

POLS 654: POLITICS OF RUSSIA AND THE CENTRAL EURASIAN STATES
SPRING SEMESTER 2009
TR 9:30-10:45 A.M., 209 BLAKE HALL

PROFESSOR ERIK HERRON
OFFICE: 310 BLAKE HALL
TELEPHONE: 864-9027

E-MAIL: eherron@ku.edu
OFFICE HOURS: TR 10:45-11:45 a.m. and by
appointment

INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

This course assesses politics in the states that once constituted the Soviet Union, addressing questions such as:

- How did formal and informal institutions affect governance in the Soviet period?
- Why did the Soviet Union collapse?
- How did the newly independent states approach political and economic reform?
- How have citizens and political actors adapted to new political institutions?

The first part of the course addresses the evolution of the Soviet state from its inception to collapse. The second part of the course covers political institutions and culture across the post-Soviet landscape. I present course materials in lectures, discussions, and classroom activities, using examples from across the region. I base student evaluations on exams, a research paper and presentation, a group project, online quizzes, and class participation.

REQUIRED TEXTS

1. Phil Roeder. 1993. *Red Sunset*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
2. A coursepack available at the Department of Political Science.
3. Readings available online. If a direct link is not listed, you may find the article through the KU Libraries electronic journal subscriptions.
 - a) Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. 1848. *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. (<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>)
 - b) Vladimir Lenin. 1917. *State and Revolution*. (<http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/staterev/index.htm>)
 - c) Henry Hale. 2005. "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell." *Perspectives on Politics*. 3(1):55-70. <http://journals.cambridge.org/production/action/cjoGetFulltext?fulltextid=286256>
 - d) Stephen Whitefield. 2002. "Political Cleavages and Post-Communist Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 5:181-200.
 - e) Lowell Barrington. 1995. "The Domestic and International Consequences of Citizenship in the Soviet Successor States." *Europe-Asia Studies*. 47(5):731-763.
 - f) Lowell Barrington, Erik Herron, and Brian Silver. 2003. "The Motherland is Calling: Views of Homeland among Russians in the Near Abroad." *World Politics*. 55(2):290-313.
 - g) Constitution of the Russian Federation. <http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-01.htm>
 - h) Peter Ordeshook and Olga Shvetsova. 1997. "Federalism and Constitutional Design." http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v008/8.1ordeshook.html

GENERAL EXPECTATIONS

I expect all students to behave professionally in this class. You will be held responsible for all reading and classroom material. If you miss a class, you are still responsible for the content of that day's class (you must obtain notes from another student; my notes will not be made available for student use). I will not tolerate disruptive behavior, including reading newspapers, text messaging, talking during lectures, and insulting classmates or the instructor. **You must turn off all cell phones during class.** You may use notebook computers to take notes or check material online. If you misuse the laptop (e.g., to check or update personal websites like Facebook), you will lose the privilege of laptop access for the rest of the semester.

The research paper must be submitted in hard copy and electronically. I will submit all papers to a plagiarism detection tool. Failure to submit an electronic copy will result in a grade of "incomplete" for the course. If you would like to challenge any grade that you have received, you must submit a typed explanation of why the grade should be reconsidered before we meet to discuss a grade change.

Any student in this course who has a disability that may preclude demonstrating fully his or her abilities should contact me as soon as possible. We will discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation in the course.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Your grade will be based on the following components:

1. Exams (40%)
2. Research Paper, Proposal, and Presentation (30%)
3. Quizzes (10%)
4. Attendance and Participation (15%)
5. Group Presentation on Conflict (5%)

Exams: You will take two exams during the term. Each exam constitutes 20% of your final grade.

Papers: A 12-15 page research paper and oral research presentation accounts for 30% of your grade and will be due at the end of the term. Graduate students will also write a research paper, but it will be 20-25 pages in length.

You will choose a topic based on some aspect of politics in the post-Soviet region. If you have difficulty choosing a topic, I will help guide you to an area that interests you. However, you are responsible for finding a topic and you should give serious thought to this issue as soon as possible. A short proposal is due on 3/12/09.

All of your papers should be prepared as professional documents. The papers must be typed, formatted properly (including a title page and bibliography), spell-checked and proof read. The bibliography should include no fewer than 12 sources (no more than half may be web sites). You should use a standard, variable-width, 12-point font such as Times New Roman. Your grade will be based on the presentation of the material as well as the content.

