

Russia and the West from Peter the Great to Putin

Monday and Wednesday, 1:55-3:10pm

Professor Chris Miller

This course will examine major themes and debates in the history of Russian relations with the West, from the 18th century to the present day. Each class session will be based around a 'case' illustrating a theme or dilemma in Russia's relations with the West and/or the West's relations with Russia. In addition to covering the major foreign policy interactions between Russia and the West, the course examines less well-known cases that are illustrative of broader themes.

Assignments:

1. Regular class attendance and active participation
2. Policy Brief (1500 words) to a historical policy maker giving them advice on how to address an issue. The policy brief should accomplish the following goals:
 - + identify a problem
 - + identify the country's interests related to the problem
 - + identify resources that can be deployed to secure these interests
 - + propose a strategy that optimally achieves these interests given resource constraints and considering other actors' responses

The Policy Brief is due by the end of the day on March 13. Please submit in Microsoft Word format via email to Christopher.miller@tufts.edu with the file title "Last Name_First Name_Policy Brief.docx"

3. Final Paper (4000 words) will explain why something happened in the history of Russia's relations with the West. It will use primary source documents, potentially including those from *The Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS), a published collection of diplomatic documents. Pre-WWII FRUS is available [here](#). Post-WWII FRUS is available [here](#). The Final Paper is due by the end of the day on May 5. Please submit in Microsoft Word format via email to Christopher.miller@tufts.edu with the file title "Last Name_First Name_FinalPaper.docx"
4. Grading: 20% - class participation; 30% - policy brief; 50% - final paper.

1. Introduction: Boyars' Beards and Russian Festivals

2. The Ukaz of 1821 and the Fate of Russian Alaska

Background reading: Kushner, *Conflict on the Northwest Coast*, selections

Primary sources:

- Nikolai Rezanov, *Voyage to California*, excerpt
- Count Rumiantsev to Minister Harris, May 17, 1808
- Dashkov to Secretary Smith, January 4, 1810
- Smith to Minister Dashkov, May 5, 1810
- Adam's account of a meeting with Rumiantsev, October 12, 1810
- Russian American Company to Nesselrode, 1819
- Bill presented to Congress, January 25, 1821

3. Britain and the Circassian Questions

Background reading: Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, p. 153-162; Charles King, "Imagining Circassia," p. 246-252.

Primary sources:

- Portfolio of Pamphlets written by David Urquhart on Circassian Independence
- Circassian Declaration of Independence
- *Morning Chronicle* clippings
- Correspondence between Palmerston and Sir Stratford Canning
- Palmerston documents on Russia

4. Russia's Intervention in Hungary in 1848

Background reading: Bruce Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, ch. 8.

Primary sources:

- Nicholas I, Manifesto of March 14, 1848
- Nicholas I, Speech to St. Petersburg Nobility, March 21, 1848
- Nicholas I, Notes on Prussian Affairs, 1848
- Speech by Dmitry Akhsharumov
- European public calls for Russians to rebel (3 documents)
- Nicholas I to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1848

5. The 'Great Game'

Background reading: Evgeny Sergeev, The Great Game, 1856-1907: Russo-British Relations in Central and East Asia, pp 172-189

Primary sources:

- *The Great Game: A Plea for a British Imperial Policy, 1875*
- "Memorandum on the effect of Russian involvement in Afghanistan," May 1877
- "Substance of Article in the "Berzhevie Vedomosti," Lord Loftus to the Earl of Derby," 19 February 1878
- Letters to the Marquis of Salisbury [Sec State for India], 30 April and 1 May 1878.
- "Memorandum on recent Russian Military Preparations in Central Asia" (Communicated by the War Office, August 10, 1878.)
- Mr. Plunkett to Salisbury (and enclosures), received 10 September 1878.
- "Extract from Confidential Newsletter from the Government Agent at Peshawur," 18 June 1878
- The Viceroy of India to Viscount Cranbrook, 8 September 1878.
- The Viceroy of India to Viscount Cranbrook, 21, 22, 26 September 1878.
- Mr. Plunkett to the Marquis of Salisbury, Received 30 September 1878.
- The Afghan Scare, *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury*, 21 Sept. 1878
- "The Peace Society on Afghanistan," *the Times*, 22 Oct. 1878.
- Earl Grey, Letter to the *Times*, Published 30 October 1878.
- Editorial, the *Times*, 30 October 1878.

