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Fall 2018

DIPL 4193 AA Eastern European and Post-Soviet Politics

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DIPL 4193 AA
Eastern European and Post-Soviet Politics
School of Diplomacy and International Relations
Seton Hall University
Fall 2018 (last updated 28.08.2018)

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Class: Alfieri 27
Tuesdays 5:00-7:30pm
Office hrs T 1:40-2:10, 3:30-4:00,
9:45-10:00pm, W12:00-12:30,
and by appt

Course Description

This course provides a systematic introduction to the main issues in Soviet, post-Soviet and post Soviet-Bloc politics. Some of the topics to be considered are the following: (1) the legacy of Soviet nationality policies and the Soviet planned economy system on the creation and development of new political systems in the former Soviet republics; (2) the political and economic diversity which emerged within the ‘Soviet Bloc’ starting in the 1950’s, and its effects on the development of new political systems after the fall of Communism; (3) the causes and consequences of ethnic conflicts in some of the countries of the area; and (5) the development of new political, social and economic institutions in the former Soviet and “Soviet Bloc” states after the fall of the Berlin Wall and these countries’ attempts to integrate themselves into the new international system.

Student learning objectives for this course include:

1. Fostering knowledge and understanding of
 - a. The interaction between politics and economics in the international system;
 - b. Prevailing global issues, such as international conflict, global health, and environmental challenges
 - c. An in-depth knowledge of a particular functional area and/or region of the world

2. Providing and supporting the development of the following skills:
 - a) Collect, sort, and evaluate information
 - b) Analyze complex situations and synthesize information
 - c) Integrate different fields of study in analysis of a complex world
 - d) Communicate effectively in oral and written form

Official University-wide policies covering this course:

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See University and School standards for academic conduct here:

<<https://www.shu.edu/student-life/upload/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>>

<<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>>

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Policy on Incompletes:

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor *before* the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an “FI” (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

Papers should utilize the following *Chicago Manual of Style* citation format: Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Blackboard page.

Required books:

Thomas F. Remington, Politics in Russia (Seventh Edition) (New York: Routledge Longman, 2012) **[must be 7th edition]**

Recommended books and materials:

Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras (Eds.), New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1997)

Michael Isikoff and David Corn, Russian Roulette: The Inside Story of Putin’s War on America and the Election of Donald Trump (New York: Twelve, 2018)

The New York Times and The Washington Post, current articles on the Russian investigation

The Rachel Maddow Show, current segments on the Russian investigation

Unless noted, journal articles listed in the syllabus are available through the SHU e-journal portal, and/or Blackboard. Please download, print, and bring to class in printed form.

COURSE POLICIES

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 hard copy, 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 20% penalty (1st day), plus 10% for each subsequent day.** (For example, an assignment that merits a 95 (“A”) grade will get 75 points if submitted a day late.) Late penalties are prorated for electronic/hard copy submissions: if an assignment is not turned in in hard copy form but only in electronic form, the penalty will be 10% per first day late (5% for each subsequent day); if it is not turned in in electronic copy form but only in hard form, the penalty will be 10% per first day late (plus 5% for each subsequent day). Assignments submitted >45 minutes after the due time are counted a day late. The deadline ensures the instructor enough time to read and comment on assignments.

No-screen policy: Use of laptops, phones, 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 Before class can start, kindly fully *turn off* and *put away* your phone and other digital devices.

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.).

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 above.

To assure efficient e-mail communications, please keep in mind to:

1. **include class # (DIPL4193) and a clear and fully self- explanatory subject line, including any action requested.** Examples of *self- explanatory subject lines* are: “Special appointment needed to discuss draft due October 30,” “Cannot make meeting September 15,

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.

special appointment requested,” etc. Missing or unclear subject lines such “Class” are not useful and will delay getting an answer.

2. Include an appropriate professional greetings: Only “Dear Dr. Balmaceda,” “Dear Prof. Balmaceda” and “Dear Professor Balmaceda” are appropriate professional greetings. My Spam program will deletes e-mails lacking an appropriate professional greeting.

3. Use your Seton Hall e-mail account. My Spam program will delete e-mails from unknown (non-Seton Hall) accounts.

4. e-mails from will normally be answered in three batches: late Monday evenings, late Wednesday evenings and late Friday evenings.

