



**POST-SOVIET GEOPOLITICS
(INTR33045)**

ABRIDGED MODULE GUIDE

**NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY
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OUTLINE

In 1991, the world was shocked when one of the strongest and most powerful empires in modern history collapsed and 15 independent states re-appeared on the international scene. The former Soviet republics cover 11 time zones, which span from the Baltic Sea through Central Asia to the Pacific Ocean. Their political regimes range from dictatorship (e.g. Belarus, Tajikistan) to liberal democracies (e.g. Latvia, Estonia). They include energy giants (e.g. Russia) and countries with 100% energy dependency on external actors (e.g. Lithuania). Since the USSR's collapse, many parts of the region have experienced internal (e.g. Chechnya), regional (e.g. Nagorno-Karabakh) or international (e.g. Syria) military conflicts. This module seeks to provide you with knowledge about historical, political, economic and social trajectories of development in the post-Soviet space.

The module is taught over 24 weeks and contains two elements of assessment.

This is an abridged version of the module guide. For a full list of lectures and reading lists consult the learning room on NTU NOW and resource list on TALIS.

LECTURE PROGRAMME

Prologues and Contexts

1. Introduction: 'Eastern Europe' in the European Political Thought
2. The Disintegration of the Soviet Union

Prisms of Transformation: Neoliberalisms, Democratisations and Sovereignities

3. Political Economy of Post-Communist Transformations
4. Pathways to Democratisation and Regime Diversity
5. State and Nation-building: From Russia to East-Central Europe
6. South Caucasus, Unrecognised States and Frozen Conflicts

Problems and Practices in Post-Soviet Politics

7. Crime and Corruption
8. Work, Inequality and Poverty
9. Post-Communism and Social Reproduction
10. Race and Racism in the Post-Soviet Space

LECTURE PROGRAMME

International Relations and Actors

11. Geopolitics of Energy: Power, Conflict and Dependency
12. Environmental Politics
13. Politics of NATO and European Union Eastward Enlargements
14. Colour Revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan
15. 'Turmoil at Twenty': Global Economic and Financial Crisis
16. Russia and the 'Near Abroad'
17. Crisis and Conflict in Ukraine

Contested Futures

18. Russia and the Middle East
19. Russia's 'Pivot to the East': Eurasian Integration and Cooperation with China
20. 'Authoritarians', 'Dictators' and 'Populists'
21. Progressive Alternatives? Varieties of Social Activism
22. Politics of Memory and Soviet Nostalgia

Conclusion

1: EASTERN EUROPE IN THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Required reading:

Wolff, L. (1996). *Inventing Eastern Europe: The map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Introduction.

Grob, T. (2015). The concept of 'Eastern Europe' in past and present. *UNI NOVA – Research Magazine of the University of Basel*, (136), 16-18.

Further reading:

Baranovsky, V. (2000). Russia: a part of Europe or apart from Europe?. *International Affairs*, 76(3), 443-458.

Berend, I. T. (2005). *History de-railed: Central and Eastern Europe in the long nineteenth century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Delanty, G. (1995). *Inventing Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dingsdale, A. (1999). Redefining 'Eastern Europe': A New Regional Geography of Post-Socialist Europe?. *Geography*, 84(3), 204-221.

Fowkes, B. (1999). *The post-communist era: change and continuity in Eastern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fowkes, J., & Hailbronner, M. (2019). Decolonizing Eastern Europe: A global perspective on 1989 and the world it made. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 17(2), 497-509.

Janos, A. C. (1989). The politics of backwardness in continental Europe, 1780-1945. *World Politics: A Quarterly Journal of International Relations*, 325-358.

Stokes, G. (1997). *Three eras of political change in Eastern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Szporluk, R. (1991). The Soviet West—or Far Eastern Europe?. *East European Politics and Societies*, 5(3), 466-482.

Twardzisz, P. (2018). *Defining 'Eastern Europe': A Semantic Inquiry into Political Terminology*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Verdery, K. (1998). Transnationalism, nationalism, citizenship, and property: Eastern Europe since 1989. *American ethnologist*, 25(2), 291-306.

Wortman, R. (2006). *Scenarios of power: Myth and ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the abdication of Nicholas II*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

2: THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET UNION

Required reading:

Barnes, A. (2014). Three in One: Unpacking the 'Collapse' of the Soviet Union. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 61(5), 3-13.

