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Observations on the Transformation of the Political Science Community in Post-Soviet Russia*

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For at least the past decade, the international political science community has been debating the state of the discipline, the level of its maturity, and the challenges to it from *realpolitik* (Goodin and Klingemann 1996, chap. 1). One of the most serious challenges came from the implosion of the USSR and subsequent transformation of political systems in Russia and Eastern Europe. Political scientists appeared unable to predict these global changes or to elaborate explanatory models of current processes. Applications of classic models to the new democracies has proven insufficient. This puts a problem of universality versus national specificity of political science on the agenda (Lecca 1997).

For Russian political scientists, this problem has some specific implications. First, the practice of political science is determined by its object—politics. It is well-known that *perestroika*, which started more than ten years ago, had no clear aims but was guided by the intuitive desire of Russia's political elite to modernize the country. Russian leaders wished to modernize the country by remaking the government in the model of a Western democratic system. But neither in the late 1980s nor now have political scientists or politicians worked out any clear means for achieving such a transition. Russian politicians and

Russian citizens still have rather vague ideas of what democracy is and what kind of institutions and procedures need to be put in place to foster and ensure democracy (Shestopal 1997).

Russian political scientists faced numerous problems in analyzing current changes in politics. These problems were often rooted in the national context of the discipline's development. Although I do believe it necessary to mention some particulars of its history, it is not my aim to trace the history of political science in Russia or the Soviet Union. Others might use different periodizations, but most would agree that political science in the contemporary sense did not exist in the Soviet Union until the 1960s and, since that time, has moved through three distinct stages. It took form between 1965 and 1985 as international relations and area studies scholars, working mainly in government-funded institutes, encountered and began to selectively adopt the methods and language of Western political scientists. Between 1985 and 1991, the years of *perestroika*, the discipline became socially relevant and even fashionable. Political science was officially recognized as a scholarly specialization and grew rapidly. Now in its third stage of development, political science finds itself maturing and facing all the dramatic conflicts of adulthood.

Until the mid-1980s, Soviet political science was like the smile of the Cheshire Cat; it existed and did not exist at the same time. The discipline was not listed among the subjects offered by universities, nor was "political science" to be found

among the names of the institutes of the Academy of Sciences that specialized in political research. Although it was not forbidden, like genetics and cybernetics were, the discipline had no legal standing. One should keep in mind that for more than 70 years political issues were analyzed within the paradigm of "scientific communism," a quasi-academic discipline composed of ideological dogmas that proved incapable of yielding explanations for any real political processes. Soviet domestic politics was closed for any serious research not biased by ideology. Yuri Andropov, one of the last secretary generals of the Soviet Union, had good reason to remark that we did not know the country we lived in. Political scientists in the old USSR dealt with virtual, not real, politics.

Unable to freely investigate political processes in their own country, Soviet scholars turned to area and regional studies. During the 1960s, several large research institutes were founded in the Academy of Sciences and chairs of international studies were created in many universities. Research on international, regional, and national models of social and political development started in the Institute of USA and Canada, Institute of Latin America, Institute of Africa, Institute of Oriental Studies, and Institute of World Economy and Internal Relations (Brown 1986).

Studies of these areas were supported for pragmatic reasons: Reports generated were used by diplomats who needed factual data about current developments in world politics. Area studies opened one of the few windows to the world outside the Iron Curtain and the scholars

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recruited to work in these institutes were carefully checked by ideological censors and had to abide by certain rules, especially when writing up their findings. But they were more