6. Bulgaria and the Slavic Question in the 1870s

Background reading: Jelavich, Russia's Balkans Entanglements, excerpt

Primary sources:

- Ivan Aksakov, selected writings
- Mikhail Chernayev, Proclamation of War in Serbia, 1876
- "Appeal for intervention in the Balkans"
- Mikhail von Reutern to His Majesty the Emperor, Oct 3, 1876
- Excerpt from the Treaty of Budapest, 1877

7. The Hartmann Affair

Background readings: George Kennan, *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order*, p. 40-59; and Michael Brookhart Millard, "Russian Revolutionary Emigration, Terrorism and the Political Struggle," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Rochester, 1973, pp. 87-95

Primary sources:

- Saint-Vallier (French Ambassador to Berlin) to Freycinet (Foreign Minister), 10 February 1880.
- General Chanzy (French Ambassador to Russia) to Freycinet, 23 February 1880.
- General Chanzy to Freycinet, 26 February 1880.
- *Sydney Morning Herald*, "English and Foreign Affairs," 16 April [27 February] 1880.
- Victor Hugo, "To the French Government," 27 February 1880
- General Chanzy to Freycinet, 29 February 1880.
- Kropotkine, "L'Extradition," published in *La Justice*, 4 March 1880.
- Freycinet to General Chanzy, 6 March 1880.
- "Hartmann Affair, Response to the Russian Memoir (1880)," April 1880.

8. Revolutionary Russia and World War I

Background reading: Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 40-67.

Primary sources:

- "The Government's Initial Statement on Foreign policy," 4/17 March 1917, pp. 1042-3.
- "The Recognition of the Provisional Government by the Major Powers," 4/17 March 1917, p. 1043
- Charge d'Affairs in London to Miliukov, "Attitude of the British Government Toward the Russian Situation," p. 1050.
- V.I. Lenin, "April Theses," 7/20 April 1917.
- "American Concern over Russian Foreign Policy," 8/21 April 1917, p. 1053.
- Memorandum of General Lukomskii on the Fighting Capacity of the Army, 18 March 1917 .

- “Telegram from General Brusilov to the Minister of War on the Feasibility of an Offensive,” p. 925-6.
- “Lenin on an Offensive,” 9 May 1917, pp. 934-935.
- “The Breakdown of the Offensive,” pp. 428-430.
- “Accounts of the July Uprising,” pp. 445-448, 450-453.
- “Order to the Forces of Petrograd,” 29 August 1917, pp. 1580-1581.
- “In the Baltic Fleet,” 1581-1582.
- Editorial in *Volia Naroda* and the Growing Anarchy,” 20 September [3 October] 1917, 1641-3.
- “Declaration of the Third Coalition Government,” 25 September [8 October] 1917, 1714-1717.

9. Wilson’s decision to intervene in Russia in 1917

Background reading: John Gaddis, *Russia, the Soviet Union and the United States: an Interpretive History*, Chapter 3, p. 57-85.

Primary sources:

- Lansing (Secretary of State) to Wilson, 10 January 1918.
- Ambassador Sharp (U.S. to France) to Lansing, 20 February 1918.
- Edward House (Advisor to the President) to Mr. Balfour (British Foreign Secretary), 4 March 1918.
- Lansing to Wilson, 21 March 1918.
- Wilson to Lansing, 22 March 1918.
- Lansing to Wilson, 24 March 1918
- Moser (US Consul at Harbin) to Lansing, 14 June 1918
- *New York Times*, “Senators Demand that We Aid Russia,” 20 June 1918.
- Francis (US Ambassador to Russia) to Lansing, 22 June 1918.
- Caldwell (US Consul at Vladivostok) to Lansing, 25 June 1918.
- Frazier (Diplomatic Liaison Officer to the Supreme War Council) to Lansing, 3 July 1918.
- *New York Times*, “Organize to Aid Russia,” 10 July 1918.
- *Aide-Mémoire*, Lansing to the Allied Ambassadors, 17 July 1918.

