

## **“EURASIAN SECURITY”**

**INTA 689-DC**

**FALL 2021**

**This class will be conducted in-person and also real-time via Zoom. To participate, you must have computer or phone access to the website and a camera and microphone. Information on accessing the site will be provided separately.**

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### **OVERVIEW**

Eurasia is a supercontinent spanning the landmass from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is home to 70 per cent of the world’s population and economy, and is a source of the world’s most enduring security challenges. As the great and regional powers of Eurasia continue to emerge, the region’s importance for global politics will only grow. In the course, we will examine Eurasian security through the foreign policy of its largest states, Russia and China. As ties with the West have deteriorated following the 2014 invasion of Ukraine, assassinations on British soil, and alleged electoral interference, Russia is increasingly cultivating ties in Eurasia. Since announcing its pivot to the East in 2013, Russia intervened militarily in Syria in 2015 to support the Bashar al-Assad regime, started work on a \$55 billion gas pipeline to China and launched the Eurasian Economic Union, creating a single market among five former Soviet states. China for its part has adopted a more assertive foreign policy under Xi Jinping, launching its multi-trillion-dollar Belt and Road Initiative to link Asia and Europe in Kazakhstan in 2013, and expanding its role throughout Eurasia.

In addressing these issues, we will ask: what is driving Russia and China's policies in Eurasia? How do their policies vary across space and time? What strategies have Russia and China adopted to pursue its interests in Eurasia? How effective have they been in securing these interests? How do Eurasia's governments and people perceive of Russia and China's policies? What strategies have these states adopted to counter or resist their influence? How have Russian-Chinese relations developed? What are the potential fault-lines in their relationship? We will explore these and other questions by examining the former Soviet republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus, considered part of the "Near Abroad," an area within Russia's sphere of influence, but also strategically important to China's Belt and Road Initiative. We will also explore Russia and China's relations with states in the Middle East and South Asia.

Through the course, students will gain a better understanding of the complexities of Russia and China's dealings in a range of Asian regions, critically evaluate Russia and China as global powers. Class discussions and many of the readings will be focused on understanding and analyzing Russia and China's contemporary policies with the view to giving students the ability to forecast the likely contours of domestic and foreign policy in the coming years. By the end of the course, students will have gained a more nuanced understanding of Russia and China, allowing them to critically approach some of the simplistic interpretations of Russian and Chinese behavior in the media. Although the bilateral relations between Russia, China and the United States are not the focus of the course, the students will gain a greater understanding of Russia and China's involvement in a number of regions which are key to U.S. national security, including Middle East, Afghanistan, and the Caspian Basin.

### **PREREQUISITES**

None

### **LEARNING OUTCOMES**

Upon completion of this course, the student will be able to:

- Understand Russia and China's goals, interests and strategies in Eurasia, and how these have evolved over time;
- Analyze how successful Russia and China are at achieving these objectives, and how they are received by local actors ;
- Evaluate how Russia and China are responding to shifting power dynamics in global politics;

- Produce a policy paper that offers an effective analysis of a policy issue and makes recommendations for policymakers.

## REQUIRED TEXTS

There is no textbook for the course.

Sources of contemporary information on the region:

- EurasiaNet.org (<http://www.eurasianet.org>)
- The Diplomat (<http://thediplomat.com>)
- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (<http://www.rferl.org>)
- Russia in Global Affairs (<https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/>)

Other readings will be assigned throughout the course and will be available to the students in the form of handouts or e-mails.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Participation and Attendance. All students are expected to attend each class and to participate actively in classroom discussions.

Analysis Papers: During the semester, you will write two papers of a length not to exceed five pages on various aspects of the course material. The questions will be provided no less than a week ahead of the due date. Analysis papers will be due in class 4 and class 12.

Critical Response: You must choose an article or book chapter from the reading list and write a critical review of it. You will summarize the arguments made by the author, examine the author's use of sources, the logic of their argument and make reference to relevant literature. The assignment will be due in class 8. If you would like to review an article or chapter which is not on the reading list, please contact me. I am happy to accommodate your professional and research interests.