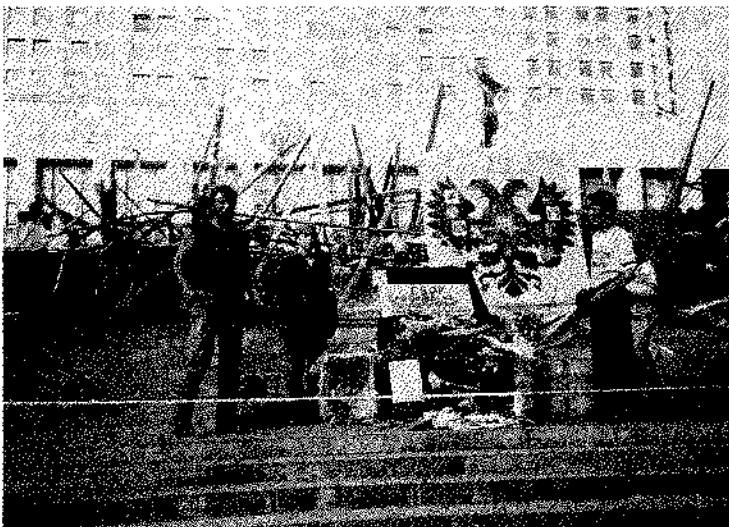
free than scholars studying Soviet domestic politics, who were allowed to do little more than approve of or find rationalizations for current policies.

During this period, Russian political science was very ambivalent. On the one hand, big research centers were established. Such well known academics as Burlatsky, Gadjiev, Galkin, Diligenski, Koval, Krasin, Pantin, Timofeev, and Shachnazarov published books. Several serious journals—*World Economy and International Relations*, *Latin America, Asian and African Studies*, *American Studies*, *XX Century and the World*, *The Working Class and the Modern World*—appeared. The 1979 World Congress of the International Political Science Association, held in Moscow, encouraged the ongoing development of the Soviet Association of Political Science, which in turn promoted development of the discipline.

On the other hand, political science did not exist as a stable and independent discipline. The main obstacle to autonomy was its rootedness in dogmatic Marxist theory. Political scientists framed their work in the “one true doctrine.” Political scientists divided themselves into two groups: a big group of university professors of the “Soviet” type (some of whom were affiliated with the Communist Party and “party schools”) and a much smaller group of less-partisan scholars (affiliated with the Academy of Sciences and universities). Even today, one can feel a division between partisan scholars and “free academics” in Russia, though the division between them does not always correlate with their former institutional affiliations (Graziano 1996). Many former “party” political scientists have developed more pragmatic orientations, but the majority is still loyal to the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and strongly opposes any democratic reforms.

In addition to ideological and theoretical barriers, political science, as did sociology and other “new” disciplines, had to overcome resistance from the traditional disciplines of philosophy, law, and history.

Perestroika drastically changed the political science landscape. Gorbachev introduced a public politics the country had never known. The first elections to the Supreme Soviet in 1989 mobilized the electorate and increased popular interest in govern-



The changing political system in Russia brought about new political research and interest in political science. Photos courtesy of Ann Okerson.

ment. Suddenly, objective analyses of political institutions and political processes appeared to be relevant and there were few scholars who were ready to answer this challenge. Among them were F. Burlatsky, G. Shachnazarov, B. Toporin, and other members of the older generation. Their contributions to the understanding of new politics were often combined with their own active participation in practical politics as either government officials or as political consultants and journalists. Their academic interests lay mainly in the field of general political theory and was not based on any field work.

During this period, serious contributions to the development of Russian political science were made by scholars who studied national political processes and systems (within the limits allowed by the previous regime) in the framework of philosophy, sociology, law, psychology, geography, economy, and other social sciences and humanities but who hesitated to call themselves political scientists. Although only a handful of books and articles had at the time been translated into Russian, these scholars' work was informed by the ideas of such Europeans as Duverger, Sartori, von Beyme, Dogan, and Rokkan and Americans like Huntington, Easton, Bell, Dahl, Verba, and Lipset.

The last years of the 1980s and first years of the 1990s were a time of unbelievable growth for Russian political science. Studying politics quickly became the most fashionable profession among humanists. Russian society as a whole was rethinking its political history and coming to grips with the fact that it had been rewritten several times over the previous 70 years. Empirical studies of electoral behavior, political elites, and political parties appeared in many publications. Freedom of speech was a boon for political journalism: Today, nearly every other columnist adds "political scientist" to his or her by-line. While the popularity of political science among nonacademics is heartening, it also raises concerns that the appearance of neophytes with no professional background who produce common-sense speculations

and wishful prognoses instead of research-based analyses could lead the discipline to lose much of its new-found authority. It may be that a maturing discipline needs to struggle as hard to maintain its authority as it did to establish it, but the positive outcome of this struggle is by no means assured.

