

**Security Issues in Russia and Eurasia**  
IAFF 6338 Section 10  
Wednesdays, 5:10-7:00 PM, Monroe Hall, Room 350

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**Overview:**

This course is a seminar on regional security issues in post-Soviet Eurasia, with a focus on the relationships between three sets of interactions: between Russia and other post-Soviet states; Russia and external actors; and other post-Soviet states and external actors. The course will explore the evolution of political and security relations and institutions in the post-Soviet space in interaction with broader global and Eurasian security developments. The course is structured thematically and addresses: Russian and Eurasian security contexts; regional security organizations; regional conflicts and international interventions, including the Ukraine crisis; Islamist extremism; energy security; China and the Far East; and arms control and missile defense.

**Learning Outcomes:**

By the end of the course, students will be able to investigate and interpret a diverse set of security contexts, interests, and policies in post-Soviet Eurasia; analyze the interrelationships among regional, subregional, and international security issues in Eurasia; apply the analysis and materials learned to assess future trajectories for security relations in the region; prepare oral briefings and field discussion on contemporary issues of Eurasian security; and produce policy-relevant analysis through two kinds of written products.

**Requirements:**

Op-Ed (1,200-1,500 words, Times New Roman, 12 pt., double-spaced): 20%  
    Due: March 6 (Friday, by email), *at the latest*  
Panel Presentation: 20%  
    Scheduled on April 15 and April 22  
Final Paper (20 pages, Times New Roman, 12 pt., double-spaced): 50%  
    Due: May 8, by email  
Participation: 10%

There are three assignments for this course. The first assignment is an approximately 1,200-1,500 word *Opinion Piece*. This paper should center around an argument that *you* wish to put forth (i.e., you are not an “advisor to the president of Turkmenistan”). The paper may address a policy recommendation (or recommendations); a sustained critique

of an existing policy (implying the necessity to change policy without fully elaborating on an alternative); or implications of different policy choices. Your intended audience should be one that you might conceivably target in your professional life. This may be your own government, an international organization, or public opinion. If your Opinion Piece makes recommendations, do not just state the recommendations; be sure to explain to your intended audience why they should support them. The Opinion Piece does not require citations, but it must include a bibliography of sources used.

The second assignment is an oral (individual) presentation based on your Opinion Piece. After receiving instructor feedback on your Opinion Piece, you will present a revised version as part of a panel of 3-4 students grouped roughly by topic. No PowerPoint allowed. Presentations will be 10 minutes each and will be followed by up to 20-30 minutes of discussion. Your grade will depend on substance, organization, and preparedness in fielding questions directly relevant to your topic.

The major writing assignment is an approximately 20 page research paper. The final paper may be on the same topic as your Opinion Piece and you may reuse some text, if the content is necessary and a natural fit for the flow of your paper. The paper should address a specific problem or issue; include *concise* background context; and draw on a diversity of sources (including media sources). The issue may be contemporary or historical, but the paper must tightly cohere and not be a general survey of a topic; when thinking about what to write, you should consider tackling *part* of a topic. The final paper may contain policy recommendations, but it does not have to. As part of your grade, you must submit a brief proposal (a paragraph) in advance, and I encourage you to also submit a preliminary bibliography.

The course will include lecture and discussion. Class participation counts for 10% of your grade.

### **University Resources and Policies:**

#### ***University Policy on Religious Holidays:***

1. Students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance;
2. Faculty should extend to these students the courtesy of absence without penalty on such occasions, including permission to make up examinations;
3. Faculty who intend to observe a religious holiday should arrange at the beginning of the semester to reschedule missed classes or to make other provisions for their course-related activities

***Academic Integrity:*** Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For the remainder of the code, see:

<http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>

#### ***Support for Students Outside the Classroom***

##### ***DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES (DSS)***

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to:

<http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>

***UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300***

The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include:

- crisis and emergency mental health consultations
- confidential assessment, counselling services (individual and small group), and referrals
- <http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices>

***Security***

In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

## **Readings:**

The readings will be available primarily via university-accessible databases, with links on Blackboard. I also encourage you to keep current on regional security news.

