

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY (EUS 4930 & INR 4262)

(CLASS NUMBERS: 21559 & 29161)

FALL 2023

TUESDAYS, PERIODS 2-3 (8:30-10:25 AM)

THURSDAYS, PERIOD 3 (9:35-10:25 AM)

019 ANDERSON HALL

This document is a pre-semester (August 18, 2023) draft of the course syllabus. 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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Email: bmoraski@ufl.edu
Website: <https://people.clas.ufl.edu/bmoraski/>

Office Hours
Tuesdays, 10:30–12:30,
1:00–2:00 pm, or
by appointment

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

Course Description & Objectives

Over the last thirty years, the Russian Federation has moved from a potential international partner of Western democracies to an emboldened adversary. 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 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 "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 participation 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 scholarly articles and book chapters. I will make as much of the reading as possible available via e-Learning. To log in, go to <https://elearning.ufl.edu/>. Four of the books are available electronically and are accessible via the library's Course Reserve system, Ares.

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 via Ares.
2. Renz, Bettina. 2019. *Russia's Military Revival*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
 - **You will need to purchase this book.**
3. Tsygankov, Andrei P. 2019. *Russia and America: The Asymmetric Rivalry*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
 - An electronic version of this book is available via Ares.
4. Suny, Ronald Grigor. 1993. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
 - An electronic version of this book is available via Ares.
5. White, Stephen. 2001. *Communism and its Collapse*. New York: Routledge.
 - An electronic version of this book is available via Ares.

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).
- 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> Links to an external site.
- 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. Participation: 5%

- 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**.
- The baseline for the 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 participation will vary from class to class, the only way to maximize your opportunities for participation is to attend every class.
- 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. Three exams: 20% each (60% total)

- Three in-class exams will be administered throughout the semester. Students who arrive late will have only the time between their arrival and the time initially allocated for the exam to complete the exam.
- Make-up exams will **be provided only** for University-accepted excuses (e.g., not simply because a student is late to class). **All make-up exams will be held during the final exam period scheduled by the Registrar's Office and will differ from the original.**

4. Paper proposal and annotated bibliography: 7.5%

- In the proposal, students will outline and justify the topic of their research paper and provide an annotated bibliography of at least ten potentially useful sources.

- A substantial change in topics 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: 17.5%
 - The final paper will be an estimated 15 double-spaced pages, excluding the bibliography. More details will be provided as the course progresses.

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Course Policies

Late & Make-up Work

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

If a student misses an exam 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 exams 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 exams, the format of any make-up exam 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 or something (i.e., artificial intelligence) else.
- 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>.

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Course Outline

(Subject to Changes)

Week 1 (Aug 21-25) – Course Introduction

Thursday

Week 2 (Aug 28-Sept 1) – From Russian to Soviet Empire

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, pp. 1-15
- Suny, *Revenge of the Past*, pp. 97-113
- White, *Communism and its Collapse*, Chapters 2 & 3

Thursday

- White, *Communism and its Collapse*, Chapters 4-5
- Suny, *Revenge of the Past*, pp. 113-126

Week 3 (Sept 4-8) – From Decline to Collapse

Tuesday

- White, *Communism and its Collapse*, Chapters 6-8
- Suny, *Revenge of the Past*, Chapter 4

Thursday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 9-20 and 27-38

Week 4 (Sept 11-15) – Russian Foreign Policy under Yeltsin

Tuesday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 46-64
- 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 5 (Sept 18-22) – Putin's First Term

Tuesday

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

Thursday, September 21: Exam 1

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Week 6 (Sept 25-29) – Regime Change as a Security Threat and Russia's Response

Tuesday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 103-113 and 126-138
- 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): 673–690.

Thursday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 113-126

Week 7 (Oct 2-6) – Energy Politics in the 2000s

Tuesday

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

Thursday, October 5: Paper proposal and annotated bibliography due via Turnitin.com

Week 8 (Oct 9-13) – Russia's 2008 War with Georgia

Tuesday

- Van Herpen, *Putin's Wars*, Chapters 13-15

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.

