

Course Information

Course Number: INTA 686

Course Title: Russian International Politics

Section: 650

Time: Wednesday, 6:30pm -9:00pm EST (5:30pm-8:00pm CST)

Location: Room 2

Credit Hours: 3 credit hours

Instructor Details

Instructor: Prof. Jeffrey Mankoff

Office: n/a

Phone: 202-685-3838

E-Mail: mankoffja@gmail.com

Office Hours: By appointment

Course Description

This course examines changes within Russia and its role in international politics since 1991, emphasizing the period of Vladimir Putin's presidency, explores Putin's approach to political, economic and social challenges facing Russia, as well as the war in Chechnya and terrorism within Russia, also examines Russia's critical relationship with the United States.

It will provide students with a strong analytical and empirical understanding of Russian foreign policy. The course emphasizes the material and intellectual drivers of Russian foreign policy, with an emphasis on the implications for the United States. It begins with a historical overview designed to give students an appreciation of the sources of continuity and change in Russian foreign policy behavior, including debates over national identity, the role of geographic factors, and perceptions of vulnerability. The bulk of the course will focus on the period since the Soviet collapse in 1991, attempting to answer the question of why attempts to anchor Russia in "the West" ultimately failed, and how the current era of great power competition emerged. Particular emphasis will be placed on Russian approaches to global order, U.S.-Russian relations, the post-Soviet region, and the emerging Sino-Russian partnership, and the war in Ukraine.

Course Prerequisites

Graduate classification

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;



- Analyze sources of change and continuity in Russian foreign policy behavior
- Analyze the differences between Russian perceptions of its status as a great power and its ability to secure its interests in Eurasia;
- Evaluate the critical domestic drivers of Russian foreign policy, including political economy, ideology, institutional design, bureaucratic politics, and the role of leaders;
- Assess the role of the United States, China, and other international actors in shaping Russian conception of national interests and foreign policy behavior;
- Evaluate the reasons for the failure of attempts to anchor Russia in the West in the early post-Soviet era:
- Understand Russian perceptions of Eurasia and the role of imperial collapse in shaping Russian approaches to its neighbors;
- Analyze the strengths and weaknesses of Russia's foreign policy toolkit;
- Understand the long and short-term causes of Russia's wart in Ukraine and the implications of the war for Russia's future development;
- Evaluate Russia's current grand strategy and the success and failures of its discrete foreign policies;
- Consider the prospects and scenarios of Russia's internal and external development.

Textbook and/or Resource Materials

Assigned readings will be posted online.

Students should also familiarize themselves with the major online news outlets covering Russia and its neighbors. These include daily newspapers like the NY Times and Washington Post; specialized foreign policy publications like Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, War on the Rocks, World Politics Review, and CNN; think-tanks (especially Carnegie, CSIS, Brookings, Atlantic Council, and the Institute for the Study of War) as well as Russia-focused publications such as: Meduza, The Moscow Times, Riddle Russia, TV Rain (on YouTube), RFE/RL, and Novaya Gazeta Europe.

Grading Policy

Grades are based on: in-class participation (10%), response papers (30%), briefing memo (30%), and final paper (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.
- Written products will be penalized one letter grade per day following deadlines.

In-class participation (10%)

During our class meetings, the bulk of the time together will be in discussion. Students are expected to come to class regularly, to have completed the reading assignments for each class, and to take part in discussions.

Response papers (30%)



Over the course of the semester, each student will prepare two response papers (15% each) of no less than 1000 words and no more than 1500 words on that week's readings and topic. 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 papers will be based on the assigned readings. The objective is for you to tease out common themes and develop questions to be used for the in-class discussion.

This is an opportunity for students to delve into topics of personal interest useful for the policy memo, final paper, other courses, and general professional development. Each response paper will be due 24 hours ahead of the class meeting.

Briefing memo (30%)

By the end of the fourth week of the course, each student will select an issue of interest in the United States-Russia relationship that would be the subject of a briefing to high-level policy makers. By **Week 8**, students will need to produce a briefing memo (3 pages maximum) on this topic.

In the briefing memo, you will need to: 1) explain the problem; 2) outline current U.S. policy on this problem; 3) identify possible new approaches (policy makers want options, so give them a choice); and 4) your recommended course of action, including the likely consequences (positive and negative).

Briefing memos should be in memo format, with headings and bullet points. Concision and clarity are key.

Final paper (30%)

A final paper on a topic of your choice (chosen in consultation with the instructor) will be due during the final exam period. The final paper should be based on your original research (not just the assigned course readings) and be in the area of 12-15 double-spaced pages, with appropriate citations.

