

BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS PROGRAM  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT  
FALL 2004

Professor Uri Ra'an  
Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy  
141 Bay State Road, Fourth Floor  
Tel: (617) 353-5815  
(Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 10:00 a.m.-11:00 a.m., 2:00 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.  
and by appointment)

UNI SS 541/CAS IR 541  
**RUSSIA'S INTERNATIONAL POLICIES**

Course Description

Russian (Soviet and post-Soviet) approaches to international policy (including relations with other former Soviet republics); ideological and practical aspects. The policy-formation process and its machinery; domestic (including factional) impact upon that process. Strategic and tactical concepts from Lenin to Putin. The history of interstate and interparty relations. (For graduate students and seniors; juniors by special permission.)

Requirements: Substantive paper. Papers must be delivered to Professor Ra'an's office, **141 Bay State Road, fourth floor, by 5 p.m., Friday, December 10**. Students must hand in their papers by the deadline set; penalties for late papers are stated on the separate sheet titled deadlines. A reasonably detailed outline of the substantive paper must be submitted by October 29 and receive the Professor's approval.

Assignments: Books containing assigned chapters may be found at the Mugar Library. Lists of optional readings, some from books already placed on reserve, are provided for students seeking further information in particular fields.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
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**RUSSIA'S INTERNATIONAL POLICIES**

Professor Uri Ra'an

Schedule

An Introduction to Sources and Methodology  
Ideology and Raison d'Etat  
Soviet Political Legacy: *Apparat*  
Soviet Political Legacy: Factions  
The USSR and Developing Countries: Ideology & Practice  
Soviet Policy: 1917-1922 (Creation of the USSR)  
Soviet Policy: 1923-1934 (Emergence from Isolation)  
Soviet Policy: 1935-1938 ("Popular Front")  
Soviet Policy: 1939-1941 (Stalin-Hitler Pact)  
Soviet Policy: 1941-1945 (Grand Coalition)  
Soviet Policy: 1945-1948 (Soviet Bloc)  
Soviet Policy: 1948-1953 (Sino-Soviet Bloc)  
Soviet Policy: 1953-1956 (Stalin's Heirs)  
Soviet Policy: 1956-1964 (Khrushchev Ebullient)  
The USSR in the Third World: Arms Transfers and Conflict  
Soviet Policy: 1964-1985 (Intervention and Failure)  
The Soviet Body Politic under Brezhnev: Nationalities and Strata  
Summitry, Arms Control, and Linkage  
1985-1991 (Disintegration of the USSR)  
1985-1991 (Disintegration of the Soviet Bloc)  
Post-Soviet Scene: The Presidents  
Post Soviet Scene: Structure  
Post Soviet Scene: Civil Society?  
Post Soviet Scene: The NIS  
Post Soviet Scene: Traditional Partners and Arms Deals

## NOTE ON SOURCES

In the Assigned and in the Optional Reading, you will find repeated mention of the journal *Perspective*. The majority of the articles in question are not on reserve but can be obtained through easy access to the website <http://www.bu.edu/iscip/>. The same website also contains a link to the Institute's Database covering Soviet and post-soviet material from the beginning of 1988 to the present day. This material is likely to be of use to those students who are writing a paper covering the last 14 years or any portion thereof.

### **Recommended Continuous Reading:**

The following works have been placed on reserve at the Mugar Library. They offer students material for broad historical overview and for review, and should be used in that context. (N.B. Parts of these works are also assigned during the semester.)

Conquest, Robert, Power and Policy in the USSR, New York: Macmillan, 1962. [DK274 F612]

Jelavich, Barbara, St. Petersburg and Moscow: Tsarist and Soviet Foreign Policy, 1813-1974, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1974. [DK66.J4]

Schapiro, Leonard, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, New York: Random House, 1971. [JN6598 K7 F71]

Ulam, Adam B., Expansion and Coexistence: Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-73, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974. [DK 266 U49]

Yel'tsin, Boris. Against the Grain: an autobiography, NY: Summit Books, 1990. [BU: DK290.3.E48 1990]

### **(Documentary) Reference Material:**

Black, J.L. ed., USSR Documents 1987: The Gorbachev Reforms, [DK274 A2 U88].

Degras, Jane ed., Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy, 1917-1941, 3 Vols. [JX 1555. A2 F51].

Eudin, Xenia J., and North, Robert C., eds., Soviet Russia and the East, 1920-1927, [DK68 F57].