Simon, R. (2010). Passive revolution, perestroika, and the emergence of the new Russia. *Capital & Class*, 34(3), 429-448.

Further reading:

Beissinger, M. R. (2002). *Nationalist mobilization and the collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bunce, V. (1999). *Subversive institutions: The design and the destruction of socialism and the state*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cox, M. (2011). The uses and abuses of history: The end of the Cold War and Soviet collapse. *International Politics*, 48(4-5), 627-646.

Cox, M. (2014). Learning from history? From Soviet collapse to the 'new' Cold War. *Cold War History*, 14(4), 461-485.

Cox, M. (Ed.). (1998). *Rethinking the Soviet collapse: Sovietology, the death of communism and the new Russia*. London: Pinter.

Dallin, A. (1992). Causes of the Collapse of the USSR. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 8(4), 279-302.

Haynes, M. J. (2002). *Russia: Class and Power, 1917-2000*. London: Bookmarks.

van der Linden, M. (2007). *Western Marxism and the Soviet Union: A survey of critical theories and debates since 1917*. Leiden: Brill.

Sakwa, R. (2008). *Russian politics and society*. London: Routledge.

Suny, R. G. (1998). *The Soviet experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the successor states*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tallberg, J. (1996). Explaining the Collapse: A Review of Four Approaches to the Breakdown of the Soviet Union. *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 99(1), 85-96.

Ticktin, H. (1992). Political Economy of the Disintegration of the USSR. In M., E. Urban (Ed.) *Ideology and System Change in the USSR and East Europe* (pp. 30-49). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

3:

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POST-COMMUNIST TRANSFORMATIONS

Required reading:

Sachs, J. D. (1995). Shock therapy in Poland: Perspectives of five years. *Tanner Lectures on Human Values at the University of Utah* (electronic resource).

Marangos, J. (2005). Shock therapy and its consequences in transition economies. *Development*, 48(2), 70-78.

Further reading:

Amsden, A. H., Kochanowicz, J., & Taylor, L. (1998). *The market meets its match: Restructuring the economies of Eastern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Aslund, A. (1994). The case for radical reform. *Journal of Democracy*, 5(4), 63-74.

Balcerowicz, L. (1995). *Socialism, capitalism, transformation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burawoy, M. (2001). Transition without transformation: Russia's involutory road to capitalism. *East European Politics and Societies*, 15(2), 269-290.

Clarke, S. (1992). Privatization and the Development of Capitalism in Russia. *New Left Review*, 1/196, 3-27.

Drahokoupil, J. (2009). After transition: Varieties of political-economic development in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. *Comparative European Politics*, 7(2), 279-298.

Ellerman, D. (2001). Lessons from eastern Europe's voucher privatization. *Challenge*, 44(4), 14-37.

Evans, A. J. (2009). *The neoliberal revolution in Eastern Europe: Economic ideas in the transition from communism*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Eyal, G., Szélenyi, I., Szélenyi, I., & Townsley, E. R. (1998). *Making capitalism without capitalists: Class formation and elite struggles in post-communist Central Europe*. London: Verso.

Lane, D. (2008). From chaotic to state-led capitalism. *New Political Economy*, 13(2), 177-184.

Lavigne, M. (2000). Ten years of transition: a review article. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 33(4), 475-483.

Roland, G. (2002). The political economy of transition. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16(1), 29-50.

Shields, S. (2014). *The international political economy of transition*. London: Routledge.

Yurchenko, Y. (2018). *Ukraine and the empire of capital: From marketisation to armed conflict*. London: Pluto Press.

4:

PATHWAYS TO DEMOCRATISATION AND REGIME DIVERSITY

Required reading:

McFaul, M. (2002). The fourth wave of democracy and dictatorship: noncooperative transitions in the postcommunist world. *World politics*, 212-244.

Shleifer, A., & Treisman, D. (2014). Normal countries: The East 25 years after communism. *Foreign Affairs*, November–December, 92-103.

Further reading:

Boix, C., & Stokes, S. C. (2003). Endogenous democratization. *World politics*, 517-549.

Chen, C., & Sil, R. (2007). Stretching postcommunism: Diversity, context, and comparative historical analysis. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 23(4), 275-301.

Darden, K. A. (2001). Blackmail as a tool of state domination: Ukraine under Kuchma. *East European Constitutional Review*, 10(2/3). Spring-Summer.

Gel'man, V. (2016). The vicious circle of post-Soviet neopatrimonialism in Russia. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 32(5), 455-473.

