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Office Hours: Tuesday 9-12 and by appointment

POLS Y301 and Y681: Putin, Trump and the New Cold War
Fall 2019
Tuesday, Thursday 1:00 - 2:15 PM
103 Sycamore Hall

This class focuses on the ways in which the scholarly, policy, and journalism communities define and analyze US – Russia Relations between 1945 and the current day. The organizing focus is on the debate about whether or not the Cold War framework is useful or even accurate to understand politics between the two rivals. This framework forces us to consider what factors are important in shaping the actions and strategies of the rivals, the environment in which they interact, and the nature of the relationship. The inquiry is shaped by debates over legacies, ideas, models, and world views as well as the experience of each side. We will largely focus on the domestic sources of international behavior—from leaders to economic conditions and state-society relations—but each student will have the opportunity to apply these insights to a topic that most interests them including military reform, nuclear nonproliferation, competition in the Arctic, or the use of religion as soft power. You may also want to study the nature of the Kremlin elite, the role of the FSB, or public opinion in foreign policy formation. The interactions among these forces influence the international arena and domestic political competition but they create consequences: new constituencies, policy options, as well as alliances and international networks.

Reading: You do not need to buy books for this class. If a reading is marked available on CANVAS, then the text will be uploaded on the class website under files/reading and organized by the date on which the reading must be completed. If a reading is not marked, it is available through the IU online library system, free of charge. I have also included direct links to open source material and audio and video resources relevant for the discussion.

If you would like to get a jump on background reading, I recommend John Gaddis' *The Cold War: A New History*. The first chapter is on the syllabus but the rest of the narrative is very enjoyable and I may add short pieces of the text throughout the semester.

Requirements and Grade Distribution:

Participation (30 percent of your grade): Lectures will include discussion and debate based on the readings and your own research. Please come prepared to participate. If it is a hectic week for you, please make time to read at least one of the readings so that you can contribute.

- Participation grades will be based on three components: attendance (30 percent), contributions to discussion (30 percent), and participation in in-class assignments (30 percent)
- If you are going to miss class for a legitimate reason, please email me prior to class. If you are going to be out for an extended period, please let me know as soon as that becomes clear.
- More than two absences will influence your participation grade.

Short Assignments (30 percent of your grade): Throughout the semester, I will ask you to complete five short assignments each worth 20 points for a total of 100 points. The short assignments will be based on the reading or connected to independent research. They are indicated on the syllabus and on the CANVAS website. Assignments must be submitted through CANVAS prior to our class meeting on the day that they are due.

Independent Research (40 percent of your grade): Your independent research project will be the foundation of your work in the class. The project will emerge in four stages: a brainstorming assignment, the development of an annotated bibliography that will be the foundation of your work, the exploration of policy writing related to your work and a short essay that presents the work. All will be discussed extensively in class. Materials are available on CANVAS.

Other Things You Need to Know

Resources for Following Russian Political Development

Podcasts:

- CSIS, Russian Roulette, <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/russian-roulette>
- Russia Rising, <https://curiouscast.ca/podcast/364/russia-rising>
- The Power Vertical CEPA – Brian Whitmore, Veteran Russia Hand, has a longstanding podcast now housed at CEPA, <https://www.cepa.org/power-vertical>
 - For older discussions see The Power Vertical at RFE, <https://www.rferl.org/z/884>
- Sean’s Russia Blog, <http://seansrussiablog.org>

Short Papers and Policy Resources:

- PONARS Eurasia has expert commentary on almost every aspect of Russian Politics and US Russian relations, <http://www.ponarseurasia.org>
- Johnson’s Russia List, a synopsis of important articles that arrives in your inbox almost daily. You can subscribe at: <https://russialist.org>

Technology Policy: Please do not use your phone during class. If you do, I will ask you to leave the lecture. If you prefer to take notes on your laptop (which has been shown to decrease retention). please sit in the front rows of the classroom. Please resist any engagement with social media, email, or Sports Center during class.

Academic Integrity: As a student at IU, you are expected to adhere to the standards detailed in the [*Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities, and Conduct*](#) (*Code*). Academic misconduct is defined as any activity that tends to undermine the academic integrity of the institution. Violations include: cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, interference, violation of course rules, and facilitating academic dishonesty. When you submit an assignment with your name on it, you are signifying that the work contained therein is yours, unless otherwise cited or referenced. Any ideas or materials taken from another source for either written or oral use must be fully acknowledged. All suspected violations of the *Code* will be reported to the Dean of Students and handled according to University policies.

