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### Course Information

**Course Number: INTA 686**

**Course Title: Russian Politics and Statecraft**

Section: 650

Time: Tuesday, 6:15pm – 8:55pm EST (5:15pm-7:55pm CST)

Location: Room/Zoom TBD

Credit Hours: 3 credit hours

### Instructor Details

**Instructor: Professor Yuval Weber**

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Office Hours: By appointment (phone, Zoom, or in-person based on mutual convenience)

### Course Description

This survey course on Russian politics and statecraft addresses enduring questions on a huge, critical, yet poorly understood country. We will evaluate Russia's patterns of cooperation and confrontation with other great powers, Russia's role in Eurasia, the tension between the state and the market, and a political culture that combines strong formal laws yet very weak political institutions. In addressing these issues, we ask: What are the wars that have defined Russia's borders? When and why do Russian leaders challenge other states? What does power in Russia look like? Who are the rulers and their supporters? How do they obtain, practice, and lose power at home and abroad? How can understanding these aspects of Russian domestic life help explain its foreign policy?

In reviewing the origins and practices of Russian statecraft, we will assess when Russia, as a great power, has been (dis-) satisfied with the international distribution of economic and political benefits, and when it has sought to revise or maintain the international order. We will use this knowledge to address current issues in Russia's relations with the Euro-Atlantic alliance, other world powers, and its bordering regional states. These will include contentious issues such as transnational political influence, the sanctions regimes, "information wars," and Russia's declared and undeclared conflicts. We will also assess how Russian politics works from the inside out, so that we can better forecast Russian political behavior.

The key course learning outcomes are to demystify Russian history and contemporary politics, identify the critical junctures of Russian history and politics, and assess the (feasible and non-feasible) strategic choices available to Russian leaders seeking foreign and domestic policy objectives. The goals for students in the course are to assess current foreign policy objectives for the Russian state as well as for its leaders, to forecast likely contours of domestic and foreign policy, and to understand Russia's role in international politics. Finally, this course will show students the difference between the Russia that actually exists, and the "Russia" portrayed by politicians and media – both pro and con – to evaluate how the information environment in the United States shapes the U.S. policy process.

### Course Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course, students will be able to accomplish the following:

- Describe Russia's basic diplomatic, political, and economic history over the past 1000 years;
- Explain Russia's border changes from the era of Muscovy to the present;
- Compare and contrast varying approaches to Russian executive leadership;
- Assess varying sources and types of Russian geopolitical insecurity, expansions and contractions of regional and international power projection and hierarchical alliance networks;
- Analyze the differences between Russian perceptions of its status as a great power and its ability to secure its interests in Eurasia;
- Evaluate the economic bases and political economy of the state in the imperial, Soviet, and contemporary periods.
- Analyze the sources of change, stability, instability, and order in Russian internal affairs and domestic politics;
- Assess the state of U.S.-Russia relations and sources for cooperation or further conflict;
- Evaluate the factors driving Russia's "pivot to the east" and Russia's relationship with China;
- Understand the differences between Russian perceptions of interests in the "Near Abroad" versus the rest of Eurasia;
- Evaluate Russia's current grand strategy and the success and failures of its discrete foreign policies;
- Analyze how local actors perceive of and respond to Russian policies in Eurasia;
- Consider the prospects and scenarios of Russia's internal and external development.

### Textbook and/or Resource Materials

Two books are required for all students

- **Galeotti, Mark. *A Short History of Russia. How the World's Largest Country Invented Itself, from the Pagans to Putin.* Hanover Square Press. 2021.**
- **Hill, Fiona and Clifford Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin.* Brookings Institution Press. Updated Version, 2015.**

Other articles and chapters assigned will be accessed electronically through the course website. Some items will be downloaded from the Internet using links indicated in the outline by topic.

### Additional Resources

Global Informality Project. "Former Soviet Union" entries covering informal cultural concepts. <https://www.in-formality.com/wiki/index.php?title=Category:FSU>.

PONARS (Program on New Approaches to Research and Security in Eurasia), George Washington University. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/>.

Riddle Russia. <https://www.ridl.io/en/>

Kennan Institute, Wilson Center. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/kennan-institute>

Meduza. <https://meduza.io/en>

Guide to Media and Journalism in Russia. <https://geohistory.today/media-journalism-russia/>

## Coursework and Grading

**Grades are based on pre-class writing assignments (15%), in-class participation (10%), response papers (15%), strategic policy review (30%), and final exam (30%).**

- *Pre-class assignments are considered late after 12:00pm on the day of the class meeting but will be accepted for half credit. Pre-class assignments will not be accepted after the beginning of class.*
- *In-class assignments are not eligible to make up. Excused absences on class days will obviate the requirement on that class day.*
- *Written products will be penalized one letter grade per day following deadlines.*
- **Pre-class writing assignment (15%)**

Prior to each class meeting—except for two of the response papers outlined below—each student will answer 1-2 questions with each answer being no shorter than 100 words and no longer than 250 words. These questions will be disseminated by email or course website and can take several forms: they may be provocative questions for students to grapple with the theoretical or policy issues for that week, or they may be asked to take positions and argue for or against a particular notion, or they may be asked to speculate on the contemporary or future significance of a reading. Sufficient answers answer the question through assertion of opinion; good answers additionally provide a thesis to justify the answer; great answers additionally provide evidence to support the thesis.

For our Tuesday evening class, the questions will be posted no later than 48 hours ahead of time on Sunday evening. The deadline for the responses will be one day later, on Monday at 6:30pm.

- **In-class participation (10%)**

During each class meeting ahead of the final exam, we will have discussion, group exercises and individual quizzes through a variety of modalities. Some of those exercises and quizzes will be graded for correctness and others for successfully completing them.

During our class meetings, the bulk of the time together will be in discussion. If you have done the reading and are ready to discuss, that is clearly obvious to me, your colleagues, and yourself. If you have done the reading but are not ready to discuss, there will be other opportunities to participate but you will have limited the discussion. If you have not done the reading and are not ready to discuss, that is also clearly obvious to me, your colleagues, and yourself.

- **Response papers (15%)**

Over the course of the semester, each student will prepare two response papers (7.5% each) of no less than 1000 words and no more than 1500 words on that week's readings and topic in lieu of the shorter pre-class writing assignment.