Week 9 (Oct 16-20) – Russia's 2014 Invasion of Ukraine

Tuesday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 169-174, 182-210

Thursday

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

Week 10 (Oct 23-27) -- Russia's Annexation of Crimea in Context

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapters 2 & 4

Thursday, October 27: Exam 2

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Week 11 (Oct 30-Nov 3) – Russia’s Influence around the Globe

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapters 3, 7 & 8

Thursday

- Frye, Timothy. 2021. *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin’s Russia*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 10 (“Why Russia Hacks: Digital Persuasion and Coercion Abroad”)

Week 12 (Nov 6-10) – Russia’s Influence around the Globe (continued)

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapters 5, 6 & 9

Thursday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapter 10
- Renz, Introduction

Week 13 (Nov 13-17) – Russia’s Military: Evolution and Capabilities

Thursday

- Renz, Chapters 1-2 & 4

Thursday

- Renz, Chapters 5 and Conclusion

Week 14 (Nov 20-24) – From Official to Unofficial Interventions

Tuesday

- Snegovaya, Maria. 2020. “What Factors Contribute to the Aggressive Foreign Policy of Russian Leaders?” *Problems of Post-Communism* 67(1): 93–110.
- *Russian Analytical Digest* 290 (2022), “Wagner Group” [All]

Thursday, November 23 – No Class (Thanksgiving)

Week 15 (Nov 27-Dec 1) – Russia's 2022 War in Ukraine

Tuesday

- *Russian Analytical Digest* #282. 2022. “Russian Information Warfare,” pp. 1-18
- Dalsjö, Robert, Michael Jonsson and Johan Norberg. 2022. “A Brutal Examination: Russian Military Capability in Light of the Ukraine War.” *Survival* 64 (3): 7-28.
- Freedman, Lawrence. 2022. “Why War Fails: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and the Limits of Military Power.” *Foreign Affairs* 101(4): 10-23
- Zubok, Vladislav. 2022. “Can Putin Survive? The Lessons of the Soviet Collapse.” *Foreign Affairs* 101(4): 84-96.

Thursday

- Fix, Liana and Michael Kimmage. 2022. “What if the War in Ukraine Spins Out of Control?” *Foreign Affairs*. Published online on July 19, 2022 at

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-07-18/what-if-war-in-ukraine-spins-out-control>

- Goddard, Stacie. 2022 “The Outsiders: How the International System Can Still Check China and Russia.” *Foreign Affairs* 101(1): 28-39.

Week 16 (Dec 5-9)

Tuesday, December 5 – Exam 3 (Period 3)

Week 17 (Dec 11-15) -- Finals Week

Monday, December 11 – Final Papers Due by 9 am via Turnitin.com

****If necessary, makeup exams will be held during the Final Exam period.**

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Additional University Policies

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/>. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

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Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a

recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

Campus Resources: Health and Wellness U Matter, We Care: If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, or visit U Matter, We Care website to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.

Counseling and Wellness Center: Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.

Student Health Care Center: Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need, or visit the Student Health Care Center website.

University Police Department: Visit UF Police Department website or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).

UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center: For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; Visit the UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website.

GatorWell Health Promotion Services: For prevention services focused on optimal wellbeing, including Wellness Coaching for Academic Success, visit the GatorWell website or call 352-273-4450.

In response to COVID-19, the following recommendations are in place to maintain your learning environment, to enhance the safety of our in-classroom interactions, and to further the health and safety of ourselves, our neighbors, and our loved ones.

- If you are not vaccinated, get vaccinated. Vaccines are readily available and have been demonstrated to be safe and effective against the COVID-19 virus. Visit one.ufl for screening / testing and vaccination opportunities.
- If you are sick, stay home. Please call your primary care provider if you are ill and need immediate care or the UF Student Health Care Center at 352-392-1161 to be evaluated.

· Course materials will be provided to you with an excused absence, and you will be given a reasonable amount of time to make up work.

Academic Resources

E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.

Career Connections Center: Reitz Union Suite 1300, 352-392-1601. Career assistance and counseling services.

Library Support: Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.

Teaching Center: Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352- 392-6420. General study skills and tutoring.

Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

Student Complaints On-Campus: Visit the Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code webpage for more information.

On-Line Students Complaints: View the Distance Learning Student Complaint Process.