The course covers how Russia and its many neighbours in the Northern Hemisphere have interacted with one another in the past, and how they manage their relations in contemporary times. We will be addressing a range of topics such as nationalism and ethnicity, nuclear weapons, NATO expansion, the colour revolutions, energy politics, Baltic regional security, German-Russian relations, the rise of China, and many more. Beyond getting students acquainted with Russia’s relations with its neighbours, this course strives to help students think strategically and to prepare them for the policy world. Assessments for this course will include exams and simulating a crisis between NATO and Russia over the course of one week.

Pedagogical Approach

Classes will mostly consist of lectures, supported by PowerPoint presentations made available to students before each class. On November 20 and 22, students will take part in a mock crisis in NATO-Russian relations. Students are responsible for keeping up-to-date with the lecture readings and are encouraged to participate actively in class discussions in a respectful and constructive manner.
For my part, I promise to provide students with the tools necessary to succeed academically whether it is by giving them clear requirements for assignments or by giving them detailed and timely feedback. I will try to devote at least 15-20 minutes for discussion at the end of each lecture. Doing so ensures that students have a grasp of the lecture’s material. It will also give them an opportunity to ask questions that they might have, whether with respect to my lecture, to the assigned readings, or to current events that may be relevant that week. At the end of each session you have the opportunity to write down a question or comment about something that you personally felt remained unclear in the lecture. I will address the most common issues at the start of the next session. A discussion forum is also available on the LEARN site in which you can submit clarifying questions, anonymously or not.

Assessment

10% Participation

I expect students to participate in discussions regarding the class material and weekly readings. As such, I will evaluate students based on the frequency and quality of their interventions. Students will receive something between 7 and 10 if they come to all meetings and make an intervention in the classroom at least two-thirds of the time. The quality of the intervention also matters such that, contrary to Joseph Stalin, quantity does not have a quality all of its own. Indeed, a tendency to speak over your classmates in an attempt to dominate or shut down discussion will result in a subtraction of your grades. Students will receive 4-6 if they miss more than the minimum acceptable meetings (without proper documentation) and/or have sporadic interventions over the course of the term. Students will receive 1-3 if they miss class often and remain silent over the course of the term. You have to be a complete no-show to get 0.

I understand that some of you might not be comfortable speaking in front of your peers, but I strive to make the environment as open and comfortable for you to contribute. Please consult me if you wish to discuss this issue further in private. If nothing else, ask clarifying questions because I guarantee someone else has the same question.
I also understand that life “happens.” You are entitled to miss two sessions with no questions asked, provided that these sessions are not those in which we have the midterm or the simulations. I will be tracking attendance.

**25% Midterm**

The midterm exam will take place on October 11 in the regular lecture hall during normal course hours. This exam will cover all the material up to, and including, October 4. It comprise a mixture of question types. Some questions will ask you to discuss arguments raised in particular readings, others will test your knowledge on some facts and concepts. The midterm aims to incentivise you even further to do the readings and to participate in our classroom meetings fully.

**30% Memorandum and Crisis Simulation**

This is the capstone assessment for this class. Students will first write a memorandum for the North Atlantic Council. Each student will represent a different NATO member and offer its national perspective. Each memorandum will trace the historical position of the chosen actor on NATO-Russian relations and provide arguments regarding—in their view—the appropriate military and/or diplomatic response to a potential crisis situation.

Memoranda must be between 8 to 10 pages long (excluding the title page and the bibliography, typed in a 12-point font, and double spaced. They are to be submitted electronically in Word format by **11:59 p.m.** on November 12. Late memoranda will be assigned a penalty of 10% per day, including weekends.

On November 20, students will present their memoranda on the crisis in class. Afterwards, in that session and on November 22, in their capacities as state representatives, students will have to negotiate among each other in order to find a common position on the matter. By the end of the November 22 meeting, students should have agreed (unanimously) to a common NATO policy response. It is possible that no agreement will be reached. Between November 20 and 22, negotiations will remain active via the LEARN discussion board. Participation in these online discussions will count towards your participation grade.

I will eventually provide more instructions in class.
The memorandum will be worth **20%** and participation in the simulation **10%**.