If I have more than one e-mail from you waiting in my inbox, please incorporate into it any relevant information from other e-mails you may have sent during this period. If you need to discuss a complex topic, personal discussions are recommended.

Grading:

Class attendance and participation:	20%
News Presentation	10%
Map Quiz	10%
Class Presentation(s)	20%
Mid-term examination	20%
Take-home Final examination	20%

Class Requirements and assignments:

1. Class attendance and participation.

Class participation will be judged on the quality of verbal communications during the class, as well as your contribution to the creation of a positive learning and discussion environment in the classroom. Creating and maintaining a positive learning and discussion environment requires that no private conversations or activities not directly related to that day’s class be allowed. (No bubble gum, eating of noisy, smelly or distracting food, “manspreading” or cell phones or beepers.)

Active participation requires attendance. For each unexcused absence, 5 points (5%) will be subtracted from the “class attendance and participation” portion of the grade. (For example, a person with 10 unexcused absences will not be able to get more than 50 in that portion of the grade.) Students arriving more than 30 minutes late or leaving more than 30 minutes early will not receive attendance credit for that particular class. The class participation grade also includes client-related work (see below) as well as other class activities.

The participation grade also covers the following assignments: introducing “guest news” segments; any other special assignments, and North Caucasus play (special assignments as well as December 4 performance).

2. Completing all required readings (and movie-viewing where applicable) before the session for which they have been assigned, and being ready to discuss them in class. I have tried to keep required readings to a maximum of 50-60 pages per week. However, some (but not all) of these materials are highly theoretical, requiring focused concentration and ample time for note-taking and re-reading as needed. You should budget 6 to 9 hours per week for completing the readings for this class.
3. One (two if less than nine students in class) 10-minute news presentation on last week's main news from Russia, the former USSR and Eastern Europe, using up to date sources. Include what/when where for the actual event covered. Be ready to discuss why your chosen items are the most important, and the *significance* of these concrete news for the broader topics discussed in this course. Your presentation should be divided in four clearly distinct parts and include *at least* two news items of significance from each a) Russia not including ethnoterritorial units b) Ethnoterritorial units with the Russian Federation (including the North Caucasus area (Chechnia, Dagestan, Ingushetia, North Ossetia), as well as other ethnoterritorial units within the RF), c) other post Soviet states and d) Eastern Europe. Please prepare a power-point presentation including appropriate maps. Please update your presentation briefly before class (even if power-point cannot be upgraded) in case there is any major news breakthrough up to Tuesday 8:00 am).
4. One (two if less than nine students in class) 15-minute presentation on a particular reading in the syllabus labeled as "Readings for student presentations." Sign-up for presentations will take place during the first and second class meetings and will be done on a first-come, first-served basis. **All sign-ups for class presentations should be completed by Tuesday, September 4.** "Readings for student presentations" are listed for each class. Please note:
 - The written portion of the presentation is due by 5:00 on the day preceding the date of the presentation as stated in the syllabus. Even in case we may be behind the syllabus, the written portion of the presentation is due on the date stated in the syllabus for that reading. The fact that the class may be behind the syllabus does not mean you do not need to submit the written portion of your presentation by the date stated on the syllabus.
 - Of the total grade for the presentation, half comes from the written presentation, half from the oral presentation. In other words, since each presentation's grade constitutes 20% of the class grade, its written portion constitutes 10% of the class grade, and the oral portion also 10%.
 - The oral presentation should be didactic and able to draw students into the issue and its discussion. It should be delivered as a colorful power-point presentation, if possible involving interactive elements.
 - If you choose a presentation noted by "TBA" (and where there is no reading), you should propose a presentation reading (related to the topic of that week) 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 several related articles, or several chapters of a book, or one substantial academic article. Inter-

Library-Loan (ILL) materials must be ordered by the student at least three weeks before the date needed.

- **Written presentations are due by 5:00 pm a day before the date noted in the syllabus for that reading (regardless of whether the class may be behind.)**

The presentations should concentrate on the particular reading chosen, yet should also draw on and make connections with the rest of the materials assigned for the class). **No later than 5:00 pm on the day before your assigned presentation date, you should submit the following (to the instructor's mailbox and by e-mail):**

- a) a two-page (max. 700 words) typed summary of your presentation arguments in essay form (i.e. using complete sentences, not an outline.)

