

**MOSCOW STATE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
(MGIMO-UNIVERSITY)  
THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF RUSSIA**

**B.A. in International Affairs  
School of Government and International Affairs**

Russia and the West: Political Cultures and Foreign Policy

**«Approved»**

**Dean of School of Government and International Affairs  
\_\_\_\_\_ Dr. Mikhail Troitsky**

**«\_\_\_\_» \_\_\_\_\_ 2017**

## **Moscow - 2017**

The course “Russia and the West: Political Cultures and Foreign Policy» is elaborated in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor’s Program in International Affairs (program track “Government and International Affairs”).

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The program is approved by School of Government and International Affairs on Head of School Dr. Mikhail Troitsky

The course program developed by Alexey Kozhemyakov

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## **PART 1. COURSE DESCRIPTION AND TEACHING METHODS**

### **1.1 The place and role of the course in the program of study:**

The course “Russia and the West: political cultures and foreign policy” is an under-graduate level introduction to the broader range of issues related to the impact of certain civilizational aspects of Russia and the Western states on their respective strategic and current conduct of foreign policy. It aims at providing students with a broad background on the historical, sociological, and behavioral reasoning behind particular ways of looking at and making of international relations from both perspectives. It would be useful in student’s preparation for further training, research, and analysis of foreign policies of Russia and Western countries.

The knowledge of these aspects of analysis in World Politics is important in the modern context of ever increasing interdependence and ongoing globalization. This would be particularly useful for proper understanding of reasons behind and looking for the way out of actual crisis in Russian-Western relations.

### **1.2 The course goals and objectives:**

The course will place particular emphasis on the concept of “political cultures” through providing students with related theoretical approaches and components of political culture such as the role of national history, with particular focus on internal and external policies and their results, the specific role of language in establishing respective national mentality and identity, as well as on “values” so often mentioned in the respective political discourse of Russia and leading Western countries. At the outcome, the course will introduce students to particular specific and stable features of Russian and Western political culture with a view to assisting them in applying these basic features to the analysis of foreign policy, and will provide students with practical examples of the impact of political culture’s differences on the foreign policy of Russia and its Western partners.

Understanding such features will provide a necessary foundation for a deep investigation and better understanding of some of the major topics of current World’s agenda with particular accent on Russian-Western’ relations.

The course pursues the following **objectives:**

1. To introduce the theoretical approaches to the concepts such as “civilization” and “political culture” and their impact on foreign policy of states and on international relations.
2. To assist students in distinguishing the objective and subjective reasons for existing differences in cultures and values of Russia and Western countries having an impact on their policies and bilateral relations.
3. To evaluate the impact of “linguistic picture of the World” proper to each language and culture on political cultures.
4. To demonstrate how particular features of Russian and Western “political culture” could help to understand respective motivations and perception of partners, and thus provide additional tools in the analysis of international events and processes.
5. To explore the potential and limits of the concepts of “civilization” and “political culture” during practical analysis of international relations.
6. To offer students the opportunity to develop their own viewpoints on different aspects of political culture of Russia and leading Western countries studied in this program.
7. To give the students a concise picture of the Russian’s vision of the theory of international relations.

At all times, students will be asked the question – How close are the links between the concepts discussed and actual events and processes in Russian-Western relations and world politics?

### **1.3 Learning outcomes:**

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

1. Have knowledge of particular characteristics of Russian and Western political history and current morphology of respective political cultures.
2. Distinguish the objective reasons for existing differences in cultures and values of Russia and Western countries which have an impact on their policies.
3. Evaluate the impact of “linguistic picture of the World” proper to each language and culture on the mentality and political cultures.
4. Take into account above mentioned morphology of political cultures in the assessment of political ideology (seen as “imaginable in politics”) and practical foreign policy of Russia and the West.
5. Take into consideration the above concepts and criteria in the practical analysis of international relations and foreign policies of leading countries.
6. Make use of above theoretical knowledge in relation to current problems and challenges in international relations, in particular between Russia and Western countries, to facilitate dialogue and negotiations.

7. Learn how to think and write critically about key aspects of political culture of Russia and the West having an impact on the respective foreign policies and on key topics of world politics.

#### **1.4. Course requirements and evaluation:**

##### *Format:*

The format of this course shall be basically a series of lectures, each followed by a summing-up seminar. Lectures provide an overview of a particular topic (presentations will be provided for each lecture). Seminars will consist of three elements: a presentation done by students; a discussant will comment briefly on the topic at hand, raising issues not addressed by the presenter and offering an alternative view; a class discussion on the material read and presented. All students will take 2 in-class tests within a course. These will be based on the lectures and readings for the day the test is held.