Eudin, Xenia J., and North, Robert C., eds., Soviet Russia and the West, 1920-1927, [DK67 F57].

Eudin, Xenia J., and Slusser, Robert M., eds., Soviet Foreign Policy 1928-1934 Documents and Materials, 2 Vols. [DK63 F66].

Sokolovskii, Vasilii Danilovich, ed., Soviet Military Strategy, (Scott, Harriet Fast, ed.) 3rd edition [U162.S613 1975].

Sontag, R.J., and Beddie, J.S., eds., Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office, [D 754 R9 G4].

*In addition, the Pappas Law Library has a microfilm collection of U.S. Department of State Foreign Relations of the United States documents from 1941 on.*

**Session 1**  
**An Introduction to Sources and Methodology (The End of Sovietology?)**

**Assignments:**

Brzezinski, Zbigniew, and Huntington, Samuel, Political Power, USA-USSR, [JK 31 F6]: Parts of Ch. 1: “Political Ideas and Politics,” “Ideological Commitment and Political Beliefs,” pp. 17-24 and “The Value and Viability of Ideology,” pp. 56-70.

Griffith, William, The Sino-Soviet Rift, [DK 68.7 C5 F64]: Ch. 1, “Public Lull and Esoteric Controversy: February-August 1962,” pp. 33-42.

Ra’anan, Uri “Peking’s Foreign Policy ‘Debate,’ 1965-1966,” in Ping-Ti and Tang Tsou, eds., China in Crisis, Vol. 2 [DS777.55 F687]: pp. 23-45.

**Optional Readings:**

Conquest, Robert, Power and Policy in the USSR, [DK 274 F612]: The Struggle for Power in the Conditions of One-Man Rule, pp. 470-510.

Zagoria, Donald, The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956-1961, [DK 68.7 C 5 F62a]: See “A Note on Methodology,” pp. 24-35.

**Session 2**  
**Ideology and *Raison d'État* (Geopolitical Continuity?)**

**Assignments:**

Holmes, Leslie, Politics in the Communist World, [JC474 H55]: "Official Ideology and Legitimacy," pp. 96-118.

Turnock, David, Eastern Europe: An Historical Geography, 1815-1945, [Reserve DJK11 T87]: Ch. 6, "The Era of World War, 1914-1945, Political Geography," pp. 197-234.

Ulam, Adam B., "Soviet Ideology and Soviet Foreign Policy," in Hoffman, E.P., and Fleron, F.J., eds., The Conduct of Soviet Foreign Policy, [DK 274 F71]: pp. 136-153.

Vaksman, Fabian, Ideological Struggle: A Study in the Principles of Operation of the Soviet Political Mechanism, [DK267.V28]: Ch.1, "Superficiality of the American Concept of the Role of the Ideology in the Making of Soviet Policy," pp. 1-32.

**Optional Readings:**

Carew-Hunt, R.N., The Theory and Practice of Communism, [HX36.H8]: Part III, "Leninism and Stalinism," Chs. 14-15, "Background to Leninism," and "Lenin's Contribution to Marxist Theory," pp. 125-168.

Ra'anani, Uri, "The USSR in World Affairs: Problems of a 'Communist' Foreign Policy," in Hendel, S., and Braham, R.L., eds., The USSR After Fifty Years, [DK 266 A3 F67]: pp. 235-262.

Wolfe, Bertram D., Three Who Made a Revolution, [DK254.L4 F645]: Chs. 13-19 for background on the early political engagement of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin through 1905.

### Session 3

#### Soviet Political Legacy: *Apparat*

##### Assignments:

Hough, Jerry F., and Fainsod, Merle, How the Soviet Union is Governed, [JN6531 .F3]: Ch. 11, "The Central Committee Secretariat and Apparatus," pp. 409-448; Ch. 12, "The Leading Party Organs," pp. 480-517.

Ra'anan, Uri, and Lukes, Igor, Inside the Apparat: Perspectives on the Soviet Union from Former Functionaries, [JN6529 D4 R33 1990]: Ch. 4, "International Relations Decision-Making," pp. 157-182.

Schapiro, Leonard, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, [JN6598 K7 F71]: Ch. 24, "Composition and Structure, 1929-1941," pp. 439-456.

##### Optional Readings:

Aspaturian, V., ed., Process and Power in Soviet Foreign Policy, [DK 266 A82]: Ch. 11, "Soviet Conceptions of Diplomacy," pp. 350-400; Ch. 16, "The Formulation of Soviet Foreign Policy."