Please include:

1. your name, date and full class information (class number and section, semester, instructor's name) on top of first page
2. full citation of material for presentation on the top of the first page
3. a summary of the material
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
7. a list of five or more questions for class discussion based on that reading.

- b) 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 presentation grade reduced by a full letter grade (for example, from A to B).* Further delays accrue a penalty of 10% of the current grade per day.

c) in addition, you should also distribute an short outline/ handout to the class at the time of the presentation. This should be a pedagogically-oriented handout, and, thus, different from the written presentation.

5. A Map Quiz on the second week of classes covering the entire Former USSR, its neighboring states, and COMECON/CMEA member states. It includes locating key countries and regions named in the syllabus and their neighboring states, main rivers and mountain systems.

6. A mid-term examination: on Tuesday, October 16.

7. A take-home final examination, due Tuesday, December 18.. The submission should be properly labeled and paginated. Key information that must be included in the top of the first page includes: your name, date, and full class information (class number and section, semester, instructor's name etc.).

8. All your written work will be judged on the basis of content and clarity. All students should proof-read and spell-check their work carefully.

PART I: INTRODUCTION AND MAIN CONCEPTS

Session 1: Tuesday, August 28

[1] INTRODUCTION

***** SIGN-UP FOR READING AND NEWS PRESENTATIONS*****

Session 2 Tuesday, September 4

[2] The Diversity of the Russian/Soviet Empire

[3] The October Revolution and the Formation of the USSR as a multi-national state Stalin's Rise to Power

***** FINISH SIGN-UP FOR PRESENTATIONS & OTHER CLASS ASSIGNMENTS *****

***** Sign up for make-up session Oct 24-25 *****

*****"CLIENT" EXERCISE AND SIGN UP *****

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

Readings (read in this order):

Remington (2012), ch. 2, pp. 31-38 and ch. 5, pp. 117-121

Jerry F. Hough, How the Soviet Union is Governed, chapter 4 see esp. pp. 124-125, 127, 128 (second paragraph), 133-140, 142-143, 146, 148-151.

Readings to choose from for Students Presentations (on [3] The October Revolution)

- Selected chapters from Gregory Massell, The Surrogate Proletariat (available in SHU Library [HQ1774.C45 M33](#)) (chapters concentrating on the 1917-1929 period) [recommended- first choice]
- Selected chapters from Stephen F. Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution dealing with the economic debates of the 1920's and their role in the onset of collectivization (available in SHU Library [DK268.B76 C631 1980](#)) [second choice]
- Selected chapters from Moshe Lewin, Russian Peasants and Soviet Power: A Study on Collectivization (available in SHU Library: [HD1992 .L413](#))
- Selected chapters from Terry Martin, The Affirmative Action Empire (Cornell U. Press, 2001), chs. 1, 8, 9, and 11) (Available in SHU library [JN6520.M5 M27 2001](#) or as e-book

Session 3: Tuesday, September 11

[4] From the 1930's to WWII to the Building of an Empire in Eastern Europe

[5] De-Stalinization and various Eastern and Central European Responses

[4] From the 1930's to WWII to the Building of an Empire in Eastern Europe

Jerry F. Hough, How the Soviet Union is Governed, chapter 5

See esp. pp. 153 (last paragraph), 158-164, 168 mid-175, 178-183).

Gati, The Bloc that Failed, ch. 1

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (for [4] From the 1930's ...)

- Selected chapters from Stephen Kotkin, Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization (U. of California Press, 1997) (Available in SHU library *DK651.M159.K675 1995*)

[5] WWII and its domestic effects on the USSR and CEE

Tymothy Snyder, "Holocaust: the Ignored Reality," *New York Review of Books* Vol. 56 No. 12, July 16, 2009 (available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/22875>); read also his comment "The Expulsion of the Germans from the East" in the same issue.

- other readings TBA

Session 4: Tuesday, September 18

***** NORTH CAUCASUS PLAY: PREPARATION & CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT*****

(CLASSROOM OR TBA)

Assignment: Please write and submit to instructor 1-paragraph character summary for your chosen character by 10:00pm September 18

Session 5: Tuesday, September 25

[6] De-Stalinization and various Eastern and Central European Responses

Jerry F. Hough, How the Soviet Union is Governed, ch. 6 (skim pp. 192-212, read pp. 213-236)

Gati, The Bloc that Failed, ch. 2, 29-55

Readings to choose from for Student's Presentations (on [6] De-Stalinization...)