Discussion: Before each class, every student is expected to contribute at least one brief response to a reading (this could be a point you did not agree with, or an argument

that has been refuted or re-enforced by recent events) or discussion question that arose from the readings. This only needs to be four to five sentences long and should be emailed to the professor before each class.

Final Research Report: You will write a 20-page research report on a topic of your choosing related to the themes of the course. We will work closely together to define your research question and approach. Students can evaluate an aspect of bilateral relations between Russia or China and a Eurasian state, Russia or China and a Eurasian region, or a key dimension of China or Russia's policy in Eurasia, such as energy geopolitics or countering regime change. Students are encouraged to consult relevant official documents, policy analysis and academic texts. Topics include, but are not limited to, why Russia intervened in Syria, how Chinese influence is growing in Central Asia, how successful the Eurasian Economic Union has been in retaining Russian influence in the former Soviet states, how robust relations between Russia and China are, how Russia and China are capitalizing on the diffusion of power in the international system, and how the quest for prestige and recognition as a great power shapes Russian or Chinese policies.

## **GRADING**

Participation (Attendance and classroom discussion)

10%

Discussion

10%

Critical Response

20%

Research Reports

20%

Final Research Report

40%

The following scale will be used for calculating final grades for this course:

90-100 A; 80-89 B; 70-79 C; 60-69 D; and 0-59 F

## **GRADING POLICY**

<http://student-rules.tamu.edu/rule10>

## **LATE WORK POLICY**

All course work must be submitted no later than the due date unless prior arrangements are made with the professor and a new due date is established. If a student submits an assignment after the due date without having made arrangements with the professor, a minimum of 5 points, (based on an assignment grading scale of 100 points), will be deducted for each week, or part thereof, that the assignment is late.

## **KEY DATES**

## **ADA POLICY STATEMENT**

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring accommodation, please make that fact known to me and I will assist you in every way possible.

[http://disability.tamu.edu/](http://disability.tamu.edu)

## **DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION**

The Bush School of Government and Public Service supports the Texas A&M University commitment to diversity, and welcomes individuals of all ages, backgrounds, citizenships, disabilities, ethnicities, family statuses, genders, gender identities, geographical locations, languages, military experiences, political views, races, religions, sexual orientations, socioeconomic statuses, and/or work experiences (see [diversity.tamu.edu/](http://diversity.tamu.edu)). Accordingly, all of us—students, faculty, and staff—are expected to respect the different experiences, beliefs, and values expressed by others, and to engage in reasoned discussions that refrain from derogatory comments or dehumanizing language about other people, cultures, groups, or viewpoints.

Intellectual argument and disagreement are a fundamental element of both the academic world and the policy process. Disagreement does not, in and of itself, mean disrespect. However, the way that disagreement is expressed can be disrespectful.

Unprofessional, insensitive, or disrespectful behaviors (such as using dehumanizing, derogatory, or coarse language; dismissing ideas based on the characteristics of the speaker/writer; or expressing threat or intent to harm, even if framed “as a joke”) are inconsistent with the Bush School’s commitment to diversity, and will not be tolerated. This applies both inside and outside of the classroom and includes electronic venues such as GroupMe.

## **ATTENDANCE**

The university views class attendance as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments. Instructors are expected to provide notice of the dates on which major exams will be given and assignments will be due on the course syllabus, which must be made available by the first class period. Graduate students are expected to attend all examinations required by departments or advisory committees as scheduled formally.

The School of Law requires regular and punctual attendance of students in all courses. Juris Doctorate (JD) students are not required to seek an excused absence from an instructor or equivalent, but students will be administratively dropped from a class for excessive absences as defined in the School of Law Academic Standards. JD students are expected to take examinations as scheduled. Requests to reschedule an examination must be submitted to the Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in accordance with the process set forth in the School of Law Academic Standards.

Students who are requesting an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code (See Rule 24).

### **Excused Absences**

7.1 The student is responsible for providing satisfactory evidence to the instructor to substantiate the reason for absence. Among the reasons absences are considered excused by the university are the following: (1Muster)

7.1.1 Participation in an activity appearing on the university authorized activity list. (see List of Authorized and Sponsored Activities)

7.1.2 Death or major illness in a student’s immediate family. Immediate family may include: mother, father, sister, brother, grandparents, spouse, child, spouse’s child, spouse’s parents, spouse’s grandparents, step-mother, step-father, step-sister, step-brother, step-grandparents, grandchild, step-grandchild, legal guardian, and others as deemed appropriate by faculty member or student’s academic Dean or designee.