The first response paper will be due no later than Week 7 and the second response paper will be due no later than Week 13.

The response paper will be in the style of the pre-class writing question, but the topic will come from the student and not the instructor. That means each student both will pose her or his own question and then will answer that question. This is an opportunity for students to delve into topics of personal interest useful for the strategic policy review paper, other courses, and general professional development, so wide latitude will be given to students. It is the responsibility of the student to notify the instructor when he or she is planning to write a response paper and to confirm the topic of the response paper with the instructor.

*The response paper will be due at the normal time other pre-class writing assignments are due, that is, 24 hours ahead of the class meeting.*

- **Strategic policy review (30%)**

**By the end of the fourth week of the course**, each student will select an issue of interest to the United States-Russia relationship through online databases and news sources.

The final product will be no less than 2500 words and no more than 3500 words.

Your task in this literature review is to put yourself in the shoes of a research assistant or policy aide to an elected member of Congress, Executive Branch official, or any other policy-interested principal, who has just asked/told you, “We’re about to tackle \_\_\_\_\_ and I need you to become an expert now. Write me a memo that outlines the policy problem, current US policy on \_\_\_\_\_, how we have developed this policy over time, and what our options include. In short, tell me what our policy is and tell me the story of how we developed that policy: I need to know where we started to understand what our future policy options might be.”

Whatever the issue, each student will prepare a strategic policy review memo that captures the four required items:

- The policy problem: what is the issue that divides the United States and Russia?
- Current US policy on the policy issue.
- The origin story of US policy on that issue.
- Additional policy options for the US on that issue, including the likely impact of proposed policy alternatives.

- **Final exam (30%)**

A final exam covering the course material will take place during the official exam period provided by the University.

## Course Schedule

Russia is a living, breathing policy issue. All readings are subject to change in case policy events dictate a change of focus but will be communicated to you as quickly as possible.

Finally, movie recommendations follow the syllabus. The only required movie to watch is in the first week: *The Death of Stalin*.

### Class 01 | January 18, 2022 | Course Introduction

#### **The Origins of Russian Political Culture and Leadership Intentions**

- Keenan, Edward L. "Muscovite political folkways." *The Russian Review* 45.2 (1986): 115-181. (Although long, much of the course is based around comparing this piece to the Pipes article below – so please read it carefully!)
- Poe, Marshall. "The truth about Muscovy." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 3.3 (2002): 473-486.
- Pipes, Richard. "Reflections on the Russian Revolution." Excerpt from "Russia Under The Bolshevik Regime", Vintage Books, 1995.  
<http://www.alexanderpalace.org/palace/pipesrevolution.html>
- Guillory, Sean. "Richard Pipes, the Historian as Essentialist." *Jacobin Magazine* --  
[https://jacobinmag.com/2018/07/richard-pipes-anticommunism-soviet-union-  
obituary](https://jacobinmag.com/2018/07/richard-pipes-anticommunism-soviet-union-obituary)
- *The Death of Stalin*, dir. Armando Iannucci. Available on several streaming services.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session, students will understand and be able to evaluate and analyze the origins of rule and power in medieval Russia with a view to identifying the aspects of rule, power, and foreign affairs that have defined how leaders gain, exercise, and lose political power over the centuries.

### Class 02 | June 25, 2021 | Empire and Rule in Pre-Soviet Russia

- Galeotti, Mark. *A Short History of Russia. How the World's Largest Country Invented Itself, from the Pagans to Putin*. Hanover Square Press. 2021.

#### **Recommended**

- Hosking, Geoffrey. *Krugovaia poruka* (collective responsibility). Global Informality Project. February 2020. [https://www.informality.com/wiki/index.php?title=Krugovaia\\_poruka\\_\(Russia\)](https://www.informality.com/wiki/index.php?title=Krugovaia_poruka_(Russia))
- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton University Press, 2009. Ch. 4.
- Figes, Orlando. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891-1924*. Random House, 1997. Excerpts.
- Yergin, Daniel. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Money, Oil, and Power*. Simon and Schuster, 1990. Ch. 16-19.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session, students will understand the basics of Russian history from Kievan Rus' to the 1917 Revolution relevant to contemporary Russian

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politics. These include the following touchpoints: Kievan Rus'; Muscovy and internal rivals; Mongol domination; Ivan the Terrible; Time of Troubles; the Romanovs; Russia as an emerging and permanent European power from Peter the Great; Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna settlement; territorial advances and setbacks in post-Napoleonic Europe; expansion towards Asia; Pan-Slavism; the Crimean War; the 1905 uprising and subsequent non-reforms; 1917 revolutions. Students will be able to identify the elements of Russian politics, economics, and culture that remain relevant to the current day: autocratic power of the leader versus oligarchic nature of the elite; the power of the bureaucracy; economic tensions between classes and between Russia and the outside world; and, the leading but not dominant role of the Russian Orthodox Church.

### Class 03 | February 01, 2022 | The Soviet Era at the Beginning

#### **The Soviet Experiment and the Cold War**

- Martin, Terry Dean. *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. Cornell University Press, 2001, Ch. 1.
- George Kennan [Mr. X, pseudo.], "The Sources of Soviet conduct," *Foreign Affairs* (July 1947), reprinted in *Foreign Affairs* 65 (Spring 1987): 852-868.
- Trachtenberg, Marc. "The Making of a Political System: The German Question in International Politics, 1945-1963," in Paul Kennedy and William Hitchcock, eds., *From War to Peace: Altered Strategic Landscapes in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

#### **Recommended**

- Spufford, Francis. *Red Plenty*. Faber & Faber, 2010.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session, students will understand and be able to evaluate and analyze the revolutionary and ideological origins of the Soviet state, including its political culture and economy. Students will build upon the previous session to assess the fundamental incompatibilities of Soviet versus American international alliances and evaluate the methods by which each side prepared for the next world war including the series of conflicting incentives that rulers, bureaucrats, and other actors faced in an environment of chronic shortages.

### Class 04 | February 08, 2022 | Cold War's End and Russia's Beginnings

**Strategic policy review topic must be conveyed to instructor no later than this class.**

- Shiffrinson, Joshua. "The Malta Summit and US-Soviet Relations: Testing the Waters Amidst Stormy Seas." Wilson Center Cold War International History Project, e-Dossier no. 40, July 26, 2013.
- Hill, Fiona, and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Chapter 2.
- Sarotte, Mary Elise. "How to Enlarge NATO: The Debate inside the Clinton Administration, 1993-95." *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): 7-41.

