

Spring 2013

Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States

Margarita M. Balmaceda
Seton Hall University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.shu.edu/diplomacy-syllabi>

Recommended Citation

Balmaceda, Margarita M., "Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States" (2013). *Diplomacy Syllabi*. 223.
<https://scholarship.shu.edu/diplomacy-syllabi/223>

DIPL 6405 AA
Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States
School of Diplomacy and International Relations
Seton Hall University
Spring 2013

Prof. Margarita M. Balmaceda
McQuaid Hall
(973) 313-6202
balmacma@shu.edu

Class: DH 80
Tuesdays 5:00-7:10 p.m.
Office hrs T 11:30-12:15, W 10:00-10:30
W 2:20-3:20 and 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 legacies of the past on their current policies and attitudes vid. -- of 74 years of Soviet power in the case of post-Soviet states such as Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, etc, or of nearly 45 years of pro-Soviet Communist regimes in the cases of Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and other Central/East European states.

Books and course materials

The following books are available for purchase at the SHU bookstore **or online:**
Joseph L. Noguee and Robert H. Donaldson, The Foreign Policy of Russia (ME Sharpe, 2009) ISBN 978-0765622815 (Paperback) ISBN-10 **0765622815**

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

Current History, October 2012 (TBA)

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. **Unless otherwise noted, all journal articles listed in the syllabus are available through the SHU e-journal portal, please download, print, and bring to class in printed form.**

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, Financial Times, and other news sources.

*** 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. One news presentation. The news presentation should be brief (c. 5 minutes), and should include at least two *current* news item from each a) Russia in general b) ethno-territorial units within the Russian Federation, c) other former Soviet republics and Central-East Europe. Current sources such as *Financial Times, The Economist, and the New York Times* can be used, but should be supplemented by more specific resources such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Johnson's List on Russia, and other agencies from Western and Eastern Europe and beyond. You should be ready to discuss the link between these specific news and the larger these discussed in the class. Please use a pedagogically-oriented power-point presentation. Sign-up for news presentations will be on January 15, 2013.
4. Two **15-minute** (including 5 minutes for discussion) 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 15, 2013.

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 an outline and/or other visual aid for distribution to all students.

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 – i.e. even if we fall behind the schedule, please submit your written presentation by the original date (i.e. the day before the original date of the presentation).

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 (Tuesday, February 26).

6. A take-home examination (due April 30, 2013). You will have two weeks to complete this examination.

Grading

Class Attendance and Participation	20%
Map Quiz	10%
Class Presentations # 1	10%
Class Presentations # 2	10%
Short News Presentation(s)	10%
Mid-term exam	20%
Take-Home Exam	20%

Submission of assignments:

Unless otherwise noted, assignments are due on or before 4:00 pm. of the deadline date in the instructor's mailbox and as e-mail attachment.

Please note that all assignments must be also submitted as hard copy. Please make sure each page of any assignment includes full class, assignment, date and name information in the first page, as well as a "header" on each page with your name and short assignment name, as well as page numbers. Please use 1" margins and 12 point fonts, with 10 pts. for footnotes.

Files submitted by e-mail should be labeled clearly, using the following format:

YourName_DIPL6405_SHORTASSIGNMENTNAME_day.mo.year.doc

So, for example: JohnEdwards_DIPL6405_GAZPROMPRESENTATION_18.11.2012.doc

Files not labeled correctly may be subject to a 2% grade decrease.

Late assignments policy:

It is essential that assignments are submitted on time; I am unable to grant extensions. If you cannot come to campus to bring the paper submission, please mail it with sufficient time to reach me by the deadline.¹ Due to the large number of students, we are unable to accept submissions by fax.

Late assignments will be subjected to a 10 point (10 %) penalty per each day late. (For example, an assignment that merits a 95 ("A") grade will get 85.5 points if submitted a day late.) Assignments submitted after 5:45 pm the due date will be counted a day late. The deadline is to ensure the instructor enough time to read all assignments before class meetings.