Russian political science entered its third stage of development in 1991 when national politics took a liberal turn—as "liberalism" was understood by the new political elite. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of a new political system in Russia stimulated political research. Political science became a compulsory course in most universities, necessitating that many professors educated in Marxist-Leninist dialectics be retrained in the modern methodologies of research and teaching. This reeducation is still not complete, partly because a majority of political science faculty are older (average age = 64) and partly because political scientists receive low salaries and have low social status.

Researchers in the institutes of the Academy of Sciences and university faculty face a host of similar problems. The government-owned institutes are underfunded to the point where they are constantly in danger of having to dissolve. Political scientists of all stripes often find it necessary to work two or three jobs to support themselves and their families, which hampers their research. State support for academic publications is close to zero.

At the same time, there are clear signs that the discipline is succeeding in building a community and new institutions. New names have begun appearing in the political science journals. Scholars like Satarov, Baturin, Salmin, and Migranyan are well acquainted with modern political science literature, independent of ideological constraints, and very active in politics.

This post-Soviet period is my main focus in this article. In my analysis I will assess the state of the discipline in terms of research and teaching and in terms of its institutional and human aspects. In order to fully cover the first topic, one would need to analyze Russian-language academic publications, chan-

nels of data dissemination, efforts to collect data concerning the growth of new institutions and the status of old ones, etc. Such an undertaking requires more space than I have here. I will relate only the data I believe is necessary to sketch an answer to the question, "What is the state of the political science community in post-communist Russia?" Related questions I will address are, "What kind of environment do Russian political scientists live and work in?" and "Who is a Russian political scientist?"

As a member of this community, a member of the Executive Committee of the Russian Political Science Association, and a member of the Executive Committee of the International Political Science Association, I feel qualified to offer my personal impressions of Russia's political science community. Of course, my impressions are subjective, but I will augment them when possible with data from surveys I and colleagues have conducted.

What and How Do Russian Political Scientists Study?

Subject Matter

Igor Pantin, chief editor of *Polis*, the leading Russian-language political science journal, recently reported that contributors to his journal most frequently wrote about democracy and democratic transition, political attitudes in contemporary Russia, comparative politics, and political philosophy (Pantin 1998).

During the early post-communist period, *Polis* and all other Russian journals were full of secondary analyses of Western literature on democracy and the translation of Western (especially American) texts became big business because most Russian scholars could only read works in their native language. Publication of translations of the works of Arendt, Dahl, Huntington, Lipset, Inglehart, Schmitter, Linz, and many other outstanding scholars and discussions of their applicability to Russian politics contributed much to the development of a distinct political science discipline in Russia.

The debate over the possibility

and desirability of applying Western models of democracy to Russia has led to a schism between two groups of Russian political scientists, with the debate centering on the state of Russian political

science in comparison with Western political science. The first group, which could be called "pro-Western," recognizes a hopeless lag between Russian and foreign (mostly American and European) political scientists caused by the traditional neglect of the discipline in Russia and its long-time dependence on Marxist dogmatism. Members of this group believe that Russian scholars must embrace Western methodologies and theoretical models as soon as possible and apply these tools to their analyses of Russia's political realities.

The other group—one could call it "national-patriotic"—stands on the principle that Western concepts and theoretical schemes are fundamentally inapplicable to the Russian case, which they consider to be unique. Scholars in this group tend to neglect the history of Western (and Oriental) political thought and reject empirical studies of the current political process in favor of historical-philosophical tracings of multicentury cycles.

