



Transformation Group Newsletter

VOLUME 1, ISSUE 1

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

THE FIRST LENIN MONUMENT

2

by Stephen White

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

3 - 4

- Publications
- Grants
- Study Groups
- Presentations
- Visitors to the Department
- Field Trips
- Postgraduate Student News

THE TRANSFORMATION GROUP: WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE DO

The Transformation Group was established in 2004 as a framework for co-operation among those in the Department of Politics, University of Glasgow, who work wholly or in substantial part on political change in Eastern Europe, the Former USSR and China. It includes staff members of the Department in various capacities, and research students. Its co-convenors are

Dr. Jane Duckett and Prof. Stephen White

The Transformation Group directory contains full information about the members of the Transformation Group. If you wish to obtain an electronic copy of the directory please contact Dr Derek Hutcherson at d.hutcheson@socsci.gla.ac.uk



TERRORIST THREAT AND ELECTIONS: HOW MUCH DOES FEAR MATTER AT THE POLLS?

In 2002, I was casting around for new ways to think about the media, elections and politics in a comparative perspective. I had spent several years looking at Russian election campaigns and media, but I was beginning to feel that I had reached a saturation point. The central result of these studies, which included an ESRC grant with Stephen White and John Dunn, was that television had effectively 'tuned out' the growth of democracy, particularly strong political parties, in Russia. But

what about the effect of elections and television on democracy in a broader context?

Just at this time, I found out about the New Security Challenges grant programme at the ESRC. I decided to examine security threat as another crisis point for media and democracy. In particular, this had become an important issue for the Russians in terms of Chechnya and for Americans in the wake of 9/11. Both were facing their first major elections since the escalation of terrorism in their

borders. What is the role of terrorism threat in elections? While citizens have little choice but to observe international diplomacy and even invasions in crises, they can vote for different options?

Continued on page 2



TERRORIST THREAT AND ELECTIONS: HOW MUCH DOES FEAR MATTER AT THE POLLS? (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

What role will it play in the campaign? How will it be 'spun' on television? Do citizens vote emotionally or rationally when it comes to international security concerns? In 2003, I received £44,000 to look at these issues in the Russian Duma elections (2003), Russian presidential elections (2004) and the 2004 U.S. presidential elections. I taped and directed content analysis on Russian election news as well as ran focus groups after the presidential elections in 2004.

The results showed that while the election news and the voters did not focus in particular on terrorism and security concerns as elec-

tion issues, fear and concern over the Chechen situation dictated a great deal of their political choices. The general climate of fear and hatred has led to a broader acceptance of both President Vladimir Putin as a more repressive leader – and a return to an authoritarian style of media management and news reporting. I was fortunate to find U.S. research partners through Prof. Lynda Lee Kaid at the University of Florida. U.S. scholars conducted nine focus groups soon after U.S. elections. The results are still being compiled, but in the pilot group and others, Americans expressed

a surprising amount of doubt, fear and introspection about the causes of terrorism that may provide some surprising findings.

Will a surge of nationalism continue in the British elections that should be held in May 2005? I received an additional £46,000 from the New Security Challenges programme in 2004 and I will examine the British elections in the same vein. When I started the project in 2002, Britain felt far removed from the particular struggle between the U.S. and the Middle East. Now these British elections will be contested, to a degree, on issues stemming from international terrorism and the war in Iraq.

While the British public is quite familiar with terrorism connected to Northern Ireland, this is a broad transformation of the issue. How will the political parties, the media and electorate respond to this change? The project will analyse the actions of parties, the news coverage and the reaction of the electorate via a dozen focus groups in Scotland and England. As with the Russian and U.S. elections, I await some interesting findings -- and plan a book to tie the three case studies together.

Sarah Oates

THE FIRST LENIN MONUMENT

As some of you will know, I've been pursuing an interest for some time now in political iconography, particularly the statues and monuments of the communist period - the ones that have remained, the ones that have been taken down, and the ones that have been replaced. There are new ones as well - and to all kinds of people, including the 'Kursk' submariners who lost their lives in August 2000 (I've met the

artist, Lev Kerbel, who was born on 7 November 1917!), to Marshal Zhukov, and recently to Andropov and Dzerzhinsky (a great friend of orphans, apparently...). In this connection, I got to see the very first Lenin monument that was put up in Russia after the death of Lenin. In fact, literally a day afterwards; they must have worked fast, or more likely had started some time beforehand. It's in Noginsk, on the outskirts

of Moscow. The sculptor was F. P. Kuznetsov, a local worker. The work itself (illustrated) presumably once stood in the centre of the square in front of the railway station, and now it still remains but on the edge rather than in the middle. It shows Lenin as he really was, short and with a disproportionately large head.



Continued on page 3

THE FIRST LENIN MONUMENT (CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2)

There are other exhibitions of the monuments of the late communist period all over the region - I came across one recently in Poland, and the House of German History in Bonn held an exhibition of them last year; in Moscow itself there's a Lenin without a nose, and one in a railway station made of bits and

pieces of rolling stock. The literature, I see, often discusses them in terms of 'symbolic capital', which seems a promising way forward. I'd be glad to receive any references to this kind of subject that you might come across at any time.

