Course Title: “US-Russia Relations after the end of the Cold War: Problems, Prospects and Development”

«Российско-американские отношения между холодными войнами».

Instructor: Dmitry V. Suslov
Department: Department of International Relations
Email: dsuslov@hse.ru

Target Audience:
The Course is designed for Master students from Russia and abroad with concentrations in Political Science and International Relations, with a special interest in Russian foreign policy, US foreign policy towards Russia and Eurasia, and US-Russia relations. It is preferable, though not compulsory, if the students have basic knowledge of International Relations history and theory, as well as contemporary International Affairs and Russian history.

Course Description (no less than 200 words)
- Aims of the course:
Aims of the course are: to conduct conceptual analyses and practical study of the US-Russia relations since the end of the Cold War; to explore structural problems and theoretical patterns of the US-Russia relations; to analyze evolution of the US-Russia relations during the last 20 years; provide prognosis of the US-Russia relations evolution for the short- and middle-term future.

- Course as a part of the study programme, brief analysis of the course in comparison to Russian and foreign academic experience.
The course provides a logical and necessary supplement to the curricular of the Master programs “International Relations: European and Asian Studies” and “International Relations in Eurasia” offered by the Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs of the HSE. This curricular used to contains courses on the US and on Russia, but lacked ones on the US-Russia relations. The course offered is the only course on the US-Russia relations offered by the Higher School of Economics and one of very few offered in Russia in general. The course would be of special interest for those Russian and foreign students, interested in contemporary Russian and the US foreign policies, as well as in the US-Russia relations, which is a crucial dimension of Russian foreign and defense policies.

One of the course’s advantages is its up-to-date nature. It pays special attention to analyses of the most-recent, but vital for the future, step of the US-Russia relations: their relations under the 1st Obama Administration, known as “reset”.

An important feature of the course is that it approaches the US-Russia relations problems and development in a wider context of Foreign and Domestic policies of the United States and Russia in a given period of time, as well as of the challenges and opportunities the sides were facing in an International Environment. Thus, the US-Russia relations are dealt with as a part and parcel of a bigger picture of the sides’ development and of evolution of their international positions.

The course has also a sound theoretical dimension. First, analyses of the US and Russian foreign policies is based on the major theories of International Relations (Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism) and of foreign policy making. Second, the course will touch upon fundamental theoretical concepts of International Security, inseparable of the US-Russia relations, such as Strategic Deterrence and Strategic Stability.
National Research University Higher School of Economics School of World Economy and International Affairs Graduate Programme “International Relations: European and Asian Studies”

- **Prerequisites**
The course has no specific obligatory prerequisites. Still, basic knowledge of International Relations history and theory, as well as contemporary International Affairs and Russian history would be preferable and welcome.

- **Intended Learning Outcomes**
As a result of the study, the students should have:

**Knowledge** of major problems, factors and tendencies of the US-Russia relations evolution since the end of the Cold war, as well as of driving factors in the Russian and US foreign policies towards each other.

**Abilities**: to search, use and critically evaluate statistical data, academic, reference, and historical literature on Russian and the US policies towards each other, and to elaborate on the basis of this data and literature a prognosis of the US-Russia relations development.

**Skills**: to explore and analyze the reasons and factors of the US-Russia relations improvements and deteriorations, as well as their state of affairs at a particular moment, to create scenarios of the relations further development.

- **Assessment/s – formative, summative**
The course combines continuous and final methods of assessment.

Continuous: examination of students during the course of lectures; return to the given material.

Final: test (with account of previous observations and appearance in lectures).

The student’s independent work: assimilation of the theoretical material and information received in the course of the lectures, learning the works of domestic and foreign authors on the given problems.

The course concludes with an oral exam aimed to assess the students knowledge, abilities and skills acquired as a result of the course.

Final grade is calculated from grades for:

- **Exam**—0.7;
- **Lecture attendance**—0.3;

For each of the above aspects of evaluation the student receives, correspondingly, on a 10-point scale:

- For exam—0.7 x Q1;
- For lecture attendance—0.3 x Q2;

where Q1, Q2 are grades on a 10-point scale.