10. The Comintern and the German Revolution

Background reading: Silvio Pons, *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism, 1917-1991*.

Primary sources:

- Lenin, “Everything to Help the German Workers,” October 3, 1918
- Treaty of Rapallo, April 16, 1922
- Lenin, “Draft Decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the Report of the Delegates to the Genoa Conference,” May 1922
- “Extracts from the Theses on Tactics Adopted by the Fourth Comintern Congress” (1:416-28), December 5, 1922
- “Bukharin on the Occupation of the Ruhr” (Document 66/p. 211)
- “Stalin’s Ideas on Help to the German Revolutionaries” (Doc 68/212-3)
- “The Time to Provoke Communist Action in Germany Is Not at Hand” (Doc 69/p. 213)
- *New York Times*, “Stresemann A Strong Man and Big Hope of Germany: Trying To Rally Nation,” August 23, 1923
- “Open letter from the ECCI and the RILU to the Second International and the IFTU proposing a joint conference on German problems” (2:51-3), August 25, 1923

11. FDR’s decision to recognize the USSR

Background reading: Robert Paul Browder, *Origins of Soviet American Diplomacy*, selection

Primary sources:

- “Roosevelt Denies Socialism Charge,” *New York Times*, Oct 25, 1928
- “Soviet War on Religion,” *New York Times*, March 2, 1930
- “Trade with Russia Urged,” *New York Times*, May 17, 1932
- “Fight Soviet Recognition: Brooklyn Catholics Look on Move as ‘Treason’ to Religion,” *New York Times*, March 25, 1933
- “Hatfield calls Socialism a ‘Brain Trust’ Aim,” *New York Times*, May 31, 1933
- “Recognition seen as Boon to Soviet,” *New York Times*, Oct 27, 1933
- “World Revolution and Russia’s Attitude,” *New York Times*, Nov 5, 1933.
- State Department Briefing on recognizing the USSR, 1932-1933

12. The Great Purge

Background reading: Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, “The Roots of Terror”

Primary sources:

- The Trotskyite-Zinovievite United Terrorist Center
- Stalin-Kaganovich correspondence, selections
- Budennyi to Voroshilov, August 1936
- Second Moscow Show Trial and Indictment, Jan 23-30, 1937
- Quotes by Gamarnik and Yezhov about spies, March 1937

13. Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact

Background reading: Adam Ulam, *Expansion and Coexistence*, selections

Primary sources:

- Excerpt from Stalin’s Speech Delivered at a Plenum of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.)—January 19th, 1925
- Excerpts from Mein Kampf
- Excerpt from Maisky’s diary, 1936-39
- Political Cartoon of Stalin not being invited to the Munich Conference
- Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)—March 10th, 1939
- 3 letters from Seeds to Halifax around August 15-16th
- Charts and Graphs

14. Moscow and the Greek Communist Movement

Background reading: Iatrides and Rizopoulos, “The International Dimension of the Greek Civil War”

Primary sources:

- Excerpt from Churchill’s biography on the Percentage Agreement—Oct, 1944
- The “Percentages Agreement”
- Excerpt from the Record of I. V. Stalin's Conversation with the Head of the Delegation of the National Liberation Committee of Yugoslavia, A. Hebrang—Jan 9, 1945

- Notes of G. Dimitrov on a Phone Call from Stalin—Jan 10· 1945
- Interview to “Pravda” Correspondent Concerning Mr. Winston Churchill’s Speech at Fulton [The Iron Curtain Speech] 1946
- Telegram from Nikolai Novikov, Soviet Ambassador to the US, to the Soviet Leadership- Sep. 27, 1946
- Truman Doctrine—March 12· 1947
- Kardelj’s conversation with Stalin, 1948, from *Conversations with Stalin*, p. 181-182

