Department of Political Science University of Colorado Ketchum Hall

PS 4028 Special Topics: Russian Politics

Instructor: Sarah Wilson Sokhey Fall Semester 2010 MWF, 11:00-11:50am Ketchum 235

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*E-mail is the best way to contact me.

Course Description & Objectives

How did the post-communist countries of Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia undergo the dual transition to democratic governments and market-based economies? This course will address the post-communist countries in general, but will focus on Russia to make the material more accessible to students with no background in the region and also because the collapse of the Russian state was at the center of the communist collapse. The first part of the course will cover the period of Russian politics beginning in the Soviet Era up through Medvedev's election as president in 2008. The second part of the course will touch on several major issues related to Russia politics: the media, political culture, economic reform, social problems and foreign policy. We will conclude the course with a discussion of the most recent era and Russia's place in the international community.

Over the course of the semester, we will discuss questions such as: What was communism as a political and economic system? Why did the Soviet Union collapse? What is the connection between political and economic reforms? Is democracy necessary for a well-functioning economy? Can democracy survive when economic reforms fail? How was Yeltsin able to come to power & maintain power? How did Putin rise to power, and more recently President Medvedev? What role have the oligarchs played? And has Russia established a democratic system today? We will answer these and other questions through reading, discussing, and writing.

This course is designed to stimulate an informed discussion among students about political and economic transformations. Many of the questions do not have clear answers, but require rigorous analytical thinking. This course has two primary goals: 1) to provide students with greater knowledge of political developments in the region, and 2) to provide students with a more analytical approach to studying important questions in the social sciences. Given these goals, diligent reading and regular attendance are essential to be successful in this course. You should complete the readings before each class and be prepared to discuss what you think. I see this course as a joint endeavor to better understand the politics of a particular region of the world and, in doing so, to grapple with enduring questions in the social sciences.

Requirements

Your course grade will be based on the following criteria:

Reading Quizzes 25% Course Paper 20% Final Exam 20%

2 Midterm Exams 30% (15% each)

Geography Quiz 5%

Extra Credit See more information below

Reading Quizzes

There will be a minimum of 15 reading quizzes throughout the semester (which works out to be at least 1 quiz a week). Any day of class for which there is assigned reading is a day on which we may have a reading quiz. These quizzes will typically consist of 2-3 questions about the reading assigned for that day in class. The very first reading quiz (on the second day of class) will ask questions pertaining to the syllabus.

This course is designed to promote critical thinking about questions related to Russian politics. For this to work, all students must come to class having completed the assigned readings and prepared to discuss their thoughts on the topic. Because there is no substitute for reading & attending classes, there are absolutely no make-up reading quizzes under any circumstances whatsoever. Additionally, if you are late to class and miss the reading quiz, you will not be allowed to make-up the quiz.

Reading quizzes are intended to capture your preparation and participation in the class on the day of class. Therefore, regardless of the reason for your absence, <u>there are absolutely no make-up reading quizzes under any circumstances whatsoever.</u>

Course Paper

More detailed information regarding the course paper will be passed out later in the quarter. You will be required to compare the progress of Russian with another post-Soviet or post-communist country. You should choose your country of interest early in the semester so that you can begin to follow the political and economic events in this country. Post-Soviet countries from which you may choose include Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. You may also choose to compare Russia to the developments in one of the Eastern European countries that was not part of the Soviet Union although these countries will receive less coverage in the course. These countries include Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia Bulgaria, Romania, and the countries of the former Yugoslavia (Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Kosovo).

The paper is due in class on <u>Friday</u>, <u>December 3rd</u>. Late papers will be penalized a full letter grade for every day they are late (including weekends). You should also submit an electronic version of your paper on CU Learn.

Useful journals and reports for finding information on your country & following current events include:

• The East European Constitutional Review

- The Freedom House Annual Human Rights Survey
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development's *Transition Reports* (http://transitionreport.co.uk)
- Journal of Democracy
- Europe-Asia Studies
- Central Asian Studies
- Journal of Baltic Studies
- East European Politics and Society

Additional Useful Sources for your paper:

- Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, Democratization and Authoritarianism in Post-Communist Societies, volumes 1-4, Cambridge University Press, 1996
- Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, New States, New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations, Cambridge University Press, 1997
- Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996
- Dave Weimer, ed., The Political Economy of Property Rights: Institutional Change and Credibility in the Reform of Centrally-Planned Economies, Cambridge University Press, 1997
- Nicholas V. Riasanovsky and Mark D. Steinber, *The History of Russia*, Oxford University Press, 2005. (This is an excellent and authoritative resource on Russian history).
- Freedom House, Nations in Transit, See: www.freedomhouse.org

A note on Wikipedia & the Use of Proper Sources:

DO NOT CITE WIKIPEDIA under any circumstances in your paper! Wikipedia is open source and, while it often has useful and sometimes accurate general knowledge, it is NOT an academic source that should ever be cited in a course paper. This, of course, also means you should not use information from Wikipedia that you have not verified elsewhere. You should also not plagiarize from Wikipedia. Please be aware that it is exceptionally easy to detect plagiarism from Wikipedia (and many other sources). Please see the section below regarding academic honesty for more information on plagiarism.

