

Carleton University
Political Science

Winter 2012

PSCI 5106

Selected Problems in the Politics of Soviet Successor States

Tuesday 11:35-14:35

Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Andrea Chandler
Office: Loeb D691
Office Hours: Tuesday, 9:00-11:15 and 2:45-3:15, and Friday 10:00-11:15
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Course Description:

It has been twenty years since the Soviet Union collapsed, leaving behind its fifteen constituent republics as independent successor states. The states in this region include

- Russia, which stands out for the de-participation of its reform process and its complicated federal system;
- Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan, which experienced the unexpected “Coloured Revolutions” of 2003-2005;
- states, such as Armenia, Moldova and Tajikistan, which were notable for their early political conflicts;
- and others, such as Belarus, where an authoritarian political system prevails.

Post-Soviet societies have faced serious challenges, including economic crises, interethnic disputes and declining welfare states. This part of the world is a fascinating laboratory for studying numerous questions of value to political scientists: how do multiethnic societies respond to rapid political change? How are political institutions rebuilt after a collapse of a state? How can a society adapt to a state which has altered its traditional controls over citizens? Does the international environment offer new opportunities to these states, or is it instead a source of new pressures?

The course will examine the politics of Russia and the Soviet successor states, in a way that is informed by historical and comparative perspective. The course will engage inter-disciplinarity; assigned readings will include works by anthropologists, historians, and economists as well as political scientists. Among the planned topics of discussion are the politics of conflict and upheaval, and citizens’ responses to these processes; state-building and political elites; the role of international organizations in political transformation; and the politics of gender and identity.

The goals of the course are 1) to examine and compare the political changes of the post-Soviet states in the transition from communism; 2) to discuss and evaluate critically debates in the literature on this transition process; 3) to analyze a range of methods of

doing research on political change, 4) to develop research skills and writing abilities, through the pursuit of individual research projects. Although readings will cover a variety of countries, the focus in the course will be on debating questions rather than covering countries individually. This is a seminar course, and group discussions will constitute the bulk of each class. As part of class participation, students will work in groups to prepare questions or other assignments given during class time.

Readings: All readings assigned for the course are compulsory. Students are expected to come to each class having prepared the assigned readings in advance. There is no textbook for the course. All course readings have been placed on reserve at McOdrum Library.

Course Requirements:

Each of the following will comprise a portion of the final grade, as indicated in percentages.

- Class participation, including regular attendance, participation in group work and contribution to regular weekly discussion of assigned readings: **20%**. Students will be asked to work in groups on questions related to the readings during class time.
- Short proposal of final research paper, 5 pages (double-spaced, 12-point font, in hard copy) **due February 7. 20%**

The paper must include: a brief statement of the research question and preliminary argument to be addressed; a discussion of the importance of the topic for current debate on political change in one or more countries of the former Soviet Union; a discussion of the parameters of the topic to be addressed in the final paper; and a mention of the sources and methodology to be used, including a brief bibliography.

- Group work and presentation during classes in Weeks 9, 10 and 11 of course (March 13, 20 and 27), **20%**
This component of the course mark will include the following: a) participation in group work, during class time, in which students working on related topics for their final papers discuss their ideas, b) Each student will make a short (5 minute) presentation to the class on his/her research paper, c) Each student will fill out and submit a worksheet (distributed by the professor) on the results of the group work. The worksheet is to be handed in with the final paper on *April 3*.
- Final research paper, **40%** due April 3, 2012.
The paper should be approximately 18-25 pages in length and should incorporate some research from primary sources.

All course requirements must be completed in order to receive a passing grade. Papers should be organized so as to develop a clear argument systematically, and should be analytical rather than descriptive. The final research paper in particular should explore a comprehensive survey of literature and secondary sources: a minimum of fifteen items should be consulted. Students are required to incorporate research from primary sources, whether in the original language or in English translation. All papers should use footnotes or endnotes as appropriate whenever referring to an author's idea, citing empirical facts or drawing on research from published sources. Parenthetical referencing may be used if the student prefers, but citations and bibliography must be correct and complete. Any direct quotations from a source should be clearly indicated in quotation marks. As a general rule, however, direct quotations should be kept to a minimum and should not exceed fifty words from any one source. A complete bibliography of sources consulted must be included at the end of the paper. Papers must be handed in personally to the instructor on or before the due date. Marks will be deducted for lateness and university term deadlines apply. Extensions will be granted only for illness (with a doctor's certificate) or for a family emergency.

Office hours and e-mail: *Students with questions for the professor may reach her by coming to her office hours (no appointment needed), by arranging a personal meeting outside of office hours, by phone, or by e-mail. Following university policy, the instructor will communicate by e-mail with students using university "Connect" e-mail addresses. Normally, the instructor expects to reply to e-mail or voicemail queries within 1-2 days during the working week. The instructor generally does not answer e-mail inquiries or voicemail messages on evenings or weekends. Students who wish to communicate with the instructor are encouraged to meet personally during her office hours, at another convenient time by appointment, or at the end of class.*

Schedule of Course Topics:

Week 1 (January 10) Introduction

Week 2. (January 17) INTERPRETING THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Alexei Yurchak, "Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything was Forever, until it was no More," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 45, 3, July 2003, pp. 480-510.

Mark Beissinger, "Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism." *Contemporary European History*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2009, pp. 331-47.

Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics*, vol. 59, no. 1, October 2006, pp. 83-115.

