

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY (EUS 4930 & INR 4931)
(CLASS NUMBER: 22982)

PROFESSOR MORASKI
FALL 2020

****This document is a draft of the course syllabus (last updated on August 24, 2020).
It is subject to changes. Once the semester begins, changes will be available
only via UF's e-Learning platform (i.e., Canvas).**

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Contact Information

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Office Hours

Tuesdays & Fridays, 10:30 am-noon
via Zoom and by appointment

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this course will be held virtually and synchronously (i.e., with live Zoom meetings) during the periods scheduled by the Registrar: **Tuesdays, Periods 3-4 (8:30-10:25 am) and Thursdays, Period 4 (9:35-10:25 am).

The course provides three credits and entails three contact hours.

Prerequisites: CPO 2001 or INR 2001.

Students who need to contact the professor should reach out via email. I will strive to reply within 24 hours. Students should not expect email communications outside of regular business hours (i.e., earlier than 8 am or later than 5 pm).

All written communication regarding grades will occur via UF's e-learning portal, Canvas.

Course Description & Objectives

Over the last twenty years, the Russian Federation has moved from a potential international partner of Western democracies to an emboldened adversary. From interfering in the 2016 U.S. presidential election to paying the Taliban bounties to kill American soldiers, allegations of the ways Russia has sought to undermine America's international position abound. Meanwhile, the ongoing war in eastern Ukraine and the suspicious deaths of Russian exiles across Europe illustrate how Russian aggression constitutes a larger international concern.

While this course focuses on contemporary Russian foreign policy, it begins with an overview of the Soviet system and the Soviet Union's status as a superpower during the Cold War. As the successor to the Soviet Union, both the establishment and collapse of Europe's communist states are foundational to understanding Russia's relationship with its neighbors, the United States, and various countries around the globe. With this foundation laid, the course considers Russia's international position during the tenure of its first post-Soviet president, Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin not only guided Russia's transition away from communism, but also played a key role in shaping expectations about how the new Russian state would behave in the international arena. Yeltsin's tenure and, arguably, the missed opportunities—including those by Western actors—during this period set the stage for a change in tack under Russia's second and current president, Vladimir Putin. Since Putin has served as Russia's prime minister or president since August 1999, the bulk of the course will be dedicated to the foreign policy of "Putin's Russia." Yet, as the material to be surveyed will illustrate, Russian foreign policy over the last twenty-plus years has changed

dramatically, just as politics within Russia has changed. [Those interested in the latter should consider taking my course, “Politics in Russia” (CPO 3633).]

By the end of the course, students should have a strong understanding of Russia’s current position in the international system and the historical origins of this position. Specifically, students will have fact-based insights into Russia's role in the war in Ukraine, the twists and turns in Russia's relationships with the United States and Europe, and Russia's hard and soft power capabilities.

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Student Responsibilities

Students are expected to remain civil and courteous in all communications with one another and with the professor. Political science classes often tackle sensitive issues and discussions may become heated. Disagreements are part of the academic enterprise. Insults and hurtful language are not.

- I reserve the right to remove students, who disrupt the class or disrespect others in the class, from any session.
 - In such instances, students should meet with me to discuss their behavior prior to returning to class.
 - Students will not receive attendance credit for the session in question or for any sessions missed while the issue is being resolved.

Required Reading

Reading for the course will come from four books (listed below) as well as a number of scholarly articles. I will make the articles available via e-Learning. To log in, go to <https://elearning.ufl.edu/>.

1. D’Anieri, Paul. 2019. *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
 - **An electronic version of this book is available the UF Library at: <https://uf.catalog.fcla.edu/permalink.jsp?20UFPDA006767022>
2. Renz, Bettina. 2019. *Russia’s Military Revival*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
3. Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2019. *Russia and America: The Asymmetric Rivalry*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
 - **An electronic version of this book is available the UF Library at: <https://uf.catalog.fcla.edu/permalink.jsp?20UFPDA006496492>
4. White, Stephen. 2001. *Communism and its Collapse*. New York: Routledge.
 - **An electronic version of this book is available via the UF Library at: <http://search.ebscohost.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid&db=nlebk&AN=60826&site=ehost-live>

The following grading scale will be used. It reflects the addition of minus grades in 2009 and seeks to offer an accurate reflection of how minus grades influence student GPAs. (For more information, go to <https://student.ufl.edu/minusgrades.html>.)