The intellectual and practical distances between these groups are not as great as they might seem. In its most extreme expressions, the national-patriotic vision of political science is merely a remnant of Russia's traditional xenophobic attitude toward everything that comes from abroad—a diffidence used to cover the fact that we are in fact comparing ourselves with others. Much research in child psychology has shown that it is best to proceed through developmental stages over time. In the case of Russian political science, the passage through the stages of disciplinary development may have been a little too rapid. All members

As the debate over how political science should be done continues, much political science, especially of an empirical nature, is being done.

of the community are working toward an accommodation that will allow the discipline to continue maturing into a universal academic pursuit without sacrificing its unique elements.

As the debate over how political science *should* be done continues, much political science, especially of an empirical nature, *is* being done. Research on mass political attitudes, values, and expectations has been thriving despite theoretical, methodological, and financial problems. Elections on all levels have inspired many good works in political sociology. In many cases, these have been published by scholars employed by private polling and political consultancy businesses.

In contemporary Russia, there is a great and up to now unsatisfied demand for policy studies (what Russian political scientists consider applied political science) (Amelin and Degtyarev 1998). Though Russian scholars are acquainted with the Western literature in this field, the published findings are rarely applicable in the Russian context. The most intensive Russian studies have involved electoral technologies, political communication, and political consultancy. It is significant that though many foreign consultants have been invited to assist Russian candidates (Farrell 1998), most of the campaign technologies employed during recent Russian elections have been worked out by Russians and have been rooted in national experience.

Compared to its practice in other countries, political science in Russia is somewhat unique. For example, in their *New Handbook of Political Science* (1996), Goodin and Klingemann divided the discipline into the following major subfields: political behavior, comparative political science, international relations, public policy and administration, political economy, and methodology. It goes without saying that there are many other possible categorizations and that any such list would change from

one author to another. At the same time, the list is fairly representative of what Western political scientists study and teach.

Respondents to a survey I conducted of political science faculty at Russian universities gave a much more detailed list of the main themes of political science courses and of their personal academic interests: history of political thought, history of international relations, methodology, political psychology, political sociology, comparative politics, political theory, and political philosophy.¹ As this list shows, Russian political scientists identify strongly with the subjects they teach. While many of the subfields' names appear on both lists, it is important to stress that American and Russian understandings of the terms used differ greatly.

It is hard to compare the quality of publications and the general academic level of political science in different countries, even when subfield definitions are agreed upon. In many aspects, Russian political science is developing quite successfully. Though comparisons of numbers of books, articles, and professional journals to those in most other countries suggest Russian political science is growing slowly, this is a misleading impression. The relatively low output of Russian political scientists is indicative more of cultural differences than of intellectual or institutional ones. The level of "cultivation" of the soil in which political science grows isn't comparable. While they are impressed by the detailed analyses and amount of empirical data produced by Western scholars, and the rate at which Western scholars publish findings, Russian political scientists traditionally prefer to observe political processes at a distance, eschewing cataloging, analyzing, and reanalyzing every measurable datum.

Another peculiarity of contemporary Russian political science is that it has turned away from its earlier focus on international subjects and now concerns itself almost exclusively with domestic politics. While many of the older scholars who practiced the first real political sci-

ence in the Soviet Union continue their work in the field of international relations, younger scholars pursue research more in demand (and better funded) by the government and private businesses. This trend has potentially serious negative consequences for the discipline, because as political science becomes more narrowly focused, it becomes more biased.

Methodology

Beginning in the 1950s, Western political science became an empirical science *par excellence*. Scholars in Russia have embraced some of the tools developed over the past 50 years but political analysis in this country remains more of an art than a science. Very few political scientists trained in Russia can use advanced techniques for collecting and computing empirical data. At the same time, hardly anyone doubts the value of political sociology, psychology, and geography (Amelin and Degtyarev 1997). Despite their many accomplishments, Russian political scientists have produced very few comparative studies.

Modern Russian political science mirrors its Western counterparts in that it has yet to develop and employ a unified general theory of politics. While many Western scholars, especially the more positivist ones, use an eclectic mix of ideas and theories quite consciously, Russian political scientists seem to unreflectively use the method they are personally most familiar with. Now that Marxism has ceased to be the dominant theory, it is very hard to trace the methodological bases of our research. Russian political scientists rarely engage in any kind of theoretical speculation or methodological reflection and tend to express their theoretical beliefs with some shyness.

