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Fall 2023

DIPL 4185 AA Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States

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DIPL 4185AA
Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States
School of Diplomacy and International Relations
Seton Hall University
FALL 2023

*****Updated 09/08/23. This syllabus may be modified by the instructor to respond to current events; small changes are also possible after the first-class meeting to better respond to student language skills *****

Prof. Margarita M. Balmaceda
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Class: Muscarelle Hall 208
Friday 2:00-4:30 pm
Student hrs: Wed 1:45-2:30
Friday 11:45-12:15 and by appointment

Course Description

Discussions of possible Russian meddling in the US elections, as well as Russia's intervention in Ukraine present key challenges to the international community. It is impossible to approach these challenges without a broader view of the sources of foreign policy in the former Soviet area. 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 (to a lesser extent) the East and Central European states (in particular Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Slovakia). The first part of the course explores topics such as longstanding sources of Russian and Soviet policies pre-dating 1917, the tensions between the pursuit of revolution abroad and state-building at home as sources of Soviet foreign policy, 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 after 1991. As examples we will discuss the role of energy interest groups in foreign policy-making in the post-Soviet period, alternative forms of political and economic integration and economic relationships in the former Soviet space, the challenges of integration into Western politico-economic (EU) and security (NATO) structures faced by the Central and East European states, and new forms of Russian "soft power" (such as those related to energy supplies) and "hard power" (such as those related to military intervention) influence, and Russia's 2022's all-out invasion of Ukraine. The last part of the course will be devoted to preparing for and conducting a special exercise ("J'bourg @ St. Petersburg") on the interface between Russia's war against Ukraine, the role of African and other Global South States, and global food security issues.

Important Notes:

Disability Services Statement: 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 accommodation 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.

Academic Integrity & Dishonesty: 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/documents/Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf> and <https://www.shu.edu/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.

Resources for academic integrity are on the course Blackboard page.

Unless otherwise noted by the instructor, all assignments submitted must be your own. Contributions from anyone or anything else- including AI tools, must be properly quoted and cited every time they are used. Failure to do so constitutes an academic integrity violation.

Citation Formats: Papers should utilize one of the Chicago Manual of Style citation formats: Author-Date or Notes and Bibliography. The guidelines for these formats are on the course Blackboard page.

CAPS: As part of our commitment to the health and well-being of all students, Seton Hall University’s Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) offers initial assessments, counseling, crisis intervention, consultation, and referral services to the SHU community. The CAPS office is located on the second floor of Mooney Hall, room 27. Appointments can be made in-person or by calling 973-761-9500 during regular business hours, Monday-Friday, 8:45 a.m. - 4:45 p.m. In case of a psychological emergency, call CAPS (973-761-9500) at any time to speak to a crisis counselor. For more information, please visit: <https://www.shu.edu/counseling-psychological-services/index.cfm>

Textbooks and course materials

Robert H. Donaldson and Vidya Nadkarni, *The Foreign Policy of Russia: Changing Systems, Enduring Interests*. Routledge: 6th edition (2018) [please make sure it is the 6th edition]. Link to purchase on Amazon.

Margarita M. Balmaceda, *Russian Energy Chains: The Remaking of Technopolitics from Siberia to Ukraine to the European Union*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021). Link to purchase on Amazon.

In addition, the other books mentioned in the syllabus will be available on the Reserve Room of the SHU library. **Unless otherwise noted, all journal articles listed in the syllabus are available through the SHU e-journals portal; access using the information in the syllabus. You may want to download, print, and bring these materials to class in printed form or to bring your notes, so as to minimize laptop use during class.**

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.

Class requirements

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. A map and geography quiz (September 8) covering all geographic areas named in the syllabus, all states bordering the FSU and Russian Federation, capitals of all post-Soviet states, as well as main geographical features (such as rivers, oceans, mountain ranges, etc).
4. One news presentation. The news presentation should be brief (c. 8 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; d) former European Warsaw Pact/COMECON states (“Central-East Europe”), in that order. If more than one student has signed up for that day, the segments will be divided among the students. 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 September 1, 2023. The items presented should be chosen based on their importance and relevance (i.e., the *most important and relevant* current news items should take precedence over *less important and less relevant* ones]
5. One **15-minute** (including 5 minutes for discussion) presentation on a particular *optional* reading or a substitute reading chosen with the approval of the instructor. “Readings for student presentations” are listed for each topic/ 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/e-library at least three weeks the syllabus date of your presentation, as you may need to order them through Inter-Library Loan.** Sign-up for presentations will be on September 8, 2023.