Exams

There will be 2 midterm exams and 1 final exam. The two midterm exams will consist of multiple choice, identification, and short answer questions. I will provide more information in class on what you should expect on the exams. The midterm exams are not cumulative.

On the final exam, you will be asked to answer 1 long essay question. This question will focus on the big questions we have focused on from week 11 onwards, but will also ask you to draw on information from the first part of the course.

Geography Quiz

There will be a geography quiz at the end of week 2 which tests your knowledge of the location and capitals of the countries that were former Soviet Republics.

Extra Credit

There is one opportunity for extra credit in this course. On the course rubric below, you will notice that there are occasionally recommended readings. These readings are not mandatory, but are interesting additional sources which are available if you are interested and may be helpful for your course paper. If you are especially interested in a topic on the syllabus for which there are not recommended readings, please let me know and I may be able to recommend readings for extra credit.

You should complete a recommended reading and write a two-page summary which: 1) briefly summarizes the content of the reading, and 2) gives your reaction & thoughts about the reading. Your response paper should relate to what we are covering in the course. You may complete TWO recommended readings for extra credit. Each recommended reading response you complete is worth 2 points on your final grade. You may only receive 1 extra credit point if the response paper does not summarize the reading correctly or does not give your reaction to the reading. To receive extra credit, you must submit an extra credit response paper by the final day of class.

Required Books

The required books for this course are the following:

- 1) Mary McAuley, Soviet Politics, 1917-1991, Oxford University Press, ISBN: 978-0-19-878067-0
- 2) Thomas Remington, Politics in Russia, 4th edition, Pearson/Longman, ISBN: 978-0-205-70491-0
- 3) Robert Strayer, Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse? M.E. Sharpe, ISBN: 0-7656-0004-8
- 4) Steve Levine, Putin's Labyrinth, Random House, ISBN: 978-0-8129-7841-4

Additional required readings will be available through http://culearn.colorado.edu

Contacting Instructor

I am available Mondays and Wednesdays from 10-11am for office hours. I am also happy to make arrangements to meet with you at a time that is more convenient for your schedule.

A note about e-mail: READ THIS!

E-mail is the quickest and easiest way to contact me outside of class and I always make an effort to respond promptly. Although e-mail is an easy and convenient form of correspondence, you should think of e-mails to any of your instructors as <u>professional correspondence</u>. This means that your message should adhere to norms of academic writing including the use of proper punctuation. You should also avoid IM style language or excessive use of abbreviations. The better I can understand your e-mail, the better I am able to help you in a constructive manner. Some questions are best answered in class or in person during office hours; in these cases, I may wait to address your question in class or indicate that we should arrange a time to talk.

Disabilities

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit to me a letter from Disability Services in a timely manner so that your needs may be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities. Contact: 303-492-8671, Willard 322, and http://www.Colorado.EDU/disabilityservices. Disability Services' letters for students with disabilities indicate legally mandated reasonable accommodations. The syllabus statements and answers to Frequently Asked Questions can be found at http://www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices.

Religious Observance

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to reasonably and fairly deal with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Please note, however, that requests for special accommodations need to be presented in a timely manner: at least one week prior to scheduled exams/assignments. See full details at http://www.colorado.edu/policies/fac_relig.html

Classroom Behavior

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Students who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Faculty have the professional responsibility to treat all students with understanding, dignity and respect, to guide classroom discussion and to set reasonable limits on the manner in which they and their students express opinions. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records. See polices at http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html-student_code

Discrimination and Harassment

The University of Colorado at Boulder policy on Discrimination and Harassment, the University of Colorado policy on Sexual Harassment and the University of Colorado policy on Amorous Relationships apply to all students, staff and faculty. Any student, staff or faculty member who believes s/he has been the subject of discrimination or harassment based upon race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Judicial Affairs at 303-492-5550. Information about the ODH, the above referenced policies, and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment can be obtained at http://www.colorado.edu/odh

Academic Honesty & Student Conduct

All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council (honor@colorado.edu; 303-725-2273). Students who are found to be in violation of the academic integrity policy will be subject to both academic sanctions from the faculty member and non-academic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). Other information on the Honor Code can be found at: http://www.colorado.edu/policies/honor.html and at:

http://www.colorado.edu/academics/honorcode/

All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own and should not be work you have submitted in any other course. No cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper attribution) will be tolerated. Any cases of cheating or plagiarism will be handled according to university policy. If you plagiarize, you will fail the course. Plagiarism does not

only include lifting text verbatim from another source and using it as your own, but includes (among other things) paraphrasing a work and not properly citing it in your paper.