- Charles Gati, Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt (Stanford U. Press, 2006) ((Available in SHU library *DB957.G36 2006*)
- TBA presentation on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (please emphasize changes in the regime in the aftermath of the revolution)

[7] Crisis in the building of a new relationship with Eastern Europe: the Hungarian Revolution and the Prague Spring. Diversity in Communist World.

Gati, ch. 1 (reread)

Readings to choose from for Student's Presentations (on [7] A Crisis in the building of a new relationship with Eastern Europe)

- Scott Brown, "Prelude to a Divorce? The Prague Spring as Dress Rehearsal for Czechoslovakia's 'Velvet Divorce,'" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Dec 2008, Vol. 60 Issue 10, p1783-1804 [preferred]
- R. J. Crampton, Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century (London: Routledge, 1994) chs. 17 and 18 ("Revisionism"), pp. 307-345 [less preferred]

PART II: CASE STUDIES FROM THE FORMER FSU

Session 6: Tuesday, October 2

[8] Introduction to the Former USSR Cases: How the Soviet System Functioned in the 'Good Old Times' Before Perestroika

[9] Tensions in the Soviet System and the Pressure for Change

[8] Introduction to the Former USSR Cases: How the Soviet System Functioned in the 'Good Old Times' Before Perestroika

Remington (2012), ch. 2, pp. 37-47 and ch. 4, pp. 92-98 (section on “Participation and Recruitment Under the Soviet Regime”), 106-107 (“Political Recruitment, Old and New”), 111-112, ch. 5, pp. 127-132 (“Soviet Political Socialization”), 134-135 (introduction to section on “Influences”)

Smith, “The Soviet State and Nationalities Policy,” in Smith (ed.), *The Nationalities Question*, 2-22

Slezkine, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism,” in *Becoming National*, pp. 203-238. (Blackboard)

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (on [8] [Introduction to the Former USSR Cases: How the Soviet System Functioned ...])

Selected issues from Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) (chapters 1 (skim), 3, 6, 11, 12, 13), [Inter-Library Loan] complemented by Paul Gregory and Robert C. Stuart, *Russian and Soviet Economic Performance and Structure* (Harper Collins 1998) (chapters 6, 7, 8) [Inter-Library Loan]

- A. Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchanges* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1998) (Introduction and chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5) (available in SHU library: HF5387 .L436 1998)
- TBA presentation on the role played by women and “inter-generational solidarity” in daily life and the survival of the Soviet regime

[9] Tensions in the Soviet System and the Pressure for Change

White, chs. 1 (pp. 1-28) and 4 (pp. 107-122)

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (on [9] Tensions in the Soviet System)

- Selected chapters from Thane Gustafson, *Crisis Amid Plenty: The Politics of Soviet Energy under Brezhnev and Gorbachev* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989) [SHU e-book]

[Monday-Tuesday Oct 8-9: Fall break]

Session 7 Tuesday, October 16

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

*****TBA THIS WEEK: NORTH CAUCASUS PLAY: PLOT DEVELOPMENT*****

Session 8: Tuesday, October 23

[10] Perestroika and the End of Perestroika

[11] The National Question in the Russian Federation and Beyond

[10] Perestroika and the End of Perestroika

Remington (2012), ch. 2, pp. 47-55, and ch. 4, pp. 98-103; first pages of section on “Surge ch. 5, pp. 150-154)

White, ch. 1 (pp. 28-33); ch. 3 (pp. 72-78); ch. 4 (107- 122); ch. 5 (213-220) ch. 8 (255-268)

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (on [10] Perestroika)

- Selected chapters from Steven L. Solnick, Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1998) (SHU Library HB99.5 .S64 1998)
- Selected chapters from Valerie Bunce, Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) [Inter-Library Loan]

[11] The National Question in the Russian Federation and Beyond

Remington (2012), ch. 5, pp. 140-143

Ormrod, "The North Caucasus: confederation in conflict," in Bremmer & Taras, 96-139
Sharafutdinova, “Chechnia vs. Tatarstan,” Problems of Post-Communism 47/2 (2000)

Richard Sakwa, “The Clash of Regionalisms and Caucasian Conflicts,” Europe-Asia Studies Vol 63 No. 3 (2011), 467-491.

