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DIPL 4185 NA Russian and Eastern European Foreign Relations

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SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
DIPL 4185NA
RUSSIAN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

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Wed. 6:15-8:25
ST 121
Office hrs. Tue 2:15-3:00
Wed. 9:30-11:30 or by appt.

Course Description

This course will survey the main issues in the history of Soviet relations with the foreign world, as well as the new foreign policies of Russia, the other Soviet successor states, and the Central and East European states (in particular Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Slovakia). The first part of the course explores topics such as the tensions between the pursuit of revolution abroad and state-building at home as sources of Soviet foreign policy, Soviet behavior in the Cold War, the links between domestic reform and foreign policy initiatives in the *perestroika* period, and the effects of the demise of the Soviet empire on the international system. The second part of the course analyzes the international behavior of Russia and the other former Soviet and former Soviet-bloc states in the post-Communist period. We will discuss how these states' foreign policies have adapted to the challenges of real independence and of a changed international system. As examples we will discuss the role of interest groups in foreign policy-making in the post-Soviet period, alternative forms of political and economic integration within the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the challenges of integration into Western politico-economic (EU) and security (NATO) structures faced by the Central and East European states.

In analyzing these countries' current foreign policies, we will pay particular attention to the legacy of 74 years of Soviet power on their current policies and attitudes vis-a-vis other former Soviet republics and Central-East European states, and the West.

Books and course materials

The following books are available for purchase at the SHU bookstore:

Joseph L. Noguee and Robert H. Donaldson, *The Foreign Policy of Russia* (ME Sharpe, 2001) ISBN 0765608588 (Paperback)

Charles Gati, *The Bloc That Failed* (Indiana University Press, 1990) ISBN 0253205611
Paperback

Adrian Hyde-Price, *The International Politics of East-Central Europe* (NY: Manchester U. Press, 1996) ISBN 0719040973

Current History, *Russia and Eurasia* October 2004 (ISSN 0011-3530)

Current History, *October 2005 Russia and Eurasia* (ISSN 0011-3530)

In addition, the other books mentioned in the syllabus will be available on the Reserve Room of the SHU library (it is best to check under my name – some books may be listed under DIPL

4185 NA/6405 NA, as well as DIPL 4193, DIPL 6001, DIPL 6016 and DIPL 6416) You can also borrow personal copies of selected books from the instructor.

In addition, all students are encouraged to follow current news from Russia, the former USSR and Central- East Europe daily through The New York Times or Financial Times.

*** Under the Americans with Disabilities Act and Section 504 of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, students at Seton Hall University who have a disability may be eligible for accommodations in this course. Should a student require such accommodation, he or she MUST self-identify at the Office of Disability Support Services (DSS), Room 67, Duffy Hall, provide documentation of said disability, and work with DSS to develop a plan for accommodations. The contact person is Mrs. Linda Walter at (973) 313-6003. ***

Grading and Assignments

1. Class attendance and participation
2. Completing all required readings before the session for which they have been assigned, and being ready to discuss them in class
3. Two news presentations. The news presentation should be brief (5-10 minutes), and should include at least one *current* news item from each Russia, other former Soviet republics and Central-East Europe. Current sources such as Financial Times, The Economist, the Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press, and the New York Times should be used. In addition, Internet resources such as the OMRI/Radio Free Europe Daily News Bulletins and Johnson's List should be used. You should be ready to discuss the link between these specific news and the larger these discussed in the class. Sign-up for news presentations will be on January 11, 2006.
4. Three 15-minute presentations on a particular *optional* reading or a substitute reading chosen with the approval of the instructor. "Readings for student presentations" are listed for each class. Please note: When no reading is given but a "TBA" is written, you should propose a presentation reading (related to the topic of that class) to be approved by the instructor at least three weeks in advance of the presentation date - please start your search early.) Your presentation can be based on an article (or two related articles) or several chapters of a book. Please check the actual availability of your materials in the SHU library at least three weeks before your presentation, as you may need to order them through Inter-Library Loan. Sign-up for presentations will be on January 11, 2006.

The presentations should concentrate on the particular reading chosen, yet should also draw and make connections with the rest of the materials assigned for the class (in other words, doing the class presentation does not exempt you from doing the rest of the readings for that day), and with appropriate factual materials (drawn from case studies or newspapers). No later than 6:00 pm on the day before the presentation, you should hand the instructor the following:

- a) a two-page (max. 700 words) typed summary of your presentation arguments in essay form (i.e. using complete sentences.) You may also distribute outlines in the class (optional). Please include:
 1. your name and full class information on top first page
 2. full citation of presentation material on top of first page

3. a summary of the reading
4. a summary of the author's arguments
5. how it relates to other class readings. Does it support, or contradict them?
6. your own personal assessment

b) A list of five or more questions for class discussion based on that reading

The day of the presentation, you should bring to class copies of your presentation for distribution to all seminar participants.