7.1.3 Illness of a dependent family member.

7.1.4 Participation in legal proceedings or administrative procedures that require a student's presence.

7.1.5 Religious holy day. (See Appendix IV.)

7.1.6 Injury or Illness that is too severe or contagious for the student to attend class.

7.1.6.1 Injury or illness of three or more days. For injury or illness that requires a student to be absent from classes for three or more business days (to include classes on Saturday), the student should obtain a medical confirmation note from his or her medical provider. The Student Health Center or an off-campus medical professional can provide a medical confirmation note only if medical professionals are involved in the medical care of the student. The medical confirmation note must contain the date and time of the illness and medical professional's confirmation of needed absence.

7.1.6.2 Injury or illness less than three days. Faculty members may require confirmation of student injury or illness that is serious enough for a student to be absent from class for a period less than three business days (to include classes on Saturday). At the discretion of the faculty member and/or academic department standard, as outlined in the course syllabus, illness confirmation may be obtained by one or both of the following methods:

Texas A&M University Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class.

Confirmation of visit to a health care professional affirming date and time of visit.

7.1.6.3 An absence for a non acute medical service does not constitute an excused absence.

7.1.7 Required participation in military duties.

7.1.8 Mandatory admission interviews for professional or graduate school which cannot be rescheduled.

7.1.9 Mandatory participation as a student-athlete in NCAA-sanctioned competition.

7.1.10 In accordance with Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, Texas A&M University shall treat pregnancy (childbirth, false pregnancy, termination of pregnancy and recovery therefrom) and related conditions as a justification for an excused absence for so long a period of time as is deemed medically necessary by the student's physician. Requests for excused absence related to pregnancy should be directed to the instructor; questions about Title IX should be directed to the University Title IX Coordinator.

7.2 The associate dean for undergraduate programs, or the dean's designee, of the student's college may provide a letter for the student to take to the instructor stating that the dean has verified the student's absence as excused.

7.3 Students may be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Section 7.1, or other reason deemed appropriate by the student's instructor. Except in the case of the observance of a religious holiday, to be excused the student must notify his or her instructor in writing (acknowledged e-mail message is acceptable) prior to the date of absence if such notification is feasible. In cases where advance notification is not feasible (e.g. accident, or emergency) the student must provide notification by the end of the second working day after the absence. This notification should include an explanation of why notice could not be sent prior to the class. Accommodations sought for absences due to the observance of a religious holiday can be sought either prior or after the absence, but not later than two working days after the absence.

If needed, the student must provide additional documentation substantiating the reason for the absence that is satisfactory to the instructor, within one week of the last date of the absence.

If the absence is excused, the instructor must either provide the student an opportunity to make up any quiz, exam or other work that contributes to the final grade or provide a satisfactory alternative by a date agreed upon by the student and instructor. If an instructor has a regularly scheduled make up exam, students are expected to attend unless they have a university approved excuse. The make-up work must be completed in a timeframe not to exceed 30 calendar days from the last day of the initial absence.

7.4 The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence.

7.5 See Part III, Grievance Procedures: 49. Unexcused Absences, for information on appealing an instructor's decision.

7.6 If the student is absent for excused reasons for an unreasonable amount of time during the semester, the academic Dean or designee of the student's college may consider giving the student a grade of W during the semester enrolled or a NG (no grade) following posting of final grades.

7.7 Whenever a student is absent for unknown reasons for an extended period of time, the instructor should initiate a check on the welfare of the student by reporting through the head of the student's major department to the Dean or designee of the student's college.



In accordance with Faculty Senate Resolution FS.14.101 (see Faculty Senate meeting minutes of Feb. 10, 1997), “faculty members are encouraged not to hold exams on the day of Muster. Any absence from classes beginning after 5 p.m. to attend Muster will be considered a university excused absence.”