Course Schedule

Class 01 | August 21 | Course Introduction

Class 02 | August 28 | The Long *Durée* of Russian Foreign Policy

Edward L. Keenan, "Muscovite political folkways," *The Russian Review* 45, no. 2 (1986): 115-181.

Richard Pipes, "Reflections on the Russian Revolution." Excerpt from "Russia Under The Bolshevik Regime," Vintage Books, 1995.

Kathryn Stoner, *Russia Resurrected: Its Power and Purpose in a New Global Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) ch. 2-3



Fyodor Lukyanov, "Putin's Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia's Rightful Place," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (May/Jun 2016): pp. 30-37.

Class 03 | September 4 | Imperial Foundations

- Jeffrey Mankoff, Empires of Eurasia: How Imperial Legacies Shape International Security (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022), ch. 3
- Dominic Lieven, "The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union as Imperial Polities," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Oct 1995, 30(4).
- Paul Bushkovitch, "What Is Russia? Russian National Identity and the State, 1500–1917," in Andreas Kappeler et al., eds., *Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter (1600–1945)* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2003): 144–62.
- Dmitri Trenin, *The End of Eurasia: Russia on the Border between Geopolitics and Globalization*(Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2002) ch. 1

Class 04 | September 11 | The Cold War

- John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2006) prologue and ch. 1-3.
- Vojtech Mastny, *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1996): introduction and ch. 1.
- Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) ch 2.
- George F. Kennan (Mr. X), "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947,

 https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/1947-07-01/sources-soviet-conduct.

Watch:

Messengers From Moscow: The Struggle For Europe (Part I),

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cu8B0yZ2RRA.



Class 05 | September 18 | The End of the Cold War: Toward a New World Order

Gaddis, The Cold War: A New History, ch. 4-8.

Westad, The Global Cold War, ch. 10 and conclusion.

Archie Brown, The Gorbachev Factor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), ch. 7-8.

Anglea Stent, *Putin's World: Russia Against the West and With the Rest* (New York: Twelve, 2019), ch. 3-4

Mikhail Gorbachev, speech to the 2nd Summit of the CSCE Heads of State or Government, Nov 1990, https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/3/8/16155.pdf.

Class 06 | September 25 | Remaking Europe

M.E. Sarotte, 1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011) introduction, ch. 4, and conclusion

Marc Trachtenberg, "The United States and the NATO Non-extension Assurances of 1990: New Light on an Old Problem?" *International Security* 45, no. 3 (Winter 2020/21): 162-203.

Mark Kramer, "The Myth of a No-NATO-Enlargement Pledge to Russia," Washington Quarterly 32, no. 2 (April 2009): 39-61.

Vladimir Putin, "Expanded Meeting of the Defence Ministry Board," The Kremlin,

December 21, 2021, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67402. (section on NATO).

Class 07 | October 2 | The 'Wild' 1990s in Russia

David Satter, *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003) ch. 3-4

Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2013), ch. 2

Mark Galeotti, *The Vory: Russia's Super Mafia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018) ch. 8, 16



Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998) introduction and ch. 3

Class 08 | October 9 | Who is Mr. Putin?

Hill and Gaddy, Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin, ch. 1

Catherine Belton, *Putin's People: How the KGB Took Back Russia and then Took on the West* (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 2020), ch. 4-6

Brian D. Taylor, *The Code of Putinism: How Russia is Ruled* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), introduction and ch. 1

Vladimir Putin, First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia's President, trans. Catherine A. Fitzpatrick (New York: Public Affairs, 2000) pp. 65-122.

Vladimir Putin, "New Year Address by Acting President Vladimir Putin" (Putin's "Millennium Message"), Dec 31, 1999,

http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/22280.

Class 09 | October 16 | Russia and the United States

Angela Stent, *The Limits of Partnership: U.S.-Russian Relations in the Twenty-first Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), ch. 3, 5, 6, 9, 11.

Hill and Gaddy, Mr. Putin, ch. 12

Putin, "Speech and the Following Discussion at the Munich Conference on Security Policy," Feb 10, 2007, http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/24034.

Watch:

Frontline documentary, "Putin's Revenge," Part I, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o2L8qINZD3Q.

Class 10 | October 23 | Russia and Europe

Stent, Putin's World, ch. 3-5



- Mira Milosevic, "Russia's Westpolitik and the European Union," CSIS, July 2021,

 https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/210708 Milosevick RussiaWestpolitik EuropeanUnion.pdf.
- Jeffrey Mankoff, "Russia's Challenge to the European Security Order," German Marshall Fund, 29 Sep 2016, https://www.gmfus.org/news/russias-challenge-european-security-order.
- Dmitri Trenin, "Russia and Europe: the Current Impasse and the Way Out," Carnegie

 Moscow Center, February 2021, https://carnegiemoscow.org/commentary/83905.
- Daniel Yergin, *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World* (New York: Penguin, 2012): ch. 1-3.
- James M. Goldgeier, "Promises Made, Promises Broken? What Yeltsin Was Told about NATO in 1993 and Why it Matters," *War on the Rocks,* 12 Jul 2016,

 https://warontherocks.com/2016/07/promises-made-promises-broken-what-yeltsin-was-told-about-nato-in-1993-and-why-it-matters/.

