Russia and the West
POS V 3675
Fall 2010
Mon. and Wed. 2:40-3:55pm

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Course Description
Throughout history Russia has had an ambiguous relationship with the Western world. Sometimes the West has been vilified as a threat or an enemy, and other times it has been held up by Russians as a model to emulate. Russia and the West have never treated each other with indifference, and this love/hate relationship is in full force today. Historical memories and parallels abound in popular discussions. In this course, we will examine why this has been the case and what it means for Russian foreign and security policy today. Drawing on contributions from philosophers, historians and international relations scholars and practitioners, we will discuss whether Russia’s interaction with the West has been driven primarily by realist great power considerations, by a cultural cycle of Orthodox Slavic nationalism vs. pro-Western internationalism, by domestic economic pressures, or by the idiosyncratic visions and interests of individual Russian leaders—and in turn, how choices made by the West have affected all of these things. Students will be encouraged to come up with their own answers to these riddles. The capstone of the course will be a simulation of an international summit negotiation on Russian/Georgian relations and the territorial future of South Ossetia and Abkhazia.

Learning Objectives
Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

• Demonstrate broad factual knowledge of important current and historical Russian political, foreign policy, and security issues
• Apply causal theories drawn from the political science literature to analyze, compare, and evaluate events and trends in Russian relations with the West
• Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively, through both in-class oral discussions and written assignments
• Perform rigorous and independent research on current policy issues, using press and other sources available electronically through the Columbia Library system.
• Write a brief and convincing memo designed for a policy audience.
• Speak effectively before an audience, using tips learned from the Barnard Speaking Fellows program.
• Negotiate effectively by applying the precepts of the classic Fisher and Ury approach, Getting to Yes.
**Course Requirements and Grading**

Students will take an **in-class midterm exam on Oct. 27**, as well as a **final exam** at the date and time set by the College: **Wed. Dec. 22 from 1:10-4pm**. Please take these dates into account when making your election day and winter holiday travel plans, as **the university does not accept travel plans as an excuse for requesting a makeup or alternate exam time**. For both the midterm and final, which are otherwise closed-book, students may bring with them one 8 ½” by 11” sheet of paper, on which they have written or typed anything they like.

**Simulation**

Additionally, a significant portion of the class will involve a simulation of a summit meeting among leaders over current issues in the Russia/Georgia relationship. (The class will be divided into two simulation groups of 20, so that two separate but identical simulations will run simultaneously.) Each student will be randomly assigned a role in the summit meeting, representing a real person on teams from Russia, Georgia, the United States, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

There will be **two required out-of-class meetings with the Barnard Speaking Fellows Program**, with a variety of dates available to meet individual student schedules. One session will focus on basic oral presentation skills, and one will focus on negotiation techniques.

Each student will write a **5- to 7-page page position memo (due at the start of class on Nov. 17)**, so that comments can be returned to students before the simulation starts) based on significant and thorough independent research of current press materials. This memo will be written in the voice of the assigned political figure, for an internal, friendly audience (i.e., the goal of the paper is to present the honest truth about the person’s aims in the negotiation). The memo should outline separately both the interests and the negotiating positions of the political figure. (Background information on the summit issue and on negotiation and research techniques will be presented in class on Oct. 20 and 25.) Each student will **attach a separate one-page analysis to the memo** (written in the student’s own voice) that reflects and analyzes how the political figure’s interests and positions reflect theoretical and historical course themes about Russia and the West.

Each student will prepare an **initial three-minute oral presentation** to the group on **Dec. 1**. These presentations should reflect efforts to negotiate and/or coordinate positions across particular “teams” in advance, and students will be called up by country or organization “team” to make these presentations. (All “Russians” will speak in one bloc, all “Georgians” will speak in one bloc, all “Americans” will speak in one bloc, the “South Ossetians and Abkhazians” will speak in one bloc, and the NATO and EU “International Organizations” will speak in another.) Please keep in mind that your team may have conflicting as well as cooperative interests! Following the initial presentations, students will regroup to negotiate and try to plan a team strategy which takes into account the other presentations. It is strongly hoped that one or more student entrepreneurs in the class will write up a draft resolution, reflecting his or her own interests, and seek votes.
for it! (Backdoor negotiation with other country teams outside of scheduled course time, either by person or by email, is highly encouraged.) Publicly observed (by the professor and TA) negotiations will occur in the classroom on Dec. 6. On Dec. 8, negotiations will conclude with a final, three-minute oral presentation by each student of the political figure’s closing position. Finally, on the last day of class, Dec. 13, each student will turn in a 3 to 5-page page summary and analysis of the negotiation experience, relating it to themes that are raised in the Fisher and Ury book.