Quizzes: An online quiz will be posted once per week for the reading assignment due on Tuesday. You must respond to the quiz by midnight on the Monday before the reading is due (the first day it is listed on the syllabus). Your performance on quizzes constitutes 10% of your grade.

Attendance and Participation: Participation in class discussions constitutes 15% of your grade. I will take attendance at every class beginning on 1/27/09.

Group Presentation on Conflict: On 4/9 and 4/14, student groups will make brief presentations about conflicts that have occurred in post-Soviet space. This presentation constitutes 5% of the final grade.

GRADING SCALE

100-94 = A; 93-90 = A-; 89-87 = B+; 86-84 = B; 83-80 = B-; 79-77 = C+; 76-74 = C; 73-70 = C-; 69-67 = D+; 66-64 = D; 63-60 = D-; 59 – 00 = F

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

If you cheat, plagiarize or commit any other violation of academic integrity, you will be assigned an F for the course. **Do not download your paper from a site on the Internet that provides or sells research material.** I will check student submissions using a plagiarism detection tool. All work in this class must be your own.

COURSE SCHEDULE

The following is a list of topics to be covered at each class meeting and the readings which should be completed in order to fully participate in class that day. While I give specific days on which certain topics will be covered, the calendar is subject to change:

<u>Date:</u>	<u>Assignment:</u>
Thurs., 1/15	Introduction to the Course
Tues., 1/20	No Class – Professor Herron in Hungary.
Thurs., 1/22	Assignment: Post-Soviet Geography/Demographics due by midnight on Monday, 1/26.
Tues., 1/27	<p>The October Revolution and its Intellectual Roots</p> <p>Reading: 1) Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," online. 2) Lenin, "State and Revolution," Chapters 1 and 5, online.</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Marx/Engels and Lenin due by midnight on Monday, 1/26.</p> <p>Questions: What are the primary arguments of Marx/Engels and Lenin? How did leftist political thought guide revolutionaries and early Soviet rulers? How well did Soviet institutional designers follow the ideas of Marxist thinkers?</p>
Thurs., 1/29	<p>Politics in the Early Soviet Period: The Industrialization Debate</p> <p>Reading: Gregory and Stuart, "The Soviet Industrialization Debate," CP.</p> <p>Assignment: Industrialization Debate Exercise (in class).</p> <p>Questions: What was the process of political discourse and policy-making in the early Soviet state? How did the Industrialization Debate shape subsequent discourse and policies? What are the lessons of the Industrialization Debate?</p>

<p>Tues., 2/3 Thurs., 2/5 Tues., 2/10</p>	<p>The Totalitarian Model and Soviet Governance Reading: 1) Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Introduction to <i>Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy</i>, CP; 2) Roeder, <i>Red Sunset</i>, Chapters 1-5; 3) Bardach, <i>Man is Wolf to Man</i>, CP; 4) MacLean, <i>Eastern Approaches</i>, CP.</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Roeder due by midnight on Monday, 2/2. Centrally Planned Economy Exercise (in class).</p> <p>Questions: How well does the "Totalitarian Syndrome" describe politics under Stalin and subsequent leaders? Does this approach constitute a model of Soviet politics or "thick description"? What are the formal and informal institutions that structure the "authoritarian constitution"?</p>
<p>Thurs., 2/12 Tues., 2/17 Thurs., 2/19</p>	<p>Soviet Collapse 1) Hale, "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States..."; 2) Beissinger, Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union, Chapter 1, CP; 3) Anderson. "Why Did the Soviet Empire Collapse So Fast – and Why Was the Collapse a Surprise," CP; 4) Roeder, <i>Red Sunset</i>, Chapters 6-10</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Hale due by midnight on Monday, 2/16. Debate: Why did the USSR Collapse? (in class).</p> <p>Questions: What were the basic features of Gorbachev's reform programs? How did Gorbachev's reforms perform? What were Gorbachev's greatest successes and failures? What approaches (institutional, cultural, economic, etc.) best explain the Soviet Union's collapse?</p>
<p>Tues., 2/24 Thurs., 2/26</p>	<p>Political and Economic Transition Reading: Murrell. "What is Shock Therapy?" CP.</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Murrell due by midnight on Monday, 2/23. Debate: Shock Therapy vs. Slow Change (in class).</p> <p>Questions: What are the goals and strategies for political and economic transition? How did Russia and other states pursue economic reform? Under what conditions is shock therapy preferable to gradual economic change?</p>
<p>Tues., 3/3</p>	<p>Catch Up Day/Midterm Exam Prep</p>
<p>Thurs., 3/5</p>	<p><u>Midterm Exam</u></p>
<p>Tues., 3/10 Thurs., 3/12</p>	<p>Institutional and Behavioral Legacies Reading: 1) Whitefield. "Political Cleavages and Post-Communist Politics," CP.</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Whitefield due by midnight on Monday, 3/9. Research Paper Proposal due on Thursday, 3/12.</p> <p>Questions: What are the institutional legacies of the communist period? What are the behavioral legacies? How do legacies affect post-Soviet political outcomes?</p>