Teaching political science in Russian universities is problematic for many of the same reasons conducting research is. As the above-mentioned survey of political science faculty revealed, teachers lack time to prepare courses, do not have access to new literature in their subfields, do not have a firm grasp of contemporary methodologies, and

can not get enough textbooks for their students. The worst of these problems is felt to be insufficient access to recent literature, which is especially acute for postgraduate students specializing in political science. The literature is considered insufficient in political process (according to 20% of respondents), history of political thought (16%), subject matter and methodology of political science (16%), political culture (14%), political psychology (12%), applied political science (12%), full courses (12%), international studies (11%), comparative politics (7%), political systems (7%), and conflict resolution (5%) (see Shestopal 1997).

Further complicating the work of political science teachers is that no one can seem to agree what qualifies one to teach the subject or what a political science teacher should teach. It is difficult to find a program comparable to a Western university's political science department in Russia and curriculum standards for the discipline have not yet been developed. Additionally, few scholars have received solid, systematic training in political science. Often, newly hired faculty must negotiate with their institutions to make sure that both parties understand what constitutes political science at that university.

Who Is a Russian Political Scientist?

Answering this question should be quite simple. It is not. Russia's Ministry of Education, Highest Attestation Commission, and Political Science Association all provide different answers. The Ministry of Education estimates (based on professors' self-reports) that there are about 400 political science doctors in Russia. The Highest Attestation Commission, on the other hand, reports that between 1989 and 1998 there were 103 doctorate and about 400 candidate degrees acquired by Russian political scientists. The first doctorate in political science awarded by a Russian university was conferred in 1991. Many well-known Russian political scientists defended their dissertations and received professorships in other disciplines.

There are more than 280 chairs of

political science in Russian universities, one-third of which have been established in the last three years, and about 3000 political scientists work as university faculty.² While there is no system of postuniversity education to help these people modernize their knowledge, many have undertaken self-study programs incorporating the numerous textbooks and monographs translated into Russian since 1985.

The professional community includes academics whose main job is research. It is difficult to calculate the number of political scientists holding research-only jobs because so many professionals hold faculty and research positions. Academy of Sciences institutes are a logical place where political science may continue to evolve, but it is discouraging to note that there remains no group dedicated to articulating the fundamental aims and problems of political science. The Institute of Comparative Political Science is the only institute that incorporates "political science" in its name, but financial and staffing difficulties do not bode well for its success in shaping the discipline.

A third group of political scientists spend more time dealing with practical politics than with high theory. A new profession—that of political technologist—has emerged since 1991. There is a persistent growth in demand for the services of these practical political scientists, as every four years elections are held at all levels. According to some rough calculations, Russia's elections create between 17,000 and 20,000 part-time jobs for campaign specialists. No official statistics are kept regarding how much candidates and parties spend on all electoral activities, but private conversations reveal that \$1 billion may not be a bad estimate and that a substantial proportion of this money is spent on political analysts, spin doctors, and publicists. A poll conducted during the first annual congress of Russian political scientists in February 1998 showed that 80% of respondents (mainly university faculty and government-employed researchers) were involved in practical political work. Many academics report using campaign work as a means of entering the rather hard (sometimes semicriminal)

world of Russian politics, which is otherwise unwelcoming to serious researchers (Gorshkov 1998).

One of the greatest challenges facing Russian political science is that of molding a new generation of professionals who can replace the scientific communists currently in leadership positions throughout the discipline. At the time of this writing, no *facultet* (an administrative unit similar but not identical to an American university department) of political science exists at a major Russian university. In 1998, Chkabarovsk University announced the formation of such a department, but neither the small number of faculty or the low academic reputation of the school gives great hope that other universities will quickly follow its lead. Also, a 1998 Ministry of Education report shows that in 1998 only nine universities—Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov, Moscow Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Altai University, University of Perm, University of Tula, University of Voronezh, University of St. Petersburg, University of Saratov, and University of Ekaterinbourg—offered graduate courses in political science. Fewer than 250 students enrolled in the courses. Also, only three Russian universities have graduated students with political science degrees. On a more positive note, in 1999, two more universities began offering advance courses in political science. Many students enrolled in departments of sociology, history, and philosophy are actually specializing in political science.