Midterm exam: 25% of total course grade  
Analytic position paper plus attachment: 20% of total course grade  
Negotiation summary and analysis paper: 10% of total course grade  
Oral presentations and course participation: 20% of total course grade  
Final exam: 25% of the total course grade

Course attendance on the three days of the summit simulation is an absolute requirement for passing the class (in the event of illness or family emergency, Prof. Marten will work with the individual student to craft an acceptable substitute assignment, involving a different form of oral presentation before the class on the last day of class, or if necessary, to Prof. Marten in her office after the close of the semester). Exams must be taken when scheduled, and papers must be submitted when due; late work will be penalized.

Prof. Marten has served on the Barnard College Honor Board, and takes the issues of academic integrity and plagiarism very seriously. For each exam, all students (whether or not they are Barnard College students) must sign the Barnard College Honor Code statement, affirming that their written work is completely their own. All sources used in the papers must be fully and accurately referenced, including all web-based sources. Any student violating the Honor Code will receive an F on the assignment in question, and will face the disciplinary rules of his or her home college.

Please note that no laptops or other electronic devices may be used during lectures, with the exception of the library sources information lecture on Oct. 25 and the in-class informal negotiation on Dec. 6. Prof. Marten makes the commitment to you that all lectures will be well prepared and filled with content and discussion that is relevant to course objectives; she asks in return for your undivided attention during the 75 minutes that class meets twice each week. Individual exceptions to the laptop policy may be granted for good cause, after consultation with Prof. Marten; in such cases, students affirm that they will only use laptops for note-taking, and will not access the web, and also agree to sit at the side of the lecture hall so that their typing does not bother others.
Readings

The following books are required reading. All have been placed on reserve at Barnard’s Wollman Library; all are also available for purchase at the Book Culture Bookstore (536 West 112th Street). Students are welcome to purchase used copies elsewhere.


**Riasanovsky**, Nicholas V. *A History of Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press. Any relatively recent edition is fine, e.g. 5th or 6th. Please note that page numbers will vary by edition, and that the syllabus therefore refers to chapter headings instead.


In addition, many journal articles available through the Columbia Library Website and other web sources are also required, as noted in the syllabus.
CLASS SCHEDULE

Sept. 8: Introduction.


Recommended reading:
Riasanovksy: Chapters 1, 2, 8, the section on Ivan the Terrible in 15, and 16. Note: these brief sections will provide you with crucial pieces of historical context and vocabulary for understanding ongoing debates about Russia’s national interests and cultural heritage: borders and invasions; the legacies of absolutism; and the clash between eastern and western values. Especially if you have no background in Russian studies, it is highly recommended that you read these sections, but you will not be tested on their content.

Section I. Theoretical Models.

Sept. 13: Using theory to understand Russia’s choices.

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:
Dmitry Trenin, “Russia Leaves the West,” Foreign Affairs 85, no. 4 (July-Aug. 2006): 87-96.

Sept. 15: Cultural roots and intellectual debates in Russia and the West.

Riasanovsky: the brief section on Westernizers and Slavophiles in the 19th century, titled “Ideologies” and located within chapter 28.
Cracraft: pp. 4-35 (essays by Pipes, Trubetzkoy, and Masaryk, plus commentary by Cracraft); pp. 282-3 (paragraph of commentary about Haxthausen) and 302-12 (essay by Haxthausen); pp. 327-8 (paragraphs of commentary about Herzen) and pp. 329-40 (essay by Herzen).

Section II. Empire and its Lessons.

Sept. 20, Sept. 22: Great power competition and Potemkin villages: Peter the Great and Catherine the Great and their relevance today.