### **AGGIE HONOR CODE**

For many years Aggies have followed a Code of Honor, which is stated in this very simple verse:

**An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal or tolerate those who do.**

The Aggie Code of Honor is an effort to unify the aims of all Texas A&M men and women toward a high code of ethics and personal dignity. For most, living under this code will be no problem, as it asks nothing of a person that is beyond reason. It only calls for honesty and integrity, characteristics that Aggies have always exemplified.

The Aggie Code of Honor functions as a symbol to all Aggies, promoting understanding and loyalty to truth and confidence in each other.

<http://aggiehonor.tamu.edu>

### **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY**

The Bush School is committed to the development of principled leaders for public service. Entering a Bush School course as a student means accepting this commitment personally. The commitment to "principled leadership" is a further expansion of the Texas A&M student honor code. Every student in this course must comply with this code in all work submitted for a grade and will be held accountable accordingly for both individual and team assignments. Anyone who is not prepared to be held accountable to this standard should immediately withdraw from this course.

It is imperative to avoid plagiarism or the appearance of plagiarism through sloppy citation. As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own ideas, words, writings, etc. that which belongs to another. In accordance with this definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have the permission of that person. It does not matter from where the material is borrowed--a book, an article, material off the web, another student's paper--all constitute plagiarism unless the source of the work is fully identified and credited. It is important when using a phrase, a distinct idea, concept, a sentence, or sentences from another source to credit explicitly that source either in the text, a footnote, or endnote.

Plagiarism is a violation of academic and personal integrity and carries extremely serious consequences. Scholastic dishonesty (including cheating, multiple submission of work for grades in different courses, and plagiarism) will not be tolerated and will be punished. Further information can be found at:

<http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor/acadmisconduct.htm>

## **TITLE IX AND STATEMENT ON LIMITS TO CONFIDENTIALITY**

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.

The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, you will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's Title IX webpage.

## **STATEMENT ON MENTAL HEALTH AND WELLNESS**

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in proper self-care by utilizing the resources and services available from Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS). Students who need someone to talk to can call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at [suicidepreventionlifeline.org](https://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org).

## **COVID-19 TEMPORARY AMENDMENT TO MINIMUM SYLLABUS REQUIREMENTS**

The Faculty Senate temporarily added the following statements to the minimum syllabus requirements as part of the university's COVID-19 response.

### **TEACHING SITE SAFETY MEASURES**

To promote public safety and protect students, faculty, and staff during the coronavirus pandemic, Texas A&M University has adopted policies and practices for the Spring 2021 academic term to limit virus transmission. Students must observe the following practices while participating in face-to-face courses and course-related activities (office hours, help sessions, transitioning to and between classes, study spaces, academic services, etc.):

- **Self-monitoring**—Students should follow CDC recommendations for self-monitoring. Students who have a fever or exhibit symptoms of COVID-19 should participate in class remotely and should not participate in face-to-face instruction.
- **Face Coverings**—Face coverings (cloth face covering, surgical mask, etc.) must be properly worn in all non-private spaces including classrooms, teaching laboratories, common spaces such as lobbies and hallways, public study spaces, libraries, academic resource and support offices, and outdoor spaces where 6 feet of physical distancing is difficult to reliably maintain. Description of face coverings and additional guidance are provided in the Face Covering policy and Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) available on the Provost website.
- **Physical Distancing**—Physical distancing must be maintained between students, instructors, and others in course and course-related activities.
- **Classroom Ingress/Egress**—Students must follow marked pathways for entering and exiting classrooms and other teaching spaces. Leave classrooms promptly after course activities have concluded. Do not congregate in hallways and maintain 6-foot physical distancing when waiting to enter classrooms and other instructional spaces.

- To attend a face-to-face class, students must wear a face covering (or a face shield if they have an exemption letter). If a student refuses to wear a face covering, the instructor should ask the student to leave and join the class remotely. If the student does not leave the class, the faculty member should report that student to the Student Conduct office for sanctions. Additionally, the faculty member may choose to teach that day's class remotely for all students.

## **PERSONAL ILLNESS AND QUARANTINE**

Students required to quarantine must participate in courses and course-related activities remotely and must not attend face-to-face course activities. Students should notify their instructors of the quarantine requirement. Students under quarantine are expected to participate in courses and complete graded work unless they have symptoms that are too severe to participate in course activities.