- Kornushov, Maxim. "Mikhail Gorbachev: I am against all walls." *Russia Beyond the Headlines* interview. October 16, 2014.
- Pushkov, Alexei K. "Don't isolate us: A Russian view of NATO expansion." *The National Interest* 47 (1997): 58-63.
- Radchenko, Sergey. "'Nothing but humiliation for Russia': Moscow and NATO's eastern enlargement, 1993-1995." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 43, no. 6-7 (2020): 769-815.

### **Recommended**

- Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge University Press, 2005. Chapters 1-2.
- Bunce, Valerie. "The Empire Strikes Back: The Evolution of the Eastern Bloc from a Soviet Asset to a Soviet Liability." *International Organization* 39.01 (1985): 1-46.
- Kuran, Timur. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44.01 (1991): 7-48.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas. "Ideas do not float freely: transnational coalitions, domestic structures, and the end of the cold war." *International Organization* 48.02 (1994): 185-214.
- Gaidar, Yegor. *Collapse of an empire: lessons for modern Russia*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. Ch. 7-8.
- Andrew Barnes, "Three in One: Unpacking the 'Collapse' of the Soviet Union," *Problems of Post-Communism* 61, no. 5 (Sep-Oct 2014): 3-13.
- Kramer, Mark. "The myth of a no-NATO-enlargement pledge to Russia." *The Washington Quarterly* 32.2 (2009): 39-61.
- Shifrinson, Joshua R. Itzkowitz. "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion." *International Security* 40.4 (2016): 7-44.
- Goldgeier, James M. "Promises made, promises broken? What Yeltsin was told about NATO in 1993 and why it matters" *War on the Rocks*. July 12, 2016.
- Remnick, David. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*. New York: Vintage, 1994.

### **Learning Objectives**

By the end of this session, students will understand and evaluate the transnational, domestic, and external ideas, events, and forces that brought down the Soviet Union. Students will analyze and interpret the unraveling of Soviet power that started in the farthest reaches of empires and steadily moved closer and then beyond Russian borders themselves with the purpose of revisiting one of the core questions of the course: where Russian interests begin and end. Students will additionally understand the process by which the Soviet Union did not simply cease but became fifteen new states.

Students will also understand and analyze the sources of national security dissatisfaction and fears contemporary Russian leaders express in their relations with the United States and other leading powers. Students will analyze and interpret the ambiguous overlap of the end of the Cold War and the end of the Soviet Union as a future source of contention between Russia and its interlocutors. The students will evaluate Russian insecurity from this period as a guide towards contemporary and later difficulties of US-Russia relations, and the prospects for cooperation in the current day.



Students will address the political, economic, social, and security consequences of transition from the Soviet Union to Russia. Students will analyze and interpret the choices available to relevant social actors in terms of the state capabilities and shortcomings they inherited and the reform choices available to them at the time. The students will evaluate the difficulties of identifying and implementing economic and political reforms in a state of uncertainty. Finally, students will evaluate the security conditions of Russia as it shrank from its Soviet size to (roughly) the size and shape it possesses today through the debate on NATO expansion.

### Class 05 | February 15, 2022 | The Putin Era I: How Was it Built?

#### **What did Putin inherit?**

- Vladimir Putin, "Russia at the Turn of the Millennium" (December 1999); find at <http://pages.uoregon.edu/kimball/Putin.htm>.
- New Left Review interview with Gleb Pavlovsky, 2012; find at <http://newleftreview.org/II/88/gleb-pavlovsky-putin-s-world-outlook>.
- Hill, Fiona, and Clifford G. Gaddy. Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin. Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Foreword, Chapter 1.
- Satter, David. *The Less You Know, The Better You Sleep*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016, Chapter 1.
- German, Tracey. "A legacy of conflict: Kosovo, Russia, and the West." *Comparative Strategy* 38.5 (2019): 426-438.
- Trenin, Dmitri. "Russia Leaves the West." *Foreign Affairs* (2006): 87-96.

#### **Recommended**

- Hellman, Joel S. "Winners take all: the politics of partial reform in postcommunist transitions." *World politics* 50.02 (1998): 203-234.
- Gaddy, Clifford G., and Barry W. Ickes. "Russia's virtual economy." *Foreign affairs* (1998): 53-67.
- Lapidus, Gail W. "Contested sovereignty: The tragedy of Chechnya." *International Security* 23.1 (1998): 5-49.
- Anderson, Scott. "None dare call it conspiracy." *GQ* (2009): 246.
- Chivers, C. J. "The School." *Esquire* 2016.  
[https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/jaro2010/MVZ203/The\\_School\\_Esquire\\_June\\_2006.pdf](https://is.muni.cz/el/1423/jaro2010/MVZ203/The_School_Esquire_June_2006.pdf)
- Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13 (January 2002), 5–21.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13 (April 2002), 51–65.
- Mankoff, Jeffrey. *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century. The Return of Great Power Politics*. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011, Chapter 1.

**Learning objectives:** Students will evaluate the competing sources of Putin’s rule: what is personal to the individual, what is endemic to the system, and how an individual creates, sustains, and potentially loses control of a personalized competitive authoritarian state.

Students will evaluate the chief political constituencies at the heart of Putin’s Russia, and assess how the system works to maintain oligarchic stability to inhibit popular participation in politics and continue to challenge the external balance of power.

Students will evaluate public politics that happen in concert and in opposition to the elite politics dominating the practice of power. This session evaluates the roles of protest, public opinion, media, and the judicial system when the state and society are forced to interact.

Class 06 | February 22, 2022 | The Putin Era II: How Does it Work?

- Hill, Fiona, and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Rest of book.
- Glass, Ira. *This American Life*, “The Other Mr. President” podcast episode #614, 2017. <https://www.thisamericanlife.org/614/the-other-mr-president>

**Recommended**

- Bekbulatova, Taisiya, “Russia’s Invisible, Ubiquitous Lobbyists.” *Meduza*. <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2018/01/08/russia-s-invisible-ubiquitous-lobbyists>
- Zygur, Mikhail. *All the Kremlin’s Men: Inside the Court of Vladimir Putin*. New York: Public Affairs, 2017.
- Medvedev, Sergei. *The Return of the Russian Leviathan*. London: Polity, 2019.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of this session, students will understand the basics of Putin’s biography and rule and be able to assess Russian leadership intentions.

