

**Course Title: “US-Russia Relations after the end of the Cold War: Problems, Prospects and Development”**

**Instructor: Dmitry V. Suslov**

**Department: World Politics**

**Email: dsuslov@hse.ru**

**Target Audience:**

The Course is designed for Master students from Russia and abroad with concentrations in Political Science and International Relations, with a special interest in Russian foreign policy, US foreign policy towards Russia and Eurasia, and US-Russia relations. It is preferable, though not compulsory, if the students have basic knowledge of International Relations history and theory, as well as contemporary International Affairs and Russian history.

**Course Description**

**- Aims of the course:**

Aims of the course are: to conduct conceptual analyses and practical study of the US-Russia relations since the end of the Cold War; to explore structural problems and theoretical patterns of the US-Russia relations; to analyze evolution of the US-Russia relations during the last 20 years; provide prognosis of the US-Russia relations evolution for the short- and middle-term future.

**- Course as a part of the study programme, brief analysis of the course in comparison to Russian and foreign academic experience.**

The course provides a logical and necessary supplement to the curricular of the Master programs “International Relations: European and Asian Studies” and “International Relations in Eurasia” offered by the Faculty of World Economy and International Affairs of the HSE. This curricular used to contain courses on the US and on Russia, but lacked ones on the US-Russia relations. The course offered is the only course on the US-Russia relations offered by the Higher School of Economics and one of very few offered in Russia in general. The course would be of special interest for those Russian and foreign students, interested in contemporary Russian and the US foreign policies, as well as in the US-Russia relations, which is a crucial dimension of Russian foreign and defense policies.

One of the course’s advantages is its up-to-date nature. It pays special attention to analyses of the most-recent, but vital for the future, step of the US-Russia relations: their relations under the 1st Obama Administration, known as “reset”.

An important feature of the course is that it approaches the US-Russia relations problems and development in a wider context of Foreign and Domestic policies of the United States and Russia in a given period of time, as well as of the challenges and opportunities the sides were facing in an International Environment. Thus, the US-Russia relations are dealt with as a part and parcel of a bigger picture of the sides’ development and of evolution of their international positions.

The course has also a sound theoretical dimension. First, analyses of the US and Russian foreign policies is based on the major theories of International Relations (Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism) and of foreign policy making. Second, the course will touch upon fundamental theoretical concepts of International Security, inseparable of the US-Russia relations, such as Strategic Deterrence and Strategic Stability.

**- Prerequisites**

The course has no specific obligatory prerequisites. Still, basic knowledge of International Relations history and theory, as well as contemporary International Affairs and Russian history would be preferable and welcome.

**- Intended Learning Outcomes**

As a result of the study, the students should have:

Knowledge of major problems, factors and tendencies of the US-Russia relations evolution since the end of the Cold war, as well as of driving factors in the Russian and US foreign policies towards each other.

Abilities: to search, use and critically evaluate statistical data, academic, reference, and historical literature on Russian and the US policies towards each other, and to elaborate on the basis of this data and literature a prognosis of the US-Russia relations development.

Skills: to explore and analyze the reasons and factors of the US-Russia relations improvements and deteriorations, as well as their state of affairs at a particular moment, to create scenarios of the relations further development.

**- Assessment/s – formative, summative**

The course combines continuous and final methods of assessment.

Continuous: examination of students during the course of lectures; return to the given material.

Final: test (with account of previous observations and appearance in lectures).

The student’s independent work: assimilation of the theoretical material and information received in the course of the lectures, learning the works of domestic and foreign authors on the given problems.

The course concludes with an oral exam aimed to assess the students knowledge, abilities and skills acquired as a result of the course.

Final grade is calculated from grades for:

- Exam—0.7;
- Lecture attendance—0.3;

For each of the above aspects of evaluation the student receives, correspondingly, on a 10-point scale:

- For exam—0.7 x Q1;
- For lecture attendance—0.3 x Q2;

where Q1, Q2 are grades on a 10-point scale.

**Course Outline**

| №№ | Topics   | Course Hours | Academic/Contact Hours |          | Self-study Hours |
|----|--|--------------|------------------------|----------|------------------|
|    |  |              | Lectures               | Seminars |                  |
| 1. | Methodological and theoretical framework for the US-Russia relations analyses      | 4            | 2                      |          | 2                |
| 2. | The role of the US-Russia relations for the sides and in the current International | 2            | 2                      |          | 2                |

National Research University Higher School of Economics  
School of World Economy and International Affairs  
Graduate Programme “International Relations: European and Asian Studies”

|     | System  |    |    |  |    |
|-----|---|----|----|--|----|
| 3.  | Structural Problems, Contradictions and Patterns of the US-Russia Relations   | 2  | 2  |  | 2  |
| 4.  | The US-Russia relations in early 1990-s.  | 4  | 2  |  | 4  |
| 5.  | Worsening of the US-Russia relations in the 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of 1990-s and the crisis of 1999.                            | 4  | 4  |  | 4  |
| 6.  | Improvement of the US-Russia relations in 2000-2002   | 4  | 2  |  | 2  |
| 7.  | Gradual deterioration of the US-Russia relations in 2003-2007   | 4  | 2  |  | 4  |
| 8.  | Crisis of the US-Russia relations of 2008   | 4  | 2  |  | 4  |
| 9.  | “Reset” of the US-Russia relations: preconditions, initial logic, development and major achievements                          | 4  | 4  |  | 6  |
| 10. | Crisis of the “reset” in 2011-2012. The problems of missile defense and “Arab spring” in the US-Russia relations              | 4  | 2  |  | 2  |
| 11. | Crisis of the US-Russia relations in November-December 2012. Scenarios of the further development of the US-Russia relations. | 4  | 4  |  | 4  |
|     | In sum:   | 64 | 28 |  | 36 |

