

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY (EUS 4930 & INR 4262)
FALL 2025
PROFESSOR MORASKI

This document is a pre-semester (August 13) draft of the course syllabus. It is subject to changes.
Students should rely on the syllabus available via Canvas.

I. General Information

3 credits

Meeting days, times and locations:

- Tuesdays, Periods 2-3 (8:30-10:25 am) – **032 Anderson Hall**
- Thursdays, Period 3 (9:35-10:25 am) – **034 Anderson Hall**

Instructor(s):

Name: Professor Bryon Moraski
Office: 313 Anderson Hall
Phone: 352-273-2631
Email: bmoraski@ufl.edu
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 10:30-Noon, 1-2:30 pm, or by appointment

Teaching Assistant(s):

Name: N/A
Office Building/Number:
Phone:
Email:
Office Hours:

Course Description

Over the last thirty years, the Russian Federation has moved from a potential international partner of Western democracies to an emboldened adversary. 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. 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 25 years has changed dramatically,

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

Prerequisites: INR 2001 or CPO 2001.

General Education Designation: None.

Course Materials

Required Reading

Reading for the course will come from multiple books (see below), chapters, and scholarly articles. As much as possible, I have provided electronic versions of the readings in the Files section.

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 for **free** through the UF Library
2. Popova, Maria and Oxana Shevel. 2024. *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
 - **You will need to buy this book.** It is available via **UF All Access**.
3. Renz, Bettina. 2019. *Russia’s Military Revival*. Medford, MA: Polity Press.
 - **You will need to buy this book.** It is available via **UF All Access**.

Required Technology

Students may need to use Zoom to attend office hours, Adobe Reader to access much of the assigned reading, and Turnitin.com to submit paper assignments.

Materials Fee: N/A

II. Course Goals

Course Objectives

Students will learn about the principal factors influencing the formulation of Russian foreign policy and its evolution over time.

Student Learning Outcomes

Students who successfully complete this course will be able to:

1. identify and assess existing explanations of Russia’s foreign policy;
2. analyze changes in Russian foreign policy over time;
3. compare Russia's depiction of international developments to how other states depict those events.

III. Graded Work

Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found in the [Catalog](#).

Graded Components

Assigned work is due via the mechanism specified, at the time specified; penalties for lateness are detailed on the Course Policies page or on the assignment itself.

It is your responsibility to upload the correct documents (via Canvas or Turnitin, depending on the assignment).

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

1. Attendance worth 10% of the final course grade.
 - I will take attendance at the beginning of each period (i.e., twice during the Tuesday double-block).
 - If students are late to class, it is the students' responsibility to make sure that they are not marked as absent. Students will not receive full credit for attendance on days that they are late.
 - 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.
 - 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. Three in-class exams worth 70% of the final course grade.
 - Three in-class exams will be administered throughout the semester.
 - **Exam 1 is worth 20% of the final course grade**
 - **Exams 2 and 3 are each worth 25% of the final course grade.**
 - 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).
 - **Make-up exams will be held during the second hour of the final exam periods scheduled by the Registrar's Office and will differ from the original.**
3. A paper proposal and annotated bibliography worth 5% of the final course grade.
4. A research paper worth 15% of the final course grade.

Participation

- Students may earn up to 2.5 percent of the final class grade in **extra credit** over the course of the semester through class participation.
 - 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.
 - 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.

Grading Scale

Letter Grade	Number Grade
A	100-92.5
A-	92.4-89.5
B+	89.4-86.5
B	86.4-82.5
B-	82.4-79.5
C+	79.4-76.5
C	76.4-72.5
C-	72.4-69.5
D+	69.4-66.5
D	66.4-62.5
D-	62.4-59.5
E	59.4-0

See the UF Catalog's "[Grades and Grading Policies](#)" for information on how UF assigns grade points.

Note: A minimum grade of C is required to earn General Education credit.

IV. Calendar

****Subject to Changes****

Week 1 (Aug 21-22) – Course Introduction

Thursday

- No assigned reading.

Week 2 (Aug 25-29) – Historical Overview

Tuesday

- White, *Communism and its Collapse*, Chapters 1-2
- Popova and Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine*, pp. 20-35

Thursday

- Suny, *Revenge of the Past*, Chapter 4

Week 3 (Sept 1-5) – Russian Foreign Policy under Yeltsin

Tuesday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 27-38, 46-64
- Baranovsky, Vladimir. 2000. "Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart from Europe?" *International Affairs* 76(3): 443-458

Thursday

- D'Anieri, Chapter 3

Week 4 (Sept 8-12) – Putin's First Term

Tuesday

- 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.
- Popova and Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine*, pp. 35-56

Thursday

- 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.

Week 5 (Sept 15-19) – Election Meddling and Energy Politics in the 2000s

Tuesday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 103-138
- 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 (No Class)

- **Abstract and Annotated Bibliography Due (September 18)**

Week 6 (Sept 22-26) – Energy Politics in the 2000s (continued)

Tuesday

- Nygren, Bertil. 2008. "Putin's Use of Natural Gas to Reintegrate the CIS Region." *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(4): 3-15.