Students experiencing personal injury or illness that is too severe for the student to attend class qualify for an excused absence (See Student Rule 7, Section 7.2.2.) To receive an excused absence, students must comply with the documentation and notification guidelines outlined in Student Rule 7. While Student Rule 7, Section 7.3.2.1 indicates a medical confirmation note from the student's medical provider is preferred, **for Spring 2021 only, students may use the Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class form in lieu of a medical confirmation. Students must submit the Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class within two business days after the last date of absence.**

## **COURSE OUTLINE**

**Syllabus topics are subject to change at the discretion of the instructor.**

### **Week 1                      What is Eurasia?**

Readings:

Fyodor Dostoyevsky. 1949. "Geok-Tepe: What Is Asia for Us," In: *Diary of a Writer*, New York: Scribner.

Halford Mackinder. 1904. "The Geographical Pivot of History." *The Geographical Journal*. 23, 4.

Milan Hauner, 1992. *What is Asia to Us? Russia's Asian Heartland Yesterday and Today*. London: Routledge.

Bruno Macaes, 2018. *Dawn of Eurasia*. New York: Yale University Press.

Dominic Lieven, 2000. *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*. New York: Yale University. Chapter 4.

## **Week 2                      The Changing Global Order**

Readings:

John Ikenberry, 2018. "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 94, (1): 7–23.

Christopher Layne, 2018. "The US–Chinese Power Shift and the End of the Pax Americana." *International Affairs* 94, (1): 89-111

Robert Gilpin. 1988. "Theory of Hegemonic War." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18, (4): 591-613.

T.V. Paul. 2016. "The Accommodation of Rising Powers in World Politics." In: *Accommodating Rising Powers Past, Present, and Future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Randall Schweller, 2015. "Rising Powers and Revisionism in Emerging International Orders." *Valdai Club*, 16: 1-15.

Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, 2020. *Exiting from Hegemony*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter One.

## **Week 3                      Rising Powers and the Changing Global System**

Readings:

Amitav Acharya, 2017. "After Liberal Hegemony: The Advent of a Multiplex World Order." *Ethics & International Affairs* 31, (3): 271-285.

Oliver Stuenkel, 2016. *Post-Western World: How Emerging Powers are Remaking World Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 1-28.

Charles Kupchan, *No One's World: The West and the Rise of the Rest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 182-205.

Harsh Pant, 2013. "The BRICS Fallacy." *The Washington Quarterly* 36, (3): 91-105.

Yevgeny Primakov, A World Without Superpowers, *Russia in Global Affairs*, 19 March 2018, <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/A-World-Without-Superpowers-19430>

Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, 2020. *Exiting from Hegemony*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter Two and Three.

#### **Week 4                      Russia in Asia**

Readings:

Lavrov, Sergei. 2016. Russia's Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective. *Russia in Global Affairs*, 14, (2): 8-19. <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russias-Foreign-Policy-in-a-Historical-Perspective-18067>

Andrei Tsygankov and Pavel Tsygankov, 2010. "National Ideology and IR Theory: Three Incarnations of the 'Russian Idea.'" *European Journal of International Relations* 16, (4): 663-686.

Jeffrey Mankoff, 2011. *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. The Return of Great Power Politics*. London: Rowman and Littlefield, Chapter 1.

Stephen Kotkin, 2016. Russia's Perpetual Geopolitics: Putin Returns to the Historical Pattern, *Foreign Affairs*, 95: 3.

Fyodor Lukyanov. 2016. Putin's Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia's Rightful Place. *Foreign Affairs*, 95: 30-37.

Paul Stronski and Richard Sokolsky, 2017. The Return of Global Russia: An Analytical Framework. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*.

#### **Week 5                      China's Western Horizon**

## **Analysis Paper 1 due**

### Readings:

Justin Yifu Lin, 2016. "Going Global" In: David Shambaugh, (ed.). *The China Reader: Rising Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Daniel Markey, *China's Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Introduction.

Joanne Smith Finley, 2019. "Securitization, Insecurity and Conflict in Contemporary Xinjiang: Has PRC Counter-terrorism Evolved into State Terror?" *Central Asian Survey* 38, (1): 1-26.