Please note: students should have a one-to-two week flexibility concerning their presentations. Because of possible scheduling issues it is possible that the date of your *oral* presentation may be delayed for a week or (maximum) two. (I would ask a student to do his/her presentation ahead of time only in *truly exceptional* circumstances.) The deadlines for the written presentations remain unchanged.

It is your responsibility to remember the date of your presentation. Students who do not turn-in their typed summary the day before the presentation will have their grade reduced by a full grade. (For example, from A- to B-).

5. An in-class, mid-term examination.

6. A take-home examination.

Grading

Class Attendance and Participation	20%
Map Quiz	10%
Class Presentations	20%
Short News Presentation(s)	10%
Policy Recommendation Briefing	20%
Take-Home Exam	20%

CLASS OUTLINE

1. Session 1: Wednesday, January 11

INTRODUCTION

2. Session 2: Wednesday, January 18

(1] Russia as an Imperial Power. Marxism and Foreign Policy
Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 2 (pp. 17-36)

[2] The October Revolution and the Tensions of Finding and Appropriate Foreign Policy

Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 3 (pp. 37-58)

3. Session 3: Wednesday, January 25

[3] The Beginnings of Stalin's Foreign Policies

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 3 (pp. 58-61)

For student presentations:

* Carrere D'Encausse, *The Great Challenge*, ch. 3 ("The Nations Manipulated") and/or ch. 4 ("The Nationalities: Yeast for the Revolution") [Not at SHU library – must borrow through EZ Borrow, at SHU library]

* George E. Kennan, "Brest-Litovsk" and "Unofficial Allied Agents," in *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961). [SHU library DK63.3 .K38 1961] ,

[4] The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and WWII

Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 3 (pp. 61-70)

For student presentations:

* Tucker, "Stalin, Bukharin, and History as a Conspiracy," in *The Soviet Political Mind*, pp. 49-86 (SHU library DK.274 .T8 1972 (check edition to make sure it includes this chapter) or instructor's copy).

*** MAP QUIZ***

4. Session 4: Wednesday, February 1

[S] The Origins of the Cold War

Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 3 (pp. 70-74 and 75-80)

For student presentations:

* selected chapters from Patricia Grimsted, *Trophies of War and Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., HORI, 2001)[on art as a form of war 'reparations' after WWII] [Not in SHU library-• order through Inter-Library Loan]

[6] Building an Empire in East Europe

Gati, chapter 1

Hyde-Price, chapter 2 ("East Central Europe: a brief history"), pp. 11-44 (read parts relevant to the period up to 1955)

Hyde-Price, chapter 6, pp. 140-145 (intro and "The Socialist Commonwealth and East• Central Europe")

For Student Presentations:

* Philip Ther and Ana Siljak (eds.), *Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944-1948* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), ch. 1 and either chapter 3 or 9. [Inter-library loan]

* Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*, chapter 15 ("East European Stalinism"), pp. 255-274 [Instructor's copy]

5. Session 5: Wednesday, February 8

[7] De-Stalinization and Foreign Policy, I
De-Stalinization: First Effects on Foreign Policy
Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 80-88)

[8] De-Stalinization and Foreign Policy, II
Crises in the Building of a New Relationship with Eastern Europe:
the Hungarian Revolution and the Soviet Invasion
Gati, ch. 2 (pp. 35-43)
Hyde-Price, chapter 2 ("East Central Europe: a brief history"), pp. 11-44 (read parts relevant to the period 1955-1985)

For student presentations:

* TBA presentation on Western Policy and the role of Radio Free Europe in the Hungarian Revolution

6. Session 6: Wednesday, February 15

[9] De-Stalinization And Foreign Policy, III
The Role of Foreign Policy in Khrushchev's Reform Program
Reread Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 80-88)

For student presentations:

* Selected chapters from Linden, *Khrushchev and the Soviet Leadership* [SHU library DK275.K5 L5] dealing with the link between domestic reforms and foreign policy.