Thursday, September 25: Exam 1

Week 7 (Sept 29-Oct 3) – Russia's 2008 War with Georgia

Tuesday

- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 150-169
- Van Herpen, *Putin's Wars*, Chapters 13 & 14

Thursday

- Moraski, Bryon J. 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): 432-56.

Week 8 (Oct 6-10) – Russia's Annexation of Crimea

Tuesday

- Popova and Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine*, Chapter 3
- D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia*, pp. 169-174, 182-210

Thursday

- Popova and Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine*, Chapter 5

Week 9 (Oct 13-17) – World Order Transitions and Soft Power

Tuesday

- Tsygankov, *Russia and America*, Chapters 2 and 4
- Frye, Timothy, *Weak Strongman*, Chapter 10

Thursday

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

Week 10 (Oct 20-24) – Russia's Hard Power

Tuesday

- Renz, *Russia's Military Revival*, Introduction & Chapter 1

Thursday, October 23: Exam 2

Week 11 (Oct 27-31) – Russia's Military Capabilities

Tuesday

- Renz, *Russia's Military Revival*, Chapters 2, 4 & 5

Thursday

- Snegovaya, Maria. 2020. "What Factors Contribute to the Aggressive Foreign Policy of Russian Leaders?" *Problems of Post-Communism* 67(1): 93–110.

Week 12 (Nov 3-7) – Russia's Escalating Aggression

Tuesday

- Snegovaya, Maria. 2021. "The Taming of the Shrew: How the West Could Make the Kremlin Listen." *European View* 20 (1): 72–79.
- Werning Rivera, Sharon. 2023. "The Views of Russian Elites on Military Intervention Abroad." *Russian Analytical Digest* 299 (August 4): 2-7.
- Popova and Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine*, Chapter 6

Thursday

- Freedman, Lawrence. 2022. "Why War Fails: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and the Limits of Military Power." *Foreign Affairs* 101(4): 10-23.
- 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.

Week 13 (Nov 10-14) – Reactions to Russia's Full-Scale Invasion of Ukraine

Tuesday – Veteran's Day, No Class

Thursday

- Goddard, Stacie. 2022 "The Outsiders: How the International System Can Still Check China and Russia." *Foreign Affairs* 101(1): 28-39.
- Fix, Liana and Michael Kimmage. 2022. "What if the War in Ukraine Spins Out of Control?" *Foreign Affairs*. Published online on July 19, 2022.

Week 14 (Nov 17-21) – Consequences of Russia's Full-scale Invasion

Tuesday

- Krekó, Péter and Boglárka Rédl. 2023. "Authoritarian Deflation: How Russia Lost the Information War against the West." In *Russia's Imperial Endeavor and its Geopolitical Consequences: The Russia-Ukraine War (Volume Two)*, eds. Bálint Madlovics and Bálint Magyar. Budapest: Central European University, 105-124.
- Reshetnikov, Anatoly. 2023. "Defensive Submission, Lucrative Neutrality, and Silent Detachment: Post-Soviet Patronal Autocracies in the Shadow of the Russian Invasion." In *Russia's Imperial Endeavor and its Geopolitical Consequences: The Russia-Ukraine War (Volume Two)*, eds. Bálint Madlovics and Bálint Magyar. Budapest: Central European University, 287-309.

Thursday

- Krajczár, Gyula. 2023. "The Russia-Ukraine War and China: Neutrality with Imperial Characteristics." In *Russia's Imperial Endeavor and its Geopolitical Consequences: The Russia-Ukraine War (Volume Two)*, eds. Bálint Madlovics and Bálint Magyar. Budapest: Central European University, 311-325.

Week 15 (Nov 24-Nov 28) – No Class (Thanksgiving)

Week 16 (Dec 1-5) – Wrapping Up

Tuesday, Period 2

- **Final Papers Due**

Tuesday, Period 3

- Popova and Shevel *Russia and Ukraine*, Conclusion

Thursday, December 4 – No Class (Reading Day)

Week 17 (Dec 8-12) – Finals Week

Monday, December 8 from 3:00-3:50 pm

- ***Exam 3***

...from 4:00-4:50 pm

- ***Makeup exams (if necessary)***

V. University Policies and Resources

This course complies with all UF academic policies. For information on those policies and for resources for students, please see [this link](#).” (The direct link is <https://syllabus.ufl.edu/syllabus-policy/uf-syllabus-policy-links/>.)

VI. Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online. Students can complete evaluations in three ways:

1. The email they receive from GatorEvals,
2. Their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or
3. The central portal at <https://my-ufl.bluera.com>

Guidance on how to provide constructive feedback is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>."

Note: Starting in Spring 2025, the central portal will change to <https://my-ufl.bluera.com>. The previous GatorEvals link (<https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/>) will redirect to the updated portal for one year.