

Carleton University  
Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies

EURR 4002A / EURR 5002 W / PSCI 4502 B / PSCI 5110W

# POST-SOVIET STATES AND SOCIETIES

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Wednesday 8:35 – 11:25

**Please confirm location on Carleton Central.**

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Office hours, January-April, Tuesday, 11:00-12:15, or by appointment

## **Course Description:**

Almost twenty years have passed since the breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Fifteen independent states emerged on its territory. Their post-soviet development revealed very different transition paths: from a considerably successful adoption of the rules and principles of democratic states to return to various forms of authoritarian and even totalitarian regimes. The collapse of the Soviet Union exposed many latent problems that existed in these transition states. Economic turmoil, humanitarian and civil crises uncovered inconsistencies of social, economic and political development in these countries. At the same time a very high pace of political processes as well as radicalism of some reformatory efforts in these countries showed that the post-soviet space has been among the most intensively developing regions in the world.

As the former communist system collapsed, social scientists began to consider new approaches to the study of the region, often with particular attention to the process of democratization. Specialists who study the former Soviet Union provide differing assessments of post-Soviet politics. Some analysts point to resurgent authoritarianism and widening economic disparities; others insist that slow progress has been made in creating institutions of governance, resolving conflicts, and recognizing the participation of social movements. Regional and local politics have become a prominent focus of politics throughout the former Soviet Union, as have the dynamics of ethnic and group identities. Meanwhile, unexpected events, such as Georgia's "Rose Revolution", Ukraine's "Orange Revolution" and Kirgiz "Tulip Revolution", demonstrate that politics in this region continue to be unpredictable.

This course is aimed at investigating new patterns of academic perceptions about the region as well as pointing at the most remarkable events in the history of the former soviet states. The course will adopt a comparative approach, aiming to explore political, economic and social patterns of development in the southern, eastern and western post-Soviet states as well as in the Russian Federation. The focus of the course will be on a few overarching topics rather than on examining specific regions. These topics are:

- 1) Transformations of political systems and types of political regimes;
- 2) Patterns of economic development;
- 3) Civil society and social development;
- 4) Ethnic conflicts and humanitarian catastrophes;
- 5) Coloured revolutions;
- 6) Recent events in Ukraine and Russia's strive for dominance in the region.

The course concentrates on a few major countries. As the largest and arguably most dynamic state in the region, Russia will receive special attention. In some other countries (Georgia, Ukraine and Kirgizstan) relationships between the state and society have been quite spectacular. Political and social processes in these countries will also be discussed in seminars with great attention. This is a seminar course, and group discussions will constitute the bulk of each class. Students are expected to prepare the assigned readings in advance of each class, and to take an active role in class discussion. As part of class participation, students will prepare in-class presentations on the outlined issues or about countries they are most interested in. Students will be required to develop an independent research project on an approved topic (to be explored in depth in the post-Soviet country/countries of their choice) and complete a final research paper on their topic.

**Readings:** The readings assigned for the course are divided on compulsory and supplementary (marked with \*). Students are expected to come to each class having preparing the assigned readings in advance. There is no textbook for the course. All course readings are available online through your Carleton University library account. Hard copies of the majority of articles are available in MacOdrum Library.

**Course Requirements:**

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

- ✓ Class participation, including regular attendance and participation in discussions of assigned readings: **20%**. In discussion sessions students must show their knowledge of the assigned readings.
- ✓ **(!!!) Undergraduate students only.** Research paper proposal: **15%**. The proposal should be up to 4 pages long. It should refer to the topic of student's primary interest in the course. The proposal includes the following: 1) a clearly formulated research problem/question; 2) a brief description of the problem and its context; 3) a hypothesis that explains the problem and the theoretical and methodological background; 4) a discussion on how the problem will be examined.
- ✓ One in-class presentation on a particular topic from the syllabus: **30%**. Additional research on the topics is highly welcomed. Selection and assignment of the topics will take place during the first seminar of the course. **Graduate students** are expected to have their presentations problem oriented (e.g. address particular issues, related to the topic of study, such as Russia's unsuccessful economic reform etc.). **Undergraduate students** may choose to focus primarily on the analysis of the readings, assigned for the topic.
- ✓ Final research paper due **April 6:**

Graduate students: **50%**. The paper should be approximately 15-20 pages in length and should incorporate some research from primary sources, as well as critically address current theoretical accounts of the researched problem.