The presentations should concentrate on the particular reading chosen yet should also draw and make connections with the rest of the materials assigned for that class day, and with appropriate factual materials (drawn from case studies or newspapers). No later than 5:00 pm on the day before the presentation date (as per the syllabus), you should hand the instructor the following (in a single file).

- 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 (top of first page)
 2. full citation of presentation material (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

On the day of the presentation, you should bring to class printed copies of a 1 to 2-page outline and/or other visual aid for distribution to all students.

Please keep a 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. The deadlines for the written presentations remain unchanged, it is the student's responsibility to remember the date of the presentation. **Late assignments subject to a (20 %) penalty (1st day), plus 10% for each subsequent day.**

5. A mid-term examination (Friday, October 6).

Grading

Class Attendance and Participation	20%
Map and Geography Quiz	10%
Mid-term exam	20%
Readings Presentation	10%
Short News Presentation	10%
J'bourg @ St. Petersburg Character profile (individual)	10%
J'bourg @ St. Petersburg Strategy paper (individual/group)	10%
J'bourg @ St. Petersburg assessment (individual/group)	10%

Submission of assignments:

Unless otherwise noted, assignments are due on or before 4:30 pm. of the deadline date on Blackboard (unless otherwise noted)

Please make sure each 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_DIPL4185_SHORTASSIGNMENTNAME_day.mo.year.doc

So, for example: JohnEdwards_DIPL4185_PRESENTATION_18.09.2023.doc

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

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

1. Start subject line with DIPL 4185
2. Include a clear and *fully self- explanatory* subject line, including any action requested. Examples of *self- explanatory subject lines* are: “DIPL4185: Special appointment needed to discuss draft due October 30,” “DIPL 4185: Cannot make meeting Oct 13, appointment requested,” etc. Non-explanatory Subject lines such as

only “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.**

3. Include an appropriate professional greeting. My Spam program deletes e-mails lacking an appropriate professional greeting. (Appropriate professional greetings are: “Dear Prof. Balmaceda” and “Dear Dr. Balmaceda.”)

4. Use your Seton Hall e-mail account. My Spam program deletes unexplained e-mails from unknown (non-Seton Hall) accounts.

5. Please label any attachments clearly, using a document title such as DIPL4185PresentationSMITHDAYMONTHYEAR.doc.

6. E-mails will normally be answered within 24 hrs. during the work week, e-mails received after 3pm Friday will most likely be answered on Monday.

COURSE OUTLINE

Session 1: Friday, September 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING

- **Discussion of course requirements and J’bourg @ St. Petersburg exercise**
- **(Pre-)selection of individual characters from J’bourg @ St. Petersburg exercise**
- **(Each student will follow news and events throughout the semester from the perspective of this character, in addition to their own perspective)**

Session 2: Friday, September 8

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

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 2 (“The Tsarist Roots of Russia’s Foreign Policy”), pp. 18-37

Michael B. Share, “The Great Game Revisited: Three Empires Collide in Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang),” *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 67, No. 7, 1102–1129 [SHU e-journals] (Read for key concepts, not details)

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

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 3 (“Soviet Foreign Policy: From Revolution to Cold War”), up to p. 47

b

***** MAP & GEOGRAPHY QUIZ *****

Session 3: Friday, September 15

[3] The Beginnings of Stalin’s Foreign Policies

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 3 (“Soviet Foreign Policy: From Revolution to Cold War”), pp. 47-end

Hiroaki Kuromiya, “Stalin’s Great Terror and the Asian Nexus,” *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 66, No. 5, 775–793 (2014) [SHU e-journals]

