



Semester: Spring 2017
Professor: Prof. Vladimir Gel'man
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Class dates: Thursday, 14:10 – 17:20
Room: 414
Office hours: Thursday, 17.30-19.30pm or by appointment

Course Title: **Political Changes in Post-Soviet Eurasia**

Course description:

The course is focused on the emergence and development of political systems of post-Soviet countries within the context of regime changes and state-building. Starting with the Soviet system and collapse of the Soviet Union as a point of departure, the course traces making and unmaking of major political institutions in these newly-established states by examining the impact of various legacies of the past and the role of domestic and international political and economic actors. Special attention is devoted to patterns of political continuity and changes during the wave of so-called “color revolutions” and their aftermath. We will also discuss more recent developments with regards to current crisis over Ukraine and the role of Russia.

Requirements and grading:

Mid-term (1000-words book review, 25% of class grade) by March 24

Final (4000-words substantive text, 50% of class grade) by May 25

Course attendance: 25% of grade.

In order to receive a final grade, students are required to fill in the course **evaluation form** which will be distributed the last day of class.

Theme 1. Key concepts of Post-Communist political transformations

Studies of Russian and Eurasian politics in East and West. Approaches and theories of regime change and their applications to Russian and Eurasian politics in a comparative perspective. Models of post-Communist political transformations: democratization, new authoritarianism, or something else?

Theme 2. Dynamics of late-Soviet politics: issues in political history. The Soviet collapse and its political, economic, and social consequences

Key developments and historical in Soviet politics: why and how the Soviet Union has changed. Perestroika and the transformation of Soviet political institutions. August 1991: the failure of reactionary coup and its political outcomes. The breakdown of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the post-Soviet states. Why and how Soviet legacies affect post-Soviet politics.

Theme 3. Dilemmas of transition: political and economic reforms, state- and nation-building

The problem of “triple transition” after the Soviet Union: hard political choices and their consequences. Russia after the Soviet Union: 1993 clash between President and parliament, its causes and consequences.

Political conflicts in post-Soviet countries: their resolution and non-resolution. Constitution-making in post-Soviet states: constitutionalism and political practice.

Theme 4. The strong executive: presidents and governments in post-Soviet world

Dual executive: institutional framework and political dilemmas of power sharing between presidents and governments in post-Soviet Eurasia. Russian presidency as an institution: Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin, and Dmitrii Medvedev as presidents. Post-Soviet governments: problems of political accountability, political loyalty, and policy performance. Post-Soviet civil service and bureaucracy: issues in patrimonialism and state-building.

Theme 5. The weak legislature: parliamentary politics in post-Soviet Eurasia

Institutional frameworks and political performance of legislatures in post-Soviet Eurasia. The evolution of the State Duma in Russia: law-making and/or political representation? Legislatures strikes back: institutional changes and their political consequences. “No site for discussions”: do parliaments matter in post-Soviet politics?

Theme 6. The unrul of law: legal and judicial politics in post-Soviet Eurasia

Key problems of the rule of law and law enforcement in post-Soviet Eurasia: dilemmas of state building. Institutional legacies: courts, prosecutor’s office and other judicial institutions in late-Soviet and post-Soviet period. Policies of judicial reforms: arbitration courts, jury trial, and constitutional courts. Rule by law versus rule of law: post-Soviet institutions and practices. Police, courts and human rights: law and practice.

Theme 7. Electoral politics in post-Soviet Eurasia

The background of post-Soviet electoral reforms. Key elements of electoral system: electoral governance and electoral formula. The politics of electoral authoritarianism in Russia and beyond: institutional changes and their political consequences. Electoral fraud: business as usual?

Theme 8. Political culture, mass participation and voting behavior in post-Soviet Eurasia

Continuity and change in Russian and post-Soviet political culture. Exit, voice, and loyalty in mass participation: activism and protest versus apathy. Post-Soviet voting behavior: theoretical frameworks and political realities. Absenteeism, negativism, and protest voting. Electoral clientelism and electoral corruption in post-Soviet politics.

Theme 9. Post-Soviet political parties

The legacies of Soviet one-party state. The emergence of political movements during perestroika period and the formation of post-Soviet political parties. The dynamics of party systems: impacts of institutions and electoral behavior. Parties in post-Soviet parliaments and outside. “Parties of power”, their satellites, and others.

Theme 10. Interest groups in post-Soviet politics

Concepts of interest groups of Soviet period. The late-Soviet “bureaucratic market” and its evolution. Transformation of organized interest groups in post-Soviet politics and their impact on economic policies. Key sectoral interest groups: the new business and its influence in Russian and post-Soviet politics: the rise

and fall of “oligarchs”. Trade unions in Soviet and post-Soviet politics: no organized labor movements. The politics of third sector: the role of NGOs. Is there a post-Soviet version of corporatism?