Class 07 | March 8, 2022 | The Putin Era III: Will it Ever End?

- Kendall-Taylor, Andrea and Michael Kofman. “The Myth of Russian Decline: Why Moscow Will Be a Persistent Power.” *Foreign Affairs*, October 2021. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2021-10-19/myth-russian-decline>
- Frye, Timothy. “Russia’s Weak Strongman: The Perilous Bargains That Keep Putin in Power.” *Foreign Affairs*, April 2021. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2021-04-01/vladimir-putin-russias-weak-strongman>
- *Readings on Covid TBD*

**Recommended**

- Frye, Timothy. *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia*. Princeton University Press, 2021.
- Yaffa, Joshua. *Between Two Fires: Truth, Ambition, and Compromise in Putin's Russia*. Crown, 2020.
- Walker, Shaun. *The Long Hangover: Putin's New Russia and the Ghosts of the Past*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session, students will be able to analyze the challenges of maintaining Putin’s political rule and to evaluate contemporary Russian domestic politics.

**NO CLASS MARCH 15, 2022 – WEEK OFF FOR SPRING BREAK**

Class 08 | March 22, 2022 | Russia at War I: Power, Status, and Dissatisfaction

- Weber, Yuval. “When War is Preferable to Peace: Russia, the Post-Cold War Settlement, and the Kremlin’s Policy towards Ukraine.” *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies*, 6, no. 2 (2020): 13-51.
- Lavrov, Sergei. “Russia’s Foreign Policy in a Historical Perspective.” *Russia in Global Affairs*, 14, (2) (2016): 8-19. <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Russias-Foreign-Policy-in-a-Historical-Perspective-18067>.
- Lukyanov, Fyodor. “Putin’s Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia’s Rightful Place.” *Foreign Affairs*, 95 (2016): 30-37.
- Sakwa, Richard. “Greater Russia: Is Moscow out to subvert the West?.” *International Politics* (2020): 1-29.
- Giles, Keir. “What Deters Russia: Enduring Principles for Responding to Moscow.” London, UK: Chatham House, 2021. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-10/21-09-23-what-deters-russia-giles.pdf>

**Recommended**

- Charap, Samuel, Dara Massicot, Miranda Priebe, Alyssa Demus, Clint Reach, Mark Stalczynski, Eugeniu Han, and Lynn E. Davis. *Russian Grand Strategy: Rhetoric and Reality*. Rand Corporation, 2021. Chapters 1-3.
- Kofman, Michael. Putting the Russia Problem in Perspective, Stockholm Free World Forum. Briefing No. 6, 2020. <https://frivarld.se/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/kofman-2.0.pdf>.
- Kofman, Michael. Drivers of Russian Grand Strategy. Stockholm Free World Forum. Briefing No. 6, 2019. <https://frivarld.se/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Drivers-of-Russian-Grand-Strategy.pdf>.
- Krickovic, Andrej, and Yuval Weber. "What can Russia teach us about change? Status-seeking as a catalyst for transformation in international politics." *International Studies Review* 20, no. 2 (2018): 292-300.
- Goldgeier, James. “NATO expansion in retrospect.” *H-Diplo ISSF Policy Roundtable XII-1*. <https://issforum.org/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-12-1.pdf>.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session, students will be able to define Russia’s conception of great power competition and its source of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the contemporary international order. Students will also be able to evaluate Russian material and ideological efforts to redefine and revise the contemporary international order.

Class 09 | March 29, 2022 | Russia at War II: Conventional and Nuclear Measures

- Gerasimov, Valery. “The Value of Science is in the Foresight.” *Military Review* 96.1 (2016): 23-29.
- Galeotti, Mark. “The mythical ‘Gerasimov Doctrine’ and the language of threat.” *Critical Studies on Security* (2018): 1-5.

- Kofman, Michael, Anya Fink, Dmitry Gorenburg, Mary Chesnut, Jeffrey Edmonds, and Julian Waller. "Russian Military Strategy: Core Tenets and Operational Concepts." (2021).
- *Additional readings on Russian military TBD*

### Recommended

- Charap, Samuel, Dara Massicot, Miranda Priebe, Alyssa Demus, Clint Reach, Mark Stalczynski, Eugeniu Han, and Lynn E. Davis. *Russian Grand Strategy: Rhetoric and Reality*. Rand Corporation, 2021. Rest of book.
- Bowen, Andrew. "Russian Armed Forces: Capabilities." *Congressional Research Service Report IF11589*. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11589>.
- Bowen, Andrew. "Russian Armed Forces: Military Doctrine and Strategy." *Congressional Research Service Report IF11625*. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11625>.
- Weber, Yuval. "Not So Private Military and Security Companies: Wagner Group and Russian Prosecution of Great Power Politics." Center for Strategic and International Studies, *Understanding the Russian Military*. September 2020. <https://www.csis.org/blogs/post-soviet-post/not-so-private-military-and-security-companies>
- Jonsson, Oscar. *The Russian Understanding of War: Blurring the Lines Between War and Peace*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. Introduction.
- Adamsky, Dmitry. "From Moscow with coercion: Russian deterrence theory and strategic culture." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41.1-2 (2018): 33-60.
- Fridman, Ofer. *Strategiya: The Foundations of the Russian Art of Strategy*. Hurst Publishers, 2021.
- Grau, Lester W., and Charles K. Bartles. "The Russian way of war." Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Department of Defense, US Army, Foreign Military Studies Office, 2017.
- Thomas, Timothy L. *Russian Military Thought: Concepts and Elements*. McLean, VA: MITRE Corporation, 2019.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session, students will be able to evaluate the "Russian way of war," and define the uniqueness (or not) of "hybrid conflict" within the history and practice of US/NATO interaction with Russia. Students will also be able to analyze Russia's success in projecting power across its borderlands, in conducting out-of-region operations, and through the use of private military companies to achieve foreign policy goals.