[4] The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and WWII

[5] The Origins of the Cold War

For student presentations [topics [3] [4] [5]]

* **TBA presentation on the USSR and the Spanish Civil war** [if desired, may use as inspiration the novel El baile de las marionetas by **Mercedes Guerrero (2020, in Spanish)** **about Spanish children growing up as refugees in Stalin's USSR]**

* Selected chapters from Gregory Massell, The Surrogate Proletariat (available in SHU Library [HQ1774.C45 M33](#)) (chapters concentrating on the 1917-1929 period) **[on Soviet policy towards women in Central Asia]**

* Tucker, "Stalin, Bukharin, and History as a Conspiracy," in The Soviet Political Mind, pp. 49-86 **[SHU library DK274 .T8 1972 or instructor's copy].**

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

*TBA presentation on Soviet-Chinese relations in the 1920s

Session 4: Friday, September 22

[6] Building an Empire in East Europe

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 3 ("Soviet Foreign Policy: From Revolution to Cold War"), pp. 47-end. (reread if needed)

Gati, chapter 1 **[SHU reserves DJK45.S65G37 1990]**

[7] "Finlandization"

[8] De-Stalinization and Foreign Policy

**Crises in the Building of a New Relationship with Eastern Europe:
the Hungarian Revolution and the Soviet Invasion**

Gati, ch. 2 (pp. 35-43)

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

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 4 Soviet Foreign Policy: The Cold War (reread as needed)

For Student Presentations [for topics [5] [6] [7] [8] [9]]

* Selected chapters from Carl A. Linden, Khrushchev and the Soviet Leadership, 1957-1966 dealing with the link between domestic reforms and foreign policy. **[SHU library DK275.K5 L5]**

* 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**]

* Granville, J. (2004). Radio Free Europe and international decision-making during the Hungarian crisis of 1956. *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 24(4), 589-611 [**SHU e-journals**] on Western Policy and the role of Radio Free Europe in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956

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

*Roy Allison, Finland’s Relations with the Soviet Union, 1944-1984 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985) (preferred) [**SHU library main collection: DL1048.S65 A44 1985**] (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 [**ILL**])

Session 5: Friday, September 29

PART I: topics 10-11 below (has separate student presentation options)

PART II: topics 12-13 below (has separate student presentation options)

PART I: topics 10-11

[10] The Third World, Regional Conflicts, And The ‘Brezhnev Doctrine’: 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 in Blackboard/reserve**]. Also available on author’s page on academia.edu

Roger Kanet, “Four Decades of Soviet Economic Involvement In The Developing World” (Paper, 2010) [**Blackboard**]

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

For Student presentations [for PART I/ topics [10] [11]]

* TBA presentation on Cuban-Soviet relations; use Richard Gott, Cuba: A New History (Yale U. Press, 2004) [**SHU F1776 .G68 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) [**SHU D888.S65R83 1988**]

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

* **[for Russian-reading students:]** 2 short chapters on her meetings in Cuba during 1962-1965 by noted Russian Latin American expert Irina Zorina, in Shaking out Memories (search as книга Ирины Николаевны Зориной Распеленать память) [Instructor's copy]. Use additional materials for context]

*TBA presentation on the experience of Third World Students at Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University in the 1960s [optional for **Portuguese-reading students: an exceptional book in Portuguese** exists on the experience of Brazilian students during the first years of the university. The book was/is available at the Slavic Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; for inquiries see <https://www.library.illinois.edu/ias/spx/srs/> (Slavic Reference Center)]

* Friedman, J. (2010). Soviet Policy in the Developing World and the Chinese Challenge in the 1960s. *Cold War History*, 10(2), 247-272. [SHU e-journals]

***[for students interested in literature, Albania and China]** Ismail Kadare, The Concert (novel) [on the impact of the Sino-Soviet split on Albania] **[Inter-Library Loan or amazon.com or Instructor's copy]** (use additional materials for context; presentation should not be a summary of the novel but also present the context of Albanian-Soviet-Chinese relations and how the novel provides additional insights on these as exemplary of Eastern European (and Third World) states affected by Sino-Soviet competition. *The Concert* is a satisfying 423-page novel – please start reading three weeks before the deadline.]