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (on [11] The National Question)

- Anatol Lieven , Chechnya : Tombstone of Russian Power (New Haven: Yale, 1999); add updates
- Kimikata Matsuzato and Magomed-Rasul Ibragimov, “Islamic Politics at the Sub-Regional Level in Dagestan: Tariqua Brotherhoods, Ethnicities, Localism and the Spiritual Board,” Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 57 No. 5 (July 2005), pp. 753-779.
- Selected chapters from Mikhail A. Alexseev (Editor) Center-Periphery Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia: A Federation Imperiled (New York: St. Martin's Press; 1999)
- **For Chechen-learning students:** TBA presentation on the transformation of family and gender law and practices under president Kadyrov, and what this means in terms of Chechnia’s role in the Russian Federation. [To ease into the topic, first listen to and (simoultaneously) “read” the transcript for the following radio program from RFE/Radio Liberty/ Radio Marshno: “Кадыров Рамзан: Оьрсийчюьнах длакъаста лууш бац нохчий,” available (transcript and recording) @ <https://www.radiomarsho.com/a/26361944.html>
- Horvath, Csaba: Ethno demographic changes in the Caucasus 1860-1960. *Délkelet Európa – South-East Europe International Relations Quarterly*, Vol. 2. No. 6. (Summer 2011) pp 1-20 http://www.southeast-europe.org/pdf/06/DKE_06_A_K_HORVATH_CSABA.pdf

Session 9: (make-up class) TBA Wed/Thur Oct 24-25

[12] Central Asia: state and nation building after the collapse of the USSR

[13] The Yeltsin Period: Rise of New Economic Actors

[14] Energy and Politics in the former Soviet World (introduction)

[15] Energy and Politics in the former Soviet World- part II: impact on the post-Soviet states and beyond

[12] Central Asia: state and nation building after the collapse of the USSR

Wilson, "The Post-Soviet States and the Nationalities Question," in Smith, pp. 23- 44
White, ch. 7 (pp. 239-249)

Nissman, "Turkmenistan: just like old times." in Bremmer and Taras, pp. 635-654

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 online at <http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/CTBSP-Exports/Tracks-of-Tamerlane.pdf?ver=2017-06-16-124058-293>, especially

E. Wayne Merry, "The Politics of Central Asia: National in Form, Soviet in Content," in Burghart and Sabonis-Helf , In the Tracks of Tamerlane (...), pp. 25-42

Gregory Gleason, "Political Reform Strategies: Early Starters, Late Starters, and Non-Starters" in Burghart and Sabonis-Helf , In the Tracks of Tamerlane (...), pp. 43-64

Stephen Sabol, "Turkmenbashi," in Problems of Post-Communism Vol. 50 No. 5 (September-October 2003), pp. 48-57. **[SHU e-journals]**

Readings to choose from for Student's Presentations (on [12]: Central Asia: state and nation building after the collapse of the USSR

- Rico Isaacs, "Nur Otan, Informal Networks and the Countering of Elite Instability in Kazakhstan: Bringing the 'Formal' Back In," Europe-Asia Studies Volume 65, Issue 6, 2013
- Richard Pomfret, "Kazakhstan's Economy since Independence: Does the Oil Boom Offer a Second Chance for Sustainable Development?," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 57 No. 6 (September 2005), pp. 859-76, and update to 2013.
- TBA presentation on life in Kazakhstan "city of oilmen," on the Caspianm Atyrau, and how this relates to the countries economic situation and relations with Chiua (including clashes between **Kazakh and Chinese workers and anti-Chinese investment protests**)

[13] The Yeltsin Period: Economic Reform and the Rise of New Economic Actors

Remington (2012), ch. 3, pp. 56-64, and ch. 4, "Close Up 4.1" box on Yeltsyn, pp. 100-101, ch. 6, pp. 154-157 (section on "Toward Pluralism"), ch. 7, pp. 191-208.

[14] Energy and Politics in the former Soviet World- part I: Russia

Remington, pp. 149-167 and 235-247

Balmaceda, "The Domestic Russian Background: Domestic Choices, Foreign Energy Policy Levers, and Trans-border Rent-seeking," in *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs* (2013), 61-93.