**Curriculum** *(by topics)*

**Topic 1. Methodological and theoretical framework for the US-Russia relations analyses**

**Content:** Power, values and domestic politics as the major determinants of the US-Russia relations. Realism and liberalism in explanation, analyses and prognosis of the US-Russia relations. US-Russia relations and the general evolution foreign policies of Russia and the US: interconnectedness and mutual determination. National interests as a factor of the US-Russia relations. The problem of objectivity of national interests. US-Russia relations agenda and the International system evolution.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne (Eds.). Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases. Oxford University Press, 2012. Chapters 1-4.

Michael Cox, Doug Stokes (Eds.). U.S. Foreign Policy. Oxford University Press, 2012. Chapters 1-2.

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. Chapter 1.

*Recommended:*

Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne (Eds.). Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases. Oxford University Press, 2012. Chapters 5-11.

Glenn Palmer. A Theory of Foreign Policy. Princeton University Press, 2010. 224 p.

Patrick Callahan. Logics of American Foreign Policy: Theories of America's World Role. Pearson, 2003. 200 p.

Jeffrey Mankoff. Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011. Chapter 1.

Michael Cox, Doug Stokes (Eds.). U.S. Foreign Policy. Oxford University Press, 2012. Chapter 14. .

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Which theories of IR are best applied for the US-Russia relations analyses and in which situations?

What constitutes national interests for Russia and for the US?

What is the dynamics of the role of values in the US-Russia relations?

Does the US-Russia relations agenda reflect the objective challenges and opportunities the sides face in the evolving International system?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

"Vicious cycle" nature of the US-Russia relations: perspectives of the IR schools.

Change and continuity in the US-Russia relations agenda development.

**Topic 2. The role of the US-Russia relations for the sides and in the current International System**

**Content:** Dynamics of the US role in the Russian foreign policy. The US in the Russian official program foreign policy documents. The role of the US in the Russian threat perception. The US role in Russian security and defence policy development. Dynamics of the Russian role in the US foreign policy. The Russian role and place in the US program foreign policy documents. The Russian role in the US security and defence policy. Russian national interests in relation to the US. The US national interests in relation to Russia. The role of the US-Russia relations for the current international relations and global and regional security. Added value of the US-Russia relations for the global political and security governance.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Sergei Karaganov, Dmitry Suslov, Timofei Bordachev. Reconfiguration, Not Just a Reset: Russia's Interests in Relations with the United States of America. Valdai International Discussion Club Report. June 2009. <http://valdaiclub.com/publication/22130.html>

Robert Legvold. Rethinking US Policy towards Russia. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2009.

Tsygankov, Andrei. US-Russia Relations in the Post-Western World. Conference Papers -- International Studies Association. 2010 Annual Meeting, p. 1 - 20.

*Recommended:*

The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation. February 12, 2013. <http://www.mid.ru/ns-osndoc.nsf/0e9272bfa34209743256c630042d1aa/cef95560654d4ca5c32574960036cddb?OpenDocument>

National Security Strategy of the United States of America. May 2010. [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)

Nuclear Posture Review Report. US Department of Defence, April 2010. <http://www.defense.gov/npr/docs/2010%20nuclear%20posture%20review%20report.pdf>

The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation. Approved by Russian Federation presidential edict on 5 February 2010. [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia\\_military\\_doctrine.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia_military_doctrine.pdf)

Andrei Tsygankov. Russophobia: Anti-Russian Lobby and American Foreign Policy. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, 256 p.

Sergei Karaganov, Dmitry Suslov. The U.S. - Russia Relations after the "Reset": Building a New Agenda. A View from Russia. Valdai International Discussion Club Report. March 2011. <http://valdaiclub.com/publication/22285.html>

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Why did the role of Russia decrease in the US foreign policy since the end of the Cold war?

What place does the US policy occupy in the Russian defence and military strategy?

How prominent is "strategic stability" for the current international security and international system?

What is the vitality of the US-Russia relations for the evolving international relations beyond strategic stability?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

US-Russia relations today and tomorrow: Global or Regional?

Relevance of the US role and place in the Russian defence policy.

Limits and consequences of the US policy of "ignoring Russia".

The problem of interdependence in the US-Russia relations.

**Topic 3. Structural Problems, Contradictions and Patterns of the US-Russia Relations**

**Content:** Impact of the Cold war heritage on the US-Russia relations. Strategic deterrence philosophy in the US-Russia relations. The role and place of arms control in the US-Russia relations and its consequences. Asymmetry as a problem of the US-Russia relations. Clash of the Russian and the US

visions of international order. US-Russia contradictions at the former USSR. US-Russia contradictions in the sphere of European security. US-Russia contradictions on global political and security governance. Value gap as a problem of the US-Russia relations.

**Reading list:**

*Essential:*

James M. Goldgeier, Michael McFaul. Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy Toward Russia after the Cold War. Brookings Institution Press, 2003. Chapter 1.

Jack F. Jr. Matlock. Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality. Yale University Press, 2011. Chapter 1.

Timothy Colton, Timothy Frye and Robert Legvold (Eds.). The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing US Policy towards Russia. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010. Chapters 2,3,4,8,9.