Attendance and active involvement in class discussions are essential to success in the course. Students will be required to attend not less than 90% of classes and to be prepared for class discussions on a regular basis. Active participation of students in class discussion is most encouraged.

##### *Reading:*

Lectures and the required reading complement each other, they are not substitutes, and you will need to do all the readings. This is a reading intensive course. So, the reading load for the course is heavy. In order to properly participate in class, students must do all the readings prior to each session. The readings are varied (students are invited even to enlarge the recommended list, bearing in mind the variety of publications of the subjects of this program). The reading list represents both traditional and modern writings on the program's items, and might differ substantially in their opinion.

Although there is no single textbook assigned for the course, it is especially recommended to read the following list of books:

Huntington S.P. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. - London: Touchstone Books, 1998; *The Clash of Civilizations? : the Debate* / S.P. Huntington, F. Ajami, R.L. Bartley et al. ; *Foreign Affairs*. - New York, 1996. - V, 67 p.

Richard Tarnas. *The Passion of the Western Mind. Understanding the ideas that have shaped our World view*. Random House, last edition 2010.

*Russia under Western Eyes: from the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum*, by Martin Malia, Belknap Press, 2000.

Ferguson Niall. *Civilization. The West and the Rest*. Penguin book, London, 2011.

Guy Mettan. *Creating Russophobia: from the Great Religious schism to anti-Putin hysteria*. Clarity Press, Atlanta, 2017.

Richard Pipes. *Russian Conservatism and its Critics: a Study in Political Culture*. New Haven, 2008.

Samuel Cohen. *Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History Since 1917*. N.Y. 1985.

Andrey Tsygankov. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012.

Eisenstadt S. *Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities* [e-book]. Leiden: Brill; 2003 Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

*The Globalization of World Politics* / [ed. by] John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens Oxford University Press, 2014.

Students should become aware of the periodical literature in the field and should be familiar with the following key international relations journals – World Politics, International Organization, Foreign Policy, International Studies Quarterly, Foreign Affairs, European Journal of International Relations, International Security, Review of International Studies, Security Studies.

The 2017 “Russia and the West: Political Cultures and Foreign Policy” syllabus includes background books and also material that is accessible online. All reading and journal articles can be found using links listed in the syllabus. Preparedness involves not only reading the materials, but also taking notes to use in class. The format of these notes is completely up to the student, but they should cover the most important themes in the readings as well as some critiques and questions. A key purpose of this kind of work is that you are able to read on proposed themes and make critical interpretations. An essential part of such critical reading is the ability to formulate a compelling interpretation of a text.

*Presentation:*

Students will also be required to prepare not less than 1 presentation individually (or in a team) and to present in due time one written test. The length of presentation is preferably 15 minutes and should not exceed 20 minutes at a maximum. Presentations are expected to offer a critical discussion of the reading material, present a summary of the main arguments of the reading, a discussion of how the reading relates to the broader themes of the course, and questions for discussion. A one-page handout is also required.

*Plagiarism:*

MGIMO-University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of plagiarism, cheating and other academic offences. Plagiarism is the most serious offence in academic work. Examples of plagiarism include turning in a paper written by someone else, or

using parts of a book or article without acknowledging the source. To avoid plagiarism, keep in mind that all references to someone else’s ideas – whether a direct quotation or simply an indirect summary – must be properly cited. A ‘proper citation’ should typically identify the author, the work, the publisher, the place and the year of publication, and the page number. Direct quotations must be placed in quotation marks. Please note that any violation of the code of academic integrity means the student's immediate failure in the course, as well as possible subsequent academic disciplinary action.

*Grading:*

Final grades will be assigned as follows:

- Written tests - 30 %.
- Presentations for seminars, seminar participation - 30 %.
- Final examination - 40 %.

Grades will be assigned according to the following criteria: A – outstanding work; B – solid, capable work; C – good work; D – satisfactory work; F – failure to meet minimum goals.

## PART 2. COURSE CONTENT

### 2.1 Types of work

Types of work	Academic hours
<b>Total</b>	<b>38</b>
Total for lectures, seminars and written test	<b>18</b>
Lectures	14
Seminars	2
Written tests and/or exam	2
<b>Homework</b>	<b>25</b>
Written and oral home assignments	10
Preparation for lectures, seminars and written exam	15

### **Lecture 1. The concept of “civilisation”: origine, evolution, impact on political sciences. What is “political culture”?**

*Summary:* Discussion among scholars and analysts about the real impact of civilizational differences on foreign policies of states and world politics are ongoing, and there is no common opinion on this. The strong points and the limits of the application of the concept of civilization to practical policies will also be discussed during this course.