THE THIRD WORLD, REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND THE 'BREZHNEV DOCTRINE'

[10] The Soviet Union and the Cuban Revolution
Balmaceda, "The Cuban Revolution and Its Impact," ch. 4 of *Soviet Latin American Studies from the Cuban Revolution to 'New Thinking'*. instructor's copy

Alvin S. Rubinstein, "Backing Liberation Movements," in *Moscow's Third World Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1990) [on Reserve]

[11] National Liberation Movements and the Sino-Soviet Split
Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 88-93)

For student presentations:

* Ismail Kadare, *The Concert* (novel) [on the impact of the Sino-Soviet split on Albania]
[order in advance through Inter-Library Loan]

7. Session 7: Wednesday, February 22

[12] *The Prague Spring and the Brezhnev Doctrine*

Hyde-Price, chapter 2 ("East Central Europe: a brief history"), pp. 11-44 (read parts relevant to the period 1955-1985)

M. Balmaceda, "The Legacy Of History: Path Dependencies and Energy Networks," Chapter 2 of *Understanding the Management of Energy Dependency in the Former Soviet World* (Manuscript), pp. 16-70 [will be distributed by e-mail by Instructor]

For student presentations:

* TBA on the international implications of the invasion of Czechoslovakia

THE IMPETUS FOR A CHANGE IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

[13] *Detente, International Competitiveness and Foreign Policy: Impetus for Change Before Perestroika*

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 94-101)

[14] *The Soviet Union and Regional Conflicts Under the Old Regime: Afghanistan and Central America*

[old Nogee and Donaldson book ch. 8 (pp. 307-322) and ch. 9 (332-337)]

For student presentations:

* 3 or more chapters (selected in consultation with the Instructor) from Galia Golan, *Soviet Policies in the Middle East from World War Two to Gorbachev* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1990), including ch. 10 on "Soviet attitudes to Islam" [Inter-library loan if needed]

* 2 or more chapters (selected in consultation with the Instructor) from Robert O. Freedman, *Moscow and the Middle East* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1991), including chapter 1 on "Soviet policy toward the Middle East from World War II until the invasion of Afghanistan" [inter-library loan if needed]

8. Session 8: Wednesday, March 1

[15] *The Beginnings of 'New Thinking'*

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 101-105)

Gati, ch. 3 (pp. 65-103)

[16] *The Role of Foreign Policy and 'New Thinking' in Gorbachev's Reform Plans*

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 105-115)

[17] *Letting Eastern Europe Go*

Hyde-Price, chapter 6, pp. 145-146 ("Gorbachev and Eastern Europe")

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4, pp. 115-119

Hyde-Price, chapter 8, pp. 223-224, 230-238 ("Strategic realignment, military reform, and regional security")

[18] 'New Thinking,' World Communism, and the Third World

For student presentations:

* TBA presentation on Third World Communist reactions to Perestroika

* Dallin, "New Thinking About World Communism," in *The Soviet System in Crisis*, pp. 520-529 (on Reserve or instructor's copy)

*** WEEK OF MARCH 8: SPRING BREAK ***

9. Session 9: Wednesday, March 15

*** MID-TERM EXAMINATION***

*** Graded examinations will be returned on or before March 29 ***

10. Session 10: Wednesday, March 22

[19] The Dissolution of the USSR. The Emergence of the CIS as an International System and Russia's search for a new role in this system
Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 6 (pp. 176-183)

For student presentations:

* Igor Zavelev, *Russia and Its New Diasporas* (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 2001), focusing on the foreign policy components of the Russian diaspora issue

* Brumberg, "The Road to Minsk," *The New York Review of Books* 30 January 1992 (library or Inter-library loan)

[20] The Emergence of Central Asia and the Caucasus as Factors in International Relations

On Central Asia

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 6 (pp. 201-204)

Lerna K. Yanik, "The Politics of educational exchange: Turkish education in Central Asia," *Euro-Asia Studies* Vol. 56 No. 2 (March 2004), pp. 293-307

Lee, "Toward a New International Regime for the Caspian Sea," *Problem of Post-Communism* (2005) (on reserve)

Theresa Sabonis-Helf, "The Rise of the Post-Soviet Petro-States: Energy Exports and Domestic Governance in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf (eds.), *In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asia's Path to the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 2004), pp. available via ILL or online at <http://www.ndu.edu/ctnsp/tamerlatie.htm>, pp. 159-186.