Knight, Amy, The KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union, [HV8224.K57]: Ch. 4, "The KGB: Functions, Organizations, and Party Control," pp. 115-143.

Schapiro, Leonard, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, [JN6598 K7 F71]: Ch. 21, "The Third Revolution," pp. 382-402.

Scott, Harriet F. and William F., The Armed Forces of the USSR, [UA770.S35]: Ch. 1, "Prologue: The Red Army," pp. 1-29; Ch. 12, "Weighing the Balance," pp. 375-383.

## Session 4 Soviet Political Legacy: Factions

### Assignments:

Conquest, Robert, Power and Policy in the U.S.S.R., [DK274.F612]: Ch. 2, "Forces and Resultants," pp. 18-49.

Fairbanks, Charles H., Jr., "Clientelism and the Roots of Post-Soviet Disorder," in Suny, Ronald G., Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change, pp. 341-374. [DK511 .T65 T7 1983]

Holmes, Leslie, Politics in the Communist World, [JC474.H55]: "Why is Leadership not Institutionalized in Most Communist Countries," (Part of Ch. 8, "Leadership and Succession.")

Ra'anani, Gavriel, International Policy Formation in the USSR: Factional "Debates" During the Zhdanovshchina, [DK 267 R28 1983]: Introduction and Ch. 1, "Soviet Factions and Decision Making," pp. 1-11.

### Optional Readings:

Hazan, Barukh, From Brezhnev to Gorbachev: Infighting in the Kremlin, [DK288 H39]: Ch. 1, "Introduction," pp. 1-12; Ch. 2, "Succession in the USSR," pp. 13-43.

Ra'anani, Uri, "Soviet Decision Making and International Relations," *Problems of Communism*, Nov.-Dec. 1980, pp. 41-47.

**Session 5**  
**The USSR and Developing Countries: Ideology & Practice**

**Assignments:**

Feuchtwanger, E.J., and Nailor, Peter, eds., The Soviet Union and the Third World, [DK 274 S651963]: Ch. 1, "Introduction: Politics and Ideological Aspects," pp. 3-11.

McKenzie, Kermit E., Comintern and World Revolution, [HX11 I5 F64]: Ch. 3 "Revolutionary Prospects and Strategy, 1919-1928," pp. 44-57.

Ra'anan, Uri, and Lukes, Igor, Inside the Apparatus: Perspectives on the Soviet Union from Former Functionaries, [JN6529 D4 R33 1990]: Ch. 5, "Direct and Indirect Implementation: The Role of Allies, Surrogates, Clients and Fronts," pp. 183-206.

Ra'anan, Uri, "Moscow and the Third World." *Problems of Communism*, 1965, pp. 22-31.  
[Photocopy to be handed out in class.]

**Optional Readings:**

Eudin, X.J., and North, Robert, Soviet Russia and the East, 1920-1927, [DK 68 F57]: Part II-A "Communist Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics for Asia," pp. 75-90.

Feuchtwanger, E.J., and Nailor, Peter, eds., The Soviet Union and the Third World, [DK 274 S651963]: Ch. 5, "The Soviet Union in the Middle East: A Great Power in Search of a Leading Role"; Ch. 6, "Colossus or Humbug: The Soviet Union and its Southern Neighbors"; Ch. 7, "The Soviet Union in South-East Asia", pp. 117-182.

Kautsky, John, Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries, [JC 251 F62]: Ch. 3, "Communism" pp. 57-89; Ch. 4, "Totalitarianism and the Future of Politics in Developing Countries," pp. 90-119.

*On the Middle East:*

Mackintosh, J.M., Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy, [DK63.3 F632], "The Approach to the Middle East, 1953-1956," pp. 117-129; "Eastern Crisis, October 1956," pp. 179-190.

Ra'anan, Uri, The USSR Arms the Third World, [UA 770 F69]: Ch. 1, "The Situation and its Requirements," pp. 13-34.

**Session 6**  
**Soviet Policy: 1917-1922 (Creation of the USSR)**

**Assignments:**

Boytsov, V., "Reichswehr and Red Army," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, November 25, 1990, p. 3  
[photocopies to be handed out in class]

McKenzie, Kermit, Comintern and World Revolution, [HX 11 I5 F64]: "Prerequisites," pp. 61-112.