The Russian perception of the concept, different from the Western one, will be presented with the explanation of historical and reasons related to political culture behind it.

The subject of “political culture” is closely linked to the concept of civilization. The “political culture” introduced in political science by Gabriel Almond and Simon Verba in early 60<sup>th</sup> has been widely developed since and now represents an extensive variety of theoretical and country-oriented writings.

- Compulsory readings:

Huntington S.P. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. - London : Touchstone Books, 1998; see pp. 7-9, 301-323.

The Clash of Civilizations? : the Debate / S.P. Huntington, F. Ajami, R.L. Bartley et al. ; Foreign Affairs. - New York, 1996; see pp.42-45.

[https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0ahUKEwj6h5CK0qLYAhUHipoKHbWMBx4QFgg\\_MAI&url=https%3A%2F%2Fsrskaakcij.a.com%2F2014-07-20-03-32-29%2Fcategory%2F7-2014-07-20-03-30-53%3Fdownload%3D55%3Asamuel-p-huntington-the-clash-of-civilizations-and-the-remaking-of-world-order-1996&usg=AOvVaw0vZviM0rQMYyi6HggghB37](https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0ahUKEwj6h5CK0qLYAhUHipoKHbWMBx4QFgg_MAI&url=https%3A%2F%2Fsrskaakcij.a.com%2F2014-07-20-03-32-29%2Fcategory%2F7-2014-07-20-03-30-53%3Fdownload%3D55%3Asamuel-p-huntington-the-clash-of-civilizations-and-the-remaking-of-world-order-1996&usg=AOvVaw0vZviM0rQMYyi6HggghB37)

Imagined civilizations? Guest editorial by Jonathan Benthall, in ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY VOL 18 NO 6, DECEMBER 2002 (about 4 pages).

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

- Further readings:

Russia under Western Eyes: from the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum, by Martin Malia, Belknap Press, 2000; see pp.1-15, 409-435.

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

Eisenstadt S. Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities [e-book]. Leiden: Brill; 2003; (See in particular Chapters 4,6,8,10 (about 30 pages).

Available from:

<https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0ahUKEwiRxLnc36LYAhXnQpoKHRY5DXyQFggzMAE&url=https%3A%2F%2Fbildungsportal.sachsen.de%2Fopal%2Fauth%2FRepositoryEntry%2F13550485509%2FCourseNode%2F88236415640275%2FEisenstadtComparativeCivilizationsAndMultipleModernities.pdf&usg=AOvVaw16PUom43OQFarVgmS0GLky>

Samuel Huntington and the Geopolitics of American Identity: The Function of Foreign Policy in America’s Domestic Clash of Civilizations

Emad El-Din Aesha, Gulf Centre for Strategic Studies, International Studies Perspectives (2003) 4, pp.113–132.

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

The Biology of Civilisation: Understanding Human Culture as a Force in Nature.

By: Brett-Crowther, M. R. International Journal of Environmental Studies. Jun2009, Vol. 66 Issue 3, p398-401.

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Naumkin V. Civilizations and Identity Crisis: What People Argue About in Russia and Beyond // Russia in Global Affairs. – 2014. - №1.



<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Civilizations-and-Identity-Crisis-16508>  
<http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Civilizations-and-Identity-Crisis-16508>

Nationhood and Political Culture, by Anna Moltchanova, in JOURNAL of SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY, Vol. 38 No. 2, Summer 2007, 255–273. © 2007 Blackwell Publishing, Inc. See pp. 263-268.

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Şenel M, Ünay S. Global Orders and Civilizations : Perspectives From History, Philosophy And International Relations [e-book]. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc; 2009; See pp. 1-67.

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

## **Lecture 2. The World in the mirror of languages (sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistic, psycholinguistic and politics).**

*Summary:* Language represents an initial modeling system in human perception of the world. Modern linguistic and cognitive sciences show that each language constitutes a rather specific and coherent “image of the world”. Since the “model of the world” is based to some extent on language, the latter has also an impact on political culture and mentality. Accordingly, it affects to some extent the modeling of the external world, civilizational and cultural aspects, internal and foreign policy as well as more broadly the political ideas and “ideology”.

The most complicated aspect of this approach remains the question as to the extent to which linguistic aspects are affecting foreign policy. Does translation and interpretation permit to ensure mutual understanding between partners, or the reasons for misunderstanding and mistrust are to some extent hidden in linguistic structure (and cognitive aspects of the language), as well as in sociolinguistic aspects?