*Recommended:*

Sergei Karaganov, Dmitry Suslov. The U.S. - Russia Relations after the "Reset": Building a New Agenda. A View from Russia. Valdai International Discussion Club Report. March 2011.

<http://valdaiclub.com/publication/22285.html>

Timothy Colton, Timothy Frye and Robert Legvold (Eds.). The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing US Policy towards Russia. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010. Chapters 1,5,6,7,10.

Minton F. Goldman. Rivalry in Eurasia: Russia, the United States, and the War on Terror. Praeger, 2009.

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What is strategic deterrence philosophy and how does it impact the US-Russia relations?

Why is Russian strategic defence policy centred around parity principle and how does it impact the US-Russia relations?

What are the major contradictions between Russia and the US at the Post-Soviet space?

What are the US and Russian visions of the desired international order?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

Ways for overcoming strategic deterrence philosophy in the US-Russia relations.

Comparative analyses of parity and minimal sufficiency as governing principles of the US-Russia relations in strategic stability sphere.

Ways for overcoming the US-Russia contradictions at the Post-Soviet space.

The future of values and value incompatibility in the US-Russia relations.

**Topic 4. The US-Russia relations in early 1990-s**

**Content:** US policy towards the USSR during Perestroika period. The US approaches to the break-up of the USSR. The US-Russia relations in the year 1992. Differences between the Bush-senior and Bill Clinton Administration approaches towards Russia. The US-Russia relations in the years 1993-1994: emerging contradictions. The problem of the US assistance to Russia in early 1990-s. Advantages and weaknesses of the US engagement with the Russian post-Soviet transformation. The Russian policy of integration with the West.

**Reading list:**

*Essential:*

James M. Goldgeier, Michael McFaul. Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy Toward Russia after the Cold War. Brookings Institution Press, 2003. Chapters 2-6.

Jack F. Jr. Matlock. Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality. Yale University Press, 2011. Chapters 3-6.

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. Chapter 3.

*Recommended:*

Strobe Talbott. The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy. Random House Trade Paper, 2003. Chapters 2-8.

Jack F. Jr. Matlock. Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality. Yale University Press, 2011. Chapter 2.

Francis Fukuyama. The End of History and the Last Man. New York, 1992.

Jack F. Matlock. Autopsy on an Empire. The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union. New York, 1995.

George H.W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft. A World Transformed. Vintage, 1999.

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

Why has the "Marshall Plan for Russia" never arrived?

What was the difference between the Bush-senior and Clinton Administrations approaches towards the Russian transformation?

How successful was the US policy of "aligning with the Russian reforms"?

Why wasn't the Russian attempt to join the West successful?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

Realism and liberalism in the US policy towards Russia in early 1990-s.

US and Russian approaches to nuclear arms reductions in early 1990s.

The US impact on the Russian political and economic development in early 1990-s.

Ignoring Russia and engaging Russia in early 1990s: dilemma or compatibility?

**Topic 5. Worsening of the US-Russia relations in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1990-s and the crisis of 1999**

**Content:** Problems of Russian domestic development in late 1990-s. Creeping hegemonism and "global sheriff" concept in the US foreign policy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1990-s. Multipolarity as the central concept of the Russian foreign policy in late 1990-s. NATO expansion as a problem of the US-Russia relations. The US and Russian policies at the former USSR and rising Russian-American contradictions. Humanitarian interventions in the US foreign policy. The Kosovo crisis of 1999 in the US-Russia relations.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

National Research University Higher School of Economics  
School of World Economy and International Affairs

Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies"

James M. Goldgeier, Michael McFaul. *Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy Toward Russia after the Cold War*. Brookings Institution Press, 2003. Chapters 7-11.

Jack F. Jr. Matlock. *Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality*. Yale University Press, 2011. Chapters 6,7.

Andrei P. Tsygankov. *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. Chapter 4.

*Recommended:*

Strobe Talbott. *The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy*. Random House Trade Paper, 2003. Chapters 9-16.

Thomas Graham. *Russia's Decline and Uncertain Recovery*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002

Thomas Graham. *U.S.-Russian Relations at the Turn of the Century*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000

Stephen M. Walt. Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2000.

Anthony Lake. From Containment to Enlargement. Address at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. Washington DC, September 21, 1993.  
[http://www.disam.dscamilitary.com/pubs/Vol%2016\\_2/Lake.pdf](http://www.disam.dscamilitary.com/pubs/Vol%2016_2/Lake.pdf)

Samuel Berger. A Foreign Policy for the Global Age // *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 6, November/December 2000.

A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement. February 1996  
<http://www.fas.org/spp/military/docops/national/1996stra.htm>

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study**

Why did Russia turn from "joining the West" to "multipolarity" foreign policy strategy?

How did the US behavior as a "benign hegemon" and "global sheriff" impact Russia and the US-Russia relations?

What were the major "compensatory" efforts on the part of the US towards Russia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1990-s?

Why did Russia send its paratroopers from Bosnia to Kosovo in June 1999 and what were the results and consequences of this step?

Did the Russian reaction to the US and NATO aggression against Yugoslavia signal of its readiness to engage in a systemic confrontation with the West?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

Russian position on European security reform in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1990s and the US policy.

Prerequisites for NATO expansion and the Russian policy.

US-sponsored integrationist arrangements and energy projects at the Post-Soviet space in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1990-s.

The Kosovo intervention: a precedent or an exception?