Krastev, I. (2010). Twenty years of Postcommunism: Deepening dissatisfaction. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(1), 113-119.

Lovell, D. W. (2001). Trust and the politics of postcommunism. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 34(1), 27-38.

Melville, A. I. (2004). On the trajectories of postcommunist transformations. *Sociological research*, 43(6), 6-28.

Mitropolitski, S. (2016). Political leadership—the key for explaining post-communist diversity. *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 58(1), 49-67.

Przeworski, A., Alvarez, R. M., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A., & Limongi, F. (2000). *Democracy and development: Political institutions and well-being in the world, 1950-1990*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Roberts, A. (2009). *The quality of democracy in Eastern Europe: public preferences and policy reforms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vachudova, M. A. (2005). *Europe undivided: democracy, leverage, and integration after communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

5: STATE- AND NATION-BUILDING

Required reading:

Kolossov, V. (1999). Ethnic and political identities and territorialities in the post-Soviet space. *GeoJournal*, 48(2), 71-81.

Light, M. (2000). Nationalism and identity in the former Soviet Union. *METU Studies in Development*, 27(2), 45-62.

Further reading:

Adibayeva, A., & Dadabaeva, G. (2010). Post-soviet Kazakhstan: nationalism and language issues. *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review*, 37(2), 125-141.

Akbaba, S. (2018). Russian Post-Nationalism or Pan-Ethnicity? The Case of Compatriots in South Ossetia, Abkhazia and Crimea. *Boğaziçi Journal*, 32(2), 101-120.

Barrington, L. (1995). The domestic and international consequences of citizenship in the Soviet successor states. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47(5), 731-763.

Blakkisrud, H., & Kolstø, P. (2011). From secessionist conflict toward a functioning state: processes of state-and nation-building in Transnistria. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 27(2), 178-210.

Isaacs, R., & Polese, A. (2016). *Nation-building and identity in the Post-Soviet space: New tools and approaches*. London: Routledge.

Kulyk, V. (2014). Ukrainian nationalism since the outbreak of Euromaidan. *Ab Imperio*, 2014(3), 94-122.

Kuzio, T. (2001). 'Nationalising states' or nation-building? a critical review of the theoretical literature and empirical evidence. *Nations and Nationalism*, 7(2), 135-154.

Leshchenko, N. (2004). A fine instrument: two nation-building strategies in post-Soviet Belarus. *Nations and Nationalism*, 10(3), 333-352.

Müller, M. (2011). Market meets nationalism: making entrepreneurial state subjects in post-Soviet Russia. *Nationalities Papers*, 39(3), 393-408.

Nodia, G. (2001). Ten Years After the Soviet Breakup: The Impact of Nationalism. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(4), 27-34.

Suny, R. G. (2000). Provisional stabilities: the politics of identities in post-Soviet Eurasia. *International Security*, 24(3), 139-178.

Surucu, C. (2002). Modernity, nationalism, resistance: identity politics in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. *Central Asian Survey*, 21(4), 385-402.

6:

SOUTH CAUCASUS, UNRECOGNISED STATES AND FROZEN CONFLICTS

Required reading:

Blakkisrud, H., & Kolstø, P. (2012). Dynamics of de facto statehood: the South Caucasian de facto states between secession and sovereignty. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 12(2), 281-298.

Souleimanov, E. A., Abrahamyan, E., & Aliyev, H. (2018). Unrecognized states as a means of coercive diplomacy? Assessing the role of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Russia's foreign policy in the South Caucasus. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 18(1), 73-86.

Further reading:

Ambrosio, T., & Lange, W. A. (2016). The architecture of annexation? Russia's bilateral agreements with South Ossetia and Abkhazia. *Nationalities Papers*, 44(5), 673-693.

Artman, V. M. (2013). Documenting territory: Passportisation, territory, and exception in Abkhazia and South Ossetia. *Geopolitics*, 18(3), 682-704.

Blakkisrud, H., & Kolstø, P. (2011). From secessionist conflict toward a functioning state: processes of state- and nation-building in Transnistria. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 27(2), 178-210.

Broers, L. (2014). Mirrors to the world: The claims to legitimacy and international recognition of de facto states in the South Caucasus. *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 20(2) Spring-Summer.

Cojocaru, N. (2006). Nationalism and identity in Transnistria. *Innovation*, 19(3-4), 261-272.