Class 11 | October 31 | Russia, China, and Asia

Stent, Putin's World, ch. 8-9.

- Richard J. Ellings and Robert Sutter, eds. 2018. "Axis of Authoritarians: Implications of China-Russia Cooperation." National Bureau of Asian Research.

 https://muse.jhu.edu/book/62969, pp. 3-50.
- Nadège Rolland, "A China-Russia Condominium Over Eurasia" *Survival* 61, no. 1 (2019): 7-22.
- Alexander Lukin, "Have We Passed the Peak of Sino-Russian Rapprochement?"

 Washington Quarterly 44, no. 3 (Autumn 2021): pp. 155-73, https://cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/blogs.gwu.edu/dist/1/2181/files/2019/03/Lukin TWQ 44-3.pdf.
- Alexander Gabuev, "What's Really Going on Between Russia and China," *Foreign Affairs*, 12 Apr 2023, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/whats-really-going-between-russia-and-china.
- "Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China on the



International Relations Entering a New Era and the Global Sustainable Development," 4 Feb 2022,

https://www.airuniversity.af.edu/Portals/10/CASI/documents/Translations/2022-02-04%20China%20Russia%20joint%20statement%20International%20Relations%20Entering%20a%20New%20Era.pdf.

Class 12 | November 6 | The "Post-Soviet Space"

Stent, Putin's World, ch. 6.

Trenin, The End of Eurasia, ch. 3-5

Alexander Cooley, *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest in Central Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) ch. 4.

Charles King, "The Five Day War: Managing Moscow after the Georgian Crisis,"

Foreign Affairs 87, no. 6 (Nov/Dec 2008): pp. 2-11,

https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2008-11-01/five-day-war.

Vladimir Putin, "A new integration project for Eurasia: The future in the making,"

3 Oct 2011, https://russiaeu.ru/en/news/article-prime-minister-vladimir-putin-new-integration-project-eurasia-future-making-izvestia-3-.

"Toward the Great Ocean 3: Creating Central Eurasia," Valdai Discussion Club, 4 Jun 2015,

https://valdaiclub.com/a/reports/toward the great ocean 3 creating central eurasia

Class 13 | November 13 | The Crisis over Ukraine: Origins

Serhii Plokhy, *The Russo-Ukrainian War: The Return of History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2023), pp. 1-33, 135-154.

Jeffrey Mankoff, "Russia's War in Ukraine: Identity, History and Conflict," CSIS, Apr 2022, https://www.csis.org/analysis/russias-war-ukraine-identity-history-and-conflict.

Timothy Snyder, *The Road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America* (New York: Penguin, 2018), ch. 3, 4.

Angela Stent, "The Putin Doctrine: A Move on Ukraine Has Always Been Part of the Plan,"



Foreign Affairs, 27 Jan 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-01-27/putin-doctrine.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine crisis is the West's fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs* 93, no 5 (Sep/Oct 2014): pp. 77-84.

Watch:

"Winter on Fire: Ukraine's Fight for Freedom,"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yzNxLzFfR5w.

Class 14 | November 20 | The War in Ukraine

Jade McGlynn, Russia's War (Washington, DC: Polity, 2023), all.

Class 15 | December 4 | Where do We Go From Here?

- Liana Fix and Michael Kimmage, "What if Russia Wins?" *Foreign Affairs*, 18 Feb 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2022-02-18/what-if-russia-wins.
- Pavel K. Baev, "Time for the West to think about how to engage with defeated Russia,"

 Brookings, 15 Nov 2022, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/time-for-the-west-to-think-about-how-to-engage-with-defeated-russia/.
- Constanze Stelzenmueller, "The return of the enemy: Putin's war on Ukraine and a cognitive blockage in Western security policy," Brookings, Aug 2023, https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-return-of-the-enemy/.
- Stephen M. Walt, "Ukraine and Russia Need a Great-Power Peace Plan," *Foreign Policy*, 18 Apr 2023, https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/04/18/ukraine-russia-china-united-states-peace-ceasefire/.
- Eric Ciaramella, "Envisioning a Long-Term Security Arrangement for Ukraine," Carnegie, 8 Jun 2023, https://carnegieendowment.org/2023/06/08/envisioning-long-term-security-arrangement-for-ukraine-pub-89909.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen and Andrii Yermak, "The Kyiv Security Compact: International Security



Guarantees for Ukraine: Recommendations," 13 Sep 2022,

https://www.president.gov.ua/storage/j-files-

storage/01/15/89/41fd0ec2d72259a561313370cee1be6e 1663050954.pdf.