Through many examples from works of Russian and foreign linguists the main features of Russian linguistic “image (or picture) of the world” will be presented. Some pending “constants” of Russian political thought and culture will be also developed.

- Compulsory readings:

Guy Deutscher. Through the Language Glass: Why the World Looks Different in Other Languages. - Arrow Books, 2011. Pp. 1-24.

[https://archive.org/stream/ThroughTheLanguageGlass/Through%20the%20Language%20Glass\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/ThroughTheLanguageGlass/Through%20the%20Language%20Glass_djvu.txt)

Ufimtseva N. Picture of the World – Image of the World – Language consciousness//11<sup>th</sup> International Congress of the International Society of Applied Psycholinguistics, 27-30 June 2016, Proceedings, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016. Pp.1-3.

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Deborah Cameron, 2006. Ideology and language: Journal of Political Ideologies: Vol 11, No2 Taylor and Francis.

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

- Further readings:

Language and Politics, by E. Joseph, Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Textbooks in Applied Linguistics, Series Editors: Alain Davis and Keith Mitchell, pp.1-20

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2226/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/ZTAwMHh3d19fMTYzMzg1X19BTg2?sid=7d2c6566-dcf7-4f9e-8e61-621342d9d872@sessionmgr4009&vid=9&format=EB&rid=47>

Politics and the English Language, by George Orwell, [www.gradesaver.com/politics-and-the-english-language/study-guide/summary-section-one](http://www.gradesaver.com/politics-and-the-english-language/study-guide/summary-section-one) in MLA Format, see also Orwell.ru

Journal of Language and Politics, available for pledging in the Knowledge Unlatched 2017 Journal Collection, ISSN 1569-2159, E-ISSN 1569-9862, Electronic edition - jbe-platform.com

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

### **Lecture 3. Western civilization: its development and political dimension.**

*Summary:* The modern Western civilization is the result of long historical development which has shaped some particular features of its political culture and political mentality. These features will be presented in the lecture using the comparative method, i.e. from three points of view: European, American and Russian authors. The difference in assessments is sometimes surprising, and the reasons of such differences lay in historical experience, practice of international relations between the actors, as well as linguistic aspects of respective languages (and pending “image of the world”, see Lecture 2 above) as well often due to the impact of the current status of mutual relations (examples will be given based on the present international situation, compared in the media with the actual “Cold War II”).

#### **Lecture 4. The impact of Western political mentality on the formulation of national interest in foreign policy.**

*Summary:* The concepts of “progress” and “human rights” are key elements of modern Western ideology. Scientific and technical advantages and actual leadership of Western countries make possible not only their economic advantages over the rest of the World, but also their constant leading role in defining the international agenda (“globalization” understood as the objective for the entire international community), often viewed by their opponents as serving mainly Western interests.

With this in mind certain basic background of foreign policy of Western countries will be explored and identified with the understanding of the diversity of interest and common purposes, and with the demonstration of different justification and perception of such policy in the World.

- Compulsory readings:

Ferguson Niall. Civilization. The West and the Rest. Penguin book, London, 2011. See pp. 1-18.

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

<https://www.google.ru/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=15&ved=0ahUKEwjglZCO26LYAhWLHpoKHSBSDM04ChAWCDwwBA&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffile203.uf.daum.net%2Fattach%2F142048404E3C955137B6D7&usg=AOvVaw2dTd25duU-kUO2AJ9AAPuw>

No One's World : The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn

Author: Kupchan, Charles A., Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp.1-13

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2222/ehost/ebookviewer/ebook/ZTAwMHh3d19fNDMwOTY5X19BTg2?sid=aa9478fd-3ff8-4522-80f1-9da2ba23fabd@sessionmgr101&vid=4&format=EB&rid=15>

- Further readings:

Ferguson Niall. Civilization. The West and the Rest. Penguin book, London, 2011 (see above)

Duchesne R. The Uniqueness Of Western Civilization [e-book]. Leiden: Brill; 2011.

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

Patterson T. Inventing Western Civilization [e-book]. New York: Monthly Review Press; 1997.

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

No One's World : The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn

Author: Kupchan, Charles A., Oxford University Press, 2012 (see above).