Dimensions of Russian "semi-isolation" of the year 1999: the Kosovo crisis, the OSCE Istanbul summit and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chechen war.



## **Topic 6. Improvement of the US-Russia relations in 2000-2002**

**Content:** Russian support of the George W. Bush candidacy. Improvement of the US-Russia relations in spring-summer 2001 and the Ljubljana summit. The impact of 9/11 on the US-Russia relations. Russian solidarity with the US and support of the US anti-terror activities. The Russian role in the US war in Afghanistan. Establishment of the NATO-Russia Council. The Bush Administration arms control policy. Unilateralism of the US foreign policy under the Bush Administration. Death of the ABM and START-2 Treaties. Elaboration of the SORT (Moscow) Treaty.

### **Reading List:**

#### *Essential:*

Jack F. Jr. Matlock. *Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality*. Yale University Press, 2011. Chapter 8.

James M. Goldgeier, Michael McFaul. *Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy Toward Russia after the Cold War*. Brookings Institution Press, 2003. Chapters 13-14.

Condoleezza Rice. Promoting the National Interest. // *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1, January/February 2000

Andrei P. Tsygankov. *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. Chapter 5.

#### *Recommended:*

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002  
<http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/nss/strategies/nss.pdf>

Governor Bush G.W. A Distinctly American Internationalism. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. November 19, 1999.

Goldgeier J. The United States and Russia. *Policy Review*, No. 109. October-November 2001.

Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT). May 24, 2002.  
<http://www.armscontrol.org/documents/sort>

Rome NATO-Russia Summit Declaration. May 28 2002. <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0205-rome/rome-eng.pdf>

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What was the foreign policy of the Bush Administration before 9/11?

Why did Russia prefer George Bush to Albert Gore?

How did 9/11 impact the US-Russia relations?

How did Russia participate in the "Grand Anti-Terror Coalition"?

What was the Russian policy on arms control in early 2000-s?

What were the consequences of the US withdrawal from the ABM Treaty?

### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Anti-terrorism as a pillar of the positive agenda of US-Russia relations: how sustainable?

Realism and Neo-conservatism in the Bush Administration foreign policy.

Unilateralism and hegemonism in the Bush Administration foreign policy.

NATO-Russia relations in 1997-1999 and after 2002: comparative analyses.

## **Topic 7. Gradual deterioration of the US-Russia relations in 2003-2007**

**Content:** Evolution of the US grand strategy after 9/11 and the Russian position. The war in Iraq in 2003 and the Russian policy. Evolution of the Russian domestic and economic policies in 2003-2007 and the US reaction. The US policies at the Post-Soviet space in 2000-s and "color revolutions" and Russian responses. The US missile defense policy under Bush Administration and Russia. The US-Russian clash over NATO expansion to Ukraine and Georgia in the 2000-s. Revisionism of the Russian foreign policy towards the West and the US in the 2000s. The US policy and rhetoric towards the Russian domestic evolution in the 2000s.

### **Reading List:**

#### *Essential:*

Andrei P. Tsygankov. *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. Chapter 6.

Stephen Sestanovich. *Russia's Wrong Direction: What the United States Can and Should Do*. Council on Foreign Relations Task Force Report No 57. March 2006.

Dimitri K. Simes. *Losing Russia: The Costs of Renewed Confrontation*. *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2007.

Jack F. Jr. Matlock. *Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality*. Yale University Press, 2011. Chapters 9-10.

G. John Ikenberry. *America's Imperial Ambition*. // *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 5, September/October 2002. Pp. 44-60.

Condoleezza Rice. *Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World* // *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008

#### *Recommended:*

Dmitri V. Trenin. *Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011. 279 pages

Jeffrey Mankoff. *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009. 372 pages

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, March 2006  
<http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/nss/strategies/nss2006.pdf>

President George W. Bush. State of the Union Address. February 2, 2005.

Ivo H. Daalder, James M. Lindsay. *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. Brookings Institution Press, 2003, P. 246.

National Military Strategy of the United States of America, 2004  
<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2005/d20050318nms.pdf>

National Defense Strategy, June 2008  
<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/2008%20National%20Defense%20Strategy.pdf>

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What were the major contradictions and irritants of the US-Russia relations in the years 2003-2007?

What were the essence and reasons for the speech of Vladimir Putin in Munich in 2007?

What was the Russian perception of the "color revolutions" at the Post-Soviet space and the according US policy? How did Russia react to that?

What was the Russian approach towards the US missile defense policy?

What was the Russian policy towards the US war and occupation of Iraq?

How did the US-Russia dialogue over Iran evolve in the later 2000s?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

Was Russia right or wrong to oppose the US war and occupation of Iraq?

How did the US "sinking" in Iraq impact the Russian foreign policy?

The reasons behind the Russian foreign policy revisionism and assertiveness of later 2000s.

Why didn't the US accept the Russian proposals on missile defense cooperation?

Crumbling of the positive agenda of the US-Russia relations in later 2000s: reasons and dynamics.

**Topic 8. Crisis of the US-Russia relations of 2008**

**Content:** Prerequisites for the Russian-Georgian war of August 2008. Results of the 2008 NATO Bucharest summit and Russian reaction. Development of the Russian-Georgian war and its major results. The US reaction to the Russian-Georgian war and Russian recognition of the Abkhazian and South Ossetian independence. State of the US-Russia relations in Autumn-Winter 2008.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Stephen Sestanovich. What Has Moscow Done? Foreign Affairs, November/December 2008.

