

The Paradox of state strength

: transnational relations, domestic structures, and security policy in Russia and the Soviet Union (by Matthew Evangelista)

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Week 9, Jiyeoun song

- Main argument: Evangelista claims the significant role of domestic structure as an intervening variable in the comparative analysis of foreign policy.
- Independent variables: the specific pressures on Russia/ the Soviet Union from the US government and from *transnational* actors regarding strategic defenses and nuclear testing. ('*Transnational*' means "regular interactions across national boundaries when at least one actor is a non-state-agent or does not operate on behalf of a national government or an intergovernmental organization", p.1)
- Dependent variable: the behavior Russia and the Soviet Union on issues of nuclear testing and strategic defenses
- Intervening variable: Domestic structure

* The turning point to compare with is the late 1980s.

1) Before the late 1980s: a transnational community of scientists and other involved in international discussions on disarmament played dominant role for the Soviet foreign policy=> success; halting nuclear testing and limiting strategic defenses

2) After the late 1980s: transnational actors should have to compete other social groups in influencing the Russian foreign policy; reverse effect=> more pro-military forces

1. The theoretical basis for transnational influences

* The two rejected assumptions in transnationalism

(a) the state functions as a unitary actor and (b) the international system fully determines states' behavior.

* New assumptions: (a) the influence of policy entrepreneurs (b) ideas as well as material interests (c) crises and policy failures

2. Case selection and research design

* Two transnational campaigns dating from the early 1980s.

(1) the effort to achieve a comprehensive ban on the testing of nuclear weapons

(2) the complex of activities in response to the US pursuit of the strategic defense initiative(SDI) including to maintain the integrity of the Antiballistic Missile(ABM)

Treaty of 1972

* Variables (refer to the previous part in this page)

3. Transformation of the Soviet domestic structure

* The categorization of domestic structures

1) Political institutions (the degree of centralization and the relationship between legislative and executive power)

ex) the role of president, the Congress and the Supreme Soviet (They replaced the role of the Communist party's central committee.), the new competition between the executives and legislative branches, and the repeal of Article 6 of the Soviet constitution in 1990 (This repeal eliminated the Communist party's monopoly on political power)

2) The structure of society (The degree of polarization, the strength of social organization and the extent to which societal pressure can be mobilized)

⇒ the emergence of Soviet civil society became evident in 1985 and the growing movement of informal groups in 1987

⇒ vibrant print and broadcast media

⇒ Main reason of flowering these diverse social sectors is “glasnost.”

3) Policy networks (the nature of the coalition-building processes in the policy networking linking state and society)

: Weak social organizations and state-dominated policy networks of the Soviet case

4. Transnational efforts under the old structure

1) Soviet domestic structure and transnational contracts

=>The Communist party of the Soviet Union influenced to a considerable degree toward the transnational contacts among the Soviet citizens.

=> Many scholars attending int'l conferences also made impacts on the Soviet leaders.

2) Transnational policy entrepreneurs

=> Various institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences who formally organized themselves into the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace ex) IPPNW, FAS, UCS, NRDC

=> Key figures: Evgenii Chazov, Andrei Kokoshin, Evgenii Velikhov, Roald Sagdeev

3) The Soviet response to SDI

The main achievement of the transnational disarmament community in the realm of ABM systems=> to shape the Soviet Union's response to SDI and to strengthen the ABM treaty by making the Soviet

(1) The ASAT moratorium

Velikhov and his transnational allies in the US persuaded the Soviet leadership to impose the unilateral ASAT moratorium

(2) A Soviet “Star Wars?”

Velikhov and Sagdeev were the first persons to argue against copying the US initiative. They argued dangerous implication of mutual strategic defense discussed through a transnational community of Soviet and Western scientists during the 1960's.

(3) The Krasnoyarsk gambit

The contribution of the Soviet scientists to resolving the Krasnoyarsk issue entailed lifting the veil of secrecy on the complex itself.

(4) Unliking SDI

The ultimate accomplishment of the transnational actors consisted of unthinking SDI from arms control

Soviet leadership to sign two major arms accords without insisting on any US commitments regarding the ABM treaty of SDI

(5) Alternative explanation

The Soviet government selected those policies based on military or economic reasons.

4) Soviet Policy on nuclear testing

The main achievement=> to eliminate the central US objection to a comprehensive nuclear test ban/to promote unilateral restraint as a means of arms control

(1) the test ban

The unilateral moratorium on soviet nuclear testing to take effect on 6 August 1985

The influential actors: the scientists and physicians

(2) the seismic-monitoring agreement

Despite of the final resume of the Soviet's nuclear testing, the scientists groups set a precedent for cooperative verification measures and eliminated the most potent US criticism of a comprehensive test ban.

(3) Alternative explanation

Soviet military's position ranged from skepticism to outright opposition to the moratorium

5. From the new Soviet Union to the former Soviet Union

1) the SDI seduction

(1) Soviet star warriors

New voice about strategic defenses and developing Soviet ballistic missile defenses

(2) Gorbachev and Yeltsin on the defensive

Development of joining ABM early warning system

=> The new transnational network of US and Russian proponents of ballistic missile defense was established

(3) Alternative explanations

=> Considering the relations with other soviet republics and threats from the other terrorists

2) The teeter-totter of nuclear testing

=> Transnational community of scientists no longer plays a key role in influencing soviet policy. The influence of the groups has been eroded by a mass movement and transnational group of weapons designers.

(1) Test ban opponents speak up

the Supreme Soviet => the channel of test ban opponents to promote their views openly

(2) The Nevada-semipalatinsk movement

It was an example of uprising of mass movements

(3) the pronuclear countercoalition

This group argues the degradation of the country's scientific expertise and linked with US opponents of a test ban

(4) Corporatist bargaining on nuclear testing

(5) Alternative explanations

America and Russian relations

Highly internal balance of pro-and antinuclear forces

6. Conclusions

1) the fate of transnational actors

The competition with other groups / more resources for domestic groups

Under the new circumstances, the role of the US becomes more important. Ex) president Clinton

2) Theoretical implication

The main conclusion is to reinforce the utility of domestic structure as an intervening variable in the comparative analysis of foreign policy and to link domestic structures to transnational influence.