Other rules governing the formatting of the memorandum:

- 1” margins all around
- Page numbers—if your first page is the cover page, then set this page number to 0. (In Word, select “Page Numbers” from the “Insert” menu and click on “Format.”)
- Consistent usage of one standard citation style (e.g., Chicago, MLA, etc.)
- A standard cover page that includes the word count

Failure to format your essay properly will result in a deduction of your mark.

**35% Take Home Exam**

The final take-home exam will cover all the material from the semester. It will be handed out on the last day of class (e.g., November 29). Students will have four days to answer three comprehensive questions. Late exams will be assigned a penalty of 10% per day, including weekends. Students will be expected to cite materials from the course as they must for any submitted coursework. Please note that the formatting rules described with respect to the memorandum apply here.

**Academic Integrity**

In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

(a) **Discipline:** A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for her/his actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about “rules” for group work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 - Student Discipline. For information on categories of offences and types of penalties,
students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline at http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy71.htm.

(b) **Grievance:** A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of her/his university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4 at http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy70.htm.

(c) **Appeals:** A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infosec/Policies/policy72.htm See also: Student Appeals at https://uwaterloo.ca/arts/current-undergraduates/student-support/artsundergraduate-office.

(d) **Turnitin.com:** Plagiarism detection software (Turnitin) will be used to screen assignments in this course. This step serves to verify that use of all material and sources in assignments is documented. In the first week of the term, details will be provided about the arrangements for the use of Turnitin in this course. If you do not wish to have your assignments submitted to Turnitin, an alternative arrangement between you and I can be worked out where your work can still be rigorously assessed to ensure its academic integrity.

**Office Hours**

Drop-in office hours are on Tuesdays, from 13:00–14:50 at 349 Hagey Hall. No appointment is necessary but I would suggest bringing something to read in case you have to wait. Please let me know if this time does not work with your schedule so that we can arrange an alternative appointment.

**Letter Writing Requests**

Absolutely DO NOT put my name down as a reference without asking for my permission first. I strongly encourage all students contemplating further postgraduate studies to consult with me first. Please note that I have very specific
guidelines about letter writing. Read the document first before approaching me. Doing so will save everyone time and energy.

http://www.alexlanoszka.com/LanoszkaPolicy.pdf

**Email Confirmation and Communication**

Once you have read through this syllabus, please send me an email with subject line “**PSCI 355: Syllabus Read**”. In this email, state your name, your reasons for enrolling in this course, and previous courses that may be relevant. The email should be no longer than four sentences.

Please note that all emails sent to me should include “PSCI 355” at the beginning of the subject line. Responses could take up to 1-2 business days (no weekends). If I believe that answering your email would take me more than five minutes to do, then I would invite you to meet me during my office hours instead. If you have not received a response after 2 business days, then please resend your email. I will ONLY respond to emails that are sent from your uwaterloo.ca account.

**Accommodation for Students with Disabilities**

The AccessAbility Services (AS) Office (Needles Hall, Room 1401) collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the AS Office at the beginning of each academic term.

**Twitter**

I often tweet on issues relating to Russian foreign policy, Baltic regional security, and Central European international relations. During the term I might tweet relevant articles that bear directly on the issues raised in this course. Tweeted articles are not required reading and I am indifferent as to whether you follow me on Twitter. Following the tweets only serves to complement your studies.