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Ideas do not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures and the end of the Cold War," *International Organization*, vol. 48, no. 2, spring 1994, pp. 185-214.

Week 3. (January 24) THE TRANSITION FROM COMMUNISM

Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World," *World Politics*, vol. 53 (October 2000), pp. 1-37.

Hellman, Joel S., Geraint Jones and Daniel Kaufman, "Seize the State, Seize the Day: State Capture and Influence in Transition Economies," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, vol. 31, no. 4, December 2003, pp. 751-73.

Olga Shevchenko, *Crisis and the Everyday in Postsocialist Moscow*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009, chapters 2-3.

Stefan Hedlund, "Such a Beautiful Dream: How Russia did not become a Market Economy," *Russian Review*, 67, 2, 2008, pp. 187-208.

Week 4 (January 31) POLITICAL ECONOMY

Brent Hierman, "What Use was the Election to Us? Clientelism and Political Trust amongst ethnic Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 38, no. 2, March 2010, pp. 245-63.

Alena Ledeneva, "Corruption in Postcommunist Societies in Europe: a Reexamination," *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, no. 1, April 2009, pp. 69-86.

Marc Berenson, "Serving Citizens: How Compatible are Russian and Polish 'Street-Level' Bureaucrats?" *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 43, no. 5, 2010, pp. 578-605.

Anna Grzymala-Busse, "Beyond Clientelism: Incumbent State Capture and State Formation," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 41 (2008), pp. 638-73.

Week 5. (February 7) CONFLICT

Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics*, vol. 53, no. 4, July 2001, pp. 524-52.

Hopf, Ted. "Identity, Legitimacy and Use of Military Force: Russia's Great Power Identities and Military Intervention in Abkhazia," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 31, no. S1, December 2005, pp. 225-43.

David Mendeloff, "Pernicious History as a Cause of National Misperceptions," *Cooperation and Conflict*, 43, 1, 2008, pp. 31-56.

Kathleen Collins, "Kyrgyzstan's Latest Revolution," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 22, no. 3, July 2011, pp. 150-65.

Week 6. (February 14) REVOLUTION AND REGIME CHANGE: WHY IT HAPPENS, WHY IT DOESN'T HAPPEN

Lucan Way, "The Real Causes of Colour Revolutions," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 19, no. 3, summer 2008, pp. 55-69.

Kalandadze, Katya and Mitchell A. Orenstein, "Electoral Protests and Democratization beyond the Colour Revolutions," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 42, no. 11, November 2009, pp. 1403-25.

Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. "Moldova's Twitter Revolution," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2009, pp. 136-42.

Andrew Wilson, "Lukashenko's Game is Up," *Current History*, vol. 110, no. 738, October 2011, pp. 277-82.

Uladzimir M. Padhol and David R. Marples, "The 2010 Presidential Election in Belarus," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 58, no. 1, January/February 2011, pp. 3-16.

READING WEEK FEBRUARY 20-24: NO CLASS

Week 7 (February 28). INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Judith Kelley, "D-Minus Elections: the Politics and Norms of International Election Observation," *International Organization*, vol. 63, no. 4, 2009, pp. 665-87.

Jordan, Pamela. "Does Membership have its Privileges? Entrance into the Council of Europe and Compliance with Constitutional Norms." *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 4, August 2003, pp. 660-88.

Henry, Laura A. and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, "Russia and the Kyoto Protocol: Seeking an Alignment of Interests and Image," *Global Environmental Politics*, vol. 7, no. 4, November 2007, pp. 47-69.

Cynthia Roberts, "Russia's BRICS Diplomacy: Rising Outsider with Dreams of an Insider," *Polity*, vol. 42, no. 1, January 2010, pp. 38-73.

Week 8 (March 6). MEMORY, IDENTITY AND LEGITIMACY

Luhiste, Kadri. "Explaining Trust in Political Institutions: Some Illustrations from the Baltic States." *Communist and Post-communist Studies*, 39, 4, Dec. 2006, 475-96.

Margaret Paxson, "They Call it Home," *Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 2, spring 2009, pp. 32-9.

Eva-Clarita Onken, "The Baltic States and Moscow's May 9 commemoration: analyzing memory politics in Europe," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 59, 1, Jan 2007, pp. 23-46.

Oxana Shevel, "The Politics of Memory in a Divided Society: a Comparison of Post-Franco Spain and Post-Soviet Ukraine," *Slavic Review*, vol. 70, no. 1, spring 2011, pp. 137-64.

Weeks 9-11 (March 13, 20 and 27). GROUP WORK AND PRESENTATIONS

Week 12 (April 3) PERSPECTIVES ON RUSSIA'S ELECTIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Elena Chebankova, "Evolution of Russia's Civil Society under Vladimir Putin: a Cause for Concern or Grounds for Optimism?" *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 10, no. 3, September 2009, pp. 394-415.

J. Paul Goode, "Redefining Russia: Hybrid Regimes, Fieldwork and Russian Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 8, no. 4, December 2010, pp. 1055-75.

Joel C. Moses, "Medvedev, Political Reform and Russian Regions," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 58, no. 1, January/February 2011, pp. 17-30.

Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*. New York: Free Press, 2011. Chapter 10.

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. 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 assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **(November 11, 2011 for fall term examinations and March 7, 2012 for winter term 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 University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

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.

Grading: The following is the Carleton University grading system.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

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.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.