Undergraduate students: **35%**. The paper should be 12-15 pages long and is expected to show original analysis, sustaining an argument which will be supported with evidence. The final assignment is a research paper and should demonstrate that you have considered a range of scholarly sources: a minimum of eight published books or articles. The paper should demonstrate careful and critical consideration of a broad range of carefully chosen, quality research sources (including peer-reviewed scholarly publications).

### **Late Papers**

Papers are expected to be submitted on time, to facilitate prompt marking for your fellow students. Extensions for written assignments will be considered only for family emergencies and for documented medical reasons. Marks will be deducted for lateness. Submission of assignments after the deadline indicated in this course outline will result in a deduction of one letter grade per every day past after the deadline. Please submit papers according to the instructions specified for that assignment. 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.

## **Schedule and Topics**

### **Week 1. (January 6).**

*Introduction. The collapse of the Soviet Union and patterns of post-Soviet politics.*

#### **Selected readings:**

Tsygankov, Andrei (2007). "Modern at last? Variety of weak states in the post-Soviet world" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 40 (4), pp. 423-439

Mitchell, R. Judson; Arrington, Randall S., (2000) "Gorbachev, ideology, and the fate of Soviet communism" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 33 (4), pp. 457-474

Hague, Rod and Harrop, Martin (eds.), (2010) *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction* 8<sup>th</sup> edition; Palgrave; PART I.

### **Week 2. (January 13).**

*Political regimes after communism: from democracy to authoritarianism*

The session is focused on a discussion of various strategies, implemented by different post-soviet states while building their political systems. It will include the analysis of democratization attempts in these countries. Success of the Baltic states, compromise in Georgia, "Managed or (sovereign) democracy" in Russia, 'soft' and 'hard' authoritarian regimes in Belarus, Kazakhstan and the Central Asian states are the topics of this debate.

#### **Tentative topics for presentations:**

- Transformations of the political regime in Russia under Yeltsin and Putin/Medvedev.
- Selected cases: Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Baltic States
- The failed transition? Regime change in a comparative perspective.

**Selected readings:**

Hale, Henry E., (2005) "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia" *World Politics*, Vol. 58, pp. 133-165

Allina-Pisano, Jessica, (2010). "Social contracts and authoritarian projects in post-Soviet space: The use of administrative resource" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol.43, No. 4, , pp. 373-382

Way, Lucan (2005). "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine". *World Politics*. Vol.57, No.2, pp. 231-261

Schatz, Edward, "Access by Accident: Legitimacy Claims and Democracy Promotion in Authoritarian Central Asia" *International Political Science Review*, 27, 3, July 2006, 263-84.

Marples, David R. (2009). "Outpost of tyranny? The failure of democratization in Belarus". *Democratization*, Vol. 16, No.4, pp. 756-776.

\*Ioffe, Grigorii. (2007). "Unfinished Nation-Building in Belarus and the 2006 Presidential Election" *Eurasian Geography and Economics*. Vol. 48, Issue 1., pp. 37-58.

\*Wheatley, Jonathan (2005), *Georgia from National Awakening to Rose Revolution: Delayed Transition in the Former Soviet Union* (Ashgate), pp. 103-142

\*Marples, David R. (2007) "Elections and Nation-Building in Belarus: A Comment on Ioffe". *Eurasian Geography And Economics*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 59-67.

\*Makarychev, Andrey S., "Politics, the State, and De-Politicization: Putin's Project Reassessed" // *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 55 No.5, Sept/Oct 2008, pp. 62-71

\*The Prospects for Democracy in Belarus // *Problems of Post-Communism* Vol. 51, No. 1 (January-February, 2004).