Readings to choose from for student presentations (on [14] Energy and Politics in the former Soviet World- part I: Russia)

- Selected chapters from Thane Gustafson, *Wheel of Fortune* (Belknap/Harvard University Press, 2012), two or more chapters on post -1991 period
- TBA presentation on the restructuring of the Russian electricity market and its political consequences
- **For Russian-reading students:** Mikhail Berger and Olga Proskurina, Крест Чубайса : заказное самоубийство РАО "ЕЭС", крупнейшей госмонополии России / (The ordered suicide of Russia's largest state monopoly) Krest Chubaisa : zakaznoe samoubiistvo RAO "EES", krupneishei gosmonopolii Rossii (Moscow: KoLibri, 2008). [ILL; also available at NYPublic Library, Brooklyn Public Library etc.] and update on Chubais and RAO EES.
- **For French-reading students:** Muriel Boselli, *L'Énigme Margerie Broché* (Paris, 2016) [about the strange death of the French company Total CoE in Russia; available on amazon.fr paper or kindle version]

[15] Energy and Politics in the former Soviet World- part II: impact on the post-Soviet states and beyond

Remington (2012), all ch. 9 (“Russia and the International Community”), paying special attention to section on “Energy as an Instrument of Power.”

Overland and Orttung, “Russia and the Formation of a Gas Cartel,” *Problems of Post-Communism* Vol. 58 No. 3 (May-June 2011)

For student presentations (on [15] Energy and Politics in the former Soviet World- part II: impact on the post-Soviet states and beyond)

Balmaceda, ch. 7 in *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union: Russia's Power, Oligarch's Profits and Ukraine's Missing Energy Policy, 1995-2006* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). [SHU library]

Stephen Fortescue, *Russia's Oil Barons and Metal Magnates: Oligarchs and the State in Transition* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) [Inter-Library Loan] (please emphasize metals sector issues)

[for Bulgarian-reading students: selected chapters from Ivan Tchalakov, Ivo Hristov, Tihomir Mitev (Иван Чальков et al) *Черните дупки на българската енергетика* [Black Holes of Bulgarian Electricity] (София, Изток-Запад, 2011). [Available for purchase at <http://www.bgbook.dir.bg/book.php?ID=33696>; summary of first chapter available in English in Prof. Tchalakov's website. Author's e-mail tchalakov@sociology.bas.bg or tchalakov@policy.hu] and Константин Пашев, Асен Дюлгеров and Георги Касчиев, “Енергетиката – отрасъл с висок корупционен риск,” in *Анализ, доклади - Корупцията при обществените поръчки в България: анализ на политиката* (София, 2006), pp. 35-54. In the presentation, discuss energy issues within a broader political and foreign policy context.]

Session 10: Tuesday, October 30

[16] Ukraine: from 1991 to 2014 (please read in this order:)

[17] Belarus and Moldova

[16] Ukraine: from 1991 to 2014 (please read in this order:)

Motyl and Krawchenko, "Ukraine: from Empire to statehood," in Bremmer and Taras, pp. 235-275

Balmaceda, "Ukraine: Energy Dependency and the Rise of the Ukrainian Oligarchs," in *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs ...* (2013), pp. 93-153.

Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," Foreign Affairs March/April 2005 Vol. 84, Issue 2, pp. 35-52

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (on topic [16]: Ukraine)

- Selected chapters in Paul D'Anieri, Understanding Ukrainian politics : power, politics, and institutional design (Armonk, N.Y. : M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2007) [Inter-Library Loan]
- Rosaria Puglisi, "The Rise of the Ukrainian Oligarchy," Democratization Vol. 10 No. 3 2003 [ILL or e-journals]

[17] Belarus and Moldova

Zaprudnik and Urban, "Belarus: from statehood to empire?," in Bremmer and Taras, pp. 276-315

Grigory Ioffe, "Understanding Belarus: Economy and Political Landscape," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 56 No. 1 (January 2004), pp. 85-118

Articles by Silitski and Zlotnikov in Sabine Fischer (ed.), *Back from the Cold: the EU and Belarus* Chaillot paper No. 119 (Paris, ISS, 2009), available at <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/chaillot-papers/>

Balmaceda, "The Energy Prologue and the Aftermath to the 2010 Elections: from Euphoria to Forced Concessions," *Living the High Life in Minsk*, pp. 158-178

Kimikata Matsuzato, "A populist island in an ocean of clan politics: the Lukashenka regime as an exception among CIS countries," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 56 No. 2 (March 2004), pp. 235-261