**NOTA BENE: THIS SYLLABUS IS SUBJECT TO MINOR CHANGES. PLEASE REFER TO THE LEARN WEBSITE FOR THE MOST UP-TO-DATE VERSION.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lecture Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>September 6</td>
<td>Introduction: Themes and Concepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>September 11</td>
<td>The Tsarist Empire and Its Demise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>September 13</td>
<td>Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>September 18</td>
<td>The Soviet Union and Nuclear Weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>September 20</td>
<td>The Soviet Collapse I: Causes and Some Consequences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>September 25</td>
<td>The Soviet Collapse II: Nationalism and Citizenship (The Baltics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>September 27</td>
<td>The Soviet Collapse III: Symbolism and Recognition (Ukraine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>October 2</td>
<td>The Soviet Collapse IV: Strong States and Energy Politics (Central Asia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>October 4</td>
<td>The Soviet Collapse V: Insurgency (The Caucasus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>October 9</td>
<td>Off Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>October 11</td>
<td>Midterm on Make-Up Session</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>October 16</td>
<td>NATO Expansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>October 18</td>
<td>Enter Vladimir Putin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>October 23</td>
<td>Alliance Politics and the 2008 Russo-Georgian War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>October 25</td>
<td>The Colour Revolutions and the Arab Spring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>November 1</td>
<td>Russian Military Power and Defence Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>November 6</td>
<td>Strategic Competition Renewed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>November 8</td>
<td>The Baltic States and Belarus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>November 13</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>November 15</td>
<td>Russia in the Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>November 20</td>
<td>Crisis Simulation Day I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>November 22</td>
<td>Crisis Simulation Day II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>November 29</td>
<td>The Rise of China</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Take Home Final Exam given out in class on November 29
Reading List and Course Schedule

Recommended readings marked with * are strongly recommended.

Lecture 1: Introduction: Themes and Concepts

In this session we will talk about the goals of this course as well as its assessment components. Do not expect me to review the syllabus at length, however. I will use the lecture to discuss key concepts that will repeat over the course of the term. These themes are coercive diplomacy and nationalism.

Please note that Gellner and Van Evera are hardly representative of how contemporary academics consider nationalist or ethnic identity. Nevertheless, these texts are important and offer a useful point for departure. Full use of the scheduled time is possible.

Required Reading:


L. 2: The Tsarist Empire and Its Demise

Almost all of the issues we will be discussing in this course have their roots in the late 19th and early 20th century. Two key developments stand out. The first is the emergence of nationalist identities in Europe, with ethnic cleavages becoming most pronounced in Central and Eastern Europe; the second is the collapse of the Russian Empire during the First World War and its immediate aftermath.

Note that Lieven refers sometimes to the Second World, an archaic term from the Cold War used to designate the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern and Central Europe. The First World comprised the advanced industrial democracies, whereas the Third World consisted of what we call today the Global South or the developing world. Note also that Nicolas II Romanov was the last Russian Emperor and that two revolutions took place in 1917: the “liberal” one in February and the Bolshevik one in October.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 3: Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union

Why did complete ideological adversaries come to sign a non-aggression pact? Why did Nazi Germany choose to invade the Soviet Union? Why did Joseph Stalin not act on intelligence warning him that a major German military operation—Operation Barbarossa—was afoot? What has been the legacy of Operation Barbarossa? These questions will be the focus of this session.

Required Reading:


Season 10, Episodes 7—9 of Extra History: The Battle of Kursk on YouTube. You may access the season here.

Recommended Reading:


L. 4: The Soviet Union, Nuclear Weapons, and the Warsaw Pact

This session will examine how nuclear weapons have changed—or have not changed—international politics, with particular focus on the Soviet Union’s acquisition of nuclear weapons and its efforts in managing the Warsaw Pact.

Note that the nuclear revolution is not the appearance of nuclear weapons per se, but the incentives for great power cooperation that should arise once great powers acquire secure second-strike capabilities—that is, they can absorb a nuclear strike and still be able to launch a retaliatory nuclear strike of their own.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 5: The Soviet Collapse (I): Causes and Some Consequences

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union shortly thereafter took many by surprise. We will examine why the Soviet Union retracted its political and military commitments in Europe towards the late 1980s and early 1990s. This session is the also first of five that will look at the regional consequences of this seismic geopolitical event.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 6: The Soviet Collapse (II): Nationalism and Citizenship (The Baltics)

In the second part of the five part series on the Soviet collapse, we look at the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Two themes stand out here: nationalism and citizenship. We will examine how these three countries addressed these thorny issues once they obtained independence.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


Moving westward, the third session on the Soviet collapse draws our attention to Ukraine where issues of symbolic politics and recognition assume significance. We will discuss early efforts at nation-state building as well as the decision to relinquish “control” of Soviet legacy nuclear weapons systems.

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


L. 8: The Collapse of the Soviet Union (IV): Strong Leaders and Energy Politics (Central Asia)

We will examine in this session why more rigid forms of authoritarianism endured in such of Central Asia. This session will also introduce us to the energy politics that have come to characterise post-Soviet international politics.