Introduction

Tuesday, August 27: Syllabus, Assignment and Goals, Our Task This Semester

Please bring either your computer or a copy of the syllabus to class

Reading:

- Timothy Frye, The Mueller Report and the Silence of Experts
<https://medium.com/@timothy.m.frye/the-mueller-report-and-the-silence-of-the-experts-12e8634e01c1>

Section 1, Frameworks and Policy: The Cold War 1945-1991

Thursday, August 29: The Soviet Cold War, WWII, and the Soviet Approach to International Politics

Reading:

- Gaddis, Chapter 1: The Return of Fear in , pp. 5-47.
- Ilya Yablokov, Chapter 1, Building Fortress Russia, in *Fortress Russia, Conspiracy Theories in Post-Soviet Russia*.
- Alexander Dallin, "Soviet Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics: A Framework for Analysis," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 2, (1969), pp. 250-265

Tuesday, September 3: The US Cold War

Assignment 1 Due: Read the Kennan Article and summarize it in no more than 250 words, identifying its central argument and main points. Note any questions you have or points that should be clarified in class discussion. There is a lot here. Please do not shy away from asking questions.

Reading:

- The X Article, formally George F. Kennan, 1946, The Sources of Soviet Conduct, *Foreign Affairs* but available on CANVAS
- Ben Wright, C. (1976). Mr. "X" and Containment. *Slavic Review*, 35(1), 1-31.

Thursday, September 5: The Ideas What Changed, Part 1

Assignment 2 Due: All of the articles below discuss the US-Russia relationship through the end of a big idea or introduce a particular perspective. Choose one of the articles below. Complete the Reading Analysis Worksheet available on CANVAS/Files/Assignments. Please upload prior to class.

Reading – Choose One Paper and Skim another two:

- John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War," *International Security* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 1990) pp. 5-56.
- James M. Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, "A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era," *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 467-491.
- William Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 5-41.
- Francis Fukuyama, (1989). The End of History?. *The National Interest*, (16), 3-18.
- Fyodor Lukyankov, "Russian Dilemmas in a Multipolar World," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No 2 (Spring/Summer, 2010)
- Menon, R., & Snyder, J. L. (2017). Buffer zones: Anachronism, power vacuum, or confidence builder?. *Review of International Studies*, 43(5), 962-986.

Legacy and Transformation, 1991 – 1995

Tuesday, September 10: Structural Legacies, Geography

Reading:

- Kerr, D. (1995). The New Eurasianism: The rise of geopolitics in Russia's foreign policy. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47(6), 977-988.
- Zevelev, I. (1996). Russia and the Russian diasporas. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 12(3), 265-284.
- Steil, B. (2018). Russia's clash with the West is about geography, not ideology. *Foreign Policy*, 12. Available at: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/12/russias-clash-with-the-west-is-about-geography-not-ideology/>

Thursday, September 12: Structural Legacies of the Cold War a Case Study of NATO

Reading:

- John Lewis Gaddis, 'History, Grand Strategy and NATO Enlargement', *Survival*, vol. 40, no. 1, Spring 1998, pp. 145–51.
- Goldgeier, J. M. (1998). NATO expansion: The anatomy of a decision. *Washington Quarterly*, 21(1), 83-102.

- Brown, M. E. (1995). The flawed logic of NATO expansion. *Survival*, 37(1), 34-52.

Tuesday, September 17: The Academic and Policy Debates Over the New International Order

Assignment 3 Due: In no more than 500 words, please identify one aspect of domestic context—politics, society, culture, or economic resources—that are important to understand Russian political behavior after 1991. You might need to think about when the factor becomes important. Identify a mechanism (or a causal argument) that links the factor you highlight with international outcomes. We will talk more about causal arguments in class.

Reading:

- Celeste Wallander, The Sources of Russian Conduct: Theories, Frameworks, and Approaches, in *The Sources of Russian Policy After the Cold War*, Available on CANVAS.
- Stephen Walt, “International Theories: One World, Many Theories,” *Foreign Policy* (Spring 1998).
- McFaul, “The Precarious Peace: Domestic Politics in the Making of Russian Foreign Policy,” *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Winter 1997/98), pp. 5- 35.

Thursday, September 19: The Roots of the Debate: Who Lost Russia the First Time?

Reading:

- John Lloyd, Who Lost Russia, *The New York Times Magazine*, August 15, 1999.
- Rajan Menon, How the Tumultuous 90s Paved the Way for Putin’s Russia, *The New York Times*, April 10, 2017.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v9YnDirqwT4>

Tuesday, September 24: Steven Cohen and the Critique of the Cold War Framework

This week Professor Steven Cohen will visit IU and given two talks. Please attend one of them.