Zheng Bijian, 2005. "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great-Power Status," *Foreign Affairs* 84 (5):18-24

Gregory Chin and Ramesh Thakur. 2010. "Will China Change the Rules of Global Order?" *Washington Quarterly* 33 (4): 119-138.

Merriden Varrall, 2015. "Chinese Worldviews and Chinese Foreign Policy." Lowy Institute.

## **Week 6**

## **Russia-China Relations**

### Readings:

Jeff Mankoff, 2009. *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*. N.Y.: Rowman & Littlefield: 193-240.

2017. Russia-China relations. Assessing Common Ground and Strategic Fault Lines. *The National Bureau of Asian Research*.

Marcin Kaczmarek, 2016. "The Asymmetric Partnership? Russia's Turn to China." *International Politics*, 53, (3).

Bobo Lo. 2016. *The Illusion of Convergence: Russia, China and the BRICS*. *IFRI*.

Paul J. Bolt and Sharyl N. Cross, 2018. *China, Russia, and Twenty-first Century Global Geopolitics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.

## **Week 7**                      **Central Asia**

Readings:

Sally Cummings, 2012. *Understanding Central Asia*. London: Routledge: Chapter 7.

Alexander Cooley. 2012. *Great Game, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: Chapters 1 and 2.

Rajan Menon, 2003. "The New Great Game in Central Asia." *Survival*, 45 (2): 187-204.

Bobo Lo, 2008. *Axis of Convenience Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics*, London: Chatham House. Chapter 6.

Edward Lemon and Bradley Jardine, 2020. "In Russia's Shadow: China's Rising Security Presence in Central Asia." *Kennan Cable*, 52.

Daniel Markey, *China's Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter Two.

Marlene Laruelle and Dylan Royce, 2020. "No Great Game: Central Asia's Public Opinions on Russia, China, and the U.S." *Kennan Cable*, 56.

## **Week 8**                      **The Caucasus**

Thomas de Waal, 2010. *The Caucasus: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: Introduction, 137-170.

Ruth Deyermond, 2016. "The Uses of Sovereignty in Twenty-first Century Russian Foreign Policy." *Europe-Asia Studies*, 68, (6): 957-984.

Gaïdz Minassian. 2008. "Armenia, a Russian Outpost in the Caucasus?" *IFRI*, No.27.

Jakob Hedenskog, Erika Holmquist and Johan Norberg, 2016. *Security in the Caucasus: Russian Policy and Military Posture*. FOI.

Nadege Rolland, 2018. "China's Ambitions in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus." *IRFI*, 112.



## **Week 9**

## **Looking South**

### **Critical Response due**

#### Readings:

Rohan Mukherjee and David Malone, 2011. "Indian Foreign Policy and Contemporary Security Challenges." *International Affairs* 87, (1): 87-104.

Amrita Narlikar. 2013. "India: Responsible to Whom?" *International Affairs* 89, (3): 595–614.

Nikolas Gvosdev and Christopher Marsh. 2013. *Russian Foreign Policy: Interests, Vectors, and Sectors*. Washington: CQ Press: Chapter 5.

Daniel Markey, *China's Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter One.

International Crisis Group, 2018. "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Opportunities and Risks." *Asia Report*, 297.

Jagannath P. Panda, 2016. *India-China Relations: Politics of Resources, Identity and Authority in a Multipolar World Order*. London: Routledge, Introduction, Chapter 1.

## **Week 10**

## **Rising Powers in the Middle East**

#### Readings:

Nikolay Kozhanov, 2018. "Russian Policy Across the Middle East: Motivations and Methods." *Chatham House*.

Roland Dannreuther, 2015. "Russia and the Arab Spring: Supporting the Counter-Revolution." *Journal of European Integration*, 37, (1): 77-94.

Kimberly Marten, 2015. "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy: The Examples of Iran and Syria," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 62, (2): 71-87.

Daniel Markey, *China's Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapter Three.

Christine Wormuth, 2019. "Russia and China in the Middle East: Implications for the United States in an Era of Strategic Competition." Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa and International Terrorism, United States House of Representatives

Jonathan Fulton, 2019. "China's Changing Role in the Middle East." *Atlantic Council*.