Philosophy on the use of laptops and digital devices in class

While the use of computer resources is an important part of your experience at SHU, for our 130 minutes of classroom interaction, we will follow the following principles:

Closed laptops, open minds

130 minutes of electronic device-free dialogue Let's give each other a chance to interact, not via Facebook, but through the real face-book: talking face-to-face and reading each others' faces like a book – communicating with words, images, expressions, and subtle gestures. This is a crucial skill in diplomacy and negotiation!

No distractions, focused interaction

Better understanding through retyping and re-organizing class notes For best results, take notes by hand during the class meeting (Printed outline provided). After class, go over your class notes as well as your notes from the readings, and retype the class notes *connecting them with concrete examples or concepts found in the readings and additional searched information* (maps, etc.).

¹ For regular mail : must be post-marked three business days before the deadline; for Fedex overnight deliveries: must be post-marked one business day before the deadline, but before the Fedex cutoff time.

E-mail communications:

Please submit electronic versions of course assignments at the same time as the hard copy; both copies must be identical. Please label electronic copies as noted in point 4 below.

As a result of an uncontrollable flood of unnecessary e-mails, I have set my Spam program to delete most questionable messages. To assure efficient communications, please keep in mind to:

1. Please start subject line with DIPL 6495
2. In addition, **include a clear and fully self- explanatory subject line, including any action requested.** Examples of *self- explanatory subject lines* are: “DIPL 6405: Special appointment needed to discuss draft due October 30,” “DIPL 6405: Cannot make meeting March 15, special appointment requested,” etc. Non-explanatory Subject lines such as “DIPL 6405” or “Class” will result in a delayed answer or a lost message – **my Spam program deletes e-mails that do not contain content-related subject lines.**
2. Include an appropriate professional greeting. My Spam program deletes e-mails lacking an appropriate professional greeting.
3. Use your Seton Hall e-mail account. My Spam program deletes unexplained e-mails from unknown (non-Seton Hall) accounts
4. Please label any attachments clearly, using a document title such as DIPL6405PresentationSMITHDAYMONTHYEAR.doc.
5. E-mails will normally be answered in three batches:
 - a) late Monday evenings
 - b) late Thursday evenings
 - c) late Friday evenings

If I have more than one e-mail from you waiting in my inbox, please keep in mind that *I will look at the most recent of your e-mails first*; please incorporate into it any relevant information from other e-mails you may have send during this period.

CLASS OUTLINE

***** Please note: some reading assignments may be modified in response to current events and new publications on crucial issues to the class *****

Session 1: Tuesday, January 15

INTRODUCTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING

Session 2: Tuesday, January 22

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

Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 2

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

Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 3

[3] The Beginnings of Stalin’s Foreign Policies

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 3 (pp. 53-59)

For student presentations:

* 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**]

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

[4] The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and WWII

Nogee and Donaldson, chapter 3 (pp. 59-65)

For student presentations:

* Tucker, "Stalin, Bukharin, and History as a Conspiracy," in The Soviet Political Mind, pp. 49-86 [SHU library **DK274 .T8 1972** (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. 65-67) and 4 (68-106)

***** MAP QUIZ *****

Session 3: Tuesday, January 29

[6] Building an Empire in East Europe

Gati, chapter 1

For Student Presentations:

* Introduction and two chapters from Vasselin Dimitrov, Stalin's Cold War: Soviet Foreign Policy, Democracy and Communism in Bulgaria, 1941- 48 (2008) [**Inter-Library Loan**], and Crampton, Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century, chapter 15 ("East European Stalinism"), pp. 255-274 [**Inter-library loan**] (both materials)

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

* Selected chapters from A. Johnson, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond (2010) (ISBN-10 0804773564) [**Inter-library loan**]

* selected chapters (dealing with the WWII period or immediately afterwards) from Patricia Grimsted, Throphies of War and Empire (Cambridge, Mass., HURI, 2001)[on art as a form of war 'reparations' after WWII] [**Inter-Library Loan**]

[7] “Finlandization”

For student presentation:

Presentation on Roy Allison, Finland’s Relations with the Soviet Union, 1944-1984 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985) (preferred) **[Inter-library loan]**