For student presentations:

* TBA on relations between one or more former Soviet Central Asian states and China

* Vitaly Naumkin, *Radical Islam and Central Asia* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005)

TBA on Moslem fundamentalism and international relations in Central Asia

* TBA on the drug trade and international relations in Central Asia

* any two of the following articles from Foreign Affairs Fall 2000: Manning, "The Myth of the Caspian Great Game and the "New Persian Gulf," Clawson, "Energy Security: The Persian Gulf and the Caspian Basin," Carol Saivetz, "Caspian Geopolitics: The View from Moscow," Thomas Stauffer, "Caspian Fantasy: The Economics of Political Pipelines." OR

* R. Menon, Energy, "Development and Conflict in the Caspian Sea Region," and Peter Rutland, "Paradigms for Russian Policy in the Caspian Region," (pp. 163-188)(or one other chapter) in Robert Ebel and Rajan Menon, eds., Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), (InterLibrary Loan)

* Wu and Chen, "The Prospects for Regional Economic Integration Between China and the Five Central Asian States," in Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 56 No. 7 (November 2004), pp. 1059-1080

* For Russian-reading students: Xao Huashen, "Kitai, Tsentralnaya Azia i Shangaiskaia Organizatsia Sotrudnichestva," (China Central Asia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization) (Moscow: Tsentr Kamegie, 2005), available at <http://www.carnegie.ru/ru/pubs/workpapers/wp-05-2005-www.pdf>

* Andrew J. Brown, "The Germans of Germany and the Germans of Kazakhstan: a Eurasian Volk in the twilight of diaspora," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 57 No. 4 (June 2005), pp. 625-634 (on Reserve) and additional materials TBA (suggested by the student) on the foreign policy aspects of the issue.

On the Caucasus and Chechnia

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 6 (pp. 194-201) and ch. 7 (pp. 229-235)

For student presentations:

* TBA on the role of energy in Azerbaijan's foreign policies

* TBA on a topic related to the international implications of the Chechen war (on relations with Georgia, or on relations with the West)

11. Session 11: * MAKE-UP MEETING THE WEEK OF MARCH 27-31, OR TBA *** IN-CLASS MOVIE: GEORGIA: THE POWER TRIP AND SUBSEQUENT PHONE DISCUSSION**

For student presentations:

* TBA on Georgia's Foreign Policy since the "Rose Revolution"

12. Session 12: Wednesday, March 29

[21] The Western Post-Soviet States: Ukraine

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 6 (pp. 183-187)

Oles M. Smolasky, "Ukraine and Russia: a Marriage of Inconvenience," manuscript 2001 (or 2002?), available in Internet
Tor Bukoll, "Off the Cuff Politics: Explaining Russia's Lack of a Ukraine Strategy," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 53 No. 8 (December 2001), pp. 1141-1157

Fore student presentations:

- * Garnett, *The Keystone in the Arch*, chapters TBA (library or instructor's copy)
- * Alexander Duleba, "The Ukrainian-Slovak-Russian Security Triangle," in M. Balmaceda (ed.), *On the Edge: the Ukrainian-Central European-Russian Security Triangle* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000) [Inter-Library Loan or instructor's copy]
- * Two chapters from Anatol Lieven, *Ukraine and Russia: a fraternal Rivalry* (Washington, US Institute of Peace, 1999) [Inter Library Loan or Instructor's copy]
- * Two chapters from Jennifer Moroney, Taras Kuzio and Mikhail Molchanov, eds., *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002) [Inter Library Loan]
- * For Russian-reading students: Hrops ИKoaEHKo. YIcpaMHa И Poccaa.cioxeru cooTBeCTBeHHocTи, (Igor Yakovenko: Ukraine and Russia: stories of a relationship) *Vestnik Evropи*, available at <http://magazines.russ.ru/vestnik/2005/16/>
- * For German-reading students: Heiko Pleines, *Ukrainische Seilenschaften (Ukrainian Old-boy networks)* (Bremen, 2005), with an emphasis on foreign policy implications [Instructor's Copy]

[22) Belarus, Moldova and the Future of the CIS

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 6 (pp. 189-194 and 207-208) (general); ch. 6 (pp. 204-207) (on Moldova) and ch. 6 (pp. 208-211) (on Belarus)
Ruth Deyermond, "The state of the union: military success, economic and political failure in the Russia-Belarus union," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 56 No. 8 (December 2004), pp. 1191-2005
Paul D. Quinlan, "Back to the Future: An Overview of Moldova Under Voronin" *Democratizatsia* Vol. 12 No. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 485--503 (on reserve)
Robert Weiner, "The Foreign Policy of the Voronin Administration," *Democratizatsia* Vol. 12 No. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 541-558 (on reserve)

For student presentations:

- * Any two chapters on foreign policy from M. Balmaceda, J. Clem and L. Tarlow (Eds.) *Independent Belarus: Domestic Determinants, Regional Dynamics and Implication for the West* (Cambridge: HURi/Davis Center for Russian Studies: distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002) [Inter-library loan or Instructor's copy]
- * Simon Araloff (AJA European Section), „Clandestine Routes for Russian Weapons," part of a series on „Europe's Black Hole," *Axis Information and Analysis*, available at <http://www.axis-globe.com/article.asp?allj0Je=280> (on the Russian-Belarusian link in weapons exports to unstable areas)

[22) The Question of NATO Expansion to Central-East Europe and the Baltics

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Ukraine, Central Europe and Russia in a New International Environment," in *On the Edge*, ch. 1 (handout)

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 7 (pp. 241-247) [read first] and ch. 6 (pp. 212-217)

Hyde-Price, chapter 8, pp. 248-253 (Arguments for and against NATO expansion)

[23] The Russian Role in Central and East Europe

Hyde-Price, chapter 6, pp. 151-157 ("Poland's Ostpolitik-- relations with Russia"), 166-171 (Czech and Slovak Republics) and 171-178 (Hungary)

For Student Presentations:

* TBA presentation on Poland's "Orlen-Gate" (2004) and its Foreign Policy Implications

[24] Central and Eastern Europe: Developing New Foreign Policies after the Fall of the Soviet Empire

Hyde-Price, chapter 5, pp. 122-131 ("Visegrad") and 131-133 ("The costs and Benefits of Regional Cooperation"), and (optional), pp. 133-139 ("Conclusions")

Hyde-Price, chapter 8, pp. 253-258 ("East Central Europe, the EU and the WEU")

On the Balkans and Romania: other articles TBA

For student presentations:

* TBA on Germany's role in Central-East Europe, 1995-2005

* TBA on Austria's economic role in the former Yugoslavia and CEE

13. Session 13: Wednesday, April 5

[25] Interest Groups in Russian Foreign Policies: The Case of the Energy Complex

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 5 (pp. 168-175)

Morse and Richard, "The Battle for Energy Dominance" *Foreign Affairs* 2002 (on Reserve)

[26] Energy and Foreign Policies in Central-East Europe

On Russia's relations with Western Europe, including the role of energy in these relations: Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 7 (pp. 247-268) (skim)

M. Balmaceda, "International Politics, Domestic Markets: the Energy Charter, Russia, and Central-East Europe," *Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*, Summer 2002 (instructor's copy or internet)

Astrid Sahm and Kirsten Westphal, "Power and the Yamal Pipeline," in M. Balmaceda, J. Clem and L. Tarlow (Eds.) *Independent Belarus: Domestic Determinants, Regional Dynamics and Implication for the West* (Cambridge: HURi/Davis Center for Russian Studies: distributed by Harvard University Press, 2002) [Inter-library loan or instructor's copy]

[27] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin: Russia and the West

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 7 (pp. 218-229 and 235-241)

TBA materials from *Current History*, Russia and Eurasia October 2004

TBA materials from *Current History*, October 2005 Russia and Eurasia **ISSN** 0011-3530

[28] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin: Russia and Non-Western States
Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 8 (pp. 269-327) (skim)

For student presentations:

- * For German-reading students: one article TBA from Osteuropa special issue on energy: Europa Unter Spannung 2004 No. 9-10 (Instructor's Copy)
- * TBA on Russian-Irak relations
- * TBA on Russian-Chinese relations

[29] Conclusion: the Future of International Relations in Eurasia
Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 9 (pp. 328-342)

14. Session 14: Wednesday, April 12

- In-class, small-group, student -led discussion
- Beginning of small groups' work on policy briefs

Policy Briefing topics: a) US and EU Policy towards Chechnia or b) US and EU Policy towards Belarus

(Instructions for the group project will be discussed on or before Tuesday, April 4).

*** individual mini-briefings (c. 350 words) due Monday, April 17 6:15 pm per e-mail to balmacma@shu.edu***

15. Session 15: Wednesday, April 19

- In-class, small-group, student -led discussion
- Completion of small groups' work on policy briefs

*** group briefings (c. 1500 words) due Thursday, April 19, 6:15 pm per e-mail to balmacma@shu.edu***

16. Wednesday, April 26

**** TAKE-HOME EXAMS DUE APRIL 26, 2006 3:00 pm via e-mail to Dr. Balmaceda balmacma@shu.edu ****