Paul D. Quinlan, "Back to the Future: An Overview of Moldova Under Voronin" Democratizatsia Vol. 12 No. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 485-503

Readings to choose from for student presentations (on [17] Belarus and Moldova)

- Svetlana Alekseevich, Voices from Chernobyl (2000) [ILL] (Book is also available in Russian under the title Chernobyl'skaya molitva) and additional materials [first choice]
- **For French-reading students:** Alexandra Goujon, *Revolutions politiques et identitaires en Ukraine et Bielorussie (1998-2008)*. Paris: Belin, 2009 [ILL; also available at the NY Public Library]
- Balmaceda, *Living the High Life in Minsk: Russian Energy Rents, Domestic Populism and Belarus' Impending Crisis* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014)

Session 11: Tuesday, November 6

[18] The Transcaucasus: Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan

[19] De de-facto states: Transnistria, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhasia

[18] The Transcaucasus: Georgia, Armenia. Azerbaijan

Christian Timm, "From Corruption to Rotation: Politics in Georgia Before and After the Rose Revolution," in Stewart et al (eds.), Presidents, Oligarchs and Bureaucrats: Forms of Rule in the Post-Soviet Space (Ashgate, 2008), pp. 187-202 [JN6695 .P735 2012;]

Hunter, "Azerbaijan: searching for new neighbors;," in Bremmer and Taras, pp. 437-470

Materials to choose from for student Presentations (on [18] The Transcaucasus: Georgia, Armenia. Azerbaijan)

- TBA presentation on energy and politics in Georgia – the case of the Inguri Dam
- For Russian-speaking students : presentation based on Illya Zhegulev, "Energia bez voiny," in Forbes (Russian edition), available at <http://www.forbes.ru/forbes/issue/2011-12/76399-energija-bez-voiny> ; please research and add additional resources
- Jones, "Georgia: the trauma of statehood," in Bremmer and Taras, pp. 471-504 and additional materials

[19] De de-facto states: Transnistria, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia

King, C. (2001). "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States." *World Politics* 53 (4), 524-552.

Chamberlain-Creanga, Rebecca and Lyndon K. Allin (2010). "Acquiring Assets, Debts and Citizens: Russia and the Micro-Foundations of Transnistria's Stalemated Conflict," *Demokratizatsiya*, Fall 2010: 329-356.

Berg, E. & Mölder, M. (2012). "Who is entitled to 'earn sovereignty'? Legitimacy and regime support in Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh," *Nations and Nationalism* 18 (3), 527–545. DOI: 10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00527.

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Privatization and Elite Defection in De Facto States: the Case of Transnistria, 1991-2012," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 46 No. 4, (2013) pp. 445-454.

Readings to choose from for student presentations (on [19] De de-facto states)

- TBA presentation on Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijani policy
- TBA presentation linking daily life in Nagorno-Karabakh with relations with Armenia and Azerbaijan. Use the article "Amid Ethnic Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, an Oasis Thrives," The New York Times, April 18, 2016 (<https://www.nytimes.com/.../amid-ethnic-conflicts-war-zone-a-livable-oasis-flourishes...>) and additional materials
- Blakkisrud, H. & Kolsto, P. (2011). "From Secessionist Conflict to a Functioning State: Processes of State and Nation-Building in Transnistria." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27 (2), 178-210.
- **For Russian-reading students:** TBA presentation on North Ossetian "statehood" five years after the Russia-Georgia war. In addition to Toal and O'Loughin, "Inside South Ossetia: A Survey of Attitudes in a de-facto State," Post-Soviet Affairs (2012) (available at <http://www.colorado.edu/ibs/pec/johno/pub/PSA2013.pdf>) and other materials, please use the following interview from RFE/RL North Caucasus program in Russian² ""Получилось некое государство" ("Some kind of state took shape") August 26, 2013, available at <http://www.ekhokavkaza.com/content/article/25086810.html>]

² Program is in Russian, but contains terminology uniquely used in Abkhazia and North Ossetia.