**Course Outline**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>№№</th>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Course Hours</th>
<th>Academic/Contact Hours</th>
<th>Self-study Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lectures</td>
<td>Seminars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Methodological and theoretical framework for the US-Russia relations analyses</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The role of the US-Russia relations for the sides and in the current International</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Structural Problems, Contradictions and Patterns of the US-Russia Relations</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The US-Russia relations in early 1990-s.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Worsening of the US-Russia relations in the 2nd half of 1990-s and the crisis of 1999.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Improvement of the US-Russia relations in 2000-2002</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Crisis of the US-Russia relations of 2008</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. “Reset” of the US-Russia relations: preconditions, initial logic, development and major achievements</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In sum:</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Curriculum (by topics)

Topic 1. Methodological and theoretical framework for the US-Russia relations analyses

Content: Power, values and domestic politics as the major determinants of the US-Russia relations. Realism and liberalism in explanation, analyses and prognosis of the US-Russia relations. US-Russia relations and the general evolution foreign policies of Russia and the US: interconnectedness and mutual determination. National interests as a factor of the US-Russia relations. The problem of objectivity of national interests. US-Russia relations agenda and the International system evolution.

Reading List:

Essential:

1. Recommended:

Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:
Which theories of IR are best applied for the US-Russia relations analyses and in which situations?
What constitutes national interests for Russia and for the US?
What is the dynamics of the role of values in the US-Russia relations?
Does the US-Russia relations agenda reflect the objective challenges and opportunities the sides face in the evolving International system?

Suggested Research Topics:
“Vicious cycle” nature of the US-Russia relations: perspectives of the IR schools.
Change and continuity in the US-Russia relations agenda development.

Topic 2. The role of the US-Russia relations for the sides and in the current International System

Content: Dynamics of the US role in the Russian foreign policy. The US in the Russian official program foreign policy documents. The role of the US in the Russian threat perception. The US role in Russian security and defence policy development. Dynamics of the Russian role in the US foreign
policy. The Russian role and place in the US program foreign policy documents. The Russian role in the US security and defence policy. Russian national interests in relation to the US. The US national interests in relation to Russia. The role of the US-Russia relations for the current international relations and global and regional security. Added value of the US-Russia relations for the global political and security governance.

Reading List:

Essential:


Recommended:


Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:

Why did the role of Russia decrease in the US foreign policy since the end of the Cold war?

What place does the US policy occupy in the Russian defence and military strategy?

How prominent is “strategic stability” for the current international security and international system?

What is the vitality of the US-Russia relations for the evolving international relations beyond strategic stability?

Suggested Research Topics:

US-Russia relations today and tomorrow: Global or Regional?

Relevance of the US role and place in the Russian defence policy.

Limits and consequences of the US policy of “ignoring Russia”.
The problem of interdependence in the US-Russia relations.

**Topic 3. Structural Problems, Contradictions and Patterns of the US-Russia Relations**


**Reading list:**

**Essential:**

**Recommended:**

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**
- What is strategic deterrence philosophy and how does it impact the US-Russia relations?
- Why is Russian strategic defence policy centred around parity principle and how does it impact the US-Russia relations?
- What are the major contradictions between Russia and the US at the Post-Soviet space?
- What are the US and Russian visions of the desired international order?

**Suggested Research Topics:**
- Ways for overcoming strategic deterrence philosophy in the US-Russia relations.
- Comparative analyses of parity and minimal sufficiency as governing principles of the US-Russia relations in strategic stability sphere.
- Ways for overcoming the US-Russia contradictions at the Post-Soviet space.
The future of values and value incompatibility in the US-Russia relations.

**Topic 4. The US-Russia relations in early 1990s**


**Reading list:**

*Essential:*


3. *Recommended:*


**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Why has the “Marshall Plan for Russia” never arrived?

What was the difference between the Bush-senior and Clinton Administrations approaches towards the Russian transformation?

How successful was the US policy of “aligning with the Russian reforms”? Why wasn’t the Russian attempt to join the West successful?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

Realism and liberalism in the US policy towards Russia in early 1990-s.