\*Knox, Colin (2011). "Kazakhstan: modernizing government in the context of political inertia" *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 74, No.3. pp. 477-496.

\*W.E. Crowther; I. Matonyte, "Parliamentary elites as a democratic thermometer: Estonia, Lithuania and Moldova compared." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* (September 2007), 40 (3), pg. 281-299

\*Ross, Cameron (2000). "Federalism and democratization in Russia" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 403-420

\*Schroder, Hans-Henning, What Kind of Political Regime Does Russia Have?, in S.White (ed.) *Politics and The Ruling Group in Putin's Russia*, (2008), NY: Palgrave, pp. 1-26

\*Richter, James; Ghodese Kristen, (2009). "Introduction: The State in Putin's Russia". *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 56 Issue 6, pp.3-6

## Week 3. (January 20).

### *Patterns of economic development*

The seminar addresses different patterns of economic reforms in the post-soviet countries. Due to various opportunities post-soviet countries implemented various strategies of economic reforms. With the major focus on the troubled rapid economic liberalization in Russia and its later return to the resource-based economy, the discussion later proceeds to similar processes in some other countries and assess the role of foreign monetary institutions such as IMF and the World Bank in economic development of these countries.

#### ***Tentative topics for presentations:***

- Economies in transition: the process of reforms and their alternatives.
- Russia's "Dutch disease" and attempts to overcome it.
- The 2008-2010 World Economic Crisis and its effect on the post-Soviet regimes.
- Economic alliances: the Customs Union between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

#### ***Selected readings:***

Popov, Vladimir, (2007). "Shock Therapy versus Gradualism Reconsidered: Lessons from Transition Economies after 15 Years of Reforms." *Comparative Economic Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 1, March 2007, pp. 1-31.

Tabata, Shinichiro (2012). "Observations on Russian Exposure to the Dutch Disease". *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 53, No.2, pp. 231-243.

Yarashevich, Viachaslau (2014). "Political Economy of Modern Belarus: Going Against Mainstream?" *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 66, Issue 10, pp. 1703-1734.

Merlevede, Bruno; Schoors, Koen and Van Aarle, Bas, (2009). "Russia from Bust to Boom and Back: Oil Price, Dutch Disease and Stabilisation Fund" *Comparative Economic Studies* Vol.51: Issue 2, pp.213-241

\*Yelena N. Zabortseva (2014) "Rethinking the Economic Relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia" *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 66, Issue 2, pp. 311-327

\*Rose, Richard; Mishler, William. (2010). "The Impact of Macro-Economic Shock on Russia". *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol.26 No.1, pp.38-57

\*Yergin, Daniel (2002). *The commanding heights: the battle for the world economy*. Chapter 10. *Ticket to the market: the journey after Communism*. New York : Simon & Schuster, c.2002

\*Steven Rosefielde (2007). *The Russian Economy: from Lenin to Putin*. Chapters 11 & 12. pp. 163 - 194

\*Steven Fish, M. and Choudhry, Omar, *Democratization and Economic Liberalism in the Postcommunist World*. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40, 3, March 2007, 254-83.

☑ Those interested in making a presentation and/or writing the research paper on the topic may find useful the following issue of the journal: *Comparative Economic Studies*, Vol. 53, Issue 1, March 2011. It contains works for the symposium: "Eurasia: Natural Resources and Economies."

## Week 4. (January 27).

### *Civil Society*

This discussion session is devoted to the problems of formation of civil societies in post-soviet states. Civil societies are the important driver for democratization and liberalization of political systems.

#### ***Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:***

- The (under-) development of civil society in Russia.
- Protest movements in the 1990s and 2000s.
- From communism to traditionalism: civil society in Central Asia.
- Armenia and Azerbaijan: cultural diversities of civic engagement.

#### ***Selected readings:***

Crotty, Jo, Hall, Sarah Marie & Ljubownikow, Sergej (2014). "Post-Soviet Civil Society Development in the Russian Federation: The Impact of the NGO Law". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 66, No. 8, October 2014, pp. 1253–1269.