## **Lecture 5. Russian civilization: particularity of national history and troubled identity.**

*Summary:* A particular feature of Russian social and academic life is the existence of different opinions inside the country regarding whether Russia is a part of Western civilization (simply being late in its development), or represent a state-subject having its “proper and independent nature” and therefore being an autonomous civilization. This used to be at the beginning of many “intellectual debates” within high society in mid-XIX century to become further one of the critical division lines within the country as to the choice of a way to follow in its development.

The reason of such division (“Russia is the biggest divided country in the World”, according to Huntington) are profoundly rooted in national political history. The “Western model” used to be the only one to follow for modernization since Peter the Great, nevertheless the simple “follow me” policy was constantly colliding with perception, attitude, political culture and traditions of the majority of the population. From “liberalism” to “strong conservatism” – the variety of Russian opinions will be introduced, followed by Western perception of them.

## **Lecture 6. Specific ontology, values and operational experience in Russian history as sources of Russia’s particular political mentality and doctrine of foreign policy.**

*Summary:* The particular way of Russia’s development substantially influenced its political culture (also divided) since historically the population has accumulated very limited experience of participation in politics. The lecture contains a summing-up presentation of the traditions of Russian political thought with regard to foreign policy.

The specific features of “Russian political culture” will be presented in detail with particular explanation of its impact on the political life and social behavior and general climate within the country.

Another aspect of Russian political culture is more complicated to define, nevertheless some of its follow-up consequences to the state’s approach to international relations will be presented on the basis of some recent events in Russian foreign policy.

Russophobia – myth or reality? The issue is of particular sensitiveness for Russian mentality. To what extent it represents the “media war”, or is it a reflection of disagreement, or of difference in values? In all cases this question so often being the subject of debate will be also developed with a presentation of different points of view on this issue.

- Compulsory readings:

Russia and the Idea of Europe: A Study in Identity and International Relations, by Iver B. Neumann, Routledge New York-London, 1996. (Book Review on 2 pages).

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2226/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=13&sid=c84ac487-0e8d-473d-bb30-99a001e0801d%40sessionmgr4007>

Andrey Tsygankov. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. See pp. 1-10, 259-276).

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/russia-and-the-west-from-alexander-to-putin/711A107F26EDF46F4974860B7C303C84>

Andrey Tsygankov. *Russia's Foreign Policy: Changes and Continuity in National Identity*, Lanham, New York, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2013.

<http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD-109-9-11.pdf> (abstract on 3 pages)

Guy Mettan. *CREATING RUSSOPHOBIA. From the Great Religious Schism to Anti-Putin Hysteria*. Clarity Press, NY, 2017

See the synopsis and comments only (all about 10 pages) available on:

<http://www.claritypress.com/Mettan.html>

<https://thesaker.is/guy-mettans-book-on-russophobia-is-a-must-read-for-any-person-interested-in-russia/>

<https://www.kobo.com/us/en/ebook/creating-russophobia>

- Further readings:

*Russia under Western Eyes: from the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum*, by Martin Malia, Belknap Press, 2000. (See in particular Chapter 1, and Conclusion).

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

Richard Sakwa, University of Kent. "Russia's Identity: Between the 'Domestic' and the 'International' ", in *EUROPE-ASIA STUDIES* Vol. 63, No. 6, August 2011, 957–975(see also "References" by the end of this article)

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2226/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=10&sid=2de92d35-48a8-4b0a-9a75-b4e0635d1c34%40sessionmgr4007>

"The cold peace: Russo-Western relations as a mimetic cold war", by Richard Sakwa,

University of Kent, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 2013

Vol. 26, No. 1, 203–224, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2012.710584>

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2222/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=7&sid=e3438a28-005f-4910-8573-8768436c5a10%40pdc-v-sessmgr01>

Richard Pipes. *Russian Conservatism and its Critics: a Study in Political Culture*. New Haven, 2008.

Available (critics only) from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2226/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=11&sid=1eeb46ab-97de-4fac-ac3b-1b37654b53ff%40sessionmgr4008>

Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger, by Richard Pipes (Yale University Press, 2003 (See critics on 6 pages)  
Available from: Academic Search Premier EBSCOhost  
<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2226/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=14&sid=1eeb46ab-97de-4fac-ac3b-1b37654b53ff%40sessionmgr4008>

Berdyayev N. The Russian Idea / trans. by R. M. French. - London: G. Bles, 1947.  
<https://archive.org/details/russianidea017842mbp>

L.A. SEDOV. Traditional Features of Russian Political Culture in Their Current Perspective. Russian Social Science Review, vol. 48, no. 6, November–December 2007, pp. 47–63.  
Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2222/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=12&sid=7194ade0-685e-49fe-9d9e-8f4203e5b268%40sessionmgr120>

Andrey Tsygankov. Russia's Foreign Policy: Changes and Continuity in National Identity, Lanham, New York, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2013.  
<http://www.twirpx.com/file/2069880/>

<http://www.css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD-109-9-11.pdf>

Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016).