US and Russian approaches to nuclear arms reductions in early 1990s.

The US impact on the Russian political and economic development in early 1990-s. Ignoring Russia and engaging Russia in early 1990s: dilemma or compatibility?
Topic 5. Worsening of the US-Russia relations in the 2nd half of 1990-s and the crisis of 1999


Reading List:

Essential:

4. Recommended:
Stephen M. Walt. Two Cheers for Clinton’s Foreign Policy. Foreign Affairs, March/April 2000.

Questions/Tasks for Self-Study
Why did Russia turn from “joining the West” to “multipolarity” foreign policy strategy?
How did the US behavior as a “benign hegemon” and “global sheriff” impact Russia and the US-Russia relations?
What were the major “compensatory” efforts on the part of the US towards Russia in the 2nd half of the 1990-s?
Why did Russia send its paratroopers from Bosnia to Kosovo in June 1999 and what were the results and consequences of this step?

Did the Russian reaction to the US and NATO aggression against Yugoslavia signal of its readiness to engage in a systemic confrontation with the West?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

- Russian position on European security reform in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 1990s and the US policy.
- Prerequisites for NATO expansion and the Russian policy.
- US-sponsored integrationist arrangements and energy projects at the Post-Soviet space in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 1990-s.
- The Kosovo intervention: a precedent or an exception?
- Dimensions of Russian “semi-isolation” of the year 1999: the Kosovo crisis, the OSCE Istanbul summit and the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Chechen war.

**Topic 6. Improvement of the US-Russia relations in 2000-2002**


**Reading List:**

*Essential:*


*Recommended:*

Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:
What was the foreign policy of the Bush Administration before 9/11?
Why did Russia prefer George Bush to Albert Gore?
How did 9/11 impact the US-Russia relations?
How did Russia participate in the “Grand Anti-Terror Coalition”?
What was the Russian policy on arms control in early 2000-s?
What were the consequences of the US withdrawal from the ABM Treaty?

Suggested Research Topics:
Anti-terrorism as a pillar of the positive agenda of US-Russia relations: how sustainable?
Realism and Neo-conservatism in the Bush Administration foreign policy.
Unilateralism and hegemonism in the Bush Administration foreign policy.


Reading List:
Essential:
Condoleezza Rice. Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World // Foreign Affairs, July/August 2008

Recommended:
Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:
What were the major contradictions and irritants of the US-Russia relations in the years 2003-2007?
What were the essence and reasons for the speech of Vladimir Putin in Munich in 2007?
What was the Russian perception of the “color revolutions” at the Post-Soviet space and the according US policy? How did Russia react to that?
What was the Russian approach towards the US missile defense policy?
What was the Russian policy towards the US war and occupation of Iraq?
How did the US-Russia dialogue over Iran evolve in the later 2000s?

Suggested Research Topics:
Was Russia right or wrong to oppose the US war and occupation of Iraq?
How did the US “sinking” in Iraq impact the Russian foreign policy?
The reasons behind the Russian foreign policy revisionism and assertiveness of later 2000s.
Why didn’t the US accept the Russian proposals on missile defense cooperation?
Crumbling of the positive agenda of the US-Russia relations in later 2000s: reasons and dynamics.


Reading List:
Essential:


*Recommended:*


*Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:*
What were the reasons and triggers for the war between Russia and Georgia?
Why did Russia recognize independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia?
What was the US role in the Russia-Georgia war?
What was the state of the US-Russia relations in Autumn-Winter 2008?

*Suggested Research Topics*
Could the Russia-Georgia War be avoided?
Was the US policy toward Russia in Autumn 2008 success or failure?
Analyses of the Russian-Georgian war from the Neo-realist perspective.

**Topic 9. “Reset” of the US-Russia relations: preconditions, initial logic, development, and major achievements**


**Reading List:**
*Essential:*


Recommended:


Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:

What changes did the Obama Administration bring in the US foreign policy?
What were the reasons for improvement of the US relations with Russia?
What was the philosophy of the “reset” of the US-Russia relations?
What were the major achievements of the “reset” of the US-Russia relations?
What were the peculiarities of the agenda for the “reset”?