Ulam, Adam B., Expansion and Coexistence, [DK 266 U49]: "The First Steps," pp. 51-125.

**Optional Readings:**

Carr, Edward Hallett, A History of Soviet Russia, Volume III: The Bolshevik Revolution, [DK 266 C263]: Ch. 22, "The Dual Policy," pp. 59-108; Ch. 23, "The Year of Isolation," pp. 109-147; Ch. 24, "Diplomatic Feelers," pp. 148-164; Ch. 25, "Revolution Over Europe," pp. 165-228; Ch. 26, "Revolution Over Asia," pp. 229-270; Ch. 27, "NEP in Foreign Policy," pp. 271-304; Ch. 28, "Russia and Germany," pp. 305-338; Ch. 29, "To Genoa and Rapallo," pp. 339-382; Ch. 30, "Retreat in Comintern," pp. 383-425; Ch. 31, "Consolidation in Europe," pp. 426-466; Ch. 32, "The Eastern Question," pp. 467-489. Also note F, "The Pre-History of the Communist International," pp. 567-570.

Fischer, Louis, The Soviets in World Affairs, 1917-1929, [DK63 F51]: Vol. I, Ch. 12, "Revolutionary Russia and Revolutionary Turkey," pp. 382-414; Ch. 17, "Rapallo Weighed in the Balance," pp. 580-590.

Hilger, Gustav, and Meyer, Alfred, The Incompatible Allies, [DD 241 R8H5]: Ch. 7, "Military Collaboration," pp. 187-208.

**Session 7**  
**Soviet Policy: 1923-1934 (Emergence from Isolation)**

**Assignments:**

Borkenau, Franz, European Communism, [HX 237 F53 1953a]: “United Front,” pp. 50-68, “Communists and Nazis,” pp. 69-80.

Craig, Gordon A., and Gilbert, Felix, eds., The Diplomats 1919-1939, [D 727 F53]: Ch. 8 on Chicherin, pp. 234-281.

McKenzie, Kermit, Comintern and World Revolution, [HX 11 I5 F64]: “Preparation: Strategy and Tactics, 1928-34,” pp. 113-139.

Ulam, Adam B., Expansion and Coexistence [DK 266 U49 1974]: Ch. 4, “Transition: 1921-1933,” pp. 125-208.

**Optional Readings:**

Craig, Gordon A., and Gilbert, Felix, eds., The Diplomats 1919-1939, [D727 F53]: Chapter on Litvinov, pp. 344-377.

Eudin, Xenia J., and Slusser, Robert M., Soviet Foreign Policy 1928-1934; Documents and Materials, 2 Vols., [DK 63 F66]: Vol. I: Ch. 2, “The Comintern’s Policies and the Tasks of the Communist Parties, 1928-1929,” pp. 21-38; Vol. II: Ch. 5, “The Search for Security, 1932-1933,” pp. 357-377; and Ch. 7, “The Turn in Soviet Foreign Policy, 1934,” pp. 399-416.

Fischer, Ruth, Stalin and German Communism, [DD240.F48]: *passim*.

**Session 8**  
**Soviet Policy: 1935-1938 (“Popular Front”)**

**Assignments:**

Borkenau, Franz, European Communism, [HX 237 F53]: Part II, “Popular Front,” pp. 115-232.

Conquest, Robert, The Great Terror: Stalin’s Purge of the Thirties, [DK 267 F68 1968]:  
“Epilogue: Heritage of Terror,” pp. 479-522.

Ulam, Adam B., Expansion and Coexistence [DK 266 U49 1974]: Ch. 5, “The Search for Peace, 1934-39,” pp. 209-279.

**Optional Readings:**

Beloff, Max, The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, [DK 63 F47]: Vol. I, Sections on “Soviet Diplomacy in Europe from the Rhineland Coup ... to Munich,” pp. 49-166.

Carr, E.H., The Comintern and the Spanish Civil War, [DP269.47.R8 C27]: *passim*.

Ulam, Adam B., Stalin: The Man and His Era, [DK 268 S8 U4 1973]: Ch. 10, “The Terrible Interlude,” pp. 435-490.

**Session 9**  
**Soviet Policy: 1939-1941 (Stalin-Hitler Pact)**

**Assignments:**

Borkenau, Franz, European Communism [HX 237 F53]: “The General Line: The Hitler-Stalin Pact,” pp. 233-264.