Session 12: Tuesday, November 13

[20] Between Russia and the EU: the Baltic States (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia)

[21] Between Russia and the EU: Poland and Hungary

[20] The Baltic States (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia)

Chapter on Lithuania in Bremmer and Taras

Helen M. Morris, "President, party and nationality policy in Latvia, 1991-1999," in *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 56 No. 4 (June 2004), pp. 543-569

T. D. Clarck and Versekcaite, "PaksasGate," *Problems of Post-Communism* Vol. 52 No. 3 (May-June 2005), pp. 16-24.

Balmaceda, "Lithuania: Energy Policy between Domestic Interests, Russia, and the EU," in *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (U. of Toronto Press, 2013), 208-260.

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (on [20] The Baltic States)

- TBA presentation on citizenship issues, comparing policies in the three Baltic States. Use Ole Nrgaard (Editor), *The Baltic States After Independence* (1999) [ILL]; Davis J. Smith, Artis Pabriks, Aldis Purs and Thomas Lane, *The Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* (Routledge, 2002) [ILL], other
- TBA presentation on the Lithuanian social and family policies 2006-2018, including policies on out-of-wedlock children and institutionalized homophobia, and its effects on relations with the EU. Compare with Russia, and, if appropriate, Latvia and Estonia.

[21] Between Russia and the EU: Poland and Hungary

Readings TBA

To choose from for Student Presentations (on [21] Poland and Hungary)

- TBA presentation on Russia's support of extreme right movements in Europe
- TBA presentation on Russia and the Brexit vote

Session 13: Tuesday, November 20

[22] The Russian Federation: Russian Nation State, Empire, Or Multi-Ethnic Federation?

[23] The Georgian, Ukrainian and Kyrgyz 'Revolutions: An Assessment

[24] Russia and Ukraine after Russia's 2014 military intervention

[25] Putin's domestic control and its foreign impact: The most successful intelligence operation of the XX Century?

[22] The Russian Federation: Russian Nation State, Empire, Or Multi-Ethnic Federation?

Readings TBA

Readings to choose from for Student Presentations (on [22] The Russian Fed..)

- Three chapters (selection must be approved by the Instructor) from Oleh Protsyk and Benedikt Harzl, (eds.) Managing Ethnic Diversity in Russia (Routledge 2013) [ILL]
- TBA presentation on the Chuvash Republic, Mordovia or Tatarstan
- Selected chapters from Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, Siberian Curse: How Communist Planners Left Russia Out in the Cold (Brookings, 2003) [Inter-Library Loan]
- Selected chapters from Sue Davis, The Russian Far East: The Last Frontier (Routledge, 2002) [ILL]
- TBA presentation on gas, oil and Russian federalism.

[23] The Georgian, Ukrainian and Kyrgyz ‘Revolutions: An Assessment

Lincoln Mitchell, “Georgia’s Rose Revolution,” in Current History No. 639 (October 2004), pp. 342-349

Dominique Arel, “Ukraine: the Faded Revolution?,” in Current History No. 684 (October 2005)

Graeme P. Herd, “Colorful Revolutions and the CIS,” Problems of Post-Communism vol. 52 No. 2 (March/April 2004), pp. 3-17

Theodor Tudoroiu, “Rose, Orange, and Tulip: The failed post-Soviet revolutions,” Communist and Post-Communist Studies 40 (2007) 315-342 [SHU e-journals]

To choose from for Student Presentations (on [23] Georgian, Ukrainian and Kyrgyz ‘Revolutions’

- TBA presentation on developments in Kyrgyzstan after the March 2005 “Revolution”
- TBA presentation on political changes in Ukraine’s Eastern regions (Donetsk and/or Dnepropetrovsk) after 2004
- TBA presentation on politics and nationality issues in Ukraine’s Crimean region, including a discussion of developments after 2004. Use Lazzarino, “The Crimean Tatars,” in Smith, pp. 412-435 and other materials.

[24] Russia and Ukraine after Russia’s 2014 military intervention

Readings TBA

[25] Putin’s domestic control and its foreign impact: The most successful intelligence operation of the XX Century?

Michael Isikoff and David Corn, Russian Roulette: The Inside Story of Putin’s War on America and the Election of Donald Trump (New York: Twelve, 2018), pages TBA

Other readings TBA

Session 14: Tuesday, November 27

***** NORTH CAUCASUS PLAY: DRESS REHEARSAL *****

Session 15: Tuesday, December 4

[26] Conclusion and trends

***** NORTH CAUCASUS PLAY IN-CLASS PERFORMANCE *****

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