PART II: topics 12 and 13

[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

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 4 Soviet Foreign Policy: The Cold War (reread relevant sections as needed)

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

M. Balmaceda, “The Legacy of History: Path Dependencies and Energy Networks,” Chapter 2 of The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure (University of Toronto Press, 2013) **[SHU library HD9502.E832 B34 2013]**

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

For student presentations [for PART II/ topics 12, 13, 14

* Selected chapters from Per Högselius, Red Gas: Russia and the Origins of European Energy Dependence (2013) (especially Introduction, ch. 3 (on Austria) and ch. 7 (on Germany's Ostpolitik) and Conclusion **[SHU library hard copy or e-book]**

* TBA presentation on the use of prisoner/political prisoner labor for the extraction of natural resources such as gold, coal, nickel and lumber in the 1960s-1980s. **[Portuguese-reading students may use Avraham Shifrin, Guia da URSS (1980) [Instructor's copy], and focus on the areas noted on p. 117)]**

* 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" **[ILL]**

* TBA presentation on the Soviet Union and the building of the Aswan Dam in Egypt [Use, among others, the following article: Chaudhri, M.A., 1956. New Egypt and the west. *Pakistan Horizon*, 9(3), pp.130-142. **[Available via Google Scholar]**

* 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) **[SHU library reserves DS63.2.S65 F72 1991]**

* **[for students fluent in Spanish]** Carlos Echague, El Socialimperialismo Ruso en la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Agora, 1984), chapters I, V and VI **[Instructor's copy or ILL]**; do additional research on context.

Session 6: Friday, October 6

MID-TERM EXAM (individual work, no classroom meeting)

Session 7: Friday, October 13

[15] The Beginnings of 'New Thinking'

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 4 Soviet Foreign Policy: The Cold War. (reread relevant sections) Gati, ch. 3 (pp. 65-103)

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

[17] Letting Eastern Europe Go

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

[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

[20] The Emergence of Central Asia and the Caucasus as Factors in International Relations; Central Asia: domestic factors informing foreign relations

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. 159-186. Pdf available at: <http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/CTBSP-Exports/Tracks-of-Tamerlane.pdf?ver=2017-06-16-124058-293>

On the Caucasus:

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

For student presentations [topics 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20]

- * Igor Zavelev, Russia and Its New Diasporas (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 2001), focusing on the foreign policy components of the Russian diaspora issue [ILL]
- * Margarita Balmaceda, "'Recreating Identity After the Homo Sovieticus: Language and the Definition of a New Pan-Russianness" in Mark Denham and Karen Slawner (eds.), *Citizenship After Liberalism* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), pp. 167-184. [Blackboard]
- * Brumberg, "The Road to Minsk," The New York Review of Books 30 January 1992 (available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1992/01/30/the-road-to-minsk/>)
- * Togzhan Kassenova, Atomic steppe: How Kazakhstan gave up the bomb. Stanford University Press, 2022.
- * David Lewis, The Temptations of Tyranny in Central Asia (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008) [ILL]
- * Vitaly Naumkin, Radical Islam and Central Asia (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005) [ILL]
- * TBA presentation on the southern Siberian city of Blagoveshensk (on the border with China) and interactions with China
- * 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
- * [For students fluent in Russian]: Aleksei Malashenko, Центральная Азия: на что рассчитывает Россия? (Central Asia: (Moscow: Tsentr Kernegi, 2012). Focus on ch. 2 (means of Russian influence) or ch. 3 (Islam and migration). (Pdf available at carnegieendowment.org/files/CentralAsia_book_20121.pdf)

Session 8: Friday, October 20

[20a] The Caucasus: Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan

Syuzanna Vasilyan, "Swinging on a Pendulum" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Jan-Feb 2017, Vol. 64 Issue 1, p32-46. [On Armenia, the EU, and Russia] [SHU e-journals]

Lilit Hayrapetyan "The Nagorno-Karabakh war of 2020 and the change of the regional status quo." *Przegląd Politologiczny* 1 (2022): 83-97. [available at <https://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.ojs-doi-10.14746.pp.2022.27.1.6/c/articles-2083357.pdf.pdf>]