Hilger, Gustav, and Meyer, Alfred, The Incompatible Allies, [DD 241 R8H5]: Ch. 10, “Nazi-Soviet Collaboration,” pp. 288-340.

“Text of Secret Protocols to 1939 Hitler-Stalin Pact,” [Photocopy of New York Times article, August 24, 1989, to be handed out in class].

Ulam, Adam B, Expansion and Coexistence, [DK 266 U49 1974]: “Coexistence with Germany, 1939-1941,” pp. 280-311.

**Optional Readings:**

Beloff, Max, The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia, [DK 63 F47]: Vol. II, Part V, Ch. 12, “The Soviet Union and Germany, Sept. 1939-March 1940,” pp. 277-319; Ch. 13, “The Soviet Union and War in the West: April to November 1940,” pp. 320-354.

Budurowycz, Basil, Polish Soviet Relations, 1932-1939, [DK 418.5 R9 F63]: Ch. 7, “Toward the Fourth Partition,” pp. 145-169.

**Session 10**  
**Soviet Policy: 1941-1945 (Grand Coalition)**

**Assignments:**

Borkenau, Franz, European Communism [HX 237 F53]: “The General Line: The Grand Alliance,” pp. 265-295.

Churchill, Winston, Triumph and Tragedy, [D743 .F48]: “Russia and Poland: The Soviet Promise,” pp. 365-387; “The Polish Dispute,” pp. 418-439.

Ra’anan, Uri, “Soviet Political-Diplomatic Signalling and War Termination,” Ch. 8 in Cimbala, Stephen J., and Douglass, Joseph D., eds., Ending a Nuclear War, Pergammon-Brassey, 1988, pp. 140-153. [Photocopy on reserve]

Ulam, Adam B, Expansion and Coexistence [DK 266 U49 1974]: “The Grand Alliance,” pp. 314-377.

**Optional Readings:**

Borkenau, Franz, European Communism [HX 237 F53]: Ch. 12, “France: The Best Patriots,” pp. 315-336; Ch. 13, “Tito Emerges,” pp. 337-364; Ch. 14, “Civil War in Yugoslavia,” pp. 365-395.

*For Relations Between the “Big Three”:*

Feis, Herbert, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin: The War They Waged and the Peace They Sought. [D 748 F57]: Ch. 59, “The Soviet Spread in Eastern Europe,” pp. 564-571; Ch. 60, “The Incurable Troubles Over Poland,” pp. 571-580.

**Session 11**  
**Soviet Policy: 1945-1948 (Soviet Bloc)**

**Assignments:**

Borkenau, Franz, European Communism, [HX 237 F53]: “A False Calculation,” and “Popular Democracies,” pp. 466-548.

Brzezinski, Z., The Soviet Bloc: Unity and Conflict, [D 847 F60]: Ch. 1, “The Political Background,” pp. 3-21; Ch. 2, “Problems of Theory,” pp. 22-40; Ch. 3, “Problems of Diversity,” pp. 41-64.

Ra’anan, Gavriel, International Policy Formation in the USSR: Factional “Debates” During the Zhdanovshchina, [DK 267 R 28 1983]:  
Chs. 4 and 5, “The Belgrade Connection” and “The Zhdanovshchina,” pp. 42-61; Ch. 7, “The Yugoslav Factor,” pp. 75-79; Ch. 9, “The Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany: Factional Rivalry,” pp. 85-100.

Ulam, Adam B., Expansion and Coexistence, [DK 266 U49 1974]: “Victory and Discord,” pp. 378-455.

**Optional Readings:**

Dallin, David J., Soviet Foreign Policy after Stalin, [DK 63.3 F602]: Part I, Chs. 1-3, “Stalin and his Lieutenants in Foreign Affairs,” “Stalin’s Empire Building,” and “Germany: the Big Issue,” pp. 3-59.

Ulam, Adam B., Stalin: The Man and His Era, [DK 268 S8 U4 1973]: “The Aging God,” pp. 616-699.

“X” (pseudonym for George F. Kennan), “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 25, No. 4 (July 1947), pp. 566-582. (On Microfilm, call number MFILM D 410 F22).

**Session 12**  
**Soviet Policy: 1948-1953 (Sino-Soviet Bloc)**

**Assignments:**

Bass, Robert, and Marbury, Elizabeth, The Soviet-Yugoslav Controversy, 1948-1958, [DR367.R9 F59]: See exchange of correspondence between Soviet and Yugoslav Central Committees contained in Ch. 1, "Yugoslavia and the Cominform, 1948," pp. 1-46.