Stephen White



ANNOUNCEMENTS

GRANTS

Stephen White was successful in the first round of the ESRC's New Security Challenges competition with a proposal on 'A Common Security Space? East and West since 9/11', and has put in an application (with Derek Hutcheson and Elena Korosteleva) for the second and final round. Decisions will be taken in May.

PUBLICATIONS

Stephen White's latest book *POSTCOMMUNIST BELARUS*, coedited with Elena Korosteleva and John Lowenhardt, was published in December 2004 by Rowman and Littlefield (though he hasn't yet seen a copy). It stemmed from his 'Outsiders' ESRC grant, but also includes some evidence from the 2004 Belarus survey that was conducted in connection with his current 'Inclusion without Membership?' project.

Spring 2005 should also see the publication of Derek S. Hutcheson and Elena A. Korosteleva (eds), *The Quality of Democracy in Post-Communist Europe* (London: Routledge, 2005—forthcoming). Based on the 2004 special issue of the same name of the *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* (Vol. 20, No. 1), it includes contributions by other Glasgow scholars including Prof. Stephen White, Prof. Bill Miller and Dr Clare McManus-Czubinska.

A new, sixth edition of Stephen White's coedited volume *DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIAN POLITICS* will appear in the late spring (Palgrave and Duke; Sarah Oates also contributes a chapter).

VISITORS TO THE DEPARTMENT

The Department hosted a visit by Nikolai Kaveshnikov, of the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in November-December 2004 (with TACIS funding), and a visit by Olga Kryshtanovskaya, director of the elite studies department of the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, in January 2005 (principally to discuss the final conclusions of her project with SW on the Putin elite).

Rutger von Seth (who is an honorary research associate of the department working on the analysis of Russian media texts in association with SLW and SAO) arrived for a further visit in January 2005, and Sirke Makinen (from Finland and author of a couple of **recent contributions to Europe-Asia Studies**) will be with us from the **end of March**.

PRESENTATIONS

Jane Duckett gave a paper on 'Local governance, health finance, and changing patterns of inequality' at the workshop 'Paying for Progress: Public Finance, Human Welfare, and Inequality in China', held at the Institute for Chinese Studies, University of Oxford, 21-23 May 2004. This paper is to be published in a volume edited by Professors Vivienne Shue (University of Oxford) and Christine Wong (University of Washington, formerly with the World Bank). Jane also presented a paper on 'Health Policy in China:

explaining retrenchment and inequality under Communist Party rule' at the Department of Social Policy, University of Edinburgh, on 5 November 2004.

Stephen White gave presentations in November 2004 on politics and propaganda in the early Soviet period to a Scottish Universities Art History Study Day, and on public attitudes to NATO in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus at a conference in St Andrews. In December he chaired a panel at the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies annual

convention in Boston, and in January 2005 hosted a presentation in Glasgow for a delegation from the Ministry of Defence on the conclusions of his 'Putin Elite' project, which is now completed.

Derek Hutcheson gave the inaugural research seminar of the School of Slavonic, Central and East European Studies on 2 December. The topic of the presentation was "Fifteen Years On: Political Participation in Post-Communist Europe Since 1989", and it focused in particular on Russia and Eastern Germany. At the same semi-

nar, the SSCEES Directory 2003-05 (edited by Dr Hutcheson) was launched formally. It is now available online under "<http://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/Slavonic/2003-2005Directory.htm>"

Stephen White took part in a Chatham House Study Group at the end of January 2005, designed to ventilate some of the findings in which he is engaged with Margot Light and Roy Allison on the implications for Russia, Ukraine and Belarus of EU and NATO expansion. The draft chapters that were presented will be published later in the year as a Chatham House paper.

STUDY GROUP

Members of the group will be participating in a two-year, £2,000 UACES study group which started on 1 January. Co-ordinated by Derek Hutcheson and Elena Korosteleva (formerly at Glasgow and now at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth), the group will examine EU and post-Soviet relations under the topic of "The 'Outsiders' and the EU: Is there a values gap"? In addition to the co-ordinators, others included in the study group include Stephen White and Julia Korosteleva, and Glasgow postgraduates Anke Schmidt-Felzmann and Katsusato Furusawa.

POSTGRADUATE STUDENT NEWS

Congratulations to Atsushi Otaguchi for passing his dissertation viva on 21 January 2005. The title of his dissertation was 'The Disintegration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union' and his supervisor was Stephen.

Atsushi has also had an article accepted by the JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, on financial aspects of demise of the CPSU, which will appear in June 2005.

Mervyn Bain (who took

his PhD in the Department in 2002) has recently signed a contract with the University of Florida Press for a book derived from his thesis, which dealt with Soviet-Cuban relations up to 1991.

Wang Guohui has been

in Shandong Province, China, since November observing village elections as part of his fieldwork for his doctoral dissertation on village self-governance. He returned to Glasgow in early February.