Wegren, Stephen K. (2006). "Vladimir Putin's design for civil society", in Evans A., Henry L., Sundström L. (eds.) *Russian civil society: a critical assessment*. pp. 147-160.

Babajanian, B., Freizer, S. & Stevens, D. (2005). "Introduction: Civil society in Central Asia and the Caucasus". *Central Asian Survey*. Vol. 24, Issue 3, pp. 209-224

Muskhelishvilia, Marina & Jorjolia Gia (2009). "Georgia's ongoing struggle for a better future continued: democracy promotion through civil society development". *Democratization*. Vol. 16, Issue 4, pp.682-708.

Babajanian, B. (2005). "Civic participation in post-Soviet Armenia". *Central Asian Survey*. Vol. 24, Issue 3, pp. 261-279

\*Taylor, B. D. (2006) 'Law Enforcement and Civil Society in Russia', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58, 2, pp. 193–213.

\*Earle, Lucie. (2005). "Community development, 'tradition' and the civil society strengthening agenda in Central Asia". *Central Asian Survey*. Vol. 24, Issue 3, pp. 245-260

\*Stevens, Daniel (2005). "NGO–Mahalla partnerships: exploring the potential for state-society synergy in Uzbekistan". *Central Asian Survey*. Vol. 24, Issue 3, pp. 282-296

\*Sapsford R., Abbott P., (2006). "Trust, confidence and social environment in post-communist societies". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39 (1), pp. 59-71.

\*Gahramanova, Aytan. (2009). "Internal and external factors in the democratization of Azerbaijan". *Democratization*, Vol.16, No.4, pp. 777-803

\*Kuzio, Taras. (2010). "Nationalism, identity and civil society in Ukraine: Understanding the Orange Revolution." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. No. 43 (2010) 285–296.

\*Ziegler, Charles. (2010). "Civil society, political stability, and state power in Central Asia: cooperation and contestation". *Democratization*, Vol. 17. No. 5. pp. 795-825

## Week 5. (February 3).

### *Public choice, elections and democracy: do they matter in post-Soviet states?*

This week's discussion focuses on the nature of elections in selected former Soviet Union countries. Elections in Russia are of a particular interest as they establish the unique pattern of manipulation and fraud.

#### **Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:**

- 1996 Presidential elections in Russia: the triumph of manipulative electoral technologies.
- Parliamentary elections, do they matter in the context of Russian politics?
- Which electoral system suits Russia better?
- The 2011/2012 electoral cycle in Russia: protest movements, public discontent and the official reaction of the Kremlin.
- Non-competitive elections in Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan.

#### **Selected readings:**

Norris, Pippi. (1997). "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian, and Mixed Systems" *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18, no. 3. pp. 297-312

Golosov, Grigorii V. (2014) "Authoritarian Electoral Engineering and its Limits: A Curious Case of the Imperiali Highest Averages Method in Russia". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 66, Issue 10, pp. 1611-1628

Potocki, Rodger. (2011) "Belarus: A Tale of Two Elections". *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.22, No.3, pp. 49-63

Kennedy, Ryan (2006). "A colorless election: the 2005 presidential election in Kazakhstan, and what it means for the future of the opposition". *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 53, No.6, pp. 46-58.

White, Stephen (2011). "Elections Russian-Style" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.63, Issue 4, pp. 531-556.

\*Hale, Henry E. (2011) "The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime." *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.63, Issue 8., pp.1357-1375.

\*White, S., Korosteleva-Polglase, E. (2006) "The parliamentary election and referendum in Belarus, October 2004". *Electoral Studies*, Vol.25, Issue 1, pp. 155-160.

\*Padhol, U., Marples, D. (2011). "The 2010 Presidential Election in Belarus" *Problems of Post-Communism*. Vol. 58, No.1, pp. 3-16.

\*White, Stephen (2000). "Russia, Elections, and Democracy". *Government and Opposition* pp. 302-324.

\*Hesli, Vicki L.; Reisinger, William M. eds. (2003). *The 1999-2000 elections in Russia: their impact and legacy*. (Cambridge University Press).