(may also look at: Max Jakobson, Finland in the New Europe (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998) (esp. ch. 3), or Jussi M. Hanhimäki, Containing Coexistence: America, Russia, and the Finnish Solution (TBA)

[8A] De-Stalinization and Foreign Policy, I

De-Stalinization: First Effects on Foreign Policy

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4

[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)

For student presentations:

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

Session 4: Tuesday, February 5

[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, Krushchev 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 to be placed on reserve]**

Alvin S. Rubinstein, “Backing Liberation Movements,” in Moscow’s Third World Strategy (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1990) **[e-Reserve]**

For Student presentations

* TBA presentation on Cuban-Soviet relations; use Richard Gott, Cuba: A New History (Yale U. Press, 2004), chapter on “Inside the Soviet camp, 1968-1985;” see also Alvin S. Rubinstein, “Backing Liberation Movements,” in Moscow’s Third World Strategy (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1990) **[Inter-library loan]**

* TBA presentation on Graham T. Allison, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (1999)

[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] **[Inter-Library Loan or amazon.com for \$15.99 (or less if used)]** (use additional materials for context)

Session 5 Tuesday, February 12

[12] The Prague Spring and the Brezhnev Doctrine – while the USSR starts to lay the ground for its role as major energy supplier to the EU

Hyde-Price, chapter 2 (“East Central Europe: a brief history”), pp. 11-44 (read parts relevant to the period 1955-1985) **[e-reserve]**

M. Balmaceda, “The Legacy Of History: Path Dependencies and Energy Networks,” Chapter 3 of The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Power (University of Toronto Press, forthcoming) **[Blackboard or electronic copy distribution by e-mail]**

For student presentations:

* Selected chapters from, Per Högselius, *Red Gas: Russia and the Origins of European Energy Dependence* (2013) (especially Introduction, ch. 3 on Austria and ch. 4 on Bavaria)

[Instructor or Inter-Library Loan]

* 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

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 8, sections on “South Asia” and “Beyond the Borders of the CIS” (pp. 318-338)

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**]

* 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**]

[NB: students presenting on Golan and Freedman: please coordinate in order to prevent any unnecessary overlap, and to contrast both books’ central arguments]

Session 6: Tuesday, February 19

[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

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4

Mark Kramer, “The Demise of the Soviet Bloc,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (9), 2011, pp. 1535-1590 [**SHU e-journals**]

[18] ‘New Thinking,’ World Communism, and the Third World

Reread materials for sessions [9] and [10].

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)

[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 [**instructor’s copy**]

* Brumberg, “The Road to Minsk,” The New York Review of Books 30 January 1992 (available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1992/jan/30/the-road-to-minsk/?pagination=false>)

Session 7: Tuesday, February 26

***** MID-TERM EXAMINATION *****

***** Graded examinations will be returned on March 12 or March 19 *****

Make up session (second part of class) covering:

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

On Central Asia: domestic factors informing foreign relations

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

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 at: <http://www.ndu.edu/CTNSP/docUploaded/Tamerlane%20Master.pdf>, pp. 159-186.

For student presentations:

* David Lewis, The Temptations of Tyranny in Central Asia (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008) **[Inter-Library Loan]**

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

*TBA on Moslem fundamentalism and international relations in Central Asia

[20] (Cont.) On Central Asia: diplomacy and foreign relations

Class readings:

Lerna K. Yanik, "The Politics of educational exchange: Turkish education in Central Asia," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 56 No. 2 (March 2004), pp. 293-307 **[SHU Library e-journals]**

Lee, "Toward a New International Regime for the Caspian Sea," Problems of Post-Communism (2005) **[SHU e-journals]**

For student presentations:

* Introduction and two additional chapters from Adam N. Stulberg, Well-Oiled Diplomacy: Strategic Manipulation and Russia's Energy Statecraft in Eurasia (Albany: State University of New York, 2007) **[Inter-Library Loan]**

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

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

* any two of the following articles from Foreign Affairs Fall 2000 **[SHU Library e-journals]**: 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**]