Jeffrey Mankoff. Russia, the Post-Soviet Space, and Challenges to US Policy. In: Timothy Colton, Timothy Frye and Robert Legvold (Eds.). The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing US Policy towards Russia. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010.

The Right Direction of US Policy Toward Russia. A Report from the Commission on US Policy toward Russia. Washington, D.C., March 2009. <http://cftni.org/RussiaReport09.pdf>

*Recommended:*

Ronald Asmus. A Little War that Shook the World: Georgia, Russia, and the Future of the West. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Jeffrey Mankoff. Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.

Dmitri V. Trenin. Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011.

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What were the reasons and triggers for the war between Russia and Georgia?

Why did Russia recognize independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia?

What was the US role in the Russia-Georgia war?

What was the state of the US-Russia relations in Autumn-Winter 2008?

**Suggested Research Topics**

Was the US policy toward Russia in Autumn 2008 success or failure?

Analyses of the Russian-Georgian war from the Neo-realist perspective.

## **Topic 9. "Reset" of the US-Russia relations: preconditions, initial logic, development, and major achievements**

**Content:** Transformation of the US foreign policy under Obama Administration. The Russia's role in the new US grand strategy. The "reset" concept: transformation of the logic and content. The US-Russia relations on arms control and strategic security in 2009-2010. The US-Russia relations on Iran under Obama Administration. Transformation of the US policy at the Post-Soviet space. The US-Russia cooperation on Afghanistan. Establishment of the Bilateral Presidential Commission. The Dmitry Medvedev factor in the US-Russia relations improvement in 2009-2010.

### **Reading List:**

#### *Essential:*

Sergei Karaganov, Dmitry Suslov. The U.S. - Russia Relations after the "Reset": Building a New Agenda. A View from Russia. Valdai International Discussion Club Report. March 2011.  
<http://valdaiclub.com/publication/22285.html>

Sergei Karaganov, Dmitry Suslov, Timofei Bordachev. Reconfiguration, Not Just a Reset: Russia's Interests in Relations with the United States of America. Valdai International Discussion Club Report. June 2009. <http://valdaiclub.com/publication/22130.html>

Robert Legvold. Meeting the Russian Challenge in the Obama Era. In: Vinod K. Aggarwal and Kristi Govella. Responding to a Resurgent Russia: Russian Policy and Responses from the European Union and the United States. Springer, 2011.

Robert Legvold. The Russia File: How to Move Toward a Strategic Partnership. Foreign Affairs, July/August 2009.

Samuel Charap. The Transformation of US-Russia Relations. Current History. Oct2010, Vol. 109 Issue 729

#### *Recommended:*

James M. Goldgeier. A Realistic Reset with Russia. Policy Review No 156. August 2009.

Andrei P. Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010. Chapter 7.

Samuel Charap. Assessing the "Reset" and the Next Steps for U.S. Russia Policy. Center for American Progress Report. April 2010. [http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2010/04/pdf/russia\\_report.pdf](http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2010/04/pdf/russia_report.pdf)

Samuel Charap, Laura Conley, Peter Juul, Andrew Light, and Julian Wong. After the "Reset": A strategy and new agenda for U.S. Russia policy. Center for American Progress Report. July 2009. [http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2009/07/pdf/russia\\_report.pdf](http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2009/07/pdf/russia_report.pdf)

Matthew Rojansky. Indispensable Institutions: The Obama-Medvedev Commission and Five Decades of U.S. - Russia Dialogue. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Report. 2010. [http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/indispensable\\_institutions.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/indispensable_institutions.pdf)

David Kramer. Resetting U.S.—Russian Relations: It Takes Two. The Washington Quarterly, January 2010.

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What changes did the Obama Administration bring in the US foreign policy?

What were the reasons for improvement of the US relations with Russia?

What was the philosophy of the “reset” of the US-Russia relations?

What were the major achievements of the “reset” of the US-Russia relations?

What were the peculiarities of the agenda for the “reset”?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

Realism and liberalism in the Obama Administration policies towards Russia.

The problem of “interests swaps” in the US-Russia relations under Presidents Medvedev and Obama.

Did the US-Russia “reset” overcome the strategic deterrence philosophy of the US-Russia relations?

How dramatic could be development of the US-Russia economic relations?

Role and place of the US-Russia “reset” in the Grand Strategy of the Obama Administration.

**Topic 10. Crisis of the “reset” in 2011-2012. The problems of missile defense and “Arab spring” in the US-Russia relations.**

**Content:** Limits of the “easy agenda” of the US-Russia relations. The US-Russia contradictions over missile defense and their impact on the relations. The US policy on Libya and Syria and their consequences on the US-Russia relations. The Russian criticism of the US policy on Afghanistan. Lack of a positive new agenda as a problem of the US-Russia relations. Mutual discouragement and irritation as a problem of the US-Russia relations in 2011-2012. The Republican Factor in the US-Russia relations under Obama Administration.

**Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Dmitry Suslov. From Parity to Reasonable Sufficiency / Russia in Global Affairs, December 2010.

<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/From-Parity-to-Reasonable-Sufficiency-15079>

Jack F. Jr. Matlock. Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality. Yale University Press, 2011. Chapters 11-12.

Deyermond, Ruth. The Republican Challenge to Obama's Russia Policy. Survival, Oct/Nov2012, Vol. 54 Issue 5

Ten years without ABM Treaty. The issue of missile defense in Russia-US relations. Russian International Affairs Council Report No 5. 2012. <http://www.slideshare.net/RussianCouncil/ten-years-without-abm-treaty-the-issue-of-missile-defense-in-russiaus-relations>

Igor Ivanov. Political will is not enough. Russian International Affairs Council Publication.