GRADING SCALE	(GRADE POINT EQUIVALENT)
A = 90 OR ABOVE	4.00
A- = 87-89	3.67
B+ = 84-86	3.33
B = 80-83	3.00
B- = 77-79	2.67
C+ = 74-76	2.33
C = 70-73	2.00
C- = 67-69	1.67
D+ = 64-66	1.33
D = 60-63	1.00
D- = 57-59	0.67
E = 56 OR BELOW	0.00

Grade Distribution

Final grades for the course will be based on the following:

1. Attendance (10%)

- I will take attendance at the beginning of each period (i.e., twice during the Tuesday double-block).
- Since classes will be held via Zoom, “attendance” requires that each student not only join the Zoom meeting but also **enable video** of themselves paying attention throughout the class session.
 - Please note that I deduct points for arriving late and leaving early. This applies to Zoom meetings as well.
- I require documentation to excuse an absence.
 - Students are encouraged to review the University’s attendance policies at <http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html>.
- I reserve the right to **remove students**, who disrupt the class or disrespect others in the class, from any session.
 - In such instances, students should meet with me to discuss their behavior prior to returning to class.
 - Students will **not** receive attendance credit for the session in question or for any sessions missed while the issue is being resolved.

2. Oral participation (10%)

- The baseline for the oral participation grade will reflect the total number of opportunities provided to the class throughout the semester.
 - In other words, your participation grade is **not** a reflection of how well or how much you participate *on the days that you attend*. In fact, since the opportunities for oral participation will vary from class to class, the only way to maximize your opportunities for oral participation is to attend every class.
- Quality matters.

- Participation that is not related to the topic at hand or that illustrates a failure to prepare for class (i.e., complete the assigned reading) does not count.
 - I reserve the right to assign a **zero for this portion of the course grade** to students who regularly disrupt class or disrespect others in the class.
3. Written participation (5%)
- Opportunities to participate in written form will be announced, and most likely conducted, during class.
 - As in the case of oral participation, there will be no opportunities to “make up” written participation because of a failure to attend class.
 - In the case of **excused** absences, the total number of participation opportunities (oral and written) for the student in question will be adjusted accordingly.
4. In-class quizzes (30%)
- Six in-class quizzes will be administered throughout the semester, usually at the start of a class period.
 - Make-up quizzes will **not be provided** simply because a student is late to class.
 - However, I will throw out each student’s lowest quiz grade. As a result, the final grade for this portion of the class will be based on each student’s five highest quiz grades (6% each).
 - Please note that the dates for quizzes are not set in stone. I reserve the right to **change the timing of the quizzes** as I deem necessary. However, I will notify the class via email of any changes in the quiz schedule.
5. Paper proposal and prospective bibliography (10%)
- In the proposal, students will select the country for their research paper, justify the choice, and provide an annotated bibliography of at least ten potentially useful sources on that country.
 - Any country change will require the submission of a new paper proposal and a new prospective bibliography.
 - Performance on the new submission can lower, but cannot increase, a student’s grade for this component of the final course grade.
6. Research paper (35%)
- The final paper will require that students compare Russia’s relationship with Ukraine leading into the 2014 war in eastern Ukraine (which we will discuss in detail throughout the semester) to its relationship with another post-communist country during the same time period. More details will be provided as the course progresses.

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Course Policies

Policies on Late and Make-up Work

Make-up assignments and quizzes will be arranged only for university-accepted excuses. In the event of an absence, students should provide proper documentation.

If a student misses a quiz and cannot contact me beforehand, the student should contact me within 48 hours of the absence. In almost any situation, you should be able to pass along a message via email or voicemail even if it is from a roommate or family member.

Make-up quizzes will be given during finals week at the time designated by the Registrar's Office for the course's final exam. To preserve the integrity of the quizzes, the format of any make-up quiz will differ from the original.

Late papers will be penalized. More information on the penalties will be available when the papers are assigned,

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Cheating & Plagiarism

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment."

The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor.

In the event that a student is found cheating, s/he will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs.

In the event that a student is found cheating or plagiarizing, s/he will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs.

Acts of plagiarism include:

- Turning in a paper or assignment written by someone else (i.e., papers by another student, a research service, or downloaded off the Internet).
- Copying, *verbatim*, a paragraph or significant portion of text (approximately eight words or more) from the work of another author without using quotation marks and properly acknowledging the source through a commonly accepted citation style, which includes ***providing a page number(s)***.
- Paraphrasing (i.e., restating in your own words) text written by another author without citing that author and ***providing the page number(s)***.
- Using a unique idea or concept, which you discovered in a specific reading, without citing the author.

Persons with Disabilities

Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. The Dean of Students Office will provide documentation to the student who must then

provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Anyone with a disability should feel free to see me during office hours to make the necessary arrangements.

Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course based on 10 criteria. These evaluations are conducted online at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results>.