* 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 [**SHU e-journals**]

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

On the Caucasus:

Richard Sakwa "The Clash of Regionalisms and Caucasian Conflicts, *Europe-Asia Studies*" Vol. 63, Iss. 3, 2011 [**SHU e-journals**]

*** SPRING BREAK MARCH 4-9 ***

Session 8 Tuesday, March 12

IN- CLASS MOVIE: GEORGIA: THE POWER TRIP AND SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION

For student presentations and class discussion:

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

Session 9 Tuesday, March 19

[21] On the Caucasus and Chechnia

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

On the Caucasus issue and foreign influences:

Domitilla Sagrarnoso, "The Radicalization of Islamic Salafi *Jamaats* in the North Caucaus: Moving Closer to the Global *Jihadist* Movement?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 64(3), 561-595 [**SHU e-journals**]

For student presentations:

* TBA on the role of energy in Azerbaijan's foreign policies [NB: watch out for possible overlap with a presentation on Stulberg, Well-Oiled Diplomacy above]

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

[22] 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 2002, available in Internet

Tor Bukvoll, "Off the Cuff Politics: Explaining Russia's Lack of a Ukraine Strategy,"

Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 53 No. 8 (December 2001), pp. 1141-1157 [SHU e-journals]

Alexander Bogomolov and Oleksandr Lytvynenko, *A Ghost in the Mirror: Russian Soft Power in Ukraine* (Chatham House Briefing Paper, 2012), available at

<http://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/papers/view/181667>

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) [SHU Library]

* 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: Игорь Яковенко. Украина и Россия: сюжеты соотнесенности, (Igor Yakovenko: Ukraine and Russia: stories of a relationship) Vestnik Evropi, available at <http://magazines.russ.ru/vestnik/2005/16/>

* For Ukrainian-reading students familiar with Ukrainian history and literature: Yuri Andrukhovych's novel Rekreatsii (1990, first published in Suchasnist' (Kyiv), 1992 No. 1.) Рекреації Also available in English translation as Recreations (Toronto: CIUS Press, 1998) or selected essays from Дезорієнтація На Місцевості, with an emphasis on the cultural aspects of Ukraine's foreign policy orientation(s). (See <http://vitaly.rivne.com/andrukhovych>).

* 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

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Belarus: Turning Dependency into Power?," chapter 5 in *Ibid, Dealing with Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure, 1992-2012* (University of Toronto Press, forthcoming) [Blackboard or provided by Instructor]

Rilka Dragneva and Kataryna Wolczuk, *Russia, the Eurasian Customs Union and the EU: Cooperation, Stagnation or Rivalry?* (Chatham House, August 2012, available at <http://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/papers/view/185165>)

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:

On Belarus

* Grigory Ioffe *Understanding Belarus and How Western Foreign Policy Misses the Mark* (2008) [Inter-Library Loan]

* 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) [SHU library]

* Simon Araloff (AIA European Section), „Clandestine Routes for Russian Weapons,“ part of a series on „Europe’s Black Hole,“ *Axis Information and Analysis*, available at <http://www.axisglobe.com/article.asp?article=280> (on the Russian-Belarusian link in weapons exports to unstable areas)

Session 10: Tuesday, March 26

[23] Transnistria and other Protracted Conflicts and De Facto States

Kolsto, P. and H. Blackkistrud , 2008. "Living with non-recognition: State and Nation-building in south Caucasian Quasi-States." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (3), 483–509 [SHU e-journals]

Other materials TBA

For Contrast: on Chechnia (as a possible ‘state within a state’): John Russel, "Kadyrov’s Chechnia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63(3) (2011), pp. 509-528 [SHU e-journals]

For Student Presentations

* Kuechler, Umland, and Hill, *The Role of the European Union in Moldova's Transnistria Conflict* (Ibidem, 2007) [Inter-Library Loan]

* Ch. 2 (on Moldova) in Bertil Nygren, *The Rebuilding of Greater Russia: Putin's foreign policy towards the CIS countries* (Routledge 2008) pp. 82-99 and Per Anders Rudling, "Post-