A mixed blessing for the discipline is that a large number of academic councils give candidate and doctoral degrees in political science: 25 recognize candidate dissertations and 24 award doctorates. The level of many dissertations, especially those defended in provincial universities, is not very high. The community has not worked out an effective system for evaluating dissertations, and degrees and jobs are often given to political consultants, civil servants, and businessmen who lack appropriate qualifications and academic experience.

A profile of the average Russian political scientist can be assembled using data on gender, age, type of

education, and career collected in a series of surveys conducted by myself and my colleagues between 1996 and 1998 (see notes 1, 2, 3). The typical Russian political scientist is a male in his mid-60s who received his highest degree in a discipline other than political science and who teaches at a major university in Moscow. This composite masks much diversity.

Among all political scientists in Russia, men outnumber women. This overrepresentation of men is most marked among the oldest and the most well-trained. According to the Highest Attestation Commission, only 17 women hold doctoral degrees in political science, even though women outnumber men in the under-35 age group, the group most likely to hold Ph.D.s (see note 2). Like advanced degrees, grants go disproportionately to men (55% to 45%).

Male dominance in the discipline is not unique to Russian political science, of course. And the problem of gender inequity should not be overstated. It is unclear whether female political scientists can expect better or worse treatment than their female colleagues in other academic disciplines because reliable gender data do not exist for most disciplines in Russia.

A greater concern than the possibility of gender inequality is the average age of members of the discipline. Most chaired professors of political science are over 60 years old and political science has a much smaller population of 30–40 year olds than most Russian academic disciplines. Many middle-aged scholars have left universities for better-paying jobs or more intellectual freedom and those who have stayed have proven unwilling to adjust themselves to the new environment

or look for supplementary support from foundations. The flight of middle-aged political scientists is being off-set somewhat by the influx of scholars in their 20s.

Political scientists, as do most professional academics in Russia, concentrate in the largest cities, which also have the largest and great number of universities. Political science is less-geographically diverse than most disciplines, however. Nearly 85% of political science doctoral dissertations have been defended in Moscow, and the ratio of political scientists living and working in the capital city to political scientists in other cities is nearly twice as great as the ratio

for scholars in any other social science discipline. Also, only one in five of the applicants for a 1998 Soros research grant lived outside Moscow.

No precise employment data exists for Russian political scientists. Data from surveys I have conducted show that older members of the community tend to work in universities and younger members tend to still be working toward their highest degrees.³

Among younger scholars, participation in summer and winter universities is growing. Sponsored by groups like the Open Society Institute, Eurasia Foundation, Moscow Social Scientific Foundation, and Ford Foundation, these multiweek sessions give junior academics the opportunity to attend lectures from the best Russian and foreign scholars. Attendees are also encouraged to discuss future projects, form collaborative networks among their peers, and establish collegial relationships with the more senior scholars.

The summer university held in Vladimir in 1998 drew 80 social scientists under 35 years of age, 20 of whom were political scientists. Such gatherings of young, ambitious, well-trained scholars gives hope to those who, like me, wish to see the further development of political science in Russia. However, even the partici-

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pants note that their experiences are far different from those of a majority of their colleagues, old and young. Admission to this network is tightly controlled by different foundations and generally restricted to those who have already gained access to the very small circle of sponsoring agencies and colleagues. Efforts to increase accessibility to the youngest, poorest, and remotest scholars have been hampered by the relative unavailability of disciplinary journals and newsletters and the deliberate withholding of information by older and privileged scholars. A more democratic and well-designed system of professional communication needs to be developed so those most deserving of professional support can learn of their opportunities to receive it.⁴

Conclusion

The 1991 collapse of the Soviet regime compelled Russian political scientists to develop new theoretical and methodological tools for explaining political processes and to seek new means for supporting themselves. They could no longer describe all events in Marxist terms and they could no longer depend solely upon the state government to provide the funds needed for teaching and research. A decade later, political scientists are still trying to make the necessary adjustments.

