasts, or arrange for someone whom you trust to take good notes for you. Copies of the PowerPoints should also be available through the Podcast system.

**Grades**. Your course grade will be based on the following:

Quiz #1 (on the lecture and reading materials)	20%	Thu May 3
Quiz #2 (on the lecture and reading materials)	20%	Thu Jun 7
Research project topic	0%	Tue Apr 17
Policy briefing	10%	Thu May 10

Oral briefing	10%	Fri May 17
Policy analysis	40%	Mon Jun 11

For the computation of course grades all assignments will be graded on a 16-point scale. This is simply the familiar 4-point GPA scale times 4. Thus, grades will be assigned the following numerical scores:

**Quizzes.** Each quiz consists of 30 multiple-choice questions. You will have 60 minutes for each quiz. The quizzes seek to check your understanding of the lectures and readings. Each question asks you about the major claims made in lecture or the reading. Please prepare by focusing on the big themes and major points that sum to larger analytic points rather than learning separate unconnected facts.

**Policy memorandum.** The assignments labelled Research project topic, Policy briefing, Oral briefing, and Policy analysis are all parts of one research project on a topic that you choose in consultation with the instructors of this course. The research assignment is described in a separate document.

<u>Plagiarism.</u> You may discuss your research project with others, but your written work must be your own. Please do not jeopardize your academic career and your professional reputation by academic dishonesty. The payoff to dishonesty is very small, the costs—both immediate and long term—can be very high. *Note:* By enrolling in this course you agree to submit your final paper for textual-similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the terms-of-use agreement posted on the Turnitin.com website.

<u>Podcasts.</u> All lectures will be available through the UCSD Podcast web-site. The PowerPoint projections should also be available on this site. You must sign-in to access these.

<u>TritonEd Course Web-site.</u> On the TritonEd web-site are copies of this course syllabus. All future assignments and supplemental materials will be posted as they become available.

#### **SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READINGS**

#### I. FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS: A TEMPLATE

Tu Apr 3. Introduction to the Course

Th Apr 5. An Example of Strategic Analysis: The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

#### Read for Thursday:

Allison, Graham, and Philip Zelikow. 1999. *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2d ed. New York: Longman. Chapter 2.

#### **II. EXPLAINING RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOR**

Tu Apr 10. The Dependent Variable: Russian Foreign Policy Behavior since 1991

Th Apr 12. Premises for Analysis from Russian Statements of National Security Doctrine

# Read for this week:

Lynch, Allen C. 2016. "The Influence of Regime Type on Russian Foreign Policy Toward 'the West,' 1992-2015." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 49 (1), 101-111.

President of the Russian Federation. 2016. "Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation." November 30.

Tu Apr 17. Premises for Analysis from Competing Theories

Th Apr 19. Premises for Analysis from Competing Theories [continued]

#### Read for this week:

Kotkin, Stephen. 2016. "Russia's Perpetual Geopolitics: Putin Returns to the Historical Pattern." Foreign Affairs 95 (3), 2-9.

Kaczmarski, Marcin. 2014. "Domestic Power Relations and Russia's Foreign Policy." Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization 22 (3), 383-409.

Linde, Fabian. 2016. "The Civilizational Turn in Russian Political Discourse: From Pan-Europeanism to Civilizational Distinctiveness." *The Russian Review* 75 (4), 604-625.

# III. KEY ISSUES ON THE CURRENT AGENDA

#### A. THE NEAR ABROAD

Tu Apr 24. Issue #1. Post-Soviet Boundaries and Failed States
How Do We Prevent Russia From Expanding Further?

Th Apr 26. Issue #1. Post-Soviet Boundaries and Failed States [continued]

# Read for this week:

Tsygankov, Andrei. 2015. "Vladimir Putin's Last Stand: The Sources of Russia's Ukraine Policy." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31 (4), 279-303.

Karagiannis, Emmanuel. 2014. "The Russian Interventions in South Ossetia and Crimea Compared: Military Performance, Legitimacy, and Goals." *Contemporary Security Policy* 35 (3), 400-420.