[21] The North Caucasus, Chechnya and Foreign Affairs

John Russel, “Kadyrov’s Chechnya,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63(3) (2011), pp. 509-528
[SHU e-journals]

For North Caucasus context on Chechnya: Edward C. Holland, “Economic Development and Subsidies in the North Caucasus,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 63: 50–61 (2016) [SHU e-journals]

For student presentations [on topic 20a, the Caucasus and 21, the North Caucasus]

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

* **[For students interested in literature, especially Georgian literature:** Nino Haratischvili, *The Eighth Life (for Brilka)* (NY: Scribe US, 2020) (originally written in German; published in Georgian (pdf available) as *მერვე სიცოცხლე (ბრილკას)*). **[Focus on the interfaces between Georgian elites and the Soviet system, and its cultural ramifications; need to have completed at least 50% of book by time of presentation]**

* TBA on Georgia’s Foreign Policy since the “Rose Revolution”

* **[For Russian-reading students:]** TBA on Georgian-Russian energy relations and the 2008 conflict, using (among other sources) <http://www.forbes.ru/forbes/issue/2011-12/76399-energiya-bez-voiny>

* TBA on Armenian-Russian relations, including discussion of economic and military ties (including military bases) and public opinion (including on the Gyumri massacre case in 2015 and its political repercussions).

* TBA presentation on Azerbaijan and the Nabucco gas pipeline project (through at least 2014 and aftermath)

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

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

Session 9: Friday, October 27

[22] The Western Post-Soviet States: Ukraine

Donaldson and Nadkarni, Ch. 6 Russia and the States of the Former Soviet Union

Balmaceda, *Russian Energy Chains*, ch. 1 (Note: focus on Ukraine), ch. 4, pp. 77-108; ch. 5 pp. 121-150; ch. 6 pp. 164-198. (Note: focus on Russia and Ukraine and their natural gas, oil and coal industries in chapters 4, 5 and 6, respectively; consult Appendixes A, B and C (pp. 251-284) as needed.) **[Please take extensive notes, as they will be needed for subsequent exercises]**

Margarita M. Balmaceda, chapter 4 in Ibid, *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (University of Toronto Press, 2013) [SHU HD9502.E832 B34 2013]

Oles M. Smolansky, "Ukraine and Russia: an Evolving Marriage of Inconvenience," 2004, *Orbis*, Vol. 48, Issue 1, Winter 2004, pp 117-134, 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), pdf available at http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Russia%20and%20Eurasia/0112bp_bogomolov_lytvynenko.pdf.

[22] Belarus and Moldova

Ruth Deyermund, "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 [SHU e-journals]

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Belarus: Turning Dependency into Power?," chapter 5 in Ibid, *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (University of Toronto Press, 2013) [SHU HD9502.E832 B34 2013]

Steven Woehrel, "Moldova: Background and US Policy," (2014) (10 pages). PDF available at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21981.pdf> or http://www.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/crsreports/crsdocuments/RS21981_06052013.pdf

For student presentations [for topic 22, Ukraine]

* selected chapters from Mariana Budjeryn, *Inheriting the Bomb: The Collapse of the USSR and the Nuclear Disarmament of Ukraine*. JHU Press, 2022.

* 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]

* [For students interested in Turkish and Moslem culture in Crimea and beyond: selected chapters (3) from Rory Finnin, *Blood of Others: Stalin's Crimean Atrocity and the Poetics of Solidarity* (University of Toronto Press, 2020)] [ILL or instructor's copy]

* [For students fluent in Russian:] Игорь Яковенко. [Украина и Россия: сюжеты соотнесенности](http://magazines.russ.ru/vestnik/2005/16/), (Igor Yakovenko: Ukraine and Russia: stories of a relationship) *Vestnik Evrope*, available at <http://magazines.russ.ru/vestnik/2005/16/> (and additional materials)