\*McFaul, Michael (1997), *The Russia's Presidential Election of 1996: The End of Polarized Politics* (Stanford University Press);

## Week 6. (February 10).

### *Political Parties in the Post-Soviet States*

This week's discussion is dedicated to the role and differences in partisan systems of post-soviet countries. The issue of importance of political parties is the top question of the in-class debate. Another question is: whether parties in post-soviet states are genuine vehicle of democratic representation or they are just elite cliques?

#### **Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:**

- Political parties in Russia: do they matter?
- The strive for the "party of power" in Russia.
- Is opposition relevant in Russia?

#### **Selected readings:**

Gel'man, Vladimir. (2008). "Party politics in Russia: from competition to hierarchy". *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 60, Issue 6, pp. 913-930.

Gel'man, Vladimir. (2005). "Political Opposition in Russia: A Dying Species?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*. Vol. 21, Issue 3, pp. 226-246.

Knox, Zoe, Lentini, Pete, and Williams, Brad, (2006). "Parties of Power and Russian Politics: A Victory of the State over Civil Society," *Problems of Post-Communism*. Vol.53, no. 1, pp. 3-14.

Reuter, Ora John, Remington, Thomas F. (2009). "Dominant Party Regimes and the Commitment Problem". *Comparative Political Studies*. Vol.42 No. 4, pp.501-526

March, Luke (2009). "Managing Opposition in a Hybrid Regime: Just Russia and Parastatal Opposition". *Slavic Review*. Vol. 68, No. 3, pp.504-527.

\*Hale, Henry E. (2005), *Why Not Political Parties in Russia* (Cambridge University Press).

\*Konitzer, Andrew, Wekren, Stephen K. (2006). "Federalism and Political Recentralization in the Russian Federation: United Russia As the Party of Power". *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. Vol. 36 No. 4, pp. 503-522.

\*Korosteleva, Elena A., "Party system development in post-communist Belarus," 2003 and Belova-Gille, Olga, "Difficulties of Elite formation in Belarus after 1991,"

\*Bader, Max. Party politics in Georgia and Ukraine and the failure of Western assistance // Democratization, 17:6, 1085-1107

\*Marples, David R. and Pervushina, Lybov (2005), "Belarus: Lukashenko's Red October," *Problems of Post-Communism*. Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 19-28.



## Week 7. (February 17).

*No class. Winter break*

## Week 8. (February 24).

*Humanitarian and ethnic conflicts in the post-Soviet space*

This week's discussion will concentrate on several remarkable issues that plagued social and political development on the post-soviet landscape. Among those are long-term ethnic conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh oblast, Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Uzbekistan and Chechnya.

### **Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:**

- Ethnic conflicts in the post-Soviet states: the Soviet legacy and path dependency.
- Nagorny Karabakh: religious discrepancy and the stability in the Caucasian region
- The frozen conflict of Transnistria: can it be resolved?
- Russia's domestic fight against separatism: the story of two Chechen wars

### **Selected readings:**

King, Charles (2001). "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States". *World Politics*, Vol. 53, no. 4, July 2001, pp. 524-552.

de Waal, Thomas, (2010). "Remaking the Nagorno-Karabakh peace process". *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*. Vol.52, No.4.

Kolstø, Pål, Blakkisrud, Helge (2011). "From Secessionist Conflict Toward a Functioning State: Processes of State- and Nation-Building in Transnistria" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol.27, No.2.

Clogg, Rachel. (2008). "The Politics of Identity in Post-Soviet Abkhazia: Managing Diversity and Unresolved Conflict". *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 36, Issue 2, pp. 305-329.

\*Arbatova, Nadezhda. "Frozen Conflicts and European Security". *Security Index* No. 3 (92), Vol.16

\*Tudoroiu, Theodor. (2012) "The European Union, Russia, and the Future of the Transnistrian Frozen Conflict". *East European Politics & Societies*. Vol.26, No. 1, pp. 135-161

\*Akbarzadeh, Shahram, (1996). "Why did Nationalism fail in Tajikistan?" *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 48, no. 7, , pp. 1105-1129.