## **Week 11                      China's Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union**

Readings:

Rilka Dragneva and Kataryna Wolczuk, 2017. "The Eurasian Economic Union Deals, Rules and the Exercise of Power." *Chatham House*.

Vladimir Putin, 2011. A New Project for Eurasia: The Future in the Making, *Izvestia*, 3 October 2011, <http://www.russianmission.eu/en/news/article-21-prime-minister-vladimir-putin-new-integration-project-eurasia-futuremaking-izvestia-3->

Xi Jinping, 2017. Full Text of President Xi's Speech at Opening of Belt and Road Forum, Xinhua, 14 May 2017, [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-05/14/c\\_136282982.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-05/14/c_136282982.htm)

Marlene Laruelle, (ed.). 2018. *China's Belt and Road Initiative and its Impact on Central Asia*. Central Asia Program.

Peter Cai. 2017. "Understanding China's Belt and Road Initiative." *Lowy Institute*.

Marcin Kaczmarek 2017. "Two Ways of Influence-building: The Eurasian Economic Union and the One Belt, One Road Initiative." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, (7): 1027-1046.

## **Week 12                      Collective Security: The SCO, CIS and CSTO Economic Integration:**

Readings:

Roy Allison, 2008. Virtual Regionalism, Regional Structures and Regime Security in

Central Asia. *Central Asian Survey*, 27, (2): 185-202.

Thomas Ambrosio, 2008. "Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia." *Europe Asia Studies* 60, (8): 1321-1344.

Stephen Aris, 2009. "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO): Tackling the Three Evils." *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, (3): 457-482.

Kubicek, Paul. 2009. "The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism?" *Review of International Studies* 35: 237-256.

Pavel Baev, 2014. The CSTO: Military Dimensions of the Russian Reintegration Effort. In: Frederick Starr and Svante Cornell (eds.). Putin's Grand Strategy: The Eurasian Union and Its Discontents. *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute & Silk Road Studies Program*. 40-49.

## **Week 13                      Authoritarian Diffusion**

### **Analysis Paper 2 due**

#### Readings:

Alexander Libman and Anastassia V. Obydenkova, 2018. "Understanding Authoritarian Regionalism." *Journal of Democracy* 29, (4): 151-165.

Edward Lemon and Oleg Antonov, 2020. "Authoritarian Legal Harmonization in the Post-Soviet Space." *Democratization* 7: 1221-1239.

David R. Cameron and Mitchell A. Orenstein. 2012. Post-Soviet Authoritarianism: The Influence of Russia in Its "Near Abroad", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 28:1, 1-44.

Alexander Sergunin and Leonid Karabeshkin. 2015. "Understanding Russia's Soft Power Strategy." *Politics*, 35, (3-4): 347-363.

Alexander Cooley, 2015. "Countering Democratic Norms." *Journal of Democracy*, 26, (3): 49-63.

David Lewis. 2016. The "Moscow Consensus" In: Hug, Adam, (ed.). *Sharing Worst Practice: How Countries and Institutions in the Former Soviet Union Help Create Legal Tools of Repression*. London: Foreign Policy Centre:

Mark Galeotti. 2016 'Repressintern:' Russian Security Cooperation with Fellow Authoritarians. In: Hug, A. (ed.) *No Shelter: The Harassment of Activists Abroad by Intelligence Services from the Former Soviet Union*. London: Foreign Policy Centre: 12-15.

**Week 14**

**Eurasian Futures**

Readings:

Andrew Wood, 2018. "Putin and Russia in 2018–24: What Next?" *Chatham House*.

Wimbush, Enders and Portal, Elizabeth (eds.). *Russia in Decline*. Chapters by Embush, Inozemstev (economy), Berman (demographics), Blank (military), Volkov (political order), Laruelle (Islam). Washington DC: The Jamestown Foundation, 2017.

Dmitry Novikov, 2015. "The Future of Central Eurasia." *Russia in Global Affairs*, 2.

Hal Brands and Jake Sullivan, 2020. "China Has Two Paths To Global Domination," *Foreign Policy*, May 22, 2020.

**May 4**

**Final Research Report due**