States, networks, and power in post-Soviet politics

(MA course, 4 credits)

Winter semester
AY 2015/16
Class hours: Wednesdays and Fridays 11-12.40pm

Course convenor:
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The course familiarizes students to the process of fragmentation of the political space that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the partial re-integration that followed. Additionally, the course examines the path to and main features of post-Soviet statehood. The course is structured in four parts. The first part of the course investigates the origins and functioning of the Soviet state. Next the course examines the unraveling of the Soviet Union, paying special attention to the process of nationalist mobilization and the dynamics of conflict and war in some key areas of the post-Soviet space. Here notions of ethnicity, nationalism, clans, regions, and power networks are discussed. The final part of the course revolves around the study visit to the Republic of Georgia. Although the course also covers Central Asia, Russia, and the North Caucasus, special attention is paid to Ukraine and the South Caucasus.

NOTE: This course introduces experiential learning to the study of post-Soviet politics.

Aims
The course’s main aim is to provide students with a strong understanding of:
- The role of the Russian and Soviet legacies in shaping the trajectory and form of post-Soviet transformation;
- the inter-twined nature of the various dimensions of post-Soviet transformation (political, economic, cultural, social);
- the geo-strategic significance of the post-Soviet space and the interaction between actors internal and external to the region.
Learning outcomes
By the end of the course students will:

✓ acquire a firm understanding of the key political and international developments in the post-Soviet space since 1991;
✓ critically engage with post-communist transition literature and its relevance for post-Soviet scholarship;
✓ apply their knowledge of comparative foreign policies and democratisation to this region and demonstrate their appreciation of the domestic/foreign policy nexus.

Assessment and Deadlines: To be updated

Introductory texts

Russia

M. McFaul (2005) Russia's unfinished revolution (Cornell UP)
Edwin Bacon, Contemporary Russia (2nd edition 2010)
Richard Sakwa, Putin: Russia's Choice (2nd edn, 2008)

NON-ACADEMIC SOURCES:
Crimea: the Way Home (Russian documentary on Crimean Annexation; en sub):
https://vimeo.com/123194285

Ukraine

Harvard University Press).
O. Shumylo-Tapiola (2012) Ukraine at the Crossroads Between EU DCFTA and Customs Union
K. Dawisha, B.Parrott (1997) Democratic Changes and Authoritarian Reactions in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova

NON-ACADEMIC SOURCES:

The Winter that Changed Us (the movie about Euromaidan EN SUB)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eje1B9s4H4
Crimea As it Was (short video of Babylon 13 representing what happened in Crimea in February-Spring 2014 EN SUB)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DT99eSKoEKU&list=PL4R7GLBuSStYCbsaI5YSFYFWnc31qkxi&index=2

Central Asia
Jones Luong, Pauline, ed., The Transformation of Central Asia. From Soviet rule to independence (Cornell UP, 2004)
Cummings, Sally N., ed., Power and Change in Central Asia, (Routledge, 2002)
Dawisha, Karen and Bruce Parrott, Conflict, cleavage, and change in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Cambridge University Press, 1997)
S.N. Cummings, Kazakhstan: Power and the Elite, IB Tauris, 2005


**Caucasus**


C. Zuercher The *Post-Soviet Wars*: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus (NYU Press 2007)


Special Issue: Georgia Ablaze: War and Revolution in the Caucasus, *Central Asian Survey*, 28 (2) 2009.


R.G. Suny *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (1993);

**NON-ACADEMIC SOURCES:**

**If Only Everyone** (fiction movie with good representation of Azerbaijan-Armenia relations)
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_je1B9s4H4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_je1B9s4H4)

**Frozen Conflicts** (photography project by David Verberckt)
Relevant journals

Relevant journals for this course include the following: Communist and post-Communist Studies; Problems of Post-Communism; Demokratizatsiya; Europe-Asia Studies; International Affairs; Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics; Journal of Democracy; Post-Soviet Affairs; Central Asian Survey.

E-learning

The course makes use of e-learning, a web-based learning programme (ceulearning.ceu.edu). Lecture slides will be uploaded there, as well as key additional readings. You are, however, strongly encouraged to do your own library searches, either among the hard copies of books and journals available in the CEU library or among the electronic resources.

Calendar

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Readings

1 Introduction. From the Tsarist Empire to the Soviet Union

The lecture will introduce the region and provide an overview of the course.