\*Shahnazaryan, David, "The South Caucasus: Problems of Stability and Regional Security" // *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, Vol.14, no.3, Summer 2006, pp. 355 – 360

\*Fairbanks, Charles H. Jr., *The Postcommunist Wars* // *Journal of Democracy* vol. 6 no.4 (1995) 18-34.

## Week 9. (March 2).

*Geopolitics, and International alliances in the Post-Soviet Space*

International community applauded the collapse of the communism, the end of the Cold War and beginning of transition to democracy in many post-communist regimes. It developed specific programs and issued financial assistance aimed at helping these countries in their development. This week's discussion is dedicated to analysis of effectiveness of these efforts.

**Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:**

- Russia between Europe and Asia: The Eurasian Economic Union and other diplomatic alliances.
- European Union's policies towards its Eastern Neighbours: Partnership and Cooperation Agreement, European Neighborhood Politics, Eastern Partnership.
- Russia and China strategic partnership in Eurasia: The Shanghai Cooperation Agreement.

**Selected readings:**

Aris, Stephen. (2009). "The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: 'Tackling the Three Evils'. A Regional Response to Non-traditional Security Challenges or an Anti-Western Bloc?" *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 61, Issue 3, pp. 457-482.

Aris, Stephen & Snetkov, Aglaya (2013). "Global alternatives, regional stability and common causes": the international politics of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and its relationship to the West". *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol.54, No.2, pp. 202-226.

Naarajärvi, Teemu (2012). "China, Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: blessing or curse for new regionalism in Central Asia?" *Asia Europe Journal*. Vol. 10, pp. 113–126

Haukkala, Hiski (2008). "Russian reactions to the European neighborhood policy". *Problems of Post-Communism*. Vol.55, Issue 5, pp. 40-48.

Solonenko, Iryna (2008). "European Neighborhood Policy After Four Years: Has it Had any Impact on the Reform Process in Ukraine". *International Issues & Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*. Issue 04., pp. 20-40.

\*Eisele, Katharin, Wiesbrock, Anja (2011). "Enhancing Mobility in the European Neighborhood Policy? The Cases of Moldova and Georgia". *Review of Central and East European Law*. Vol. 36 No.2, pp. 127-155.

\*Hughes, James (2006) EU relations with Russia: partnership or asymmetric interdependency? In: Casarini, Nicola and Muzu, Costanza, (eds.) *The EU's foreign policy in an evolving international system: the road to convergence*. London: Palgrave. Online: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/651/1/Hughes.EU-Russia.2006.pdf>

\*Saari, Sinikukka (2014). "Russia's Post-Orange Revolution Strategies to Increase its Influence in Former Soviet Republics: Public Diplomacy po-russkii" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.66, Issue 1, pp. 50-66.

\*Whitman, Richard G., Wolff, Stefan. (2010). "The EU as a conflict manager? The case of Georgia and its implications" *International Affairs*, Vol.86, Issue 1, pp. 87–107.

**Week 10. (March 9).**

***Coloured revolutions (Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan).***

The first public discontent concerning fraudulent elections emerged in Georgia in 2003. It ended up with failure of then ruling political elite. The situation later repeated Ukraine a year later and in Kirgizstan in the spring of 2005. But after 5 years from these events the outcomes were different. If new Georgian leader M. Saakashvilli is still in power, leaders of other 'revolutions' – V.Yuschenko and K.Bakiev lost popular support in their countries. In-class discussion will incorporate analysis of major aspects of these cornerstone events in modern history of these countries, variety in outcomes of these 'revolution', search for similarities and peculiarities among these events.

**Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:**

- Georgia's 'Rose revolution': roots, background and the aftermath. Did it achieve the results?
- Ukraine's 'Orange revolution' reconsidered: was the revolution really the struggle of millionaires against billionaires?
- 'Tulip revolution' in Kyrgyzstan: was it democratic at all?