The particularities of Russian culture and the events marking the natural course of disciplinary development have each hindered and facilitated the growth of a stable, modern, well-respected political science in post-Soviet Russia. One of the greatest obstacles to the discipline's growth is Russian citizens' unfamiliarity with democratic traditions, practices, and institutions. Just as this unfamiliarity hampers the

government's transition from authoritarianism, it hampers scholarly institutions' transition from dependence on the sponsorship of the government and practices developed to satisfy ideological censors. Unfortunately, little progress has been made in this area. Most of the senior scholars in universities and research institutes are holdovers from the Soviet era. They remain ideologically opposed to democratic reform and expect that most, if not all, their funding should come from government sources. Following their older colleagues' example, many younger scholars hire themselves and their theoretical services to political parties and private businesses and allow their employers to all but dictate their findings.

The expectation of state funding is not being met. Spending on the social sciences has been a very low priority for Russia's leaders, who tend to hold academic social scientists, especially political scientists, in low regard. Candidates' and parties' willingness to pay for the services of political technologists is not matched by their willingness to fund the work of university- and institute-based researchers. Because funds are scarce, few conferences are held, few books and journals are published, and scholars have few job prospects and very low mobility. Communication between scholars in Moscow and those in regional universities is negligible, as are exchanges. The journals that are published are not widely distributed. The lack of professional opportunities in their own country means Russian political scientists can not fully practice their discipline. Unfortunately, very few Russian political scientists can pursue these opportunities abroad, or even virtually.

Travel is difficult, expensive, and hampered by the fact that, according to a recent estimate published by the Ministry of Education, only about 5% of Russian political scientists are fluent in any foreign language (see note 2). Few political scientists have computers, and even fewer have the skills to make sophisticated use of them. Internet connections are very expensive and, consequently, very rare.

As bad as the picture I paint seems, I must also point out that many positive steps have been taken toward establishing political science as a viable, modern academic discipline in Russia. The institutional basis of universities and research institutes established during the latter half of the Soviet period remains intact. While many of these institutions are headed by old-school scientific communists, the work of younger, more liberal-minded, and methodologically sophisticated scholars is not being obstructed or censored. Despite their nominal power, the oldest scholars have not unduly hindered the post-1991 development of the discipline.

During the past decade, new Russian-language textbooks have been published and new syllabi have been developed that incorporate the best of contemporary theory and methodology. Empirical studies, traditionally eschewed by Soviet scholars, have become an integral part of Russian political science literature. And the first national Congress of Russian political science was held in February 1998. All of these developments are signs that Russia's political science community is began to establish itself as a cohesive group dedicated to the exchange of ideas and the maintenance of high academic standards.

Notes

* An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Eighteenth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Boston, September 1-4, 1998.

1. Data is taken from a survey conducted during a 1996 conference on teaching politi-

cal science in Russian universities. Responses were received from 157 professors representing 53 universities in 19 cities.

2. Data on degrees and employment is taken from a 1998 Highest Attestation Commission survey reported in Pliays (1998).

3. An analysis of 311 applications submitted by young scholars for a Soros Foundation Open Society Institute grant revealed that 45% of applicants listed their profession as postgraduate student, 27% as teacher, 14% as researcher, and 14% as

other (Shestopal 1997b). That so many young scholars are seeking extrainstitutional support is a good sign and a bad one. Good because it shows initiative, bad because it signifies that universities can not fully support scholars. If scholars entering the pro-

fession find it too difficult to support themselves and their research, they are likely to pursue other careers.

4. Applicant data collected by sponsors of the winter and summer universities show that

political scientists are severely underrepresented. For example, only 1.5% of applicants for a 1998 workshop sponsored by the Russian State Scientific Foundation were political scientists (Pliays 1998, 118).

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