15. U.S. Strategies of Containment

Background reading: Gaddis, Origins of the Cold War

Primary sources:

- George Kennan, “Notes on Containment,” 1947
- “Both Sides of the Curtain: Congress Just Waking to Depth Of World Peril,” *Barron’s*, March 10, 1947
- “French Near ‘War’ Wallace Asserts,” *NYT*, April 29, 1947
- Walter Lippmann, “A Critique of Containment,” 1947
- NSC-68, excerpts, April 1950
- Dean Acheson, “Defense Perimeter Speech, January 1950

16. McCarthyism and Soviet Spies

Background reading: TBD

Primary sources:

- “Atom data to soviet shown by evidence,” *New York Times*
- “Republicans plan communist study,” *New York Times*
- Report by House Committee on Un-American Activities Relating to Atomic Espionage
- Senator Joseph McCarthy, Speech on Communists in the State Department
- “Fourth American held as atom spy: New Yorker seized here; Got Los Alamos bomb data for Soviet ring,” *New York Times*
- “Rosenbergs deny atom plot charge,” *New York Times*
- Assorted presidential memos
- Documents pleading for clemency
- Letter from Ethel Rosenberg to Eisenhower, June 16, 1953

17. The Prague Spring

Background reading: Karen Dawisha, *The Kremlin and the Prague Spring*, pp. 15-33.

Primary sources:

- Stenographic Account of the Dresden Meeting, March 23, 1968
- The CPCz CC Action Program, April 1968
- Report on Secret Discussions between the CPCz CC International Department and Egon Bahr of the West German Social Democratic Party, April 17-19, 1968
- Minutes of the Secret Meeting of the “Five” in Moscow, May 8, 1968
- The Bratislava Declaration, August 3, 1968
- Summary Report and Transcript of Telephone Conversation between Leonid Brezhnev and Alexander Dubček, August 9, 1968
- The CPSU Politburo’s Instructions to Ambassador Chervonenko for Meetings with Czechoslovak Leaders, August 13, 1968

18. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

Background reading: Gregory Feifer, “Invasion Considered” in *The Great Gamble*

Primary sources:

- Transcript of Telephone Conversation Between Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin and Afghan Prime Minister Nur Mohammed Taraki, March 17 or 18, 1979
- Meeting of the Politburo on March 17, 1979
- Talks in the Politburo on March 18, 1979
- Memo on the Protocol of the Politburo “Our Future Policy in Connection with the Situation in Afghanistan” on April 1, 1979
- Transcript of Brezhnev-Honecker summit in East Berlin, October 4, 1979
- Personal Memorandum from Andropov to Brezhnev on December 1, 1979

19. The Soviet Withdrawal from Germany

Background reading: Svetlana Savranskaya, “The Logic of 1989: The Soviet Peaceful Withdrawal from Eastern Europe,” 1-23.

Primary sources:

- Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, 13 June 1986
- Memorandum from Mikhail Gorbachev to the CC CPSU Politburo on Topical Questions regarding Collaboration with Socialist Countries 26 June, 1986.
- Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session 3 July 1986.
- Proposal from Georgy Shakhnazarov to the CPSU for a Partial Soviet Troop Withdrawal from the ČSSR, March 1987.
- Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session 8 May 1987.
- Reagan Speech at Brandenburg Gate, 12 June 1987
- Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, 10 March 1988.
- Comments from Georgy Shakhnazarov on Viktor Kulikov's Report at the Warsaw Treaty PCC 25 May 1988.
- Gorbachev's Speech to the UN, 7 December 1988.

20. Aid to Russia in 1992

Background reading: Peter Conradi, *Who Lost Russia?* p. 20-39.

