

PSCI 4601A
Foreign Policies of the Soviet Successor States
Tuesdays 16:05 – 20:55, A602 Loeb

Instructor: Peter Waisberg

Office: Loeb B646

Office Hours: Tuesday 17:30 – 18:00 or by appointment

Telephone: 520-2600, ext. 1598

Course description:

This course examines the international relations of the new states of the former Soviet Union. Over the course of the term we will explore the factors that shape the foreign policies of these states, the development of relations between them, and the changing role of post-Soviet space in the international system. While the Russian Federation dominates much of the course, as it does the region, attention will also be paid to important sub-regions, such as Central Asia and the Caucasus. We will also consider larger themes affecting all post-Soviet states, including factors encouraging and impeding regional integration, the relationship between national security and collective security, and the problem of regional stability.

Readings: The readings can be found on course's WebCT site and on reserve in the McOdrum Library. All assigned readings are compulsory unless indicated as optional with an asterisk (*).

Course Requirements:

- ***Seminar Presentation: 30%***

Each student will give a 20-30 minute presentation on the readings for the week. Students should seek to do an *exposition*, and not a summary, of the readings (more clarification on this in class). In addition, each person should seek to focus their exposition around a central question that emerges out of the readings and discussion questions for the class.

- ***Final paper, 50%, due April 1, 2008.***

The final assignment is a written research paper, 15-20 typed, double-spaced pages in length, which must be submitted to the instructor in hard copy. Term papers cannot be done on the same topic as your seminar presentation. The instructor must approve all students' paper topics in advance. See the course WebCT site for paper topics and suggested readings.

- ***General Participation: 20%***

General participation refers to the general quality of participation in discussions. Students should come prepared, having read the texts and thought about it, and be ready to offer their contribution to the class. Participation will be marked not on quantity but on thoughtfulness of contributions, willingness to share one's own ideas, and attentiveness to others.

All course requirements must be completed to receive a passing grade. Written assignments must be handed in to the instructor personally. **Marks will be deducted for lateness at a rate of 1% per day.** Late penalties will be assessed on the basis of the date that the instructor receives the paper. Exceptions will be considered for medical reasons (with appropriate documentation) or a family emergency. University deadlines for handing in term assignments will apply. Once term assignments are graded, students may collect their completed papers during the instructor's scheduled office hours, or by providing a stamped, self-addressed envelope in which the assignment may be returned by mail.

All electronic communication with the instructor is to be conducted through the course WebCT site.

All written assignments should answer a specific question and make a clear argument, providing facts and evidence to back up statements made. Papers should analyze, rather than describe, the issues and events discussed. **All papers should conform to the style guide posted on the WebCT site for the use footnotes or endnotes to acknowledge sources consulted and bibliography.** In particular, the final assignment is a research paper and should demonstrate that you have consulted a range of scholarly sources: a minimum of eight published books or articles. Footnotes should be complete and accurate, inserted into the text of your paper as appropriate whenever you have referred to someone else's idea, argument, or research. Any time you quote directly from a source, the citation should be indicated in quotation marks and footnoted. Quotations from secondary sources are to be avoided, as are quotations of more than fifty words in length from any one source. *** If you are unsure about how to use footnotes or endnotes, please see the instructor for advice. Students who do not write the final examination, but whose term work is otherwise complete and satisfactory, will receive a grade of ABS.

Schedule of course discussions and readings:

Week 1. Introduction (January 8)

Week 2. The Cold War and Its Demise (January 15)

- Victor A. Kremenyuk, "The Cold War as Cooperation," in Manus I. Midlarsky and John Vasquez, eds. *From Rivalry to Cooperation: Russian and American Perspectives on the Post-Cold War Era* (HarperCollins 1994), 3-25
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter 2000/01), pp. 5-53.
- Vincent Puliot, "Pacification without Collective Identification: Russia and the Transatlantic Security Community in the Post-Cold War Era," *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 44, no. 5, 2007, pp. 605-622.

Week 3. Russian Foreign Policy Orientations under Yeltsin & Putin (January 22)

- Graeme P. Herd and Ella Akerman, "Russian Strategic Realignment and the Post-Post-Cold War Era?" *Security Dialogue*, vol. 33, no. 3 (Sept 2002), 357-372.
- Alexander A. Sergunin, "Discussions of International Relations in Post-Communist Russia," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1 (March 2004), 19-35.
- G. Golan, "Russia and the Iraq War: Was Putin's Policy a Failure?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 37, no. 4 (Dec 2004), 429-459.
- Mark N. Katz, "Exploiting Rivalries for Prestige and Profit: An Assessment of Putin's Foreign Policy," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 52, No. 3 (May-Jun 2005), 25-36.
- Robert O. Freedman, "Putin, Iran, and the Nuclear Weapons Issue," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 53, no. 2, March/April 2006, pp. 39-48.
- Andrei P. Tsygankov, "If Not by Tanks, then by Banks? The Role of Soft Power in Putin's Foreign Policy," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 7, November 2006, 1079 - 1099.