Conquest, Robert, Power and Policy in the USSR, [DK 274 F612]: "The Struggle for Power in Conditions of One-Man Rule, 1949-53," and "The XIX Congress and the Doctors' Plot," pp. 470-539.

Stringlin, Douglas, and Cary, Peter, "Secrets of the Korean War," *U.S. News and World Report*, August 9, 1993, [Photocopies to be handed out in class].

**Optional Readings:**

Borisov, O.B., and Koloskov, T.T., Soviet-Chinese Relations 1945-1970, [DK 68.7 C5 B6313]. Ch. 2, "Sino-Soviet Relations in the Years of the Molding of the PRC, 1949-52," pp. 64-76.

Mackintosh, J.M., Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy, [DK63.3 F632]: Ch. 4, "Korea: Expansion by Limited War, 1950-1952," pp. 42-50. Ch. 11.

Ra'anana, Gavriel, International Policy Formation in the USSR: Factional "Debates" During the Zhdanovshchina, [DK 267 R28 1983]: Ch. 15, "Post-Zhdanov 'Zhdanovism'," pp. 153-160; Ch. 17, "Postscript: The Battle Revived," pp. 164-169; Appendix A, "The Beria-Zhdanov Rivalry," pp. 171-172.

**Session 13**  
**Soviet Policy: 1953-1956 (Stalin's Heirs)**

**Assignments:**

Dallin, David J., Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin, [DK 63.3 F602]:

Part II, The Malenkov-Molotov Era: Ch. 3, "The Course in Respect to the West"; Ch. 4 "Conference and Crises"; Ch. 5, "The 'People's Democracies'"; Ch. 6, "The Middle East," pp. 135-217.

Part III, The First Khrushchev Era: Ch. 5, "The 20th Party Congress and Foreign Affairs"; Ch. 6, "Ferment in Eastern Europe," pp. 322-382.

Knight, Amy, Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant, Ch. 9, "The Downfall of Beria," pp. 183-194 ("Beria the Reformer") [DK268 .B384 K58 1993]

Micunovic, Veljko, Moscow Diary, [DR 367 R9 M513]: Ch. 6, "Crisis in Hungary," pp. 299-312; Ch. 7, "Crisis over Suez," pp. 96-104.

Schapiro, Leonard, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, [JN6598 K7 F71]: Part IV, Ch. 21, "Internal Developments: Ideology and Policy, 1953-1966," pp. 583-618.

**Optional Readings:**

Dallin, David J., Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin, [DK 63.3 F602]: "The Suez Crisis," pp. 406-421.

Keep, John, ed., Contemporary History in the Soviet Mirror, [D 16.4 R9 F64]: Ch. 6, "Soviet Historical Sources in the Post-Stalin Era," pp. 130-154.

**Session 14**  
**Soviet Policy: 1956-1964, Khrushchev Ebullient**

**Assignments:**

Griffith, William, The Sino-Soviet Rift, [DK 68.7 C5 F64]: Introduction, "Background to the Break," pp. 3-30.

Mackintosh, J.M., Strategy and Tactics of Soviet Foreign Policy, [DK 63.3 F632]: Ch. 12, "Soviet Policy Towards China, 1953-56," pp. 141-149; Ch. 17, "The Pressure on Western Europe, 1957-60," pp. 203-220; Ch. 19, "The Problem of China, 1957-60," pp. 245-260; Ch. 20, "The Soviet Challenge in 1961-62," pp. 261-285.

Tatu, Michel, Power in the Kremlin: From Khrushchev to Kosygin, [DK 274 F68]: Part I, The U-2 Affair and its Consequences: "Stir in the Top Leadership," pp. 69-100; Part III, The Cuban Fiasco, Ch. 5, "Feb-March 1963: The Crisis," pp. 312-340; Part IV The Fall, Ch. 2 "The Last Straw," pp. 387-398.

**Optional Readings:**

Conquest, Robert, Russia After Khrushchev, [DK 274 F651]: Ch. 10, "Khrushchev: Impact and Fall," pp. 109-123.

Dallin, David J., Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin, [DK 63.3 F602]: Part IV, Ch. 2, "Moscow and Peking," pp. 422-441; Part V, Khrushchev in Command, Ch. 4, "Germany," pp. 501-520.