Tues., 3/17 Thurs., 3/19	No Class – Spring Break
Tue., 3/24 Thurs., 3/26	<p>Constitutional Power Presidential, Semi-Presidential, and Parliamentary Systems</p> <p>Reading: 1) von Beyme. "Institutional Engineering and Transition to Democracy." In Jan Zielonka (ed.) <i>Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe</i>, CP; 2) Fish. <i>Democracy Derailed in Russia</i>, Chapter 7, CP; 3) Constitution of the Russian Federation, online.</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on von Beyme due by midnight on Monday, 3/23.</p> <p>Questions: Who participates in constitutional design and how does the composition of this group affect outcomes? What are the common features of post-Soviet constitutions? How do post-Soviet constitutions differ? What are the advantages/disadvantages of parliamentary, presidential, and semi-presidential systems in the post-communist context?</p>
Tues., 3/31	<p>Citizenship and Homeland</p> <p>Reading: 1) Barrington. "The Domestic and International Consequences of Citizenship..."; 2) Barrington, Herron, and Silver. "The Motherland is Calling..."</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Barrington due by midnight on Monday, 3/30.</p> <p>Questions: How and why did the approach to citizenship vary across post-Soviet space? How did post-Soviet states encourage citizens to develop symbolic and real attachments after the USSR's collapse?</p>
Thurs., 4/2	No Class – Professor Herron at Midwest Political Science Conference
Tues., 4/7 Thurs. 4/9 Tues., 4/14	<p>Center Vs. Regions</p> <p>Reading: 1) Ordeshook and Shvetsova. 1997. "Federalism and Constitutional Design."</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Ordeshook and Shvetsova due by midnight on Monday, 4/6. Student presentations on: 1) Chechnya; 2) Transnistria; 3) Abkhazia and South Ossetia; 4) Karabakh; 5) Crimea; 6) Tajik Civil War.</p> <p>Questions: How has Russia's federal system contributed to (in)stability? How have Moscow's approaches to regions varied across space and time? Should other post-Soviet states adopt federalism (e.g., Ukraine)? What are the causes and consequences of major conflicts in the region?</p>
Thurs., 4/16 Tues., 4/21 Thurs., 4/23	<p>Electoral Systems and Political Parties</p> <p>Reading: 1) Herron. 2009. <i>Elections and Democracy after Communism?</i>, portions of Chapters 2 and 3; 2) Wilson. 2005. <i>Virtual Politics</i>, Chapter 8, CP.</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Wilson due by midnight on Monday, 4/20.</p> <p>Questions: How do post-Soviet states conduct elections? Why have election rules been modified? What are the features of post-Soviet parties?</p>
Tues., 4/28	Representation

	<p>Reading: 1) Kitschelt et al. 1999. <i>Post-Communist Party Systems</i>, Introduction and Chapters 1-2, CP.</p> <p>Assignment: Quiz on Kitschelt et al due by midnight on Monday, 4/27.</p> <p>Questions: How do post-Soviet states address mandate vs. trusteeship representation? How do post-Soviet states address symbolic vs. substantive representation? How are constituencies defined? How effectively do elective bodies represent constituent interests?</p>
Thurs., 4/30	<p>Media and Politics</p> <p>Reading: 1) Waller. <i>Russian Politics Today</i>, Chapter 12, CP.</p> <p>Questions: Who owns the media and how does this affect broadcast and print news? How has freedom of the press evolved since the collapse of the USSR? What is the role of the Internet?</p>
Tues., 5/5 Thurs., 5/7	<p>Student Research Presentations</p> <p>Research Paper due on 5/7.</p>
Tues., 5/12	<p>Final Exam – 7:30 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.</p>