

COMPARATIVE RUSSIAN-EUROPEAN POLITICAL STUDIES

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE WORKSHOP

MOSCOW-BREMEN

MOSCOW 2005

FOREWORD

This book is designed to serve incoming cohorts of students in Russian and (West-)European universities as an unconventional textbook that aims to foster a deeper understanding of the intellectual realities in the two parts of our continent. Russia and Europe were ideologically divided and politically separated for more than half of the 20th century. In contrast, this book is the result of ongoing cooperation and exchange between scholars and students from Bremen (Germany) and Moscow.

Collaboration between our universities began in 2002. It originated from a unique agreement reached at the end of 2001 between the heads of government of France, Germany, and Russia, which led to a "trilateral higher education program" aimed at enhancing academic exchange and cooperation between the three countries. This "trilateral project" brought together the University of Bremen—specifically the Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies and the Research Centre for Eastern Europe—the Russian State University for the Humanities (RSUH), and the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (PFUR) in mid-2002.

Our cooperation began that same year with a semester-long joint colloquium titled *Transformations of European Societies and Identities*, held at the University of Bremen and attended by a significant number of pioneering faculty members and students from Moscow. In October 2003, scholars and students from Bremen traveled to Moscow for a week-long workshop, *Comparative Russian-European Political Studies*, hosted by RSUH. The following summer, another workshop was held at Bremen on *Comparative Russian-European Democratization*.

In addition to these collective activities, individual scholars and students spent shorter or longer periods in Bremen or Moscow to give lectures, teach or attend courses, study German or Russian, or conduct research for their MA, PhD, or postdoctoral theses. Thanks to the generous and continuous support of the German Academic Exchange Service, in just two years, more than two dozen students benefited from the opportunity to participate in each other's educational systems and cultures. Surviving any initial cultural shocks, they embraced the chance to encounter people different from themselves and to experience the contrasting lifestyles of the global metropolis of Moscow and the local character of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen. In doing so, they broadened their horizons in various ways.

As historians, cultural analysts, political scientists, and sociologists, they accepted the challenge of overcoming the boundaries imposed by ideology and history—boundaries still upheld today by language and culture.

The pluralistic structure of this book reflects our attempt to transcend these boundaries through a process of mutual learning. This process consisted of preparation for, participation in, and publication of the outcomes of a week-long seminar. The workshop was advertised in spring 2003 to professors and graduate students in Bremen and Moscow, who were invited to apply for participation in the 2003 Trilateral Graduate Workshop *European-Russian Comparative Studies*. The course sessions took place at RSUH in Moscow during the week of October 6–10, 2003. They were jointly organized by the Jean Monnet Centre for European Studies (University of Bremen), RSUH, and PFUR, with support from the German Academic Exchange Service.

The workshop was structured into five thematic blocks. Scholars and students from disciplines such as law, sociology, political science, and cultural studies delivered lectures and presented papers addressing legal, political, economic, social, and cultural issues shared by the European Union and the Russian Federation. Participants were encouraged to compare their distinct approaches, reflect on similarities and differences in their intellectual and theoretical frameworks, and discuss the strategies used to address these challenges. Each day included two four-hour sessions exploring the following key themes from both the European and Russian perspectives:

- I. *Integration – Disintegration*
- II. *Constitutionalization – Democratization*
- III. *Multilevel Governance*
- IV. *Citizenship, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere*
- V. *Cultural Differences and Multiple Identities*

Each morning session was co-taught by a scholar from Bremen and one from Moscow, while the afternoon sessions offered graduate and diploma students the opportunity to present, discuss, and receive feedback on their short papers. English was the working language, with simultaneous translation to and from Russian provided.

By engaging with shared concerns, we hoped students would articulate their differing frameworks and contrasting perspectives—particularly through critical engagement with "the other." This approach was intentionally less ambitious than a theoretically rigorous, systematic one. Instead, we deliberately focused on empirical questions and ambiguously framed topics broad enough to encourage open intercultural dialogue and a diversity of intellectual, theoretical, and disciplinary perspectives.

The questions students addressed went to the heart of assessing and comparing political, economic, and cultural transformations across European societies:

- What challenges arise from processes of integration and disintegration?
- To what extent are citizenship, civil society, and democratic constitution-building urgent normative concerns?
- How do standards and models of governance legitimacy differ between our societies?
- Can we meaningfully compare newly emerging individual and collective identities—for example, cyberpostfeminism and equality movements?

The openness and ambiguity of the original topics proved fruitful, encouraging the development of broader frameworks that acknowledge differences while paving the way toward greater mutual understanding.

The eighteen essays included in this volume represent a selection of the oral and written contributions presented at the 2003 workshop in Moscow. Over the course of the week, thirty-five scholars and graduate students from law, sociology, political science, and cultural studies gave lectures, delivered papers, and participated in lively discussions—offering perspectives that were surprising, often critical, and always original.

Most remarkably, and despite the divergences that have historically, politically, and intellectually separated the Russian Federation and the European Union, we found these

—and many other—topics to be of shared interest among students and scholars from our Russian and German institutions. Have these two neighboring (semi-)federations and “strategic partners,” following the fall of the Iron Curtain, converged more quickly than expected? To what extent do their cognitive frameworks still diverge—students using different conceptual tools, theoretical assumptions, and methodological approaches?

This textbook provides rich material for students and educators to explore these issues in greater depth.

This trilateral project and workshop would not have been possible without the invaluable cooperation between Galina Michaleva and Ulrike Liebert. The book would never have come into being without the editorial expertise and English-language support provided by Maria Gordeeva, to whom both editors extend their heartfelt thanks. It was a great pleasure for Bremen’s participants—Wolfgang Eichwede, Ulrike Liebert, Kathin Packham, Isabelle de Keghel, Daniel Allnoch, and Tilmann Liebert—to experience the hospitality and camaraderie of their Moscow colleagues and classmates during that intense October week.

Our sincere gratitude goes to our principal host, Alexander Logunov, his collaborators Maria Gordeeva and Sergey Mruz, and their many helpful assistants. Their generosity and companionship—often from dawn to dusk—offered the German visitors a unique window into student life in Moscow, making this encounter in European-Russian comparative studies a truly memorable experience.

Moscow-Bremen, October 2004

Ulrike Liebert
Alexander Logunov

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