### Class 10 | April 5, 2022 | Russia at War III: Information Confrontation

- Abrams, Steve. "Beyond propaganda: Soviet active measures in Putin's Russia." *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 15.1 (2016): 5-31.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation. "Doctrine of Information Security of the Russian Federation." [https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/-/asset\\_publisher/CptlCk6BZ29/content/id/2563163](https://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptlCk6BZ29/content/id/2563163)
- Bowen, Andrew S. "Russian Cyber Units." *Congressional Research Service*, In Focus 11718. January 4, 2021. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF11718>

- Jaikaran, Chris. "SolarWinds Attack—No Easy Fix." *Congressional Research Service*, In Focus 11559. January 6, 2021. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IN/IN11559>
- Sukhankin, Sergey. "COVID-19 as a tool of information confrontation: Russia's approach." *The School of Public Policy Publications* 13 (2020). <https://www.policyschool.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/COVID-19-Tool-of-Information-Sukhankin.pdf>
- Moy, Wesley R., and Kacper Gradon. "COVID-19 Effects and Russian Disinformation Campaigns." (2020). [https://www.hsaj.org/resources/uploads/2020/12/hsaj\\_Covid192020\\_COVID19EffectsRussianDisinformationCampaigns.pdf](https://www.hsaj.org/resources/uploads/2020/12/hsaj_Covid192020_COVID19EffectsRussianDisinformationCampaigns.pdf)

### Recommended

- Giles, Keir. "Russia's 'New Tools' for Confronting the West." Russia and Eurasia Programme, Chatham House. March 2016. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/publications/2016-03-russia-new-tools-giles.pdf>.
- Frye, Timothy. "Inside Job: The Challenge of Foreign Online Influence in U.S. Elections," *War on the Rocks*, October 6, 2020. <https://warontherocks.com/2020/10/inside-job-the-challenge-of-foreign-online-influence-in-u-s-elections/>

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session, students will be able to evaluate the sources and practices of Russian information operations and influence campaigns and how Russian information operations and influence campaigns developed during Putin's time in office. Students will also be able to analyze whether disinformation always work or whether there are methods to combat it?

### Class 11 | April 12, 2022 | Russia at War IV: Survey of Areas of Operation

- Readings TBD but will include the latest Russian activities in Ukraine, Belarus, Syria, Libya, Central Africa Republic, Venezuela, Caucasus, and elsewhere.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session, students will be able to assess Russia's forward operating techniques and presence outside its own borders and evaluate how Russia fine-tunes its interests and operations in differing operating theaters.

### Class 12 | April 19, 2022 | US-Russia Relations

- Legvold, Robert. "What Moscow and Washington Can Learn from the Last One." *Foreign Aff.* 93 (2014): 74.
- Kofman, Michael and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. "The Myth of Russian Decline." *Foreign Affairs* (2021). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/print/node/1127904>.
- Mearsheimer, John J. "Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin." *Foreign Aff.* 93 (2014): 77.
- McFaul, Michael, Stephen Sestanovich, and John J. Mearsheimer. "Faulty powers: Who started the Ukraine crisis." *Foreign Aff.* 93 (2014): 167.
- Osnos, Evan, David Remnick, and Joshua Yaffa. "Trump, Putin, and the New Cold War." *The New Yorker* 13 (2017).

- Gottemoeller, Rose, Thomas Graham, et al., “It’s Time to Rethink Our Russia Policy,” *Politico*, August 5, 2020. <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/08/05/open-letter-russia-policy-391434>
- Kramer, David. “No, Now Is Not the Time For Another Russia Reset,” *Politico*, August 11, 2020. <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/08/11/russia-reset-response-open-letter-393176>
- Bowen, Andrew and Cory Welt. “Russia: Foreign Policy and US Relations.” *Congressional Research Service Report R46761*. <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R46761>.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session, students will be able to explain and evaluate the ups and down in bilateral relations alongside official Washington’s (in)ability to assess Russian conduct and policy.

### Class 13 | April 26, 2022 | Russia-China Relations

- Korolev, Alexander. “Systemic balancing and regional hedging: China– Russia relations.” *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 9.4 (2016): 375-397.
- Kupchan, Charles. "The Right Way to Distance Russia From China." *Foreign Affairs* (2021). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-08-04/right-way-split-china-and-russia>
- Radchenko, Sergey. “Driving a Wedge Between China and Russia Won’t Work.” *War on the Rocks*, August 24, 2021 <https://warontherocks.com/2021/08/driving-a-wedge-between-china-and-russia-wont-work/>.
- Kazantsev, Andrei, Svetlana Medvedeva, and Ivan Safranchuk. "Between Russia and China: Central Asia in Greater Eurasia." *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 12, no. 1 (2021): 57-71.
- Townsend, Jim and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. "Partners, Competitors, or a Little of Both?: Russia and China in the Arctic." Washington, DC: Center for New American Security, 2021. <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/partners-competitors-or-a-little-of-both>
- Depledge, Duncan. "NATO and the Arctic: The Need for a New Approach." *The RUSI Journal* 165, no. 5-6 (2021): 80-90.

### **Recommended**

- Sergei Karaganov, “The 21st Century Concert of Vienna,” Valdai Discussion Club article of 22 June 2015. <http://valdaiclub.com/europe/78620.html>
- Krickovic, Andrej. "The Symbiotic China-Russia Partnership: Cautious Riser and Desperate Challenger." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 10.3 (2017): 299-329.
- Gabuev, Alexander. "Friends With Benefits? Russian-Chinese Relations After the Ukraine Crisis." Carnegie Moscow Center (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace). June 2016.
- Crawford, Timothy W. "How to Distance Russia from China." *The Washington Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (2021): 175-194.

**Learning objectives:** By the end of the session, students will be able to explain and evaluate Russia and China’s bilateral relationship.

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Class 14 | May 3, 2022 | Review of class material and preparation for final exam

**Final exam during the official time determined by the University.**

**Woohoo! The semester is over.**

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## Movie Recommendations

Brief descriptions from imdb.com.