* [For students fluent in Ukrainian and very familiar with Ukrainian history and literature:] Yuri Andrukhovych's novel *Rekreatsii* b(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](http://Vitaly.Rivne.Com/Andrukhovych)) [Or ILL]

* Kathy Roussele, "The Church In The Service Of The Fatherland," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 67, No. 1, 49–67 (2015) [SHU e-journals] [discuss with an emphasis on "soft power" available to the Russian regime in the post-Soviet area]

For student presentations [on topic 22a, Belarus and Moldova]

* Grigory Ioffe Understanding Belarus and How Western Foreign Policy Misses the Mark (2008) or Reassessing Lukashenko (2014) [SHU Library or Inter-Library Loan]

* M. Balmaceda, *Living the High Life in Minsk: Russian Energy Rents, Domestic Populism and Belarus' Impending Crisis* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2014) (Introduction, Conclusion and two additional chapters (not including ch. 2) [e-book from 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> , plus update based on additional materials (on the Russian-Belarusian link in weapons exports to unstable areas)

Session 10: Friday, November 3

JO'BURG @ ST. PETERSBURG PREP: CHARACTER PROFILE EXERCISE

(meet in classroom, but no regular class)

***Assignment #1 due at 4:30 pm (individual assignment) ***

Session 11: Friday, November 10

[23] Relations with the EU: Energy, Investment, "Shared neighborhood," Backlash

Balmaceda, *Russian Energy Chains*, ch. 4, pp. 108-end;. (Note: focus on the role of the European Union and its regulations, and natural gas); consult Appendixes A, B and C (pp. 251-284) as needed.)

Julian Pänke, "The Fallout of the EU's Normative Imperialism in the Eastern Neighborhood," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 350–363 (2015) [SHU e-journals]

Miroslav Mares' & Martin Larys, "The Transnational Relations of the Contemporary Russian Extreme Right," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 67, No. 7, 1056–1078 (2015)

Other materials TBA

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

Ray Leonard. Field Notes: “Khodorkovsky, Yukos, and Putin: The Achievement of Khodorkovsky, Why It Was Destroyed, and the Consequences,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 63: 121–126 (2016) [SHU e-journals]

Morse and Richard, “The Battle for Energy Dominance” *Foreign Affairs* 2002 [SHU e-journals]

[25] Energy and Foreign Policies in Central-East Europe and the EU

[26] 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]

For Student Presentations [for topic 26]

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

* Devyatkov, Andrey, “Russian Policy Towards Transnistria”. *Problems of Post-Communism*. May/Jun2012, Vol. 59 Issue 3, p53-62. and Chamberlain-Creangă, Rebecca; Allin, Lyndon K., “Acquiring Assets, Debts and Citizens,” *Demokratizatsiya*. Fall 2010, Vol. 18 Issue 4, pp. 329-356 [Both in SHU library electronic resources]

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

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 and additional material for update [SHU e-journals]

[28] The Russian Role in Central and East Europe and the Balkans

For Student Presentations [for topics 28 on Eastern Europe, Balkans and EU]

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* Tomas Maltby, “Between Amity, Enmity and Europeanisation: EU Energy Security Policy and the Example of Bulgaria’s Russian Energy Dependence,” *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 67, No. 5, 809–830 (2015) [SHU e-journals; please also include an update]

* Ina Merdjanova, *Rediscovering the Umma: Muslims in the Balkans between Nationalism and Transnationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013) [Chapters 1, 2, and 4]; use additional materials TBA to provide foreign policy context. [SHU Library BP65.B28 M47 2013]

Session 12: Friday, November 17

JO'BURG @ ST. PETERSBURG PREP: STRATEGY MEETING (no regular class)

*****Assignment #1 due at 4:30 pm (group/individual assignment) *****

Session 13: Friday, December 1

[27] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin: Russia and Non-Western States before 2022

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 8 “Russia and the ‘Non-West’;” ch 9 “Putin’s Quest for Partnership in a Multipolar World”

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

Geir Flikke, “Sino–Russian Relations Status Exchange or Imbalanced Relationship?,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 63: 159–170 (2016) [SHU e-journals]

Stephen Blank and Younkyoo Kim, “Russia and Latin America The New Frontier for Geopolitics, Arms Sales and Energy,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 159–173 (2015) [SHU e-journals]

[28] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin and Medvedev: Russia and the West before and after 2014’s Annexation of Crimea: Reset, Sanctions, Counter-Sanctions

[29] Russian-US-EU Relations after Russia’s Annexation of Ukraine’s Crimea

Donaldson and Nadkarni, ch. 7, “Russia Faces West: Aspirations and Obstacles” and ch. 10, “Russia and the United States: A New Cold War?.”