[http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=730#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=730#top)

*Recommended:*

Mehrish, B. N. US-Russia Relations Under the Obama Administration: A Focus on Nuclear Arms Race Issues. IUP Journal of International Relations. Jan2011, Vol. 5 Issue 1.

Mattox, Gale A. Resetting the US-Russian relationship: is 'cooperative engagement' possible? European Security. 2011, Vol. 20 Issue 1

Vladimir Batyuk. Real and imaginary missile threat. Russian International Affairs Council Publication. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=694#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=694#top)

Mikhail Troitsky. Russian-american relations: upon "resetting". Russian International Affairs Council Publication. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=338#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=338#top)

How to improve Russia-U.S. relationship? Russian International Affairs Council Publication. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=699#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=699#top)

### **Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What were the major strategic and tactical reasons for the crisis of the US-Russian "reset"?

What role did the Republicans play in worsening of the US-Russia relations in 2011-2012 and what were their motivations?

Why did the US-Russia missile defense negotiations fail?

How did the US and Russia interact on Libya and how did it impact the sides' clash over Syria?

How was the US policy towards Afghanistan and Central Asia evolving in 2011-2012, and what impact did it have on the US-Russia relations?

### **Suggested Research Topics:**

Was the US-Russian disagreements over the Arab spring of tactical or strategic/philosophical nature?

Could a US-Russian agreement on missile defense be reached? What kind of agreement?

Change and continuity of the US interventionism under Obama Administration: a Russian perspective.

Republican agenda of the US policy towards Russia: domestic roots and foreign policy consequences.

## **Topic 11. Crisis of the US-Russia relations in November-December 2012. Scenarios of the further development of the US-Russia relations.**

**Content:** The Russian Presidential election campaign and impact on the US-Russia relations. Russian domestic development after Putin's return to the Presidency. Russian foreign policy evolution after Putin's return to Presidency. The US Presidential campaign of 2012 and impact on the US-Russia relations. "Magnitsky Act" and "Dima Yakovlev law": causes and consequences. "Mini-crises" of the US-Russia relations of December 2012. The Russian domestic politics impact on the US-Russia relations. Realistic and negative scenarios of the US-Russia relations development in 2012 – 2016. Prospects for a new crisis of the US-Russia relations by 2016. Advantages and risks of the "pragmatic selective cooperation" model of the US-Russia relations.

### **Reading List:**

*Essential:*

Stent, Angela. US–Russia Relations in the Second Obama Administration. Survival, Dec2012, Vol. 54 Issue 6

Klenov A. Russia-USA: A "Software" Update. International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy & International Relations. 2012, Vol. 58 Issue 5

Dmitry Suslov. Russia-US "reset" over, what next? Valdai International Discussion Club Publication.  
<http://valdaiclub.com/usa/54760.html>

Samuel Charap. Russia, Syria and the Doctrine of Intervention. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, vol. 55, no. 1, February-March 2013

*Recommended:*

Sergey Lavrov. "Reset" Cannot Last Forever. *Kommersant*, October 3, 2012.  
[http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=968#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=968#top)

Andrey Tsygankov. Russia-USA: on the way to a new model of interdependence. Russian International Affairs Council Publication. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=784#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=784#top)

Dmitry Peskov. Resetting the U.S.-Russian Reset. *The National Interest*, January 2013.  
<http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/exclusive-it-takes-two-tango-8009>

Igor Ivanov. "Reset" has exhausted itself in Russian-American relations. *Interfax*, January 21, 2013.

Igor Ivanov, Madeleine Albright. A New Agenda for U.S.-Russia Cooperation. *The New York Times*, December 31, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/31/opinion/31iht-edalbright31.html?ref=global-home&r=0>

**Questions/Tasks for Self-Study:**

What are the nature and consequences of the "mini-crisis" of the US-Russia relations of December 2012?

How did the Russian domestic politics impact the US-Russia relations in 2012?

How did the US domestic politics impact the US-Russia relations in 2012?

Why didn't abolition of the Jackson-Vanik amendment help to improve the US-Russia relations?

What was the Obama Administration policy toward the Magnitsky Act?

What are the major risks of the US-Russia relations in the years 2013-2016?

**Suggested Research Topics:**

The problem of political will in the US-Russia relations during Obama's second term.

Dynamics of the role and place of the US-Russia relations in the US and Russian foreign policy agendas in late 2012-early 2013.

Anti-Americanism in the Russian presidential campaign in 2012.

Divided government and the US policy towards Russia in 2013-2016.

The problem of sustainability of the "pragmatic selective partnership" logic of the US-Russia relations.

**Teaching and Learning Activities**

Teaching and learning activities include lectures, providing the central focal points of the material discussed, reading of the provided essential and recommended literature, discussion of the central problems of the US-Russia relations after the end of the Cold war based on the data and knowledge provided in the lectures and on the readings, and, finally, individual online communication with students beyond the classroom.

Typically, the class will meet twice a week. Each meeting will be devoted to a relevant topic among the list provided above. Students will be supposed to study essential readings for each

of the topics in advance of each classroom meeting. These readings will be distributed by e-mail among the students, if necessary. Then central problems of the topic discussed will be covered by the instructor in an interactive lecture (involving questions and answers to the lecturer from the audience and vice versa), to be followed by discussion of the central problems and issues of each of the topic. In some cases, Power Point presentations will be prepared by the instructor to structure and optimize comprehension of the materials by the students. Finally, the students will be invited to enquire about additional readings and discuss items of interest of the relevant topics of the US-Russia relations after the Cold war with the instructor individually by e-mail and /or in person at the instructor's office at the special appointments.