When considering whether or not to plagiarize, consider whether you are willing to fail the course and possibly facing other university sanctions for doing so. If you are having difficulty completing course assignments, consider alternatives to cheating including contacting me (or your other instructors) for help. The consequences of turning in a poorly done assignment are always much less severe than plagiarizing.

Extensions & Make-ups

As a general rule, I will not grant any extensions or make-ups. All deadlines have been clearly marked on the course schedule and you should make note of them. In case of extreme emergency (such as serious illness), extensions and make-ups must be discussed with the instructor individually and will be arranged on a case-by-case basis contingent on proper documentation of any incident preventing the student from meeting the deadline.

***IMPORTANT NOTE: Assignments should be submitted in class, not via e-mail or left in my mailbox in the political science department. If extenuating circumstances require you to submit your assignment by e-mail or by leaving it in my mailbox, it is your responsibility to make sure I get it. You should be sure to get confirmation that I have received your assignment in this case.

Grading

I will use the following scale in assessing grades:

A	94+	C+	77-79	F	59 and below
A-	90-93	C	74-76		ar mid bolow
B+	87-89	C-	70-73		
В	84-86	D+	67-69		
B-	80-83	D-	60-66		

Course Schedule

Note: Readings that are not available from the 4 required books (Remington, McAuley, Strayer, and Levine) will be posted on http://culearn.colorado.edu and I have marked this on the schedule with "CU Learn" in parentheses. Please let me know prior to class if you have difficulty accessing any of the readings. The italicized questions in the schedule below are those you should keep in mind while reading as we will discuss them in class.

I reserve the right to make adjustments to the schedule & readings as necessary. Unless otherwise noted, all reading on this schedule is <u>mandatory</u>. As you might guess, reading that is listed as recommended is not required reading. These recommended readings can be completed for extra credit (see details above under "Extra Credit"). Recommended movies are <u>not</u> options for the extra credit response papers.

	Date	Topic & Reading Assignment	Deadlines
Week 1	Mon., Aug 23	Introduction & Overview of the Course	
	Wed., Aug. 25	Why is it important to study Russia & the post-Soviet countries? Remington, Chapter 1, "State and Regime in Russia," pp. 1-27 *Be sure to read the syllabus carefully. The first reading quiz will be on the syllabus and Remington, Chapter 1.	
	Fri., Aug. 27	Where did communism come from? How did the Soviet Union emerge? McAuley, Intro and Chapter 1, p. 1-23 *Reference the chronology provided by McAuley, p. 124-126	
Week 2	Mon., Aug. 30	Rise of the Soviet Union (1917-1928) & Stalinist Era (1929-1953) How did the Soviet Union come into existence? What is the Stalinist legacy? How is Stalin viewed in Russia today? McAuley, Chapter 2, p. 24-33	
		Recommended: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto, 1848 John Reed, Ten Days That Shook the World, 1919 Movie: Reds (1981, Warren Beatty)	
	Wed., Sep. 1	McAuley, Chapter 3, "Industrialization, Collectivization and the Stalinist State," p. 34-49	
	Fri., Sep. 3	1) McAuley, Chapter 4, "Terror," p. 50-61 2) New York Times, 4 February, 1989, "Major Soviet Newspaper Says 20 Million Died as Victims of Staline" (CU Learn) 3) Voice of America, 18 December, 2009, "Stalin: Revered and Reviled in Russia" (CU Learn)	Geography Quiz
		Recommended: Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation Movie: Burnt by the Sun (1994, Nikita Mikalkhov) Movie: East/West, (1999, Regis Wargnier)	