Theme 11. The transformation of post-Soviet political elites

Concepts of political elites of Soviet period. The shift of vertical mobility of political elites in end 1980s – early 1990s. New and old elite groups and transformation of elites in post-Soviet period. From plan to clan in post-Soviet elites: political capitalism, generation changes, and clientelist models. In search of elite unity: “parties of power”, leadership succession, and implicit competition of elites.

Theme 12. Federalism, regionalism and local government: sub-national authoritarianism, rent-seeking and “power vertical”

Territorial-state dimension in Soviet politics: legacies of ethnic federalism. Post-Soviet decentralization: market-distorting federalism, bilateral treaties, and building of sub-national fiefdoms. The politics of recentralization: “power vertical” and the rise of principal-agent problems. Varieties of sub-national authoritarianism in post-Soviet countries: issues in regional and local governance.

Theme 13. The politics of post-Soviet changes: revolutions, counter-revolutions and their political consequences

The weakness of post-Soviet competitive authoritarianism: problems of leadership succession and beyond. The wave of “rose”, “orange”, and “tulip” “revolutions” in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan: elite conflicts, mass mobilization, and institutional changes. Russia as a “black knight” in post-Soviet Eurasia: conflict with the West over Ukraine and its aftermath.

Dilemmas of political changes: democratization, state-building, and elite reconciliation.

Theme 14. Prospects for post-Soviet political transformations: domestic and comparative perspectives

The final seminar will be focused on analysis of political dynamics and prospects of political development in post-Soviet Eurasia in a comparative perspective.

Readings

All readings (articles and book chapters) assigned for particular themes will be available on EUSP server (in electronic format), core books will be available either in EUSP library reserve collection or on EUSP server

Core books

- V.Gel'man, Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015)
- H.Hale, Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- J.Ostrow, Politics in Russia: A Reader (CQ Press, 2013).
- D.Treisman, The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev (Free Press, 2011).
- L.Way, Pluralism by Default: Weak Autocrats and the Rise of Competitive Politics (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).
- S.White et al. (eds.), Developments in Russian Politics 8 (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Theme 1.

- V.Gel'man. Out of the Frying Pan, into the Fire? Post-Soviet Regime Changes in Comparative Perspective, International Political Science Review, 2008, vol.29, N2.
- H.Hale. Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia. World Politics, 2005, vol.58, N1.
- M.McFaul. The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Non-Cooperative Transitions in Post-Communist World. World Politics, 2002, vol.54, N2.
- L.Way. Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave, World Politics, 2005, Vol. 57, N2.

Themes 2-3.

- M.Beissinger. Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 385-442.
- V.Bunce. Subversive Institutions (Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.1-20, 127-164.
- A.Dallin. Causes of the Collapse of the USSR. Post-Soviet Affairs, 1992, vol.8, N4.
- T.Kuran, Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European revolution of 1989, World Politics, 1991, vol.44, N1.
- J.Linz, A.Stepan. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), chapter 19
- M.McFaul. Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin. (Cornell University Press, 2001), chapters 2-5.
- P.Roeder, Red Sunset: The Failure of Soviet Politics (Princeton University Press, 1993), chapters 2 and 9.
- L.Shevtsova. Parliament and Political Crisis in Russia, 1991-1993, in J.Hahn (ed.). Democratization in Russia: the Development of Legislative Institutions. (M.E.Sharpe, 1996), pp.29-48.

Themes 4-5.

- T.Colton, S.Skach, The Russian Predicament. Journal of Democracy, 2005, vol.16, N3.
- T.Frye. A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies. Comparative Political Studies, 1997, vol.30, N5.

- M.Haspel et al., Lawmaking and Decree Making in the Russian Federation. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2006, vol.22, N3.
- T.Remington. Patronage and the Party of Power: President-Parliament Relations under Vladimir Putin, Europe-Asia Studies, 2008, vol.60, N6.
- P.Schleiter, Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Ministerial Selection in Russia. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2013, vol.29, N1.
- I.Shukan, Intentional Disruptions and Violence in Ukraine' Supreme Rada, 2006-2012, Post-Soviet Affairs, 2013, vol.29, N5.
- M.Shugart. Executive-Legislative Relations in Post-Communist Europe. Transition, 1996, vol.2, N25.

Theme 6.

- G.Easter. The Russian State in the Time of Putin. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2008, vol.24, N3.
- V.Gel'man. The Unrule of Law in the Making: The Politics of Informal Institution-Building in Russia. Europe-Asia Studies, 2004, vol.56, N7.
- K.Hendley, Are Russian Judges Still Soviet? Post-Soviet Affairs, 2007, vol.23, N3.
- A.Ledeneva. Telephone Justice in Russia. Post Soviet Affairs, 2008, vol.24, N4.
- E.Paneyakh. Faking Performance Together: Performance Evaluation in Russian Enforcement Agencies. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2014, N2-3.
- P.Solomon, Law and Public Administration: How Russia Differs. Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 2008, vol.24, N1.

Theme 7.