**Selected readings:**

Tudoroiu, T. (2007). "Rose, Orange, and Tulip: The failed post-Soviet revolutions". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 40, Issue 3, pp. 315-342.

Lane, David (2009). "'Coloured Revolution' as a Political Phenomenon". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol.25, No.2-3, pp.113–135.

Korostelina, K.V. (2007). "Introduction: Conflicts in Central Asia". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 40 Issue 2, pp. 123-127

Collins, Kathleen. (2011). "Kyrgyzstan's latest revolution". *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 150-164

White, Stephen (2009). "Is There a Pattern?" *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. Vol. 25, Issue 2-3, pp. 396-412.

\*D'Anieri, Paul. (2006). "Explaining the success and failure of post-communist revolutions". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. Vol. 39, Issue 3, pp. 331-350.

\*Hale, Henry E. (2006). "Democracy or autocracy on the march? The colored revolutions as normal dynamics of patronal presidentialism". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol.39, No.3, pp. 305-329.

\*White, Stephen & McAllister, Ian (2009). "Rethinking the 'Orange Revolution'". *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 25. Issue 2-3, pp.227-254.

\*Zherebkin, Maxim, (2009). "In search of a theoretical approach to the analysis of the 'Colour revolutions': Transition studies and discourse theory". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol. 42, Issue 2, pp. 199-216.

**Week 11. (March 16).**

***Special focus: Politics and Economic Development in the Central Asia and Caucasus***

The Central Asian region is usually hidden in the shadows of more dramatic development of other former Soviet Union countries; predominantly Russia and Ukraine. Yet it forms an interesting case of reactionary transition and return to traditional societies. The discussion will focus on particular issues of state and nation building in selected polities.

***Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:***

- The core of Eurasia: Kazakhstan between Russia, China and Europe.
- Traditional states of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan
- 'Tulip revolution' in Kyrgyzstan: was it democratic at all?
- Politics of nation building in Azerbaijan.

**Selected readings:**

Kathleen Collins (2002). "Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia". *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 13, No. 3 pp. 137-152.

Anceschi, Luca (2010). "Integrating domestic politics and foreign policy making: the cases of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan". *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 29, No.2, pp. 143-158

Frankea Anja, Gawricha Andrea & Alakbarova Gurban (2009). "Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan as Post-Soviet Rentier States: Resource Incomes and Autocracy as a Double 'Curse' in Post-Soviet Regimes". *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 61, Issue 1, pp. 109-140

Matveeva Anna (2009). "Legitimising Central Asian Authoritarianism: Political Manipulation and Symbolic Power", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.61, No. 7, pp. 1095-1121.

Erica Marat (2009). "Nation Branding in Central Asia: A New Campaign to Present Ideas about the State and the Nation". *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 61, No.7, pp. 1123-1136.

## **Week 12. (March 23).**

### ***Special focus: reforms and politics in Ukraine, Georgia.***

Both Ukraine and Georgia showed definite aspirations for integration into the Euro-Atlantic community. An engagement with various policy initiatives, proposed by the European Union and NATO enhanced tensions between these two countries, on the one hand, and the Russian Federation, on the other. Moreover, both countries' political strategies resulted in violent confrontations on their sovereign territories and Russia take part in both conflicts. This week's discussion session reasserts the reforms undertaken in Ukraine and Georgia in an attempt to put them in critical perspective.

#### ***Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:***

- Victor Yanukovich from failure to victory to failure again. A decade of reforms in Ukraine.
- Ukraine's 'Orange revolution': Yanukovich from failure to victory. Was the revolution really the struggle of millionaires against billionaires?
- Mikheil Saakashvili's attempt to reform Georgia.

#### ***Selected readings:***

Way, Lucan A., "Rapacious Individualism and Political Competition in Ukraine, 1992—2004," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* Vol.38, 2005; pp. 191-205

Åslund, Anders (2005). "The Economic Policy of Ukraine after the Orange Revolution". *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 46, Issue 5, pp. 327-353.