Balmaceda, *Russian Energy Chains*, ch. 4, pp. 108-end (reread as needed); ch. 5 pp. 150-end; ; ch. 6 pp. 198-end; ch. 8 (all). (Note: focus on the role of the European Union and its regulations, and European Union member states Slovakia, Czech Republic, Italy and Germany, in Russian and Ukrainian natural gas, oil and coal industries); consult Appendixes A, B and C (pp. 251-284) as needed.)

Ray Finch, “The Kremlin’s Economic Checkmate Maneuver,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 187–191 (2015) [SHU e-journals]

[30] Russia’s War Against Ukraine and its International Consequences

Kuzio, T. (2023). Imperial nationalism as the driver behind Russia's invasion of Ukraine. *Nations and Nationalism*, 29(1), 30-38.

Ash, T. G., Krastev, I., & Leonard, M. (2023). United West, divided from the rest: Global public opinion one year into Russia’s war on Ukraine. *European Council on Foreign Relations, February 24*. Available at https://ecfr.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/United-West-divided-from-the-rest_Leonard-Garton-Ash-Krastev.pdf

Chang-Liao, N. C. (2023). The limits of strategic partnerships: Implications for China's role in the Russia-Ukraine war. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 44(2), 226-247.

Kim, P. (2023). The Limits of the No-Limits Partnership. *Foreign Affairs*, 28th of February. Available at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/china/limits-of-a-nolimits-partnership-china-russia>

Additional Readings TBA

[31] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin: Russia and Non-Western States after 2022

For Student Presentations [for topics [27] [28] [29][30]

- * C. Lamour, C. (2023). Orbán Placed in Europe: Ukraine, Russia and the Radical-Right Populist Heartland. *Geopolitics*, 1-27. **[on Hungary's de-facto pro-Russian leader]** [available at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14650045.2023.2241825>]
- **TBA presentation on Rosatom and Russia's nuclear power-plant diplomacy. Start with** Minin, N., & Vlček, T. (2017). Determinants and considerations of Rosatom's external strategy. *Energy strategy reviews*, 17, 37-44, and add updates. Compare with the types of energy dependencies discussed in *Russian Energy Chains*
- **on the impact of the war on ways of studying the Slavic world]** Khromeychuk, Olesya. “Where Is Ukraine on the Mental Map of the Academic Community?” The 2022 British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies Conference, 8 Apr. 2022, Robinson College, Cambridge, UK, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CJthJb1tK0Y>. Accessed 25 June 2022. Opening Keynote Lecture. . and Smith-Peter, Susan. “What Do Scholars of Russia Owe Ukraine?” NYI Jordan Center for Advanced Study of Russia News, 1 Apr. 2022, https://jordanrussiacenter.org/news/what-do-scholars-of-russia-owe-ukrainetoday/?fbclid=IwAR1DyKptzr0TWHsX2rbfPn_453SzaVt2AoKf9IjNyMrGfgikvLB5nrrxEJY#.YmLx9drMKt7. Accessed 25 June 2022.
- * 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) chs. 1 and 3 (as background) plus a focus on ch. 9 **[Inter-Library Loan; limited preview in google books]**
- * TBA on an international topic (such as the US-Russian culture clash as evidenced in the energy industry), based on Thane Gustafson, Wheel of Fortune (2013) **[SHU e-book]**
- * Kimberly Marten, “Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy The Examples of Iran and Syria,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 71–87 (2015) **[SHU e-journals]**
- * TBA on Russian Syrian relations
- *TBA on Russia and gold mining in Africa
- * TBA on Russian-Palestinian-Israeli relations (must include a small reference to (and contextualization of Russian-Israeli visa regulations)