- M.Bader. Crowdsourcing Election Monitoring in the 2011-2012 Russian Elections. East European Politics, 2013, vol.29, N4.
- S.Birch. Post-Soviet Electoral Practices in Comparative Perspective. Europe-Asia Studies, 2011, vol.63, N4
- M.Myagkov et al., Fraud or Fairytales: Russia and Ukraine's Electoral Experience, Post-Soviet Affairs, 2005, vol. 21, N2.
- R.Smyth et al. Engineering Victory: Institutional Reform, Informal Institutions and the Formation of a Hegemonic Party Regime in the Russian Federation. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2007, vol.23, N2.
- K.Wilson, How Russians View Electoral Fairness: A Qualitative Analysis Europe-Asia Studies, 2011, vol.64, N1.

Themes 8-9.

- M.Bader. Hegemonic Political Parties in Post-Soviet Eurasia: Toward Party-Based Authoritarianism? Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 2011, vol.44, N3.
- P.Chaisty, S.Whitefield. Forward to Democracy or Back to Authoritarianism? The Attitudinal Basis of Mass Support for the Russian Election Protest, 2011-2012. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2013, vol.29, N5
- V.Gel'man, Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy. Europe-Asia Studies, 2008, vol.60, N6.
- H.Hale, A Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundation of a Hybrid Regime. Europe-Asia Studies, 2011, vol.63, N8.
- O.J.Reuter, T.Remington, Dominant Party Regime and the Commitment Problem: The Case of United Russia. Comparative Political Studies, 2009, vol.42, N4.
- R.Rose. The Impact of President Putin on Popular Support for Russia's Regime. Post Soviet Affairs, 2007, vol.23, N3
- D.Treisman. Putin's Popularity: Why Did Support for the Kremlin Plunge, then Stabilize? Post-Soviet Affairs, 2014, vol.30, N6.

Theme 10.

- T.Frye. Original Sin, Good Works, and Property Rights in Russia. World Politics, 2006, vol.58, N4.
- V.Gimpelson, D.Treisman. Fiscal Games and Public Employment: A Theory with Evidence from Russia. World Politics, 2002, vol.54, N2.
- J.Hellman. Winners Takes All. World Politics, 1998, vol.50, N2.
- A.Libman, Governments and Companies in the Post-Soviet World, Eurasian Review, 2010, vol.3.
- J.Richter. Putin and the Public Chamber. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2009, vol.25, N1.
- G.Roberston. Strikes and Labor Organizations in Hybrid Regimes. American Political Science Review, 2007, vol.101, N4.
- A.Yakovlev. The Evolution of Business-State Interaction in Russia: From State Capture to Business Capture? Europe-Asia Studies, 2006, vol.58, N7.

Theme 11.

- A.Steen, V.Gel'man (eds.). Elites and Democratic Development in Russia (Routledge, 2003), chapters 2, 3.
- O.Kryshatanovskaya, S.White. Putin's Militocracy. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2003, vol.19, N4.
- D.Lane. Transition under Eltsin: The Nomenklatura and Political Elite Circulation. Political Studies, 1997, vol.45, N5.
- S.W.Rivera, D.Rivera. The Russian Elite under Putin: Militocratic or Bourgeois. Post-Soviet Affairs, 2006, vol.22, N2.

Theme 12.

- V.Gel'man, Leviathan's Return? Recentralization Policy in Contemporary Russia, C.Ross, A.Campbell (eds.). Federalism and Local Politics in Russia (Routledge, 2009).
- V.Gel'man. The Dynamics of Sub-National Authoritarianism: Russia in Comparative Perspective. APSA Paper, Toronto, 2009.
- V.Gel'man, T.Lankina. Authoritarian versus Democratic Diffusions: Explaining Institutional Choices in Russia's Local Government. Post Soviet Affairs, 2008, vol.24, N1.
- G.Golosov, The Regional Roots of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia, Europe-Asia Studies, 2011, vol.63, N4.
- G.Sharafutdinova, Subnational Governance in Russia: How Putin Changed the Contract with His Agents. Publius, 2010, vol.40, N4.

Theme 13.

- V.Bunce, S.Wolchik. Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes. World Politics, 2010, vol.62, N1.
- Problems of Post-Communism, 2013, vol.60, N2 (special issue of the journal devoted to 2011-2012 mass protests in Russia)
- L.Way. The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions, Journal of Democracy, 2008, vol.19, N3
- V.Bunce, S.Wolchik. Getting Real about the "Real Causes". Journal of Democracy, 2009, vol.20, N1

Theme 14.

- M.S.Fish, Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics. (Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapter 8.
- M.McFaul, K.Stoner-Weiss. The Myth of the Authoritarian Model. Foreign Affairs, 2008, vol.87, N1.
- A.Shleifer, D.Treisman. A Normal Country. Foreign Affairs, 2004, vol.83, N2.

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- Submitting as one's own any theme, report, term paper, essay, other written work, speech, totally or in part by another author;
- Submitting of identical or in part identical assignments by two or more students;
- Submitting work that has been previously offered for credit in another course, except with prior written permission of the instructors of both courses.
- Submission of a thesis that has been previously submitted at another university/program, in English or in another language.

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