Kubicek, Paul (2009). "Problems of post-post-communism: Ukraine after the Orange Revolution". *Democratization*, Vol. 16, No.2, pp.323-343

Kuzio, Taras (2011). "Political Culture and Democracy: Ukraine as an Immobile State". *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 88-113.

Muskhelishvili, Marina & Jorjoliani, Gia. (2009). "Georgia's ongoing struggle for a better future continued: democracy promotion through civil society development". *Democratization*, Vol.16, No. 4, pp. 682-708.

\*Aliyev, Husein (2014). "The Effects of the Saakashvili Era Reforms on Informal Practices in the Republic of Georgia". *Studies of Transition States and Societies*. Issue: 6.1., pp.19-33.

\*Light, Matthew (2014). "Police reforms in the Republic of Georgia: the convergence of domestic and foreign policy in an anti-corruption drive". *Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy*. Volume 24, Issue 3, pp. 318-345.

\*Kuzio, Taras (2007), "Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges: 'Kuchmagate' to the Orange Revolution". *Journal of Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 30-56.

\*Wheatley, Jonathan (2005), *Georgia from National Awakening to Rose Revolution: Delayed Transition in the Former Soviet Union* (Ashgate), pp. 143-170.

### **Week 13. (March 30).**

#### ***Critical moments in history of post-communism I: Russian-Georgian military conflict of August 2008.***

This week's discussion is dedicated to one of the most dramatic and the most significant inter-state event in post-soviet history of the former USSR countries: the military conflict between Russia and Georgia in August 2008.

#### ***Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:***

- The August 2008 war from the perspective of ethnic conflicts in Georgia (Abkhazia and S.Ossetia).
- De-facto independence and recognition of Abkhazia and South Ossetia by Russia and the consequences of the war for security and stability in the region.

#### ***Selected readings:***

Allison, Roy. (2008). "Russia resurgent? Moscow's campaign to 'coerce Georgia to peace'". *International Affairs*, Vol. 84, No.6, pp.1145-1171.

Larsen, Henrik (2012). "The Russo-Georgian war and beyond: towards a European great power concert" *European Security*, Vol.21, No.1, pp. 102-121.

Vendil Pallin, Carolina & Westerlund, Fredrik (2009). "Russia's war in Georgia: lessons and consequences". *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol.20, No. 2, pp. 400-424.

Fawn, Rick & Nalbandov Robert. (2012). "The difficulties of knowing the start of war in the information age: Russia, Georgia and the War over South Ossetia, August 2008" *European Security*. Vol. 21, No.1, pp. 57-89.

Blank, Stephen (2009). "America and the Russo-Georgian War". *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Vol.20, No.2, pp. 425-451.

Goble, Paul A., (2009) "Defining Victory and Defeat: the Information War Between Russia and Georgia", in Svante E. Cornell, S. Frederick Starr (eds.) *The guns of August 2008: Russia's war in Georgia*. NY: M.E. Sharpe, pp.181-195

### **Week 14. (April 6).**

#### ***Critical moments in history of post-communism II: current situation in Ukraine; EuroMaidan, annexation of Crimea and civil war in the Eastern Ukraine.***

#### ***Tentative topics for presentations and discussion:***

- The roots of EuroMaidan. Uneasy choice: Ukraine between Russia and the European Union.

- The demise of Yanukovich: civil protests against poverty and corruption.
- Annexation of Crimea: conflicting rhetoric, conflicting actions
- Civil war in the Eastern Ukraine
- Worldwide reaction on the Russian actions against Ukraine: would sanctions work?

***Selected readings:***

For this section please refer to the special section “**Maidan and Beyond**” in the *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 25 No.3.

Vladimir Putin’s Crimea Speech. On-line at: <http://eng.kremlin.ru/transcripts/6889>

Salushev, Sergey (2014). “Annexation of Crimea: Causes, Analysis and Global Implications”. *Global Societies Journal*, Vol.2, pp. 37-46.

**Academic Accommodations:**

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

**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](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of F for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:**

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside room 3305 River Building. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructors. For written assignments not returned in class please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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

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.

**Carleton E-mail Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.