Griffith, William E., The Sino-Soviet Rift, [DK68.7 C5 F64]: Chs. 5-6, "The Cuban Crisis" and "Cuban Aftermath: The Mid-November Sino-Soviet Ideological Exchange," pp. 60-66.

Micunovic, Veljko, Moscow Diary, [DR367 R9 M513]: Ch. 29, "The First Sputnik and the End of Zhukov," pp. 299-312.

Ra'anan, Uri, "Moscow and the Third World," *Problems of Communism*, Jan.-Feb. 1965, pp. 22-31.

**Session 15**  
**The USSR in the “Third World”: Arms Transfers and Regional Conflict**

**Assignments:**

Kramer, Mark, "Soviet Arms Transfers to the Third World," *Problems of Communism*, Sept-Oct 1987, pp. 52-68.

Ra'anan, Uri, "Soviet Arms Transfers and the Problem of Political Leverage," in Ra'anan, Pfaltzgraff, Robert, Jr., and Kemp, Geoffrey, eds., Arms Transfers to the Third World, [UA12 .A75]: pp. 131-158.

**Optional Readings:**

Fukuyama, Francis, "Soviet Strategy in the Third World," in Fukuyama and Korbonski, eds., The Soviet Union and the Third World: The Last Three Decades, [D888.S65 S645]: pp. 29-45.

Ra'anan, Uri, and Lukes, Igor, Inside the Apparatus: Perspectives on the Soviet Union from Former Functionaries, [JN6529 D4 R33 1990]: Ch. 5, "Direct and Indirect Implementation: The Role of Allies, Surrogates, Clients, and Fronts," pp. 183-206.

**Session 16**  
**Soviet Policy: 1964-1985 (Intervention Abroad and Failure)**

**Assignments:**

Ulam, Adam B., Expansion and Coexistence, Ch. 12, "In the Shadow of Vietnam," [DK 266 U49]: pp. 695-725.

Valenta, Jiri, "From Prague to Kabul--The Soviet Style of Invasion," *International Security*, Fall, 1980, [JX1901.167 micro]: pp. 114-141.

**Optional Readings:**

Brandt, Willy, People and Politics [DD259.7 .B7 A3213]: Ch. 8, "Ostpolitik," pp. 166-197.

Kissinger, Henry A., White House Years, [JX1417 K5M]: "Hot and Cold," from Ch. 13, "The Soviet Riddle," pp. 522-529; Ch. 20, "US-Soviet Relations: Breakthrough on Two Fronts," pp. 788-841.

"Special Report: Poland in Crisis, 1980-81" *Orbis*, Winter 1988: pp. 6-48.

Porter, Bruce D., The USSR in Third World Conflicts: Soviet Arms and Diplomacy in Local Wars, 1945-1980, [UA 770.P666]: Ch. 2, "The USSR in Local Conflicts: A Historical Overview," pp. 5-35. [*Students may also wish to familiarize themselves with the book's case studies of Soviet intervention in Yemen, Nigeria, the Yom Kippur war, Angola and Ogaden.*]

Tatu, Michel, Power in the Kremlin: From Khrushchev to Kosygin, [DK274 F68]: Part V, The Collective Leadership on its Own: 1964-66, Ch. 3, "The Power Structure," pp. 494-522.

**Session 17**  
**The Soviet Body Politic under Brezhnev**  
**Nationalities and Social Strata**

**Assignments:**

Azrael, Jeremy, "The 'Nationality Problem' in the USSR: Domestic Pressures and Foreign Policy Constraints," in Bialer, Seweryn, ed., The Domestic Context of Soviet Foreign Policy, [DK274 D65 1981]: pp. 139-150.

Suny, Ronald G. The Soviet Experiment: Russia, The USSR and the Successor States [BU: DK 266 .S94 1998], Chapter 19, "The Paradoxes of Brezhnev's Long Reign."

Voslensky, Michael, Nomenklatura: The Soviet Ruling Class, [JN6549.E9 V6813]: Ch. 5, "Privileged Class," pp. 178-240. Ch. 6, pp. 217-305.

**Optional Readings:**

Aspaturian, V., ed., Process and Power in Soviet Foreign Policy, [DK 266 A82]:  
Ch. 13, "Nationality Inputs in Soviet Foreign Policy." Ch. 14, "The Union Republics and Soviet Nationalities as Instruments of Soviet Territorial Expansion." pp. 429-490.

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## Session 23 An Emerging Civil Society?

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## Section 26 The Post Soviet Scene: "Multi-Polarity"

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