Talk 1: Tuesday, September 24, Steven Cohen and Katrina VandenHuevel, Dogwood Room, IMU

Talk 2: Wednesday, September 25, Steven Cohen and Alexander Rabinowitch, IMU, 4:00 PM

Reading:

- Steven Cohen, Jordan Michael Smith, “Is This Professor ‘Putin’s American Apologist?’ *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 15, 2017. Available at: <https://www.chronicle.com/article/Is-This-Professor-Putin-s/241777>
- Robert Kaplan, Who Lost Russia?, *The New York Times*, October 8, 2000,
<https://www.nytimes.com/2000/10/08/books/who-lost-russia.html>

Thursday, September 26: Debriefing the Cohen Visit

Assignment 4 Due: In no more than 500 words, identify an important point made by Steve Cohen during his visit and assess that point. You may support the argument or disagree with it. Take a look at the other papers that argue that there is no New Cold War and use them to inform your assessment. Be sure to included references and a bibliography.

Tuesday, October 1: Yes, Cold War, but Different

Reading:

- Legvold, R. (2014). Managing the New Cold War: What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Last One. *Foreign Affairs*, 93(4), 74-84.
- Richard Haas, Cold War II, Available at <https://www.cfr.org/article/cold-war-ii>
- Paul Saunders, ‘Seven Ways a New Cold War with Russia will be Different’, *The National Interest*, 11 May 2014, Available at: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/seven-ways-new-cold-war-russia-will-be-differentt-10439>
- ‘The New Cold War: Are We Going Back to the Bad Old Days?’, *The Guardian*, 19 November 2014;

Thursday, October 3: Workshop: Preparing for Your Final Project

First Independent Research Task Due: Complete the Essay Worksheet on Canvas and upload it prior to our class meeting

Section Three: The Domestic Roots of International Policy, Explaining the Current Situation

Tuesday October 8: New World, New Regime Types – Is It an Ideology?

Reading:

- Gat, A. (2007). The Return of Authoritarian Great Powers. *Foreign affairs*. Vol. 86, No. 4 (July – August 2007), pp. 59-69.
- McFaul, M., & Stoner-Weiss, K. (2008). The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back. *Foreign Affairs*, 87(1), 68-84.
- Charap, S., Drennan, J., & Noël, P. (2017). Russia and China: a new model of great-power relations. *Survival*, 59(1), 25-42.

Thursday, October 10: The New Hybrid Authoritarian Regimes: Elections as a Game Changer

Reading:

- Fish, M. S. (2018). What Has Russia Become?. *Comparative Politics*, 50(3), 327-346.
- Smyth, *Elections, Protest, and Stability in Non-Democratic Regimes: Russia 2008-2020*, Chapters 1 and 3. Available on CANVAS.
- Replacing Democracy with Numbers, *Point & Counterpoint*, July 30, 2019, <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/escalation-de-escalation-hazy-nuclear-weapon-red-lines-generate-russian-advantages>

Tuesday, October 15: VVP

Assignment 5 Due: Putin is a huge topic and as President and PM he has had an enormous impact on every aspect of Russian politics. Focus on one aspect of the Putin argument or a claim by the authors about President Putin's beliefs, motivations, and sources of power that drive Russian foreign policy. Define the evidence available to support those claims and identify the evidence the community needs to assess that cause chain. Do you feel confident that the evidence is available?

Reading:

- Kathryn Stoner & Michael McFaul (2015) Who Lost Russia (This Time)? Vladimir Putin, *The Washington Quarterly*, 38:2, 167-187.
- Susan B. Glasser, Putin the Great, Russia's Imperial Impostor, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2019.
- Fyodor Lukyanov, "Putin's Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia's Rightful Place," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (May/June 2016): 30-37.

Thursday, October 17: Workshop - Papers, Preparing your annotated bibliographies

Second Independent Research Task: Annotated Bibliography Due Sunday, October 20

Tuesday, October 22: The Nature of the Political Elite and the Idea of Kleptocracy

Reading:

- Reading two of the following three papers:
- Lanskoj, M., & Myles-Primakoff, D. (2018). Power and Plunder in Putin's Russia. *Journal of Democracy*, 29(1), 76-85.
- Brian D. Taylor, "The Russian Siloviki & Political Change," *Daedalus* 146, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 53-63.
- Bremmer, I., & Charap, S. (2007). The siloviki in Putin's Russia: who they are and what they want. *The Washington Quarterly*, 30(1), 83-92.