Tu May 1. Issue #1. Post-Soviet Boundaries and Failed States [continued]

Case Study: How Should The United States Have Responded to the Crimean Annexation?

Th May 3. Quiz #1

# Read for this week:

Lanoszka, Alexander. 2016. "Russian Hybrid Warfare and Extended Deterrence in Eastern Europe." International Affairs (London) 92 (1), 175-195.

Tu May 8. Issue #2. Competing Alliances in Central Eurasia
Should the United States Extend Its Security Guarantees to More States?

Th May 10. Issue #2. Competing Alliances in Central Eurasia [continued]

Case Study: Should Georgia and Ukraine Have Been Admitted to NATO?

# Read for this week:

Antonopoulos, Paul et al. 2017. "NATO's Push Into the Caucasus: Geopolitical Flashpoints and Limits for Expansion." *Defense and Security Analysis* 33 (December), 366-379.

Skalamera, Morena. 2017. "Russia's Continuing Influence in Central Asia." *Survival* 59 (December), 123-42.

Tu May 15. Issue #3. Regime Change in Central Eurasia

Should the United States Press for Regime Change in Central Eurasia?

Th May 17. Issue #3. Regime Change in Central Eurasia [continued]

Case Study: Could the United States Have Done More for Democracy in Russia?

#### Read for this week:

Way, Lucan A. 2015. "The Limits of Autocracy Promotion: The Case of Russia and the 'Near Abroad.'" European Journal of Political Research 54 (4), 691-706.

Hedberg, Masha. 2018. "The Target Strikes Back: Explaining Countersanctions and Russia's Strategy of Differentiated Retaliation." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34 (1), 35-54.

# III. KEY ISSUES ON THE CURRENT AGENDA

#### **B. THE EURASIAN CONTACT ZONE**

Tu May 22. Issue #4. Central Eurasian Energy and Power
Should the United States Seek to End Energy Dependence on Russia?

Th May 23. Issue #5. Economic and Military Competition in the Not-so-near Abroad Can We Contain Russia in the Arctic, Black Sea, and Middle East?

#### Read for this week:

Blank, Stephen, and Younkyoo Kim. 2016. "Does Russo-Chinese Partnership Threaten America's Interests in Asia?" *Orbis* 60 (1), 112-127.

Delanoe, Igor, and Kadir Has. 2014. "After the Crimean Crisis: Towards a Greater Russian Maritime Power in the Black Sea." Southeast European and Black Sea Studies 14 (3), 367-382.

Sanders, Deborah. 2017. "Maritime Security in the Black Sea: Out with the New, In with the Old." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 28 (June), 4-29.

Tu May 29. Issue #6. The War on Terrorism

Should We Cooperate with Russia in the War Against Terrorism?

# **Read for Tuesday:**

Dannreuther, Roland. 2014. "Shifting Dynamics of the Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in the North Caucasus." *Ethnopolitics* 13 (4), 377-394.

# III. KEY ISSUES ON THE CURRENT ARENA C. THE GLOBAL ARENA

Th May 31. Issue #7. Arms Races, Arms Control, and Proliferation

Should We Try to Out-build Russia or Cooperate to Limit the Arms Race?

# Read for this week:

Cimbala, Stephen J. 2018. "Deal Breakers or Speed Bumps? Missile Defenses and Russian-American Nuclear Arms Control." *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 31 (January-March), 2-14.

Steff, Reuben, and Nicholas Khoo. 2014. "Hard Balancing in the Age of American Unipolarity: The Russian Response to US Ballistic Missile Defense during the Bush Administration (2001-2008)." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 37 (2), 222-258.

Tu Jun 5. Issue # 8. Cyber, Information, and Hybrid War: Has War Been Declared?

Case Study: Russian Interference in the 2016 US Presidential Elections
Th Jun 7. Quiz #2

# Read for this week:

Simons, Greg. 2014. "Russian Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century: Structure, Means, and Message." *Public Relations Review* 40 (3), 440-449.

United States. Office of the Director of National Intelligence. 2017. Intelligence Community Assessment: "Background to 'Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections': The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution." (ICA 2017-01D). Declassified version. January 6, 2017.