[http://www.mid.ru/foreign\\_policy/official\\_documents/-/asset\\_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/2542248?p\\_p\\_id=101\\_INSTANCE\\_CptICkB6BZ29&\\_101\\_INSTANCE\\_CptICkB6BZ29\\_languageId=en\\_GB](http://www.mid.ru/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/2542248?p_p_id=101_INSTANCE_CptICkB6BZ29&_101_INSTANCE_CptICkB6BZ29_languageId=en_GB)

## **Lecture7. Seminar: The “added value” of the concepts of “civilization” and “political culture” – is there any? “Russian idea” and “American dream”: political fantasy from the past or elements of background of modern foreign policy?**

(review of topics and readings suggested from lectures 1.1 – 6.0; the list of topics for this seminar will be drafted following the discussion with students during lectures, and distributed in advance of the Seminar)

Regarding “American dream”, please see:

American Dream: A Short History of an Idea that shaped a Nation

By Jim Cullen. Oxford University Press. 2003. 214pp.

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost) (short review only)

<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2226/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=33&sid=48ca6f95-3092-43ab-8f3b-769eca3babe5%40sessionmgr4008>

Generation X and Its Evolving Experience with the American Dream By Patty David, Vicki Gelfeld, and Andreina Rangel (how it is seen today by sociology)  
Journal of the American Society on Aging, Volume 41.Number 3, Fall 2017

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)  
<http://bibliocatalog.mgimo.ru:2226/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=4&sid=d1bb682c-9a2b-4738-ad3e-9743b57859a9%40sessionmgr4009>

American Sociology's Investigations of the American Dream: Retrospect and Prospect.  
Authors: Hauhart, Robert1 rhauhart@stmartin.edu  
American Sociologist. Mar 2015, Vol. 46 Issue 1, p65-98. 34p.  
Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Robert Kagan, Alfred A. Knopf, THE RETURN OF HISTORY AND THE END OF DREAMS, New York, 2008, 110 pages.  
Available from (review only): Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

US leadership and international order: the future of American foreign policy  
JOHN KANE in "Australian Journal of International Affairs" Vol.63, N4, 2009.  
Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Regarding "Russian idea" please see:

The Quest for Identity. Russian Public Opinion on Europe and the European Union and the National Identity Agenda by IRINA SEMENENKO in "Perspectives on European Politics and Society", Vol. 14, N 1, 2013.  
Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Was the emergence of Russian national identity merely a historical accident? Leonid Luks in "Nationalities Papers", Vol.39, N1, 2011.  
Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

V.I. Pantin. The Political and Civilizational Self-Identity of Contemporary Russian Society in a Global Context, in Russian Social Science Review, vol. 51, no. 1, January–February 2010.  
Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

## **Lecture 8. The dialogue of civilizations: institutional aspects, current agenda and the future.**

*Summary:* The concept of "dialogue" in modern politics: communicational and content related aspects (epistemology and modern understanding and practice of dialogue in international politics).

Dialogue and negotiations: semantic, methodological and practical differences between the two terms. Politics as interaction, search of consensus or imposition. Establishment of extensive "international dialogue" in the XXI century: formats, agenda and provisional results.

Does "globalization" need further common efforts to progress and would an innovative approach to the dialogue be required? Some consideration will be given to how the "dialogue of cultures" might be developed into a "culture of dialogue".

- Compulsory readings:  
Dialogue in Politics. Edited by Laurence N. Berlin, Anita Fetzer. Dialogue studies N18, John Benjamin Publishing Co., 2012. (See pp. 3-21).



Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

Alliance Of Civilizations: Report Of The High-Level Group, 13 November 2006. - New York: United Nations Publications; 2006. - <http://www.unaoc.org/resource/alliance-of-civilizations-report-of-the-high-level-group-13-november-2006/>

Krishna D. Civilizations : Nostalgia And Utopia [e-book]. New Delhi: Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd; 2012. (See pp.90-103).

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

• Further readings:

Koczanowicz L. Politics Of Dialogue : Non-Consensual Democracy And Critical Community [e-book]. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; 2015. (See in particular item 2.6 “Dialogue and the Social”, pp.63-78)

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

Alexei D. Voskreskressenski. The Role of the West in Evolving World Order, and Russian Politics, in Russian Social Science Review, vol. 58, no. 6, November-December 2017, pp. 469-508.