This week we will organize an additional session to deepen our discussion of the role of the elite in foreign policy. This work will be especially important for those of your working on related topics in your independent research. Time and date TBD. The Nexus of Kleptocracy, International Forces, and Energy Superpower

Reading: Chose to read on one of these three topics:

Energy Superpowerdom

- Newnham, R. (2011). Oil, carrots, and sticks: Russia's energy resources as a foreign policy tool. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2(2), 134-143.
- Orttung, R. W., & Overland, I. (2011). A limited toolbox: explaining the constraints on Russia's foreign energy policy. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 2(1), 74-85.
- Balzer, H. (2005). The Putin thesis and Russian energy policy. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 21(3), 210-225.

Hybrid War, Oligarchs and Informal Networks

- Marten, K. (2015). Informal political networks and Putin's foreign policy: The examples of Iran and Syria. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 62(2), 71-87.
- Marten, K. (2019). Russia's use of semi-state security forces: the case of the Wagner Group. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 35(3), 181-204.
- German, T., & Karagiannis, E. (2016). The Ukrainian crisis: sub-state and non-state actors.

Kleptocracy, Oligarchs and Foreign Policy

- Piontkovsky, A. (2009). Reading Russia: The Dying Mutant. *Journal of Democracy*, 20(2), 52-55.
- Dawisha, Karen. "Is Russia's Foreign Policy That of a Corporatist-Kleptocratic Regime?." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27.4 (2011): 331-365.
- Cooley, A. A., & Sharman, J. (2017). How today's despots and kleptocrats hide their stolen wealth.

Sovereignty, Democracy Assistance, and The Color Revolutions

Thursday, October 24: Democracy Assistance and The Idea of Meddling

Reading:

- Diamond, L. (1992). Promoting democracy. *Foreign Policy*, (87), 25-46.
- Carothers, T. (2009). Democracy assistance: political vs. developmental?. *Journal of democracy*, 20(1), 5-19.
- Knack, S. (2004). Does foreign aid promote democracy?. *International Studies Quarterly*, 48(1), 251-266.

Tuesday, October 29: The Colored Revolutions and the Effect on Russia

Reading:

- Bunce, V., & Wolchik, S. L. (2006). Favorable conditions and electoral revolutions. *Journal of Democracy*, 17(4), 5-18.

AND ONE OF THESE THREE ARTICLES:

- Horvath, R. (2011). Putin's 'preventive counter-revolution': post-Soviet authoritarianism and the spectre of Velvet revolution. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63(1), 1-25
- Finkel, E., & Brudny, Y. M. (2014). No more colour! Authoritarian regimes and colour revolutions in Eurasia. In *Coloured revolutions and authoritarian reactions* (pp. 9-22). Routledge.
- Koesel, K. J., & Bunce, V. J. (2013). Diffusion-proofing: Russian and Chinese responses to waves of popular mobilizations against authoritarian rulers. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(3), 753-768.

Thursday, October 31: A Military Intervention and US Thinking

Reading:

- Elizabeth N. Saunders, "Transformative Choices Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy," *International Security*, Volume 34, Number 2, Fall 2009, pp. 119-161. This is a long paper, focus on the concept of intervention strategy.
- Samuel Charap (2013) Russia, Syria and the Doctrine of Intervention, *Survival*, 55:1, 35-41
- Stent, A. (2016). Putin's Power Play in Syria: How to Respond to Russia's Intervention. *Foreign Affairs.*, 95, 106-113.

Tuesday, November 5: Building Constituencies: Symbolic Politics and Authoritarian Elections

Reading:

- Maria Lipman and Alexey Miller, In Russia, The State and State-Aligned Actors Have Come to Dominate the Scene of the Politics of Memory, July 23, 2019.
- Foxall, A. (2013). Photographing Vladimir Putin: Masculinity, nationalism and visuality in Russian political culture. *Geopolitics*, 18(1), 132-156.
- Malinova, O. (2014). Obsession with status and resentment: Historical backgrounds of the Russian discursive identity construction. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 47(3-4), 291-303.