Week 4. Russia and the West (January 29)

- Anatol Lieven, "The Secret Policeman's Ball: The United States, Russia, and the International Order after September 11," *International Affairs*, 78 (2), 2002, 243-59.
- Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Stephen Welch, "Russia and the United States After 9/11." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Volume 17, Number 1-2 (Spring-Summer 2005), pp. 279-291.
- Baranovsky, "Russia: A Part of Europe or Apart From Europe?" *International Affairs* (London), Vol. 76, No. 3 (July 2000), 475-93.
- Dmitry Trenin, "Russia Leaves the West," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 4, (Jul-Aug 2006), 87-96.
- Celeste A. Wallander, "Suspended Animation: The US and Russia after the G-8," *Current History*, 105 (693), Oct 2006

- Sergei Prozorov, “The narratives of exclusion and self-exclusion in the Russian conflict discourse on EU-Russian Relations,” *Political Geography* 26 (2007) 309-329.

Week 5. Russia and Asia (February 5)

- Wishnick, Elizabeth, “The Regional Dynamic in Russia’s Asia Policy in the 1990s,” in Judith Thornton and Charles E. Ziegler, eds., *Russia’s Far East: A Region at Risk* (Seattle: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2002), pp. 293-317.
- B.B. Lo, “The Long Sunset of Strategic Partnership: Russia’s Evolving China Policy,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 2 (Mar 2004), 295-310
- Gilbert Rozman, “A Chance for a Breakthrough in Russo-Japanese Relations: Will the Logic of Great Power Relations Prevail?” *The Pacific Review*, Volume 15, Number 3 (Sept 2002), 325 - 357
- D. Kerr, “The Sino-Russian partnership and US Policy towards North Korea: from Hegemony to Concert in Northeast Asia,” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 3 (Sep 2005), 411-437.
- Yutaka Okuyama, “The dispute over the Kurile Islands between Russia and Japan in the 1990s,” *Pacific Affairs* 76 (1): 37-53 SPR 2003

Week 6. Energy Politics (February 12)

- Gawdat Bahgat, “Prospects for Energy Cooperation in the Caspian Sea,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 40 (2007) 157-168.
- Jonathan Stern, “Natural Gas Security Problems in Europe: the Russian-Ukrainian Crisis of 2006,” *Asia-Pacific Review*, May 2006, Vol. 13 Issue 1, 32-59.
- Leszek Buszynski, “Oil and Territory in Putin’s Relations with China and Japan,” *Pacific Review* 19 (3) (Sep 2003) 287-303.
- Gregory Gleason, “Russia and the Politics of the Central Asian Electricity Grid,” *Problems of Post-Communism*. Vol. 50 Issue 3 (May-June 2003), 42-52.

February 19 Study Break – no class

Week 7: Regional Organization: CIS and the Shanghai 5 (February 26)

- Olcott, Martha Brill, Anders Åslund, and Sherman W. Garnett, *Getting It Wrong: Regional Cooperation and the Commonwealth of Independent States* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), pp. 1-36.
- Keith Crane, D. J. Peterson, and Olga Olikier, “Russian Investment in the Commonwealth of Independent States,” *Eurasian Geography and Economy*, vol. 46, no. 6 (Sep 2006), 405-444.
- Eric A. Miller and Arkady Toritsyn, “Bringing the Leader Back In: Internal Threats and Alignment Theory in the Commonwealth of Independent States,” *Security Studies* 14, no. 2 (April-June 2005): 325-363.
- Gregory Gleason, “Inter-State Cooperation in Central Asia from the CIS to the Shanghai Forum,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 53:7 (2001), 1077-95
- Amalendu Misra, “Shanghai 5 and the emerging alliance in Central Asia: the closed society and its enemies,” *Central Asian Survey* (2001), 20:3, 305-21
- Chien-peng Chung, “China and the Institutionalization of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 54, no. 5 (Sep-Oct 2006), 3-14.