Suggested Research Topics:

Realism and liberalism in the Obama Administration policies towards Russia.
The problem of “interests swaps” in the US-Russia relations under Presidents Medvedev and Obama.
Did the US-Russia “reset” overcome the strategic deterrence philosophy of the US-Russia relations?
How dramatic could be development of the US-Russia economic relations?
Role and place of the US-Russia “reset” in the Grand Strategy of the Obama Administration.


Reading List:

Essential:


Recommended:


Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:

What were the major strategic and tactical reasons for the crisis of the US-Russian “reset”?

What role did the Republicans play in worsening of the US-Russia relations in 2011-2012 and what were their motivations?

Why did the US-Russia missile defense negotiations fail?

How did the US and Russia interact on Libya and how did it impact the sides’ clash over Syria?

How was the US policy towards Afghanistan and Central Asia evolving in 2011-2012, and what impact did it have on the US-Russia relations?

Suggested Research Topics:

Was the US-Russian disagreements over the Arab spring of tactical or strategic/philosophical nature?
Could a US-Russian agreement on missile defense be reached? What kind of agreement?

Change and continuity of the US interventionism under Obama Administration: a Russian perspective.

Republican agenda of the US policy towards Russia: domestic roots and foreign policy consequences.


**Reading List:**

*Essential:*


*Recommended:*


**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the nature and consequences of the “mini-crisis” of the US-Russia relations of December 2012?
National Research University Higher School of Economics School of World Economy and International Affairs Graduate Programme “International Relations: European and Asian Studies”

How did the Russian domestic politics impact the US-Russia relations in 2012?

How did the US domestic politics impact the US-Russia relations in 2012?

Why didn’t abolition of the Jackson-Vanik amendment help to improve the US-Russia relations?

What was the Obama Administration policy toward the Magnitsky Act?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

The problem of political will in the US-Russia relations during Obama’s second term.

Dynamics of the role and place of the US-Russia relations in the US and Russian foreign policy agendas in late 2012-early 2013.

Anti-Americanism in the Russian presidential campaign in 2012.

Divided government and the US policy towards Russia in 2013-2016.

The problem of sustainability of the “pragmatic selective partnership” logic of the US-Russia relations.


**Content:** Development of the Ukrainian crisis, the role of Russia and the US. Overthrow of Yanukovich (with the US support) and Russia’s take-over of Crimea as the turning points for Russia and the US accordingly. Systemic confrontation as a new systemic model of the US-Russia relations, its nature and major characteristic features. Reasons for the new US-Russian confrontation. Prospects of the new US-Russian confrontation. Local, regional and global consequences of the new US-Russian confrontation.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Robert Legvold. Managing the New Cold War. // Foreign Affairs, July/August 2014


*Recommended:*


**Teaching and Learning Activities**

Teaching and learning activities include lectures, providing the central focal points of the material discussed, reading of the provided essential and recommended literature, discussion of
the central problems of the US-Russia relations after the end of the Cold war based on the data and knowledge provided in the lectures and on the readings, and, finally, individual online communication with students beyond the classroom.

Typically, the class will meet twice a week. Each meeting will be devoted to a relevant topic among the list provided above. Students will be supposed to study essential readings for each of the topics in advance of each classroom meeting. These readings will be distributed by e-mail among the students, if necessary. Then central problems of the topic discussed will be covered by the instructor in an interactive lecture (involving questions and answers to the lecturer from the audience and vice versa), to be followed by discussion of the central problems and issues of each of the topic. In some cases, Power Point presentations will be prepared by the instructor to structure and optimize comprehension of the materials by the students. Finally, the students will be invited to enquire about additional readings and discuss items of interest of the relevant topics of the US-Russia relations after the Cold war with the instructor individually by e-mail and/or in person at the instructor’s office at the special appointments.

The course will end with an exam covering the central aspects and discussion points of each of the topic of the course. The subjects brought to exam will be those covered during the lectures.

Resources


31. Condoleezza Rice. Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World // Foreign Affairs, July/August 2008