Thursday, November 7: A New Ideological Battle? The Challenge to the Liberal Order/Strength Through Weakness

Reading:

- O liker, O. (2017). Putinism, populism and the defence of liberal democracy. *Survival*, 59(1), 7-24.
- Pomerantsev, P. (2015). Authoritarianism Goes Global (II): The Kremlin's Information War. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(4), 40-50.
- Nicolai Petro, (2015) Russia's Orthodox Soft Power, Carnegie Council for Ethics in international Affairs, Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3172378
- Golosov, G. V. (2018). Useful, but Not Necessarily Idiots: The Ideological Linkages among the Putin-Sympathizer Parties in the European Parliament. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 1-11.

New Cold War, Take 3

Tuesday, November 12: Euromaidan and the Annexation of Ukraine- The Pieces Come Together

Reading:

- “Ukraine Between Russia and the West: Buffer Zone or Flashpoint?” *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring 2017), 107-118.
- Daniel Treisman, “Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin,” *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 2 (May/June 2016): 47-54.
- Marten, K. (2015). Putin's choices: explaining Russian foreign policy and intervention in Ukraine. *The Washington Quarterly*, 38(2), 189-204.

Thursday, November 14: Ukraine: The Debates

Reading:

- McFaul, M., Sestanovich, S., & Mearsheimer, J. J. (2014). Faulty Powers: Who Started the Ukraine Crisis?. *Foreign Affairs*, 93(6), 167-178.
- Graham, T., Menon, R., & Snyder, J. (2017). Ukraine Between Russia and the West: Buffer or Flashpoint?. *World Policy Journal*, 34(1), 107-118.

Tuesday, November 19: Public Opinion – What Do We Know? The Rally Around the Flag Effect and Putin's Support

Reading:

- Frye, T., Gehlbach, S., Marquardt, K. L., & Reuter, O. J. (2017). Is Putin's popularity real?. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 33(1), 1-15.

AND ONE OF THESE TWO PAPERS

- Hale, H. E. (2018). How Crimea Pays: Media, Rallying'Round the Flag, and Authoritarian Support. *Comparative Politics*, 50(3), 369-391.
- Kolstø, P. (2016). Crimea vs. Donbas: How Putin won Russian nationalist support—And lost it again. *Slavic Review*, 75(3), 702-725.

Thursday, November 21: Disruption as Policy

Reading:

- Mark Galeotti, “Controlling Chaos: How Russia Manages its Political War in Europe,” European Council on Foreign Relations Policy Brief, Aug. 2017, https://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR228_-_CONTROLLING_CHAOS1.pdf
- Walker, C. (2018). What Is "Sharp Power"?. *Journal of Democracy*, 29(3), 9-23.
- Christopher Walker, Janti Kalathil, Jessica Ludwig, 2018, Foreign Hearts and Minds, Foreign Policy, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/14/forget-hearts-and-minds-sharp-power/>

Tuesday, December 3: New Leadership: TRUMP! A President Against His Administration

Reading:

- Ikenberry, G. J. (2017). The plot against American foreign policy: Can the liberal order survive. *Foreign Affairs.*, 96, 2.
- Abrams, E. (2017). Trump the traditionalist: a surprisingly standard foreign policy. *Foreign Affairs.*, 96, 10.
- Drezner, D. W. (2019). This Time Is Different: Why US Foreign Policy Will Never Recover. *Foreign Affairs.*, 98, 10.

- Arbatov, A. G., & Arbatova, N. K. (2017). Trump Factor in Russia–US Relations. *Polis. Political Studies*, 3(3), 160-178.

Thursday, December 5: Decision-making in the Trump White House: Nuclear Forces, A Case Study of INF

Reading:

- Nichols, T. (2019). Mourning the INF Treaty. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Polina Sinovets, Escalation for De-Escalation? Hazy Nuclear Weapon “Red Lines” Generate Russian Advantages, PONARS Policy Memo 605, August 2019, <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/escalation-de-escalation-hazy-nuclear-weapon-red-lines-generate-russian-advantages>
- Richter, W. (2019). The end of the INF Treaty is looming: a new nuclear arms race can still be prevented.
- Pavel Baev, Russia Ushers in a Post-Pseudo-Arms-Control World, July 23, 2019 available through <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/russia-ushers-post-pseudo-arms-control-world>

Tuesday, December 10: Final Project Prep Exercise 3

Identify a PONARS Policy Memo that is relevant for your final project topic. In no more than 250 words, analyze both the substantive argument in the memo and its form: the organization of the argument, the nature of evidence, and the underlying model or approach that structures the argument. You do not need to form this assignment as an essay. You can summarize in bullet points or short paragraphs.

Thursday, December 12: Project Consultation

*****FINAL PROJECT DUE ON CANVAS BY MIDNIGHT DECEMBER 17*****