### **Russian history from the beginning through the Bolshevik Revolution**

- Alexander Nevsky (1938, d. Sergei Eisenstein). “It is the 13th century, and Russia is overrun by foreign invaders. A Russian knyaz', or prince, Alexander Nevsky, rallies the people to form a ragtag army to drive back an invasion by the Teutonic knights. This is a true story based on the actual battle at a lake near Novgorod.”
- Andrei Rublev (1966, d. Andrei Tarkovsky). “Andrei Rublev charts the life of the great icon painter through a turbulent period of 15th Century Russian history, a period marked by endless fighting between rival Princes and by Tatar invasions.”
- Mongol (2007, d. Sergei Bodrov). “The story recounts the early life of Genghis Khan who was a slave before going on to conquer half the world in 1206.”
- The Horde (2012, d. Andrey Proshkin). “It is the word "horde" that had meant, for many countries and nations, bloody raids and being under humiliating contribution for centuries - a strange and scary world with its own rules and customs. To be or not to be for Rus, that is the price of the one-man mission as he is departing to this world to accomplish a feat. The film tells the story of how Saint Alexius, the Metropolitan of Moscow and Wonderworker of All Russia, healed the Tatar Queen Taidula, Jani-Beg's mother, from blindness, in 1357.”
- Ivan the Terrible, Part I (1945, d. Sergei Eisenstein) and Part II (1958, d. Sergei Eisenstein). “During the early part of his reign, Ivan the Terrible faces betrayal from the aristocracy and even his closest friends as he seeks to unite the Russian people... As Ivan the Terrible attempts to consolidate his power by establishing a personal army, his political rivals, the Russian boyars, plot to assassinate their Tsar.”
- Russian Ark (2002, d. Alexander Sokurov). “Told in one fluid shot, a tale which floats like a dreamlike journey through the majestic spaces of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, engaging real and imagined characters from Russian and European history. The nameless protagonist, a 19th-century French diplomat, guides the audience through a lost, sumptuous dream that was the Enlightenment period. The film, staged among some of the Western Art tradition's greatest masterpieces, climaxes in a pageant of color, motion, and music. For Sokurov, the Hermitage--home to generations of Romanovs and repository of so much Russian history--is the ark of the Russian soul, guarding it affectionately until the world sees better days.”
- War and Peace (1966, d. Sergey Bondarchuk). Fair warning, this Soviet classic adaption of the Leo Tolstoy novel is a 7+ hour movie.
- The Barber of Siberia (1998, d. Nikita Mikhalkov). “Douglas is a foreign entrepreneur, who ventures to Russia in 1885 with dreams of selling a new, experimental steam-driven timber harvester in the wilds of Siberia. Jane is his assistant, who falls in love with a young Russian officer, André, and spends the next 10 years perfecting the harvester and pursuing her love, who has been exiled to Siberia.”
- Mother (1926, d. Vsevolod Pudovkin). “The chronicle of an individual's transformation from political naivete to Marxist awareness set during the 1905 Russian Revolution. Pudovkin uses innovative montage techniques and camera angles to tell this bold story of national unrest through the eyes of a working class woman.”
- Strike! (1925, d. Sergei Eisenstein). “In Russia's factory region during Czarist rule, there's restlessness and strike planning among workers; management brings in spies and



external agents. When a worker hangs himself after being falsely accused of thievery, the workers strike. At first, there's excitement in workers' households and in public places as they develop their demands communally. Then, as the strike drags on and management rejects demands, hunger mounts, as does domestic and civic distress. Provocateurs recruited from the lumpen and in league with the police and the fire department bring problems to the workers; the spies do their dirty work; and, the military arrives to liquidate strikers."

- Battleship Potemkin (1925, d. Sergei Eisenstein). "Based on the historical events the movie tells the story of a riot at the battleship Potemkin. What started as a protest strike when the crew was given rotten meat for dinner ended in a riot. The sailors raised the red flag and tried to ignite the revolution in their home port Odessa."
- White Sun of the Desert (1970, d. Vladimir Motyl). "At the end of the Russian Civil War, Red Army soldier Fyodor Sukhov is ordered to guard the harem of a Caspian Sea guerrilla leader."

### Stalinism

- Burnt by the Sun (1994, d. Nikita Mikhalkov). "Russia, 1936: revolutionary hero Colonel Kotov is spending an idyllic summer in his village with his young wife and six-year-old daughter Nadia and other assorted family and friends. Things change dramatically with the unheralded arrival of Cousin Dmitri from Moscow, who charms the women and little Nadia with his games and pianistic bravura. But Kotov isn't fooled: this is the time of Stalin's repression, with telephone calls in the middle of the night spelling doom - and he knows that Dmitri isn't paying a social call..."
- The Thief (1997, d. Pavel Chukhrai). "In 1946, a soldier fathers a child then dies before its birth. Jump to 1952: on a train, the child and his mother meet a handsome soldier who makes a play for her. She accepts. Posing as a married family, the soldier finds them a rooming house where he becomes everyone's favorite through his good looks and generosity. Meanwhile he gives the boy, Sanya, lessons in life: to fight back, to win at all costs. The child's mother, Katya, is head-over-heels in love with Tolyan, the soldier, but the relationship becomes rocky when Tolyan's true plans for the rooming house become clear. It starts them on a treadmill of flight that risks Katya's life, Tolyan's liberty, and Sanya's trust."
- Dear Comrades! (2020, d. Andrey Konchalovsky). "Novocherkassk, USSR, 1962. Lyudmila is a Party executive and devout communist who had fought in WWII for Stalin's ideology. Certain that her work will create a communist society, the woman detests any anti-Soviet sentiment. During a strike at the local electromotive factory, Lyudmila witnesses a laborers' piquet gunned down under orders from the government that seeks to cover up mass labor strikes in USSR. After the bloodbath, when survivors flee from the square, Lyudmila realizes her daughter has disappeared. A gaping rift opens in her worldview. Despite the blockade of the city, mass arrests, and the authorities' attempts to cover up the massacre, Lyudmila searches for her daughter. We don't know how the search will end but realize that the woman's life won't ever be the same."
- Hipsters (2008, d. Valeriy Todorovskiy). "While the Cold War heats up on the world stage, rebellious youth in 1955 Moscow wage a cultural battle against dismal Soviet conformity, donning brightly colored black-market clothing, adopting American nicknames and reveling in forbidden jazz. Strait-laced 20-year-old Communist Mels finds these brazen 'hipsters' shocking until he falls under the spell of one, namely Polly,

and joins the new revolution. Soon he's a peacock, cavorting in the latest flashy fashions, sporting an enormous pompadour and wailing on the saxophone.”