Core reading

Additional readings
D. Lieven (2002) Empire (Yale UP), ch. 7 and 8.
Ronald Grigor Suny, The Soviet Experiment (2010, 2nd ed)

PART I: STATES

2 Soviet rule

Core reading

Additional readings

3 The Soviet collapse

Core reading

Additional readings
Richard Sakwa 'A cleansing storm: the August coup and the triumph of perestroika', *JCS*, vol. 9, no 4, March 1993, pp 131-149
Rasma Karklins ‘Explaining regime change in the Soviet Union’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 46, no. 1, 1994

4 State formation and state collapse: The South Caucasus
Core readings
Svante E. Cornell Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective World Politics, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Jan., 2002), pp. 245-276

Additional readings
Ware, Robert Bruce ‘Conflict in the Caucasus: An historical context and a prospect for peace’ Central Asian Survey 1998 17(2)
Baran, Zeyno ’The Caucasus: Ten Years after Independence Washington Quarterly’ 2001 25(1)
Ware, Robert Bruce ‘Conflict in the Caucasus: An historical context and a prospect for peace’ Central Asian Survey 1998 17(2)
Zürcher, C., ch. 6
International Crisis Group Georgia’s Armenian and Azeri Minorities, Europe Report N°178, 22 November 2006
R. Danreuther and L. March (eds) Russia and Islam: State, society and radicalism (Routledge)
Richard Sakwa Putin: Russia's Choice, chapter 8
David D. Laitin and Ronald Grigor Suny, "Armenia and Azerbaijan: Thinking a Way Out of
5 State formation and collapse: The North Caucasus and the Russo-Chechen Wars

Core readings
R. Dannreuther and L. March ‘Chechnya: Has Moscow Won?’ *Survival*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2008
Charles King and Rajan Menon ‘Prisoners of the Caucasus: Russia's Invisible Civil War’ *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2010

Additional readings
John Russell ‘Chechnya: Russia's 'war on terror' or 'war of terror'? *Europe-Asia Studies*; January 2007, Vol. 59 No. 1, pp 163–168
Akkeiva, Svetlana 'The Caucasus: One or Many? A View from the Region’ *Nationalities Papers*, 2008, 36(2)

Dmitri Trenin and A. Malashenko *Russia’s Restless Frontier, the Chechnya Factor*
Julie Wilhelmsen ‘Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2005, pp. 35-60
Cornell, Svante Conflicts in the North Caucasus *Central Asian Survey* 1998 17(3)
Kramer, Mark Guerrilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency and Terrorism in the North Caucasus: The Military Dimension of the Russian - Chechen Conflict *Europe-Asia Studies* 2005 57(2)
Dunlop, John - Menon, Rajan Chaos in the North Caucasus and Russia's future *Survival* 2006 48(2)

6 From disintegration to re-integration: Russia’s asymmetric ethnofederalism

Core reading
Ross ‘Reforming the Federation’ and Slider ‘Politics in the regions’ in White, Sakwa and Hale, ch 9-10

Additional readings
M. McFaul (2005) *Russia’s unfinished revolution* (Cornell UP)

7. The Quasi-States

Core reading:

Additional readings:
Zsuzsanna Végh (2012) Winds of Change in the Transnistrian Settlement Process, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs Papers

12. Quasi-states 2 (Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Crimea)

Core reading
Additional readings

Core readings

8. STUDY VISIT – Introduction

Introducing the study visit to Georgia, explaining the purposes and expected outcomes.
Introducing the assignments, organizing pre-visit preparation.

Regime types

9. Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Hybrid regimes

Core reading

Additional reading
10. State formation and state collapse: Central Asia I

Core readings

Additional readings

### 11. Democracy from within and from without

**Core reading:**


**Additional reading:**


International Crisis Group (2010b), Kyrgyzstan: A Hollow Regime Collapses, Asia Briefing 102, 27 Apr 2010


T. Kuzio, ‘Democratic Breakthrough and Revolutions in Five post-communist Countries: Comparative Perspectives on the Forth Wave’, Demokratizatsiya, 16(1), 2008, 97-209


### 12 Center-periphery relations I

**Core readings**

Additional readings
Sasse (2007), ch 6-10
Sakwa (2015) ch. 7 and 10
Magocsi (2015), ch. 10
Wilson (2014), ch. 7

13 Center-regions relations II: Central Asia

Core readings

Additional readings

14. STUDY VISIT: Logistics

15. STUDY VISIT

16. STUDY VISIT

17. Post- study visit de-briefing

18. A New Great Game? Russia, the West and Central Asia

Core reading

Additional reading:
Light, 13 (Foreign Policy) (2009) in White, Sakwa, and Hale.
Andrei P. Tsygankov ‘Russia in the Post-Western World: The End of the Normalization Paradigm?’ Post-Soviet Affairs, Vol. 25, No. 4, October-December 2009
Richard Rose and N. Munro ‘Do Russians see their future in Europe or the CIS?’, Europe-Asia Studies, 60, No. 1, 2008, pp. 49–66

19 The Rise of China in the post-Soviet space

Core readings

Additional reading:
Bo Kong, China’s international petroleum policy (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2010)
S. Peyrouse The Economic Aspects of the Chinese-Central Asia Rapprochement Silk Road Studies Paper 2007

### 20. Varieties of post-Soviet regionalism: The Eurasian Union

**Core reading:**

**Additional reading:**
https://www.openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/17034 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.”
Andrea Chiarello. Paper Tiger or Game-Changer? Challenges of and Opportunities for EU Engagement with the Eurasian Economic Union, BRIGG 2015/1 Online Papers