- * TBA on Russian-Chinese relations, including, *among other materials*, Steven Kotkin, “A Moscow-Beijing Axis?,” Foreign Policy September 2009 [SHU e-journals]
- * TBA on Russian-Turkish conflict and reasons for rapprochement in 2016
- * TBA on Russia-OPEC relations (including the pre-2022 period), Saudi Arabia, oil price manipulations and Russian responses
- * TBA on Russia’s role in international negotiations on Iran’s nuclear power
- * **[on the Snowden case]** Andrei Soldatov, The Red Web: the struggle between Russia's digital dictators and the new online revolutionaries (NY: Public Affairs, 2015) esp. ch. 10, “The Snowden Affair” (pp. 195-222). [ILL]
- * **[for German-speaking students]** presentation on one of two 2023 books reassessing German policy vis-à-vis Russia (Die Moskau-Connection: Das Schröder-Netzwerk und Deutschlands Weg in die Abhängigkeit by R. Bingener and M. Wehner (2023) and Revanche. Wie Putin das bedrohlichste Regime der Welt geschaffen hat by Michael Thumann (2023), discussed in Constanze Stelzenmuller, “A reckoning on Germany’s Russia policy is long overdue, Financial Times, 21 March 2023, available at <https://on.ft.com/3LGZohq>.
- * Zarynyuk, Andriy. "Historians As Enablers? Historiography, Imperialism, and the Legitimization of Russian Aggression." *East/West* 9, no. 2 (2022): 191-212 [available at erudit.org]

Session 14: Friday, December 8

JO'BURG @ ST. PETERSBURG EXERCISE

*****Assignment #3 due at 4:30 pm or TBA (individual/group assignment) *****

SUMMARY OF CLASS MEETINGS FALL 2023

SUMMARY OF CLASS MEETINGS		
Week		Activity
1	Friday Sept 1	Regular class Intro
2	Friday Sept 8	Regular class Sign-up for news, reading presentations, characters
3	Friday Sept 15	Regular class News presentation #2
4	Friday Sept 22	Regular class News presentation #3
5	Friday Sept 29	Regular class News presentation #4
6	Friday Oct 6	TAKE-HOME MID-TERM 2:00-4:00 pm
7	Friday Oct 13	Regular class News presentation #5
8	Friday Oct 20	Regular class News presentation #6
9	Friday Oct 27	Regular class News presentation #7
10	Friday Nov 3	CHARACTER PROFILE (meet in classroom, but no regular class) FOR JO'BURG @ ST. PETERSBURG ***Assignment #1 due at 4:30 pm (individual assignment) ***
11	Friday Nov 10	Regular class News presentation #8
12	Friday Nov 17	STRATEGY MEETING: GEARING UP FOR JO'BURG @ ST. PETERSBURG (no regular class) ***Assignment #1 due at 4:30 pm (group/individual assignment)***
*** Thanksgiving break Wednesday Nov 22-Sunday Nov 26 ***		
13	Friday Dec 1	Regular class News presentation #9
14	Friday Dec 8	JO'BURG @ ST. PETERSBURG EXERCISE ***Assignment #3 due at 4:30 pm or TBA (individual/group assignment) ***

Assignments and grading overview

Item	% of grade	When /when due	Comments
Participation (inc attendance)	20	Ongoing	
Map Quiz	10	Friday, Sept 8, 2:00 pm	
News presentation	10	TBD, Sept 8/15/22/29, Oct 13/20/27, Nov 10, Dec 1	
Reading Presentation	10	TBD Sept 15/22/29, Oct 13/20/27, Nov 10, Dec 1	
Mid-term	20	Friday, Oct 6, 2:00-4:00 pm (take-home)	
J'bourg @ P'burg character profile	10	Friday, November 3, 4:30 pm	
J'bourg @ P'burg strategy paper	10	Friday, November 17, 4:30 pm	
J'bourg @ P'burg event and assessment	10	Friday, Dec 8, 2:00-4:30 pm	