Frear, T. (2014). The foreign policy options of a small unrecognised state: the case of Abkhazia. *Caucasus Survey*, 1(2), 83-107.

Kolstø, P., & Blakkisrud, H. (2012). De facto states and democracy: The case of Nagorno-Karabakh. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 45(1-2), 141-151.

Kopeček, V., Hoch, T., & Baar, V. (2016). De facto states and democracy: the case of Abkhazia. *Bulletin of geography. Socio-economic series*, 32(32), 85-104.

O'loughlin, J., Kolossov, V., & Toal, G. (2014). Inside the post-Soviet de facto states: a comparison of attitudes in Abkhazia, Nagorny Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Transnistria. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 55(5), 423-456.

7: CRIME AND CORRUPTION

Required reading:

Shlapentokh, V. (2013). Corruption, the power of state and big business in Soviet and post-Soviet regimes. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 46(1), 147-158.

Holmes, L. (2009). Crime, organised crime and corruption in post-communist Europe and the CIS. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 42(2), 265-287.

Further reading:

Beesley, C. (2015). Globalization and corruption in post-Soviet countries: Perverse effects of economic openness. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 56(2), 170-192.

Engvall, J. (2014). Why are public offices sold in Kyrgyzstan?. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 30(1), 67-85.

Galeotti, M. (2002). 'Brotherhoods' and 'associates': Chechen networks of crime and resistance. *Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement*, 11(2-3), 340-352.

Galeotti, M. (2004). The Russian 'mafia': consolidation and globalisation. *Global Crime*, 6(1), 54-69.

Holmes, L. (2008). Corruption and organised crime in Putin's Russia. *Europe-Asia Studies*, 60(6), 1011-1031.

Lewis, D. (2014). Crime, terror and the state in Central Asia. *Global Crime*, 15(3-4), 337-356.

Round, J., Williams, C. C., & Rodgers, P. (2008). Corruption in the post-Soviet workplace: the experiences of recent graduates in contemporary Ukraine. *Work, Employment and Society*, 22(1), 149-166.

Schmidt, D. (2007). Anti-corruption: What do we know? Research on preventing corruption in the post-communist world. *Political Studies Review*, 5(2), 202-232.

Shelley, L. I. (1995). Organized crime in the former Soviet Union. *Problems of Post-Communism*, 42(1), 56-60.

Tsaturyan, S., & Bryson, P. J. (2009). Corruption and development: The Armenian case. *International Journal of Economic Policy in Emerging Economies*, 2(4), 356-371.

Urinboyev, R., & Svensson, M. (2013). Living law, legal pluralism, and corruption in post-Soviet Uzbekistan. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 45(3), 372-390.

Volkov, V. (2000). The political economy of protection rackets in the past and the present. *Social Research*, 709-744.

8: WORK, INEQUALITY AND POVERTY

Required reading:

Simai, M. (2006). Poverty and inequality in Eastern Europe and the CIS transition economies. *UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) Working Papers*, No. 17, New York, NY: United Nations.

Smith, A., & Rochovská, A. (2007). Domesticating neo-liberalism: Everyday lives and the geographies of post-socialist transformations. *Geoforum*, 38(6), 1163-1178.

Further reading:

Bieler, A., & Salyga, J. (2020). Baltic labour in the crucible of capitalist exploitation: Reassessing 'post-communist' transformation. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 31(2), 191-210.

Bohle, D., & Greskovits, B. (2009). Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy (II): East-Central Europe's Quandary. *Journal of Democracy*, 20(4), 50-63.

Burawoy, M. (1997). Review essay: The Soviet descent into capitalism. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(5), 1430-1444.

Clarke, S. (2005). Post-socialist trade unions: China and Russia. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 36(1), 2-18.

Cook, L. J. (1995). Workers in the Russian federation: responses to the post-communist transition, 1989-1993. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 28(1), 13-42.

Crowley, S. (2004). Explaining labor weakness in post-communist Europe: Historical legacies and comparative perspective. *East European politics and societies*, 18(3), 394-429.

Hardy, J. (2015). Explaining 'varieties of solidarity': labour mobility and trade unions in an enlarged Europe. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 21(2), 187-200.

Haynes, M., & Glatter, P. (1998). The Russian Catastrophe. *International Socialism*, 2/81, 45-90.

Kalb, D. (2009). Conversations with a Polish populist: Tracing hidden histories of globalization, class, and dispossession in postsocialism (and beyond). *American Ethnologist*, 36(2), 207-223.