Additional Information

Please refer to the course's e-Learning site for a list of university policies that guide the class and university resources that are available to UF students.

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Course Outline (Subject to Changes)

Week 1 (Aug 31- Sept 4) – Course Introduction

Tuesday

- Class overview

Thursday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, Chapter 1

Week 2 (Sept 7-11) – Recent Developments in Historical Perspective

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapter 1
- White, *Communism and its Collapse*, Chapters 1-5

Thursday

- Bunce, Valerie. 1985. "The Empire Strikes Back: The Evolution of the Eastern Bloc from a Soviet Asset to a Soviet Liability." *International Organization* 39(1): 1–46.

Week 3 (Sept 14-18) – The Transition to a "New World Order"

Tuesday

- White, *Communism and its Collapse*, Chapters 6-8

Thursday

- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.

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Week 4 (Sept 21-25) – Russia’s “First Republic”

Tuesday, September 22: Quiz #1

- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 27-38
- Baranovsky, Vladimir. 2000. “Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe?” *International Affairs* 76(3): 443–458.

Thursday

- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 46-64

Week 5 (Sept 28 – Oct 2) – Russian Foreign Policy under Yeltsin

Tuesday

- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, Chapter 3

Thursday

- Barrington, Lowell W., Erik S. Herron, and Brian D. Silver. 2002. “The Motherland Is Calling: Views of Homeland among Russians in the Near Abroad.” *World Politics* 55: 290-313.

Week 6 (Oct 5-9) – Putin’s First Term

Tuesday, October 6: Quiz #2

- Legvold, Robert. 2001. “Russia’s Unformed Foreign Policy.” *Foreign Affairs* 80(5): 62–75.
- O’Loughlin, John, Gearóid O’Tuathail, and Vladimir Kolosov. 2004. “A ‘Risky Westward Turn’? Putin’s 9–11 Script and Ordinary Russians.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 56(1): 3–34.

Thursday

- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 113-26

Week 7 (Oct 12-16) – Electoral Revolutions as a Security Threat

Tuesday

- Beissinger, Mark R. 2007. “Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions.” *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (2): 259–276.
- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 103-113 and 126-150

Thursday, October 8: Paper proposal and annotated bibliography due via Turnitin.com

- Tolstrup, Jakob. 2015. “Black Knights and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes: Why and How Russia Supports Authoritarian Incumbents in Post-Soviet States.” *European Journal of Political Research* 54(4): 673–90.

Week 8 (Oct 19-23) – Energy Relations and “Tandem-ocracy”

Tuesday, October 20: Quiz #3

- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 150-169
- Nygren, Bertil. 2008. “Putin’s Use of Natural Gas to Reintegrate the CIS Region.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(4): 3–15.

Thursday

- Moraski, Bryon, and Magda Giurcanu. 2013. "European Reactions to the 2008 Georgian–Russian War: Assessing the Impact of Gas Dependence." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (4): 432–456.

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Week 9 (Oct 26-30) – Russia’s Deteriorating Relationships with Europe and Ukraine

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapter 4
- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, Chapter 6

Thursday

- D’Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, Chapter 7

Week 10 (Nov 2-6) – Russia’s Adversarial Relationship with the United States

Tuesday, November 3: Quiz #4

- Blank, Stephen. 2010. "Beyond the Reset Policy: Current Dilemmas of US–Russia Relations." *Comparative Strategy* 29(4): 333–367.
- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapter 3

Thursday

- Jensen, Benjamin, Brandon Valeriano, and Ryan Maness. 2019. "Fancy Bears and Digital Trolls: Cyber Strategy with a Russian Twist." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42(2): 212–234.

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Week 11 (Nov 9-13) – Russian Foreign Policy beyond Europe

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapters 5-6

Thursday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapters 7-8

Week 12 (Nov 16-20) – Global Issues and Rivalries

Tuesday, November 17: Quiz #5

- Tsygankov, Chapters 9-10
- Renz, Introduction and Chapter 1

Thursday

- Renz, Chapters 2

Week 13 (Nov 23-27) – Russia’s Military Resurgence

Tuesday

- Renz, Chapters 3-4

Thursday, November 26 – No Class (Thanksgiving)

Week 14 (Nov 30 – Dec 4) – Russia’s Military Resurgence (continued)

Tuesday

- *No Class – Periods are reserved for individual Zoom meetings to discuss final papers.*

Thursday

- Renz, Chapter 5 and Conclusion

Week 15 – (Dec 7-9)

Tuesday, December 8: Quiz #6

Wednesday, December 9 – Final Papers Due by Noon (12 pm) using Turnitin.com

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