### WWII movies

- Ivan’s Childhood (1962, d. Andrei Tarkovsky). “During WWII, Soviet orphan Ivan Bondarev strikes up a friendship with three sympathetic Soviet officers while working as a scout behind the German lines.”
- Ballad of a Soldier (1959, d. Grigory Chukray). “Young Russian soldier Alyosha earns a medal but asks to visit his mother instead. His journey recounts various kinds of love during wartime.”
- The Cranes are Flying (1957, d. Mikhail Kalatazov). “Veronica plans a rendezvous with her lover, Boris, at the bank of river, only for him to be drafted into World War II shortly thereafter.”
- Come and See (1985, d. Elem Klimov; note: violence here is not for the faint of heart).” After finding an old rifle, a young boy joins the Soviet resistance movement against ruthless German forces and experiences the horrors of World War II.”
- The Island (2006, d. Pavel Lungin). “Somewhere in Northern Russia in a small Russian Orthodox monastery lives an unusual man whose bizarre conduct confuses his fellow monks, while others who visit the island believe that the man has the power to heal, exorcise demons and foretell the future.”
- The Cuckoo (2002, d. Aleksandr Rogozhkin). “September of 1944, a few days before Finland went out of the Second World War. A chained to a rock Finnish sniper-kamikadze Veikko managed to set himself free. Ivan, a captain of the Soviet Army, arrested by the Front Secret Police 'Smersh', has a narrow escape. They are soldiers of the two enemy armies. A Lapp woman Anni gives a shelter to both of them at her farm. For Anni they are not enemies, but just men”
- Stalingrad (2013, d. Fedor Bondarchuk). “A group of Russian soldiers fight to hold a strategic building in their devastated city against a ruthless German army, and in the process become deeply connected to two Russian women who have been living there.
- Beanpole (2019, d. Kantemir Balagov). “1945, Leningrad. WWII has devastated the city, demolishing its buildings and leaving its citizens in tatters, physically and mentally. Two young women search for meaning and hope in the struggle to rebuild their lives amongst the ruins.”

### Comedies and dramas from post-war USSR

- Ivan Vasilievich Changes Professions (1973, d. Leonid Gaidai). “Shurik Timofeev builds a working model of a time machine. By accident, Ivan Bunsha, an apartment complex manager, and George Miloslavsky, a petty burglar, are transferred to the 16th century Moscow, while Tsar Ivan the Terrible goes into the year 1973.”
- Operation Y and Shurik’s Other Adventures (1965, d. Leonid Gaidai). “Three stories about Shurik - a young student. He fights against criminals, falls in love, confuses apartments, and passes exams.”
- Kidnapping, Caucasian Style (1967, d. Leonid Gaidai). “A young student Shurik comes to a remote mountainous region in search of ancient legends and traditions. Fooled by the corrupt local governor, he helps him to kidnap a beautiful young girl, but soon realizes what he's done.”

- The Diamond Arm (1969, d. Leonid Gaidai). “An ordinary Soviet citizen accidentally intervenes into a huge operation of international criminal group that trades illegally obtained jewelry.”
- Office Romance (1977, d. Eldar Ryazanov). “The life of entire statistical bureau becomes crazy when an ordinary worker, a shy man, falls in love with a boss, a strict woman.”
- Irony of Fate (1975, d. Eldar Ryazanov). “An incredible story about a man who misplaced the cities and found his love during the one special night - New Year's celebration.”
- Mimino (1977, d. Georgiy Daneliya). “Local Georgian pilot Mimino dreams of flying airplanes for major international airlines. To realize his aspirations, he goes to Moscow where he encounters a fellow comrade from the Caucasus, the Armenian Rubik. Many misadventures ensue.”
- Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears (1980, d. Vladimir Menshov). “Moving story of three young girls who come to the capital of Soviet Russia in search of their fate. They play rich girls to impress the guys and succeed in doing so. Katya (the protagonist) does not like the game, but still goes with the girls. But the truth is soon revealed, and Katya's boyfriend breaks up with her. She is pregnant and must raise a kid alone in a tiny dorm room, and still try to get an education. The second part shows the three girlfriends 20 years later. Katya is a very successful business lady and has a wonderful daughter. But she hasn't found real love, and the story takes a new turn when she meets Gosha in a train. They both now must find ways into each other's established lives.”
- Stalker (1979, d. Andrei Tarkovsky). “A guide leads two men through an area known as the Zone to find a room that grants wishes.”

### **Soviet life in the 1980s**

- Little Vera (1988, d. Vasili Pichul). “A story about a young woman, Vera, who is somebody, living the life of a troubled teenager in the time right before the end of the Soviet Union. She lives in a very small Russian apartment with her mother and father, however being this close to each other makes the living get rough. Their daily life is plagued with massive amounts of alcohol (mainly vodka) and when she tries to escape her home life, she meets up with a boyfriend, Sergei who then moves into her already small apartment after sleeping with her. Every day little Vera has to go through hell just to get by, which even involves her going against her own morals after her father has done something extremely wrong.”
- Is It Easy to be Young? (1986, d. Juris Podnieks). Documentary portrayal of rebellious teenagers growing up under Communist rule in Latvia.
- Taxi Blues (1990, d. Pavel Lungin). “Ivan is old Russia: thick, dour, hard-working, often brutish; he misses Communism. He drives a taxi and one night meets Alexi, a new Russian, a musician, an alcoholic, irresponsible. Alexi stiffes Ivan for the fare, so Ivan tracks him down and a love-hate relationship ensues. When Alexi lets the bath water run over in Ivan's flat and Ivan must pay 500 rubles for repairs, he tries to force Alexi into day labor to repay him. It's hopeless. Then, suddenly, Alexi is discovered, goes on a jazz tour of America, becomes a celebrity, and returns in triumph. Ivan longs to renew the friendship, and it looks as if he may get what he wants.”
- My Perestroika (2010, d. Robin Hessman). “Tells the story of five people from the last generation of Soviet children who were brought up behind the Iron Curtain. Just coming of age when the USSR collapsed, they witnessed the world of their childhood crumble and change beyond recognition. Through the lives of these former schoolmates, this

intimate film reveals how they have adjusted to their post-Soviet reality in today's Moscow.”