Milanovic, B. (1999). Explaining the increase in inequality during transition. *Economics of transition*, 7(2), 299-341.

Ost, D. (2018). Workers and the radical right in Poland. *International Labor and Working Class History*, (93), 113-124.

Stenning, A. (2005). Where is the post-socialist working class? Working-class lives in the spaces of (post-) socialism. *Sociology*, 39(5), 983-999.

9: POST-COMMUNISM AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Required reading:

LaFont, S. (2001). One step forward, two steps back: women in the post-communist states. *Communist and post-communist studies*, 34(2), 203-220.

Fábián, K. (2010). "Introduction: The politics of domestic violence in postcommunist Europe and Eurasia", in Fábián, K. (Ed.) *Domestic Violence in Postcommunist States: Local Activism, National Policies, and Global Forces*, (pp. 1-44). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. (electronic resource)

Further reading:

Annik, E. (2019). Feminism in the Post-Soviet space: the geopolitics of Estonian feminism. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 26(3), 405-426.

Buckley, C. (1997). Suicide in post-Soviet Kazakhstan: Role stress, age and gender. *Central Asian Survey*, 16(1), 45-52.

Cockerham, W. C. (2012). The intersection of life expectancy and gender in a transitional state: the case of Russia. *Sociology of health & illness*, 34(6), 943-957.

Einhorn, B. (1993). *Cinderella goes to market. Citizenship, Gender and Women's Movements in East Central Europe*. London: Verso.

Gradskova, Y., & Morell, I. A. (Eds.). (2018). *Gendering postsocialism: Old legacies and new hierarchies*. London: Routledge.

Graff, A. (2014). Report from the gender trenches: War against 'genderism' in Poland. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 21(4), 431-435.

Johnson, J. E. (2009). *Gender violence in Russia: The politics of feminist intervention*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. (electronic resource).

Shields, S. (2019). The paradoxes of necessity: Fail forwards neoliberalism, social reproduction, recombinant populism and Poland's 500Plus policy. *Capital & Class*, 43(4), 653-669.

True, J. (2003). *Gender, globalization, and postsocialism: The Czech Republic after communism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

10: RACE AND RACISM IN THE POST- SOVIET SPACE

Required reading:

Law, I. & Zakharov, N. (2018). "Race and Racism in Eastern Europe: Becoming White, Becoming Western", in Essed, P., Farquharson, K., Pillay, K., & White, E. J. (Eds.). *Relating Worlds of Racism: Dehumanisation, Belonging, and the Normativity of European Whiteness*, (pp. 113-139). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Matusевич, M. (2008). Journeys of Hope: African Diaspora and the Soviet Society. *African Diaspora*, 1(1-2), 53-85.

Further reading:

Barany, Z. (2000). Politics and the Roma in state-socialist Eastern Europe. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 33(4), 421-437.

Crowe, D. M. (2008). The Roma in post-communist Eastern Europe: Questions of ethnic conflict and ethnic peace. *Nationalities Papers*, 36(3), 521-552.

Dzenovska, D. (2010). Public reason and the limits of liberal anti-racism in Latvia. *Ethnos*, 75(4), 496-525.

Fekete, L. (2014). Europe against the Roma. *Race & Class*, 55(3), 60-70.

Guillory, S. (2020). Despite Its Complicated Past, Soviet Antiracism Was Ahead of the Historical Curve. *The Moscow Times*, 17th June.

Imre, A. (2005). "Whiteness in post-socialist Eastern Europe: The time of the Gypsies, the end of race", in López, A. J. (Ed.). *Post-Colonial Whiteness: A Critical Reader on Race and Empire* (pp. 79-102). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Tereshchenko, A., Bradbury, A., & Archer, L. (2019). Eastern European migrants' experiences of racism in English schools: positions of marginal whiteness and linguistic otherness. *Whiteness and Education*, 4(1), 53-71.

Vidra, Z., & Fox, J. (2014). Mainstreaming of racist anti-Roma discourses in the media in Hungary. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 12(4), 437-455.

Weiner, A. (2002). Nothing but certainty. *Slavic Review*, 61(1), 44-53.

Weitz, E. D. (2002). Racial politics without the concept of race: reevaluating Soviet ethnic and national purges. *Slavic Review*, 61(1), 1-29.

Wilson, J. (2017). Queer Harlem, Queer Tashkent: Langston Hughes's "Boy Dancers of Uzbekistan". *Slavic Review*, 76(3), 637-646.