Week 3	Mon.,	***No Class: Labor Day***	
	Sep. 6		
	Wed,	Khrushchev (1953-1977)	
	Sep. 8	What happened after Stalin died? How did Soviet politics change? How did Soviet politics stay the same?	,
		1) MoAuler Class 5 (97)	
		1) McAuley, Chapter 5, "Khrushchev and Party Rule," pp. 62-74 2) Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, <i>The Gulag Archipelago</i> , 1918-1956: An	
		Experiment in Literary Investigation, Part VII, "Stalin is No More"	
	Fri,	Brezhnev (1977-1982)	
	Sep. 10	McAuley, Chapter 6, "The Administrative-Command System under Brezhnev," pp. 75-88	
Week 4	Mon.,	Gorbachev Era (1985-1991)	
	Sept. 13	What is a Communist economy & how is it different from a market-based	
		economy? What did Communist economies do well? What did Communist	
		economies do poorly? Why was reforming a Communist economic system difficult? 1) Richard Ericson, "The Classical Soviet-type Economy," Journal of	
		Economic Perspectives, 1991 (CU Learn)	
		2) Janos Kornai, The Socialist System, pp. 3-17, 19-21 (CU Learn)	
	Wed.,	Perestroika & Glasnost	
	Sept. 15	McAuley, Chapter 7, "Perestroika and the End of Party Rule," p. 89-106	
	Fri., Sept. 17	McAuley, Chapter 8, "Dispersal of Power" & Conclusion, p. 107-123	
Week 5	Mon.,	Implications for Countries of Eastern Europe: The Gorbachev Factor	
	Sept. 20	Michael G. Roskin, The Rebirth of East Europe, Chapter 7: The	
		Gorbachev Factor, pp. 120-130 (read up to, but not including, the section entitled, "The Dominoes Fall") (CU Learn)	
		Recommended:	
		Slavenka Drakulic, How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed	
		Movie: Good Bye, Lenin! (2003, Wolfgang Becker)	
		Movie: The Lives of Others (2006, Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck)	
	Wed., Sept. 22	Review for Exam #1	
		Recommended:	
		Time magazine, Interview with Gorbachev, 9 September, 1985	
		(http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,959753,00.html) (CU Learn)	
	Fri.,	(CO Exam)	EXAM #1
	Sept. 24		EARINI #1

Week 6	Mon., Sept. 27 Wed., Sept. 29 Fri., Oct. 1	Fall of the Soviet Union Why did the Soviet Union collapse? What different factors contributed to its demise? In what ways is this a unique historical event? McAuley, Conclusion Robert Strayer, "Introduction: Contexts and Comparisons," pp.3-20 (CU Learn) Robert Strayer, Chapter 5, "Passing into History: The Final Act of the Soviet Drama," pp. 174-193 (CU Learn) Robert Strayer, Chapter 5, "Passing into History: The Final Act of the Soviet Drama," 194-205 (CU Learn)	
Week 7	Mon., Oct. 4	First Russian Republic (1991-1993): Yeltsin Era, Part I How was the new Russian government organized? Was this good or bad for democracy? Remington, Chapter 3, "Russia's Constitutional Order", pp. 57-74	,
	Wed., Oct. 6	How has Russia's federal system developed? What happened in Chechnya during this period? Remington, Chapter 3, "Russia's Constitutional Order", pp. 74-83 (section entitled, "The Federal Dimension")	
	Fri., Oct. 8	What did Yeltsin do well? What did he do poorly? What challenges did he face? Michael McFaul, "Evaluating Yeltsin and his Revolution" (CU Learn)	
Week 8	Mon., Oct. 11	The Second Russian Republic (1993-1999): Yeltsin Era, Part 2 What is the dual transition? What economic reforms did the Yeltsin administration pursue? Remington, Chapter 7, "Between State and Market," pp. 193-217 Recommended: Chrystia Freeland, Sale of the Century, Chapter 3 (CU Learn)	
	Wed., Oct. 13	What major parties were emerging? What policies did they support? Which groups supported them? Remington, Chapter 6, "Interest Groups and Political Parties," pp. 173-187 (second half of chapter)	
	Fri., Oct. 15	Despite a rocky transition, why was Yeltsin nevertheless re-elected? Daniel Treisman, "Why Yeltsin Won," Foreign Affairs, 1996 (CU Learn)	Start working on research paper
Week 9	Mon., Oct. 18	Putin Era (2000-2008, or has the Putin era ended?) Rutland, "Putin's Rise to Power," Post-Soviet Affairs, 2000 (CU Learn) Steven Levine, Putin's Labyrinth, 2009, Introduction, pp. xiii-xxi	
	Wed., Oct. 20	Steven Levine, <i>Putin's Labyrinth</i> , 2009, Chapter 2, "How Putin Got Elected," pp. 13-25	

