Fall 2002

Russian and Eastern European Foreign Relations

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Dr. Margarita M. Balmaceda  Tue. 6:15-8:25
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balmacma@shu.edu          Wed. 10:00-11:00 am, 3:10-4:00 pm
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. Nogee and Robert H. Donaldson, The Foreign Policy of Russia (ME Sharpe, 2001)
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 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**

   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:


   * 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 Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 80-88)

For student presentations:
* Selected chapters from Linden, Krushchev 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

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]

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
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 Donaldon 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
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:
* 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
Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 6 (pp. 176-183)

For student presentations:
[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 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


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)
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)


[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
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-Iraq 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***