## **Schedule:**

### **1. Jan. 14: Overview**

### **2-3. Jan. 21, 28: National Security Contexts**

#### **Jan. 21: Russia's Security Context**

Angela Stent, "Reluctant Europeans: Three Centuries of Russian Ambivalence Toward the West," in *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century & the Shadow of the Past*, ed. Robert Legvold (2007), 393-441.

Peter Rutland, "Still Out in the Cold? Russia's Place in a Globalizing World," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45 (2012): 343-354.

Dmitri Trenin, "Introduction: Life After Death?" and selections from "Imperial Exit and Post-Imperial Condition," *Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story* (2011), 1-42, 75-82.

#### **Jan. 28: Eurasian Security Contexts**

Mikhail Molchanov, "National Identity and Foreign Policy Orientation in Ukraine," in *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Jennifer D.P. Moroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov (2002), 227-256.

David J. Smith, "'The Devil and the Deep Blue Sea': European Integration, National Identity and Foreign Policy in Post-Communist Estonia," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 19, no. 3 (2003): 156-177.

Donnacha O Beachain & Frederik Coene, "Go West: Georgia's European identity and its role in domestic politics and foreign policy objectives," *Nationalities Papers* 42, 6: 923-941.

Richard Giragosian, "The Need for Redefinition: Armenian National Identity," *Caucasus Context* 5, no. 1 (2008): 14-28.

Martha Brill Olcott, "Rivalry and Competition in Central Asia," *Eurasia Emerging Markets Forum* (January 2010), 1-16.

#### 4-5. Feb. 4, 11 Regional Security Architectures

##### Feb. 4: European Security

Ronald Asmus, Richard L. Kugler, and F. Stephen Larrabee, "Building A New NATO," *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 1993), 28-40.

James DeHart, "The Burden of Strategy: Transatlantic Relations and the Future of NATO Enlargement," Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University (November 2008), 1-34.

P. Terrence Hopmann, "Intergovernmental Organizations and Non-State Actors, Russia and Eurasia: The OSCE," in *Key Players and Regional Dynamics in Eurasia: The Return of the "Great Game,"* eds. Maria Raquel Freire and Roger Kanet, 238-268.

Pawel Dariusz Wisniewski, "The Eastern Partnership—It Is High Time To Start A Real 'Partnership'," Carnegie Moscow Center, November 2013, 1-23.

Charles Kupchan, "NATO's Final Frontier: Why Russia Should Join the Atlantic Alliance," *Foreign Affairs* 89 (May/June 2010): 100-112.

##### Feb. 11: Eurasian Organizations

Martha Brill Olcott, Anders Aslund, and Sherman W. Garnett, "The Failure of the CIS" in *Getting it Wrong: Regional Cooperation and the Commonwealth of Independent States* (1999), 1-30.

Karsten Jakob Møller, "Collective Security Treaty Organization: An Entangling Alliance," in *International Organizations: Their Role In Conflict Management*, 203-221.

Nicu Popescu, "Eurasian Union: The Real, The Imaginary, and the Likely," *Chaillot Papers*, September 2014, 7-26.

Marlene Laruelle and Sebastien Peyrouse, "The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: Successes and Challenges," *The Chinese Question in Central Asia: Domestic Order, Social Change, and the Chinese Factor* (2012), 27-43.

Alexander I. Nikitin, "Post-Soviet Military Political Integration: The Collective Security Treaty Organization and Its Relations with the EU and NATO," *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2007): 35-44.

**6-8. Feb. 18, 25, March 4 Conflict and Intervention**

February 18: Regional Conflicts

William Hill, *Russia, The Near Abroad, and the West: Lessons from the Moldova-Transdnistria Conflict* (2012), 48-73, 92-108, 115-116, 138-156.

Roy Allison, "The Russian case for military intervention in Georgia: international law, norms and political calculation," *European Security* 18 (2009): 173-200.

Samuel Charap and Cory Welt, *A More Proactive U.S. Approach to the Georgia Conflicts*, Center for American Progress (2011), 6-9, 22-35, 43-51.

Thomas de Waal, "Remaking the Nagorno-Karabakh Peace Process," *Survival* 52, no. 4 (2010): 159-176.

Cory Welt, "Turkish-Armenian Normalization and the Karabakh Conflict," *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 207-221.

February 25: International Interventions

Roy Allison, *Russia, The West, and Military Intervention* (2013), 44-70, 98-119, 170-205.