The course will end with an exam covering the central aspects and discussion points of each of the topic of the course. The subjects brought to exam will be those covered during the lectures.

## Resources

1. Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne (Eds.). *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
2. Michael Cox, Doug Stokes (Eds.). *U.S. Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
3. Andrei P. Tsygankov. *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010.
4. Glenn Palmer. *A Theory of Foreign Policy*. Princeton University Press, 2010.
5. Patrick Callahan. *Logics of American Foreign Policy: Theories of America's World Role*. Pearson, 2003.
6. Jeffrey Mankoff. *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2011.
7. Sergei Karaganov, Dmitry Suslov, Timofei Bordachev. *Reconfiguration, Not Just a Reset: Russia's Interests in Relations with the United States of America*. Valdai International Discussion Club Report. June 2009. <http://valdaiclub.com/publication/22130.html>  
Sergei Karaganov, Dmitry Suslov. *The U.S. - Russia Relations after the "Reset": Building a New Agenda. A View from Russia*. Valdai International Discussion Club Report. March 2011. <http://valdaiclub.com/publication/22285.html>
8. Robert Legvold. *Rethinking US Policy towards Russia*. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2009.
9. Tsygankov, Andrei. *US-Russia Relations in the Post-Western World*. Conference Papers -- International Studies Association. 2010 Annual Meeting, p. 1 - 20.
10. James M. Goldgeier, Michael McFaul. *Power and Purpose: U.S. Policy Toward Russia after the Cold War*. Brookings Institution Press, 2003.
11. Jack F. Jr. Matlock. *Superpower Illusions: How Myths and False Ideologies Led America Astray--And How to Return to Reality*. Yale University Press, 2011.
12. Timothy Colton, Timothy Frye and Robert Legvold (Eds.). *The Policy World Meets Academia: Designing US Policy towards Russia*. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2010.



- National Research University Higher School of Economics  
School of World Economy and International Affairs  
Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies"
13. Minton F. Goldman. *Rivalry in Eurasia: Russia, the United States, and the War on Terror*. Praeger, 2009.
  14. Strobe Talbott. *The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy*. Random House Trade Pape, 2003.
  15. Francis Fukuyama. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York, 1992.
  16. Jack F. Matlock. *Autopsy on an Empire. The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. New York, 1995.
  17. George H.W. Bush and Brent Scowcroft. *A World Transformed*. Vintage, 1999.
  18. Andrei Tsygankov. *Russophobia: Anti-Russian Lobby and American Foreign Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2009
  19. Thomas Graham. *Russia's Decline and Uncertain Recovery*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002
  20. Thomas Graham. *U.S.-Russian Relations at the Turn of the Century*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000
  21. Stephen M. Walt. Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2000.
  22. Anthony Lake. From Containment to Enlargement. Address at the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University. Washington DC, September 21, 1993. [http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2016\\_2/Lake.pdf](http://www.disam.dsca.mil/pubs/Vol%2016_2/Lake.pdf)
  23. Samuel Berger. A Foreign Policy for the Global Age // *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 6, November/December 2000.
  24. Condoleezza Rice. Promoting the National Interest. // *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1, January/February 2000
  25. Governor Bush G.W. A Distinctly American Internationalism. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. November 19, 1999.
  26. Goldgeier J. The United States and Russia. *Policy Review*, No. 109. October-November 2001.
  27. Stephen Sestanovich. *Russia's Wrong Direction: What the United States Can and Should Do*. Council on Foreign Relations Task Force Report No 57. March 2006.
  28. Dimitri K. Simes. *Losing Russia: The Costs of Renewed Confrontation*. *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2007.
  29. G. John Ikenberry. America's Imperial Ambition. // *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 5, September/October 2002. Pp. 44-60.
  30. Condoleezza Rice. Rethinking the National Interest: American Realism for a New World // *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008
  31. Dmitri V. Trenin. *Post-Imperium: A Eurasian Story*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011. 279 pages
  32. Ivo H. Daalder, James M. Lindsay. *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. Brookings Institution Press, 2003, P. 246.
  33. Stephen Sestanovich. What Has Moscow Done? *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2008.
  34. *The Right Direction of US Policy Toward Russia*. A Report from the Commission on US Policy toward Russia. Washington, D.C., March 2009. <http://cftni.org/RussiaReport09.pdf>

