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Fall 2002

DIPL 4185/6405 NA Russian and Eastern European Foreign Relations

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SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
DIPL 4185 NA/6405 NA
RUSSIAN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN FOREIGN RELATIONS
FALL2002

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Tue. 6:15-8:25
FH 101
Office hrs. Tue 8:25-9:00 pm
Wed. 10:00-11:00 am, 3:10-4:00pm
or by appointment

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. Noyes and Robert H. Donaldson, *The Foreign Policy of Russia* (ME Sharpe, 2001)

Charles Gati, *The Bloc That Failed* (Indiana University Press, 1992)

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

Current History, March 2001 issue on Europe and the Balkans

Current History, October 2001 issue on Russia

Current History, forthcoming issue on Russia, October 2002

In addition, the other books mentioned in the syllabus will be available on the Reserve Room of the SHU library (please check listings for both DIPL 4185 NA/6405 NA. 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.

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. One news presentation. 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.

4. Two 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.

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 typed summary of your arguments in essay form
- 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. A take-home final examination,

Grading

Class Attendance and Participation	10%
Map Quiz	5%
Class Presentations	25%
Short News Presentation(s)	10%
Final Exam	25%

Note: In keeping with the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, every effort will be made to accommodate the needs of students with students with temporary or permanent disabilities.

CLASS OUTLINE

**** Please note: the class meeting for Dec. 10 will need to be re-scheduled. Thank you for your help in rescheduling****

1. Tuesday, September 10

INTRODUCTION

2. Tuesday, September 17

[1] Russia as an Imperial Power. Marxism and Foreign Policy

Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 2 (pp. 17-36)

3. Tuesday, September 24

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

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

For student presentations:

Carrere D'Encausse, *The Great Challenge*, ch. 3 ("The Nations Manipulated") and/or ch. 4 ("The Nationalities: Yeast for the Revolution") (instructor's copy)

[3] The Beginnings of Stalin's Foreign Policies

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

*** MAP QUIZ ***

4. Tuesday, October 1

[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 (library [check edition to make sure it includes this chapter] or instructor's copy)

[5] 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., HURI, 2001) [order through Inter-Library Loan]

5. Tuesday, October 8

[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]

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

6. Tuesday, October 15

DE-STALINIZATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

[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)

[9] The Role of Foreign Policy in Khrushchev's Reform Program

Reread Noguee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 80-88)

For student presentations:

* Selected chapters from Linden, Khrushchev and the Soviet Leadership [order through Inter-Library Loan] dealing with the link between domestic reforms and foreign policy

7. Tuesday, October 22

*** MID-TERM EXAM (6:15-7:25)***

*** MAKE-UP CLASS (8) (in lieu of Dec. 10) (7:25-8:25)***

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

[11] National Liberation Movements and the Sino-Soviet Split

Noguee 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]

8. Tuesday, October 29

[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)

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

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

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

9. Tuesday, November 5

[15] The Beginnings of 'New Thinking'
Noguee 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
Noguee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 105-115)

(17) Letting Eastern Europe Go
Hyde-Price, chapter 6, pp. 145-146 ("Gorbachev and Eastern Europe")
Noguee 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:

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

11. Tuesday, November 12

[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
Noguee 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

* Bromberg, "The Road to Minsk," The New York Review of Books 30 January 1992
(library, Inter-library loan or Instructor's copy)

[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)

For student presentations:

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

* 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), (Inter-Library Loan)

On the Caucasus and Chechnia

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

For student presentations:

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

12. Tuesday, November 19

[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

For 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]

[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 these pages 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)

[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: Current History, March 2001 issue on Europe

For student presentations:

* TBA on changing attitudes towards EU membership on the basis of one or more countries

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

13. Tuesday, November 26 [NB: class may need to be rescheduled]

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

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

Other readings TBA

[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) 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)

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]

14. Tuesday, December 3

[28) Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin: Russia and the West
Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 7 (pp. 218-229 and 235-241)

Stephen Holmes, "Simulations of Power in Putin's Russia," in Current History, issue on Russia, October 2002

Michael McFaul, "Realistic Engagement: A New Approach to American-Russian Relations," in Current History, issue on Russia, October 2002

Jack Mendelsohn, "America, Russia, and the Future of Arms Control," in Current History, issue on Russia, October 2002

Peter Rutland, "The Year [2001] in Review," handout [instructor's copy]

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

For student presentations:

* TBA on Russian-Irak relations

* TBA on Russian-Chinese relations

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

*** TAKE-HOME EXAM DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS***

15. Tuesday, December 10

*** CLASS RESCHEDULED TO OCTOBER 29 AFTER MID-TERM***

16. Tuesday, Dec. 17

*** TAKE HOME EXAM OR PAPER DUE IN SCHOOL OF DIPLOMACY OFFICE
ON OR BEFORE TUESDAY, DEC, 17 6:15 PM***