Samuel Charap, "Russia, Syria, and the Doctrine of Intervention," *Survival* 55, no. 1 (2013): 35-41.

March 4: The Ukraine Crisis and After

Samuel Charap and Mikhail Troitskiy, "Russia, the West, and the Integration Dilemma" *Survival* 55, 6 (December 2013-January 2014): 49-62.

Lilia Shevtsova, "The Russia Factor," *Journal of Democracy* 25, 3 (July 2014): 74-82.

"Russia's Motives in Ukraine," *Strategic Comments*, May 2014.

Dmitry Trenin, "The Ukraine Crisis and the Resumption of Great-Power Rivalry," Carnegie Moscow Center, July 2014, 1-26.

Ivan Krastev and Mark Leonard, "The New Ukrainian Disorder," European Council on Foreign Relations, November 2014, 1-8.

**March 6 (Friday): OP-ED DUE, by email**

**March 11: NO CLASS (SPRING BREAK)**

## **9. March 18 The Islamist Threat**

Brian Glyn Williams, "Jihad and Ethnicity in Post-Communist Eurasia: On the Trail of Transnational Islamic Holy Warriors in Kashmir, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Chechnya and Kosovo," *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 2, nos. 3-4 (March/June 2003): 3-14.

Brian Glyn Williams, "From Secessionist 'Rebels' to 'Al Qaeda Shock Brigades': Assessing Russia's Efforts to Extend the Post-September 11th War on Terror to Chechnya," *Comparative Studies on South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 23, 2 (2003): 18-30.

Cerwyn Moore and Paul Tumelty, "Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31 (2008): 412-433.

Emil Souleimanov, "The Caucasus Emirate: Genealogy of an Islamist Insurgency," *Middle East Policy* 18, no. 4 (2011): 155-168.

Thomas Sanderson, Daniel Kimmage, and David A. Gordon, "From the Ferghana Valley to South Waziristan: The Evolving Threat of Central Asian Jihadists" (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2010), 1-26.

## **10. March 25 Energy Security**

Peter Rutland, "Russia as an Energy Superpower," *New Political Economy* 13, 2 (June 2008): 203-210.

Steve LeVine, "The Near Abroad," "Early Oil," "A Way to the Sea," *The Oil and the Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* (2007), 198-235, 345-359.

Richard E. Ericson, "Eurasian Natural Gas: Significance and Recent Developments," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 53, 5 (2012): 615-648.

Karen Smith Stegen, "Deconstructing the Energy Weapon: Russia's Threat to Europe as Case Study," *Energy Policy* 39 (2011): 6505-6512.

Robert W. Orttung and Indra Overland, "A Limited Toolbox: Explaining the Constraints on Russia's Foreign Energy Policy," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 2 (2011): 74-84.

## **11. April 1 China and the Far East**

Bobo Lo, *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics* (2008), 38-90, 154-172

Igor Danchenko, Erica Downs, and Fiona Hill, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back? The Realities of a Rising China and Implications for Russia's Energy Ambitions," Policy Paper No. 22, Brookings Institution (August 2010), 1-19.

Marlene Laruelle and Sebastien Peyrouse, *The Chinese Question in Central Asia: Domestic Order, Social Change, and the Chinese Factor* (2012), 159-187.

Ekaterina Kuznetsova and Vladislav Inozemtsev, "Russia's Pacific Destiny," *The American Interest*, October 10, 2013.

## **12. April 8 Arms Control and Missile Defense**

James M. Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, "Controlling the Nukes" and "No Deals," *Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy Toward Russia After the Cold War*, 41-58, 287-299, 303.

Steven Pifer, "After New START: What Next?" *Arms Control Today*, December 2010.

Jeffrey Mankoff, "The Politics of US Missile Defense Cooperation with Europe and Russia," *International Affairs* 88, 2 (2012): 329-347.

Vladimir Dvorkin, "Threats Posed by the U.S. Missile Shield," *Russia in Global Affairs* (April/June 2007): 22-32.

Stephen Pifer, "Missile Defense in Europe: Cooperation or Contention," Arms Control Series Paper 8, Brookings Institution (May 2012), 17-27.

**13. April 15 Presentations: Panel I and II**

**14. Apr. 22 Presentations: Panel III and IV**

**Final Papers Due: May 8, by e-mail**