University Policies

Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments.

Please refer to <u>Student Rule 7</u> in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Makeup Work Policy

Students will 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 Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to <u>Student Rule 7</u> in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

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" (<u>Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1</u>).

"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. (See <u>Student Rule 24</u>.)

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).

Texas A&M at College Station

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at <u>aggiehonor.tamu.edu</u>.

Texas A&M at Galveston

You can learn more about the Honor Council Rules and Procedures as well as your rights and responsibilities at <u>tamug.edu/HonorSystem</u>.

Texas A&M at Qatar

You can learn more about academic integrity and your rights and responsibilities at Texas A&M University at Qatar by visiting the <u>Aggie Honor System</u> website.

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 the Disability Resources office on your campus (resources listed below) 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.

Texas A&M at College Station

Disability Resources is located in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit disability.tamu.edu.

Texas A&M at Galveston

Disability Resources is located in the Student Services Building or at (409) 740-4587 or visit tamuq.edu/counsel/Disabilities.

Texas A&M at Qatar

Disability Services is located in the Engineering Building, room 318C or at +974.4423.0316 or visit https://www.qatar.tamu.edu/students/student-affairs/disability-services.

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 <u>University Rule 08.01.01.M1</u>):

- 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, a person who is subjected to the alleged conduct 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.

Texas A&M at College Station

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with <u>Counseling and Psychological Services</u> (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 <u>Title IX webpage</u>.

Texas A&M at Galveston

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with the Counseling Office in the Seibel Student Center, or call (409)740-4587. For additional information, visit tamuq.edu/counsel.

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the Galveston Campus' <u>Title IX webpage</u>.

Texas A&M at Qatar

Texas A&M University at Qatar students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to visit the <u>Health and Wellness</u> website for more information.

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

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 healthy selfcare by utilizing available resources and services on your campus



Texas A&M College Station

Students who need someone to talk to can contact Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) or 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 988 Suicide & Crisis Lifeline (988) or at 988lifeline.org Links to an external site..

Texas A&M at Galveston

Students who need someone to talk to can call (409) 740-4736 from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. weekdays or visit tamug.edu/counsel for more information. For 24-hour emergency assistance during nights and weekends, contact the TAMUG Police Dept at (409) 740-4545. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the 988 Suicide & Crisis Lifeline (988) or at 988 lifeline.org Links to an external site..

Texas A&M at Qatar

Texas A&M University at Qatar students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to visit the Health and Wellness website for more information.

Campus-Specific Policies

Texas A&M at Galveston

Classroom Access and Inclusion Statement

Texas A&M University is committed to engaged student participation in all of its programs and courses and provides an accessible academic environment for all students. This means that our classrooms, our virtual spaces, our practices and our interactions are as inclusive as possible and we work to provide a welcoming instructional climate and equal learning opportunities for everyone. If you have an instructional need, please notify me as soon as possible.

The Aggie Core values of respect, excellence, leadership, loyalty, integrity and selfless service in addition to civility, and the ability to listen and to observe others are the foundation of a welcoming instructional climate. Active, thoughtful and respectful participation in all aspects of the course supports a more inclusive classroom environment as well as <u>our mutual</u> responsibilities to the campus community.

The following statements below are optional. Leave as is to include, or delete if preferred. Either way, delete this note.

Statement on the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA)

FERPA is a federal law designed to protect the privacy of educational records by limiting access to these records, to establish the right of students to inspect and review their educational records and to provide guidelines for the correction of inaccurate and misleading data through informal and formal hearings. Currently enrolled students wishing to withhold any or all directory information items may do so by going to <a href="https://www.edu.ncm.e

Items that can never be identified as public information are a student's social security number, citizenship, gender, grades, GPR or class schedule. All efforts will be made in this class to protect your



privacy and to ensure confidential treatment of information associated with or generated by your participation in the class.

Directory items include name, UIN, local address, permanent address, email address, local telephone number, permanent telephone number, dates of attendance, program of study (college, major, campus), classification, previous institutions attended, degrees honors and awards received, participation in officially recognized activities and sports, medical residence location and medical residence specialization.

College and Department Policies

College and departmental units may establish their own policies and minimum syllabus requirements. As long as these policies and requirements do not contradict the university level requirements, colleges and departments can add them in this section. Please remove this section if not needed.