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


L. 9: The Collapse of the Soviet Union (V): Insurgency (The Caucasus)

The conventional wisdom holds that the collapse of the Soviet Union was largely a peaceful process, yet this view overlooks the violence that characterised the Caucasus when the Soviet state began to shrink. We will look at the various ethnic conflicts and secessionist wars in this mountainous region.


**Recommended Reading:**


***MIDTERM***
L. 10: NATO Expansion

Some pundits argue that the present crisis between Russia and the West has its roots in the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation into countries previously under Soviet control. The Russian position holds that the United States promised not to expand NATO. This grievance fuels the Kremlin’s continued distrust in the United States. To what extent is this grievance legitimate?

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 11: Enter Vladimir Putin

Putin became the President of the Russian Federation on 31 December 1999, setting in motion significant changes to Russian politics. This session examines his rise to power as well as the system of governance that he has put into place since. We will ponder what are the implications of different theories about his personality and motivations for deterrence.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 12: Alliance Politics and the 2008 Russo-Georgian War

The five day war between Russia and Georgia was the first European war in the twenty-first century. What happened? One common explanation focuses on alliance politics. Emboldened by U.S. support and the promise of NATO support, Georgia pursued an aggressive foreign policy that set it on a collision course with Russia. For its part, Russia feared that NATO would expand further to include Georgia and so sought to prevent this from happening. Was NATO at fault here? What could have been done differently? How do we weigh the role of the Alliance against other factors that might have induced them to go to war in 2008?

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


L. 13: The Colour Revolutions and the Arab Spring

What were the Colour Revolutions? How did Russia respond to them? And what explains variation in the responses of the Kremlin to the Colour Revolutions? Aside from taking up these questions, we will also explore the Arab Spring and its effect on the Kremlin.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 14: Ukraine, Maidan to Novorossiya

Concerns about the Colour Revolutions and the Arab Spring shaped Russian perceptions of the events in Ukraine in late 2013 and early 2014. We retrace what happened between the European Union, the Ukrainian government under Viktor Yanukovych, the Maidan movement, and the Kremlin during those fateful months. Thereupon we will examine the war that Ukraine has been fighting in its eastern regions against Russian proxies and forces.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 15: Russia Military Power and Defence Policy

For about a decade, Russia has been undertaking an impressive modernisation program in order to improve the quality of its armed forces. This session reviews the Russian military as well as how leading Russian military theorists conceive of the use of force.

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 16: Strategic Competition Renewed

This session explores competitive strategies and strategic competition in the context of the present crisis between the United States and NATO, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other hand. We look at the full spectrum of capabilities and conflict: from nuclear to propaganda.

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


L. 17: The Baltic Region and Belarus

The Baltic countries (and Poland) represent the NATO’s northeastern flank—the most vulnerable flank to Russian aggression in the Western alliance. How is it vulnerable? What are the risks of Russian aggression in the region? What does Russia hope to achieve in the region? What role does Russia’s singular ally—Belarus—play in these regional dynamics?

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 18: Germany

Perhaps no European country is as important of a neighbour of Russia’s than Germany. As such, Germany gets its own session. This country examines Germany’s foreign policy towards Russia and explores why it has been torn between cooperation and conflict since the 1950s before addressing present controversies like Nord Stream 2.

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended:**


L. 19: Russia in the Middle East

Over the course of the last decade Russia has stepped up its activities in the Middle East. What is behind its foreign policy towards this region? Why is it aligning itself with the Assad government in Syria?

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


L. 20: Crisis Simulation I

L. 21: Crisis Simulation II

L. 22: Choose Your Own Adventure (TBD)

L23: Closing Session: The Rise of China

The United States has a powerful geopolitical interest in getting Russia to balance against China, a reversal of its Cold War strategy of using China to balance against the Soviet Union. This session examines the state of the Sino-Russian relationship. Is Russia a viable partner for the United States against China? What tensions exist in the Sino-Russian relationship?

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


Additional Subjects for your Interest

**Russian Messianism and Nationalism**


**Russian Intelligence and Intelligence Wars**


Please feel free to ask me for citations on a topic of particular interest to you.