Riasanovsky: chapters 20, 22 [you may skip the section on Tsar Paul], 23-24.
Cracraft: pp. 81-2, 99-125 (commentary by Cracraft on Peter the Great, plus documents), 166-179, 197-205 (essay by de Madariaga, commentary by Cracraft, plus
excerpts from “The Instructions”), 222-52 (commentary and essay by Cracraft, essay by Raeff, plus documents on Peter and Catherine as empire-builders).

**Article from Columbia Library Web:**

**Sept. 27:** The West as political polarizer: the Decembrists and Nicholas I.
- **Riasanovsky:** chapters 25-27
- **Cracraft:** pp. 268-302 (essay by Riasanovsky, commentary and documents by Karamzin and the Marquis de Custine).

**Websource:**
Vadim Volkov, “Will the Kremlin Revive the Russian Idea?” PONARS Policy Memo #370, December 2006, at: 
https://gushare.georgetown.edu/eurasianstrategy/Memos/2005/pm_0370.pdf

**Sept. 29, Oct. 4:** The consequences of halfway revolutions: Alexander II and Gorbachev.
- **Riasanovsky:** chapter 29
- **Cracraft:** pp. 340-44 (The Emancipation Manifesto).

**Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:**

**Section III. The Soviet Overhang.**

**Oct. 6:** Confrontation, loss, and cooperation: Lenin and…Yeltsin?
- **Fitzpatrick:** pp. 15-119.

**Article, available from Columbia Library Web:**

**Oct. 11:** Stalin: villain and hero
- **Fitzpatrick:** pp. 120-47.
- **Zubok and Pleshakov:** pp. 1-77.

**Article, available from Columbia Library Web:**

**Oct. 13:** Understanding the Cold War
- **Zubok and Pleshakov:** pp. 174-209, 236-82.

**Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:**
Oct. 18. The End of the Cold War and NATO Expansion

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

Interlude: Preparing for the Simulation

Oct. 20. Simulation lecture, part I: Russia-Georgia relations

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:

Web-based materials:

Oct. 25. Simulation lecture, part II: Negotiation techniques; electronic library research techniques for the position paper.

Fisher and Ury: entire.

Please note: the simulation materials will not be covered on the midterm. It is expected, however, that you will have read the materials from both of these sessions and will integrate them as appropriate into your position paper.

Oct. 27. In-class midterm.

Nov. 1. No class, Election Day holiday.

Nov. 3. The Soviet political economy and its consequences

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:
do not worry about the mathematical equations that are in this article. The text provides an excellent, easy-to-read explanation of the major sources of inefficiency in the Soviet economy.]


**Section IV. Current Events**

**Nov. 8.** Russia Today: Putin and Medvedev.

**Websource:**


**Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:**


**Nov. 10.** The geopolitics of Russian oil and natural gas.

**Jack:** pp. 174-215

**Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:**


**Websource:**


**Nov. 15.** Putin and the siloviki (power ministries).

**Jack:** pp. 14-87, 131-73, 216-54.

**Websource:**

Nov. 17. Détente and arms control, then and now

Please note: Position papers due today at the start of class.

Article, available from Columbia Library Web:

Web sources:

Pavel Podvig, “Assessing START Follow-on,” on his “Russian Strategic Nuclear Forces” blog for the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, Mar. 29, 2010, available at http://russianforces.org/blog/2010/03/assessing_start_follow-on.shtml. If you have further interest in the technical details of Russian military and nuclear policy, you are encouraged to browse this blog further.

Nov. 22. Nationalism and Nashi: Russkie or Rossisskie?

Electronic reserves reading:

Articles, available from Columbia Library Web:


Nov. 24. Day before Thanksgiving, no class meeting.

Nov 29. Chechnya, War, and Sovereignty


Electronic reserves reading:

Kimberly Marten, draft book chapter.

Dec. 1: Scenario Day I: Formal introductory presentations of 3 minutes each.
Dec. 6: Scenario Day II: Informal negotiation in the classroom.
Dec. 8: Scenario Day III: Formal closing presentations of 3 minutes each.

Dec. 13: Making predictions about the future

Note: Simulation analysis papers due today at the start of class.