	Fri., Oct. 22	Steven Levine, Putin's Labyrinth, 2009 Chapter 5, "Nord-Ost" Chapter 6, "The Exiles," pp. 49-87 Recommended: Debra Javeline and Vanessa Baird, "Who Sues the Government? Evidence from the Moscow Theater Hostage Crisis," Comparative Political Studies, 20:10, pp. 1-28 (*This articles presents an original survey of the victims of the Nord-Ost hostage crisis and was written by one of CU's own political science professors.)	
Week 10	Wed., Oct. 27 Fri.,	2008 Presidential Election: Medvedev 1) Jim Nichol, "Russia's March 2008 Presidential Election: Outcome and Implications," CRS Report for Congress, 13 March, 2008 (CU Learn) 2) Konstantin Sonin, "A Shift in Authority," The Moscow Times, 15 April, 2008 (CU Learn) Recommended: Steven Levine, Putin's Labyrinth, Epilogue Review for Exam #2	Exam #2
	Oct. 29		
Week 11	Mon., Nov. 1	The Media, Political Culture, & Democracy Why are tactics for controlling the media different in the Soviet era versus the Putin era? Scott Gehlbach, "Reflections on Putin & the Media," Post-Soviet Affairs, 26:1, 2010, pp. 77-87 (CU Learn)	
	Wed., Nov. 3	What is the basis of political culture in Russia? Are Russians undemocratic? Remington, Chapter 5, "Political Culture and National Identity," pp. 120-134	
	Fri., Nov. 5	Remington, Chapter 5, "Political Culture and National Identity," pp. 135-146	Research paper due in 4 weeks
Week 12	Mon., Nov. 8	Economic Reform Why were the more democratic countries also the more advanced market reformers? Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All," World Politics, 1998 (CU Learn)	
	Wed., Nov. 10	What were the trends in economic reforms across the post-communist countries? Did market reforms hurt citizens in the short-term? European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Report, 1999 (CU Learn) John Earle and Scott Gehlbach, "Mass Privatization and the Post-Communist Mortality Crisis: Is there really a relationship?" January	
		2010, pp.1-9 (CU Learn)	

	Fri., Nov. 12	Joseph Stiglitz, "Who Lost Russia?" (CU Learn) Recommended:	
		Timothy Frye, "The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Post-Communist World," World Politics, 54:3 (April) 2002	
Week 13	Mon., Nov. 15	Corruption & the Rule of Law Does Russia have rule of law? Why or why not? Why has Russia faced persistent problems with corruption? Remington, Chapter 8, "Politics and the Law," pp. 222-240	
	Wed., Nov. 17	Remington, Chapter 8, "Politics and the Law," pp.240-248	
	Fri., Nov. 19	Article on Khodorkovsky case (CU Learn)	Research Paper Due
Week 14	Mon., Nov. 22	***Fall Break***	in 2 weeks
	Wed., Nov. 24	***Fall Break***	
	Fri., Nov. 26	***Fall Break (Happy Thanksgiving)***	Research Paper Due Next Week
Veek 15	Mon., Nov. 29	Social Challenges in the Post-Communist Era What are the current social challenges facing Russia and other post-communist countries? What are the larger implications of these social challenges? What are the prospects for resolving these issues? HIV & Healthcare in Russia Peter Baker & Susan Glasser, Kremlin Rising, "Sick Man of Europe," 2005, pp. 179-196 (CU Learn) Grace Wong, "Russia's bleak picture of health," CNN, 19 May, 2009	
		Recommended: 1) Movie/documentary on trafficking of women in the post-communist era: Mimi Chakarova, "The Price of Sex" (available at: www.priceofsex.org) 2) Movie: Autumn Spring (2001, Vladimir Michalak) 3) Mukesh Chawla, Gordon Betcherman, and Arup Banerji, From Red to Gray, World Bank, 2007, pp. 1-13 (overview), 22-34 (sections on pensions and healthcare) (CU Learn)	
	Wed., Dec. 1	The Military Peter Baker & Susan Glasser, Kremlin Rising, "Runaway Military," 2005, pp. 179-196 (CU Learn)	

	Fri., Dec. 3	Discussion of Research Papers How does Russia compare to other post-Soviet countries? How is Russian similar? How is Russia unique?	Research Paper Due in Class & on CU Learn
Week 16	Mon., Dec. 6	Looking Ahead What major challenges does Russia face? Why is its role in the international arena so important? Will Russia become a democracy? Remington, Chapter 9, "Russia as Regional Superpower," p. 253-271	
	Wed., Dec. 8	Is Russia likely to become more democratic in the near future? Will United Russia maintain its hold on political power? Reading To Be Determined	
	Fri., Dec. 10	Review for Final Exam	Final Day to Turn in Extra Credit
		Final Exam, Tuesday, December 14th, 7:30-10 p.m.	