Week 8. Foreign Policies of the Central Asian States (March 4)

- Gregory Gleason, “Foreign policy and domestic reform in Central Asia,” *Central Asian Survey* vol. 20, no. 2 (June 2001), 167-82
- Nick Megoran, “The critical geopolitics of the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Ferghana Valley boundary dispute, 1999-2000,” *Political Geography* 23 (2004) 731-764.
- Pinar İpek, “The Role of Oil and Gas in Kazakhstan’s Foreign Policy: Looking East or West?” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 59, No. 7, November 2007, 1179 – 1199.

- Matteo Fumagalli, "Alignments and Realignments in Central Asia: The Rationale and Implications of Uzbekistan's Rapprochement with Russia," *International Political Science Review* (2007) Vol. 2, No. 3, 253-271.
- Jessica Trisko, "Coping with the Islamist Threat: Analysing Repression in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan," *Central Asian Survey*, Dec. 2005, Vol. 24 Issue 4, 373-389.

Week 9. Frozen Conflicts (March 11)

- Moorad Mooradian and Daniel Druckman, "Hurting Stalemate or Mediation? The Conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh, 1990-95," *Journal of Peace Research* 36 (Nov 1999), 709-727.
- Jon Sawyer, "Nagorno Karabakh: The "Frozen Conflict" that Remains Unthawed," *Caucasus Context*, (Spring 2007) Volume 4, Issue 1, 61-66.
- Dov Lynch, "Separatist States and Post-Soviet Conflicts," *International Affairs*, vol. 78, no. 4 (Oct 2002), 831-848.
- Chalres King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics*, vol. 53, no. 4 (Jul 2001), 524-52.
- Wanda Dressler, "Between Empires and Europe: the Tragic Fate of Moldova," *Diogenes*, vol. 53, no. 2 (May 2006), 29-49.
- Ted Hopf, "Identity, legitimacy, and the use of military force: Russia's Great Power identities and military intervention in Abkhazia," *Review of International Studies* (2005), 31, 225-243.

Week 10. Foreign Policies of the Caucasian States (March 18)

- Emil Souleimanov and Ondrej Ditrych, "Iran and Azerbaijan: A Contested Neighborhood," *Middle East Policy*, Volume 14, Issue 2, Page 101-116, June 2007.
- Svante E. Cornell, Mamuka Tseretli, and Vladimir Socor, "Geostrategic Implications of the Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan Pipeline," in *The Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan Pipeline: Oil Window to the West*, 17-37, available at http://www.silkroadstudies.org/BTC_2.pdf
- Stephen Jones, "The role of Cultural Paradigms in Georgian Foreign Policy," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 19 Issue 3 (Sept. 2003), 83-110.
- Nikolas K. Gvosdev and Travis Tanner, "Wagging the Dog," *National Interest*, Issue 77 (Fall 2004), 513.

Week 11. Foreign Policies of Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova (March 25)

- Löwenhardt, John, Ronald J. Hill, and Margot Light, "A Wider Europe: The View from Minsk and Chisinau," *International Affairs*, (July 2001), pp.605-620.
- Charles King, "Marking Time in the Middle Ground: Contested Identities and Moldovan Foreign Policy," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (September 2003), 60-82.
- Luke March and Graeme P Herd, "Moldova between Europe and Russia: Inoculating against the colored contagion?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* (March 2006), vol. 22, no. 4, 349 -379.
- Roy Allison, Stephen White, Margot Light, "Belarus between East and West," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 21, Issue 4, (Dec. 2005) 487-511.
- F. Stephen Larrabee, "Ukraine at the Crossroads," *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 4 (August 2007), 45-61.
- *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, Poland/Belarus: Warsaw Seems to Be Losing Duel with Minsk over Ethnic Organization
www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2005/8/2768A321-2A98-4671-B67C-5CB340CE37B3.html

Week 12. Foreign Policies of the Baltic States (April 1)

- Merje Kuus, "European Integration in Identity Narratives in Estonia: A Quest for Security," *Journal of Peace Research*, 39 (Jan 2002), 91 - 108.
- Pami Aalto, "Revisiting the Security/Identity Puzzle in Russo-Estonian Relations," *Journal of Peace Research*, 40 (Sep 2003), 573 - 591.

- Ausra Park, "Baltic Foreign Policy Making Establishments of the 1990s: Influential Institutional and Individual Actors," *Journal of Baltic Studies* vol. 36, no. 2 (SUM 2005), 178-208.
 - David J. Galbreath and Jeremy W. Lamoreaux, "Bastion, Beacon or Bridge? Conceptualising the Baltic Logic of the EU's Neighbourhood," *Geopolitics*, 12:109–132, 2007
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Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadline for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **March 14th, 2008** for April examinations.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: <http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.