Soviet Moldova's national identity and foreign policy," in *Europe's Last Frontier* (Palgrave, 2008) [both books are Inter-Library Loan]

[23] The Question of NATO Expansion to Central-East Europe and the Baltics; Energy and Politics in the Baltics

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Ukraine, Central Europe and Russia in a New International Environment," in *On the Edge*, ch. 1 [SHU Library reserves]

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

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Corruption, Intermediary Companies, and Energy Security: Lessons of Lithuania for the Broader Central-East European Region," *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 55 No. 4, July/August 2008, pp. 16-28 [SHU e-journals]

[23] The Russian Role in Central and East Europe

Materials TBA

For Student Presentations:

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

* TBA presentation on the European missile initiative and Polish and Czech reactions to the issue

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

Materials TBA

For student presentations:

* TBA on Germany's role in Central-East Europe, 1995-2009 [make sure to include policies on NATO expansion and Ukraine

*[for German-speaking students] special presentation on program on Radio Maryja and Deutschlandfunk is "Der Lügenjäger. Warum Herr Maszkowski Radio Maryja hört". The link is <http://www.dradio.de/dlf/sendungen/dasfeature/972082/>

Session 11: Tue, April 2 [xxx no class meeting: make up after mid-term on February 26]

13. Session 12: Tuesday, April 9

[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 [SHU e-journals]

[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 (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)

Materials on energy from RAD (Russian analytical digest, No. 113 (May 2012) and 110 (July 2011), available at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

[27] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin: Russia and Non-Western States

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 8 (pp. 269-327) (skim)

Natasha Kuhr, "The Russian Far East in Russia's Asia Policy," *Europe-Asia Studies* 64(3), May 2012, pp. 471-493 [SHU e-journals]

Materials on Russia and the Middle East crisis from RAD (Russian analytical digest, No. 98 (2011), available at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

Materials on Russia and Arctic from RAD (Russian analytical digest, No. 96 (2011), available at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

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)

* For Russian-reading students: "Svoebrazie russkogo natsionalizma," Pro et Contra (Moscow) Vol. 9 No. 2 (September-October 2005) (available at www.carnegie.ru/ru/pubs/procontra/)

* Introduction and two additional chapters from Anita Orban, *Power, Energy and the New Russian Imperialism* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008) [ILL]

* Alicja Curanovi, chapter on relations with Moslem states in *The Religious Factor in Russia's Foreign Policy* (Routledge Contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe Series) (Routledge, 2012) [Inter-Library Loan]

* "The Revisionist Alternative: Energy and the Sino-Russian Axis," pp. 113-130 in Philip Andrews-Speed, Roland Dannreuther, *China, Oil and Global Politics* (Routledge, 2011) [Inter-Library Loan]

* TBA on Russian-Syria relations

* TBA on Russian-Chinese relations, including, among other materials, Steven Kotkin, "A Moscow-Beijing Axis?," Foreign Policy September 2009 [SHU e-journals]

* Bobo Lo, *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009, ISBN-10 0815753403) [ILL]

**** TAKE-HOME EXAMS DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS ****

14. Session 13: Tuesday, April 16

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

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

TBA materials (from Current History, latest issue on Russia and Eurasia and/or *Russian Analytical Digest*)

Session 14 Tuesday, April 23

[29] Conclusion: the Future of International Relations in Eurasia

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 9 (pp. 328-342)

Andrei Tsygankov, "Assessing Cultural and Regime-Based Explanations of Russia's Foreign Policy. 'Authoritarian at Heart and Expansionist by Habit'?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 2012, available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ceas20/64/4> (preferred) or bss.sfsu.edu/tsygankov/.../EAS%20Revised%20Final%20Jun11.doc

Session 15 Tuesday, April 30

****** TAKE-HOME EXAMS DUE Tuesday, April 30 2012 4:30 pm via e-mail to
Margarita.Balmaceda@shu.edu******

Flex date: Building on this class: optional one-on-one academic and professional development consultations/make up if needed.