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Crossing the divide: dialogue among civilizations / G. Picco, A.K. Aboulmagd ... [et al.], School of Diplomacy and International Relations. - South Orange : Seton Hall University, 2001.

Rethinking Civilizational Analysis

Author: Arjomand, Said Amir, Tiryakian, Edward A. SAGE Publication 2004.

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

Public diplomacy at the global level: The Alliance of Civilizations as a community of practice” by Patricia M Goff in “Cooperation and Conflict” 2015, Vol. 50(3) 402–417

Available from: Academic Search Premier (EBSCOhost)

Targowski A. Global Civilization In The 21St Century [e-book]. Hauppauge, New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc; 2014.

Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)

### **2.3. Essay topics/Exam Questions**

1. Concept of “civilization” – authors, main ideas and pragmatic limits in modern politics.
2. What was right or wrong in “The Clash of civilization”?
3. Theoretical and practical aspects of political culture and political mentality.



4. “Language” as an element of political mentality (analysis of some selected key words in modern politics).
5. “The West and the Rest”- the slogan of the past or a program for the future?
6. Main features of Russian political culture.
7. Are there any role for “ideology” in foreign policy of modern World politics?
8. Russian history and its impact on foreign policy traditions.
9. Identity and foreign policy in today’s Russia.
10. Are there any room for “Russian idea” in international relations of XXI century?
11. Russian and Soviet Political Thought: tendencies behind unity.
12. “American dream” and its impact to the foreign policy of the United States.
13. Common European identity – reality or the task for coming years?
14. Russia as “the biggest divided civilization in the World”: from the origin to the present of this opinion.
15. Dialogue in Politics: interaction or imposition.

(additional topics will be added depending of the number of students and their interest to particular topics)

#### **2.4. Exam timing**

- Fall semester tests – mid-April 2018.

#### **2.5. Consolidated reading list (in alphabetic order).**

##### **Essential Readings:**

1. Samuel Cohen. Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History Since 1917. N.Y. 1985.
2. Eisenstadt S. Comparative Civilizations and Multiple Modernities [e-book]. Leiden: Brill; 2003 Available from: eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)
3. Ferguson Niall. Civilization. The West and the Rest. Penguin book, London, 2011.
4. Guy Deutscher. Through the Language Glass: Why the World Looks Different in Other Languages. - Arrow Books, 2011.
5. Huntington S.P. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. - London: Touchstone Books, 1998; The Clash of Civilizations? : the Debate / S.P. Huntington, F. Ajami, R.L. Bartley et al. ; Foreign Affairs. - New York, 1996. - V, 67 p.

6. Russia under Western Eyes: from the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum, by Martin Malia, Belknap Press, 2000.
7. Guy Mettan. Creating Russophobia: from the Great Religious schism to anti-Putin hysteria. Clarity Press, Atlanta, 2017.
8. Richard Pipes. Russian Conservatism and its Critics: a Study in Political Culture. New Haven, 2008.
9. Andrey Tsygankov. Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
10. The Globalization of World Politics / [ed. by] John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens Oxford University Press, 2014.

### **Additional Readings:**

1. Alliance of Civilizations: Report of The High-Level Group, 13 November 2006. - New York: United Nations Publications; 2006.
2. American Dream: A Short History of an Idea that shaped a Nation By Jim Cullen. Oxford University Press. 2003.
3. American Sociology's Investigations of the American Dream: Retrospect and Prospect. Authors: Hauhart, Robert1 rhauhart@stmartin.edu American Sociologist. Mar 2015, Vol. 46 Issue 1.
4. Berdyaev N. The Russian Idea / trans. by R. M. French. - London: G. Bles, 1947.
5. Crossing the divide: dialogue among civilizations / G. Picco, A.K. Aboulmagd ... [et al.], School of Diplomacy and International Relations. - South Orange : Seton Hall University, 2001.
6. Deborah Cameron, 2006. Ideology and language: Journal of Political Ideologies: Vol 11, No2 Taylor and Francis.
7. Dialogue in Politics. Edited by Laurence N.Berlin, Anita Fetzer. Dialogue studies N18, John Benjamin Publishing Co., 2012. (See pp. 3-21).
8. Duchesne R. The Uniqueness of Western Civilization [e-book]. Leiden: Brill; 2011.
9. Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016).
10. The Globalization of World Politics / [ed. by] John Baylis, Steve Smith, Patricia Owens Oxford University Press, 2014.
11. Generation X and Its Evolving Experience with the American Dream By Patty David, Vicki Gelfeld, and Andreina Rangel (how it is seen today by sociology)