- 9th Company (2005, d. Fedor Bondarchuk). “The film tells about the fate of a group of seven recruits, called up for military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR in the late 1980s from Krasnoyarsk, and after several months of training sent to the DRA. The picture partially describes the events that occurred in early 1988, during Operation Magistral, when the paratroopers of the 9th company of the 345th separate paratrooper regiment took battle at Hill 3234.”
- Cargo 200 (2007, d. Alexey Balabanov). “The Soviet Union in 1984, the decline of the Soviet Era. The daughter of the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party in a small town disappears one night after leaving a dance club. There are no witnesses, no suspects. The same night a brutal murder occurs in a house in the outskirts of town. The murderer is the owner of the house. Police captain Zhurov has to investigate both cases

### 1990s Russia

- Brother (1997, d. Aleksey Balabanov). “Newly discharged from the army, Danila goes to his older brother - a gangster and a killer - to start a new life in St. Petersburg where he's soon situated in the criminal world and asked to kill someone. There his new life starts. He meets new people, including a girl, and becomes a big fan of the rock band "Nautilus Pompilius," but now he is a killer, and realizing killing is easier for him than living makes him understand he is going the wrong way.”
- Generation P (2011, d. Viktor Ginzburg). “Generation P is at once a comedy, a tragedy and a historical epic about the rise of a poet-turned-copywriter through Russia's nascent advertising business in post-Communist Moscow, to the chief "creative" behind the virtual world of Russian politics.”
- Peculiarities of the National Hunt (1995, d. Alexander Rogozhkin). “A Finn preparing a work on the Russian hunting traditions and customs, comes to Russia to collect materials and is invited to take part in a hunting party. His flamboyant companions include an Army general, with more than a passing resemblance to Aleksander Lebed, a police detective, local forest ranger (a devotee of Zen Buddhism) and some big-city types from St. Petersburg. Inevitably, their good intentions soon give way to endless drinking, visits to local farm girls and much else besides.”
- Prisoner of the Mountains (1996, d. Sergei Bodrov). “Two Russian soldiers, one battle-seasoned and the other barely into his boots and uniform, are taken prisoner by an anxious Islamic father from a remote village hoping to trade them for his captured son.”
- Tycoon (2002, d. Pavel Lungin). “During the Gorbachev years, Platon Makovski and his four buddies are university students who jump on the private capitalism movement. Fast-forward 20 years, Platon finds himself the richest man in Russia, having sacrificed his friends to get to the top. But with this cynical rise, comes a brutal fall.”

### The Putin Years

- Dlyxless (2012, d. Roman Prygunov; yes, the title is half-Cyrillic and means soulless). “29-year-old top-manager Max is really sure he is absolutely successful. All his life is around earning and spending money. But one day he meet a girl who is from another, real, world. And his own world starts to crash down.”

- Leviathan (2014, d. Roman Zvyagintsev). “In a Russian coastal town, Kolya is forced to fight the corrupt mayor when he is told that his house will be demolished. He recruits a lawyer friend to help, but the man's arrival brings further misfortune for Kolya and his family.”
- The Fool (2014, d. Yuriy Bykov). “Dima Nikitin is an ordinary honest plumber who suddenly decides to face the corrupt system of local politics in order to save the lives of 800 inhabitants of an old dormitory, which is about to collapse.”
- Alexandra (2007, d. Alexander Sokurov). “An elderly woman takes a train trip to visit her grandson at his army camp inside Chechnya.”
- 12 (2007, d. Nikita Mikhalkov). “A loose remake of 12 Angry Men (1957) set in a Russian school. 12 jurors are struggling to decide the fate of a Chechen teenager who allegedly killed his Russian stepfather who took the teenager to live with him in Moscow during the Chechen War in which teenager lost his parents. The jurors: a racist taxi-driver, a suspicious doctor, a vacillating TV producer, a Holocaust survivor, a flamboyant musician, a cemetery manager, and others represent the fragmented society of modern-day Russia.”
- The Return (2003, d. Andrei Zvyagintsev). “In the Russian wilderness, two brothers face a range of new, conflicting emotions when their father - a man they know only through a single photograph - resurfaces.”
- Night Watch (2004, d. Timur Bekmanbetov). “A fantasy-thriller set in present-day Moscow where the respective forces that control daytime and nighttime do battle.”
- My Joy (2010, d. Sergei Loznitsa). “The story about a few days in the life of truck driver Georgi seems to be a never-ending nightmare, a spiral of violence and abuses of power. A man goes to work and on his way he is sucked into the everyday madness of his country, losing his health and memory in the process.”

## University Policies

### Make-up Work Policy

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines. The fact that these are university-excused absences does not relieve the student of responsibility for prior notification and documentation. Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor” ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1](#)). Please also note that “the instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence” ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2](#)). Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code; failure to notify and/or document properly may result in an unexcused absence. Falsification of documentation is a violation of the Honor Code. (See [Student Rule 24](#).)

- Participation in an activity that is required for a class and appears on the university authorized activity list at <https://studentactivities.tamu.edu/app/sponsauth/index>
- Death or major illness in a student's immediate family.
- Illness of a dependent family member.
- Participation in legal proceedings or administrative procedures that require a student's presence.
- Religious holy day. NOTE: Prior notification is NOT required.
- Injury or illness that is too severe or contagious for the student to attend class.
  - Injury or illness of three or more class days: Student will provide a medical confirmation note from his or her medical provider within one week of the last date of the absence (see Student Rules 7.1.6.1)
  - Injury or illness of less than three class days: Student will provide one or both of these (at instructor's discretion), within one week of the last date of the absence:
    - (i.) Texas A&M University Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class form available at <http://attendance.tamu.edu> or
    - (ii.) Confirmation of visit to a health care professional affirming date and time of visit.
- Required participation in military duties.
- Mandatory admission interviews for professional or graduate school that cannot be rescheduled.
- Other absences may be excused at the discretion of the instructor with prior notification and proper documentation. In cases where prior 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, including an explanation of why notice could not be sent prior to the class.
- On rare occasions, the instructor might have to miss a class due to administrative or academic responsibilities out of town. This will be exceedingly rare, but if it does occur, the instructor reserves the right to reschedule class at a time when the vast majority of students are available for the make-up class and will convey the material to students unable to attend the make-up during office hours.

### Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

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

“Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one’s work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case” ([Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20](#)).

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at [aggiehonor.tamu.edu](http://aggiehonor.tamu.edu).

### Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact Disability Resources in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit [disability.tamu.edu](http://disability.tamu.edu). Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

### 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 O8.01.01.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).

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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).

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