Primary sources:

- Conversation between President Bush and Chancellor Kohl, 16 September 1991.
- Tamara Jones, "Bonn Pledges Broad Help to Yeltsin Germany," *Los Angeles Times*, 22 November 1991.
- Pat Buchanan, Presidential Campaign Announcement, 10 December 1991
- Pat Buchanan, Campaign Ad: Bush's Broken Promises,
- Bill Clinton, Foreign Policy Address, 12 December 1991
- Jeffrey Sachs, "Goodwill is Not Enough," *The Economist*, 21 December 1991.
- Comparative US Foreign Aid Data, <https://explorer.usaid.gov/aid-trends.html>
- Sylvia Nasar, "How to Aid Russians is Debated," *New York Times*, 20 January 1992.
- Alan Riding, "Yeltsin, Annoyed at Delay, Urgently Asks for Aid," *New York Times*, 7 February 1992,
- Thomas Friedman, "Nixon Scoffs at Level of Support for Russian Democracy by Bush," 10 March 1992.
- Russian Inflation Data, January 1992-December 1994

21. US democracy promotion in Russia

Background reading: TBD

Primary sources:

- Safire, “Kozyrev’s Wake-up Slap,” NYT, Dec 17, 1992
- “Foes of Yeltsin Riot in Congress,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1993
- “Yeltsin Unleashed,” *WaPo*, October 7, 1993
- “Russia’s New Military Doctrine,” Washington Post, 1993
- President Clinton Chechnya talking points
- “Letter from Embassy Row,” *WaPo*, Jan 29, 1995
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, testimony to Congress, 1995
- “A Sunny Day in Grozny, Until it Rained Bombs,” *New York Times*, Dec. 30, 1994
- “US: Russian Election,” Oxford Analytica, May 28, 1996
- “The Real Zyuganov,” NYT, March 28, 1996

22. NATO Enlargement

Background reading: Jonathan Eyal, “NATO’s Enlargement: Anatomy of a Decision,” Chapter 4 in *The Challenge of NATO Enlargement*, ed. Anton. A. Bebler, pp. 22-34.

Primary sources:

- Conversation between Baker and Gorbachev, 9 February 1990, American and Russian accounts respectively.
- Strategy for NATO’s Expansion and Transformation. 1 September 1993
- Retranslation of Yeltsin letter [to Clinton] on NATO expansion, 15 September 1993
- The President’s meeting with Czech Leaders, 11 January 1994.
- Summary report on One-on-One meeting between Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin, 10 May 1995.
- Kissinger, “Expand NATO Now,” *the Washington Post*, 19 December 1994.
- Albright, Prepared statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee on NATO Enlargement, 23 April, 1997.
- Open Letter to President Clinton, 26 June 1997.

23. The Annexation of Crimea

Background readings: Tatiana Vakulova, "The Republic of Crimea: History and Return to Russia," and Serhii Plokhii, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*, pp. 323-345.

Primary sources:

- Transfer of Crimea to the Ukrainian SSR, February 1954.
- Memorandum on Security Assurances in connection with Ukraine's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 5 December 1994
- Carol J. Williams, "Ribbon Cut on a New Crimean War," 5 October 1997
- Bucharest Summit Declaration, 3 April 2008
- Sean Walker, "Ukraine's EU trade deal will be catastrophic, says Russia," 22 September 2013.
- Conversation between Victoria Nuland and Geoffrey Pyatt, 20 February 2014 (published on NBC).
- Vladimir Putin, "Address by the President of the Russian Federation," 14 March 2014.

24. The Russian Intervention in Syria

Background reading: Dmitri Trenin, *What is Russia Up To in the Middle East?*, p. 1-83.

Primary Sources:

- Vladimir Putin, Prepared Remarks at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy, 12 February 2007.
- Greg Myre, "America's Middle East Scorecard: Many Interventions, Few Successes," 25 August 2014,
- Barack Obama, Comments on Libya, 3 March 2011.
- Barack Obama, "The Time Has Come for President Assad to Step Aside," 18 August 2011.
- Vladimir Putin, "Remarks at the 70th session of the UN General Assembly," 28 September 2015.
- Video of Progression of Territorial control in Syria

25. Russian Hacking in the 2016 Election

Readings: TBD