- National Research University Higher School of Economics  
School of World Economy and International Affairs  
Graduate Programme “International Relations: European and Asian Studies”
35. Ronald Asmus. *A Little War that Shook the World: Georgia, Russia, and the Future of the West*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
  36. Robert Legvold. Meeting the Russian Challenge in the Obama Era. In: Vinod K. Aggarwal and Kristi Govella. *Responding to a Resurgent Russia: Russian Policy and Responses from the European Union and the United States*. Springer, 2011.
  37. Robert Legvold. The Russia File: How to Move Toward a Strategic Partnership. *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2009.
  38. Samuel Charap. The Transformation of US-Russia Relations. *Current History*. Oct2010, Vol. 109 Issue 729
  39. James M. Goldgeier. A Realistic Reset with Russia. *Policy Review* No 156. August 2009.
  40. Samuel Charap. Assessing the “Reset” and the Next Steps for U.S. Russia Policy. Center for American Progress Report. April 2010. [http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2010/04/pdf/russia\\_report.pdf](http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2010/04/pdf/russia_report.pdf)
  41. Samuel Charap, Laura Conley, Peter Juul, Andrew Light, and Julian Wong. After the “Reset”: A strategy and new agenda for U.S. Russia policy. Center for American Progress Report. July 2009. [http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2009/07/pdf/russia\\_report.pdf](http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2009/07/pdf/russia_report.pdf)
  42. Matthew Rojansky. Indispensable Institutions: The Obama-Medvedev Commission and Five Decades of U.S. – Russia Dialogue. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Report. 2010. [http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/indispensable\\_institutions.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/indispensable_institutions.pdf)
  43. Samuel A. Greene and Dmitri Trenin. (Re)Engaging Russia in an Era of Uncertainty. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Report. December 2009. [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/engaging\\_russia.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/engaging_russia.pdf)
  44. David Kramer. Resetting U.S.—Russian Relations: It Takes Two. *The Washington Quarterly*, January 2010.
  45. Deyermond, Ruth. The Republican Challenge to Obama's Russia Policy. *Survival*, Oct/Nov2012, Vol. 54 Issue 5
  46. Ten years without ABM Treaty. The issue of missile defense in Russia-US relations. *Russian International Affairs Council Report* No 5. 2012. <http://www.slideshare.net/RussianCouncil/ten-years-without-abm-treaty-the-issue-of-missile-defense-in-russia-us-relations>
  47. Igor Ivanov. Political will is not enough. *Russian International Affairs Council Publication*. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=730#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=730#top)
  48. Mehrish, B. N. US-Russia Relations Under the Obama Administration: A Focus on Nuclear Arms Race Issues. *IUP Journal of International Relations*. Jan2011, Vol. 5 Issue 1.
  49. Mattox, Gale A. Resetting the US-Russian relationship: is 'cooperative engagement' possible? *European Security*. 2011, Vol. 20 Issue 1
  50. Vladimir Batyuk. Real and imaginary missile threat. *Russian International Affairs Council Publication*. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=694#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=694#top)
  51. Mikhail Troitsky. Russian-american relations: upon “resetting”. *Russian International Affairs Council Publication*. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=338#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=338#top)
  52. How to improve Russia-U.S. relationship? *Russian International Affairs Council Publication*. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=699#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=699#top)

- National Research University Higher School of Economics  
School of World Economy and International Affairs  
Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies"
53. Stent, Angela. US–Russia Relations in the Second Obama Administration. *Survival*, Dec2012, Vol. 54 Issue 6
  54. Klenov A. Russia-USA: A "Software" Update. *International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy & International Relations*. 2012, Vol. 58 Issue 5
  55. Dmitry Suslov. Russia-US “reset” over, what next? Valdai International Discussion Club Publication. <http://valdaiclub.com/usa/54760.html>
  56. Samuel Charap. Russia, Syria and the Doctrine of Intervention. *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, vol. 55, no. 1, February-March 2013
  57. Sergey Lavrov. "Reset" Cannot Last Forever. *Kommersant*, October 3, 2012. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=968#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=968#top)
  58. Andrey Tsygankov. Russia-USA: on the way to a new model of interdependence. Russian International Affairs Council Publication. [http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id\\_4=784#top](http://russiancouncil.ru/en/inner/?id_4=784#top)
  59. Dmitry Peskov. Resetting the U.S.-Russian Reset. *The National Interest*, January 2013. <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/exclusive-it-takes-two-tango-8009>
  60. Igor Ivanov. "Reset" has exhausted itself in Russian-American relations. *Interfax*, January 21, 2013.
  61. Igor Ivanov, Madeleine Albright. A New Agenda for U.S.-Russia Cooperation. *The New York Times*, December 31, 2012. [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/31/opinion/31iht-edalbright31.html?ref=global-home&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/31/opinion/31iht-edalbright31.html?ref=global-home&_r=0)
  62. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002 <http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/nss/strategies/nss.pdf>
  63. Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT). May 24, 2002. <http://www.armscontrol.org/documents/sort>
  64. Rome NATO-Russia Summit Declaration. May 28 2002. <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2002/0205-rome/rome-eng.pdf>
  65. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, March 2006 <http://merln.ndu.edu/archivepdf/nss/strategies/nss2006.pdf>
  66. President George W. Bush. State of the Union Address. February 2, 2005.
  67. National Military Strategy of the United States of America, 2004 <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2005/d20050318nms.pdf>
  68. National Defense Strategy, June 2008 <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/2008%20National%20Defense%20Strategy.pdf>
  69. A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement. February 1996 <http://www.fas.org/spp/military/docops/national/1996stra.htm>
  70. The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation. February 12, 2013. <http://www.mid.ru/ns-osndoc.nsf/0e9272befa34209743256c630042d1aa/cef95560654d4ca5c32574960036cddb?OpenDocument>
  71. National Security Strategy of the United States of America. May 2010. [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)
  72. Nuclear Posture Review Report. US Department of Defence, April 2010. <http://www.defense.gov/npr/docs/2010%20nuclear%20posture%20review%20report.pdf>

National Research University Higher School of Economics  
School of World Economy and International Affairs  
Graduate Programme "International Relations: European and Asian Studies"  
73. The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation. Approved by Russian Federation presidential edict on 5 February 2010. [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia\\_military\\_doctrine.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia_military_doctrine.pdf)