12. Journal of the American Society on Aging, Volume 41.Number 3, Fall 2017.
13. Journal of Language and Politics, available for pledging in the Knowledge Unlatched 2017 Journal Collection, ISSN 1569-2159, E-ISSN 1569-9862, Electronic edition - jbe-platform.com
14. Koczanowicz L. Politics Of Dialogue : Non-Consensual Democracy And Critical Community [e-book]. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; 2015. (See in particular item 2.6 “Dialogue and the Social.
15. Krishna D. Civilizations: Nostalgia And Utopia [e-book]. New Delhi: Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd; 2012.
16. Language and Politics, by E. Joseph, Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Textbooks in Applied Linguistics, Series Editors: Alain Davis and Keith Mitchell.
17. No One's World : The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn  
Author: Kupchan, Charles A., Oxford University Press, 2012.
18. Patterson T. Inventing Western Civilization [e-book]. New York: Monthly Review Press; 1997.
19. V.I. Pantin. The Political and Civilizational Self-Identity of Contemporary Russian Society in a Global Context, in Russian Social Science Review, vol. 51, no. 1, January–February 2010.
20. Richard Pipes. Russian Conservatism and its Critics: a Study in Political Culture. New Haven, 2008.
21. Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger, by Richard Pipes, Yale University Press, 2003.
22. Politics and the English Language, by George Orwell, [www.gradesaver.com/politics-and-the-english-language/study-guide/summary-section-one](http://www.gradesaver.com/politics-and-the-english-language/study-guide/summary-section-one) in MLA Format, see also Orwell.ru
23. The Quest for Identity. Russian Public Opinion on Europe and the European Union and the National Identity Agenda by IRINA SEMENENKO in “Perspectives on European Politics and Society”, Vol. 14, N 1, 2013.
24. THE RETURN OF HISTORY AND THE END OF DREAMS, by Robert Kagan, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2008, 110pages.
25. Russia and the Idea of Europe, by Iver Neumann (See Book Review on 2 pages).
26. Richard Sakwa, University of Kent. “Russia’s Identity: Between the ‘Domestic’ and the ‘International’ “, in EUROPE-ASIA STUDIES Vol. 63, No. 6, August 2011, 957–975 (see also “References” by the end of this article)
27. “The cold peace: Russo-Western relations as a mimetic cold war”, by Richard Sakwa, University of Kent, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 2013 Vol. 26, No. 1, 203–224, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2012.710584>

28. L.A. SEDOV. Traditional Features of Russian Political Culture in Their Current Perspective. *Russian Social Science Review*, vol. 48, no. 6, November–December 2007.
29. Richard Tarnas. *The Passion of the Western Mind. Understanding the ideas that have shaped our World view*. Random House, last edition 2010.
30. Andrey Tsygankov. *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor in International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
31. Andrey Tsygankov. *Russia’s Foreign Policy: Changes and Continuity in National Identity*, Lanham, New York, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2013.
32. Was the emergence of Russian national identity merely a historical accident? Leonid Luks in “Nationalities Papers”, Vol.39, N1, 2011.
33. Public diplomacy at the global level: The Alliance of Civilizations as a community of practice” by Patricia M Goff in “Cooperation and Conflict” 2015, Vol. 50(3) 402–417.
34. *Rethinking Civilizational Analysis*. Author: Arjomand, Said Amir, Tiryakian, Edward A. SAGE Publication 2004.
35. Targowski A. *Global Civilization In The 21St Century* [e-book]. Hauppauge, New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc; 2014.
36. Ufimtseva N. *Picture of the World – Image of the World – Language consciousness//11th International Congress of the International Society of Applied Psycholinguistics, 27-30 June 2016, Proceedings, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016*.
37. *US leadership and international order: the future of American foreign policy* By JOHN KANE in “Australian Journal of International Affairs” Vol.63, N4, 2009.
38. Alexei D. Voskreskressenski. *The Role of the West in Evolving World Order, and Russian Politics*, in *Russian Social Science Review*, vol. 58, no. 6, November-December 2017.

**Internet resources:**

See the synopsis and comments on the Guy Mettan. *Creating Russophobia: from the Great Religious schism to anti-Putin hysteria*. Clarity Press, Atlanta, 2017 available on:

<http://www.claritypress.com/Mettan.html>

<https://thesaker.is/guy-mettans-book-on-russophobia-is-a-must-read-for-any-person-interested-in-russia/>

<https://www.kobo.com/us/en/ebook/creating-russophobia>