PSCI 3022: Russian Politics
Spring 2018, Tuesdays & Thursday, 12:30-1:45pm, Arnett Hall N200
Professor Sokhey

Office: Ketchum Hall 133 (Ketchum is located between Norlin Library and Atlas)
E-mail: sokheys@colorado.edu
Office hours: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 3:30-5pm in Ketchum & by appointment*
GRAP Fellow: Kevin Vick (kevin.vick@colorado.edu), hours on Mon. 5-7pm, Arnett N-207

*I am happy to arrange meetings outside of my scheduled office hours as the time above are not likely to accommodate all students. You are always free to stop by my office outside of these hours, or to arrange another specific time to meet. Tuesday and Thursday mornings are also a good time to stop by.

I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma.
~ Winston Churchill, October 1939 ~

Russia’s remaining defects are typical of countries at its level of economic development…Russia is quite normal.
~ Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, 2005 ~

Is Russia an enigma or a normal country? We’ll find out by talking about Russia’s transition to democracy and the market in the 1990s, slide into authoritarianism in the 2000s, and its role in the international community. Welcome to Russian Politics!
Requirements

Your course grade will be based on the following criteria:

2 Midterm Exams 60% (30% each)
Final Exam 15%
Participation (Get a Clicker!) 15%
Geography Quiz 5%
Current Events Discussion on D2L 5%
Optional Research Paper worth 20% and each midterm will be worth 20%
Extra Credit see more information below

Exams (75% of your total grade)

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 13 onwards, but will also ask you to draw on information from the first part of the course.

Participation: Get a CU Clicker! (15%)

You will be required to use a CU Clicker for some in-class assignments and quizzes. Your participation grade will be based on reading quizzes and in-class assignments. There are no make-ups for the reading quizzes and in-class assignment because they are specifically intended to evaluate your participation in class. There will, however, be many of these throughout the semester (usually at least 1 a week, or more) so that missing just a few will not have a large negative impact on your grade. If you miss many of these, then there will be, of course, a larger impact on your final grade.

Geography Quiz (5%)

There will be a geography quiz at the end of week 2 which tests your knowledge of the relevant countries, country capitals, and major geographic features.

Current Events Discussion on D2L (5%)

Keeping up with current events is an important part of our class. I will post articles on D2L with current relevant news. On the class schedule on the syllabus, I have marked the days of class for which you should read or comment on these articles. Typically, I will post an article on Tuesday which you should read and comment on by Thursday (there are some exceptions—be sure to follow the class schedule below). A discussion board will be created on D2L. You are required to: 1) make 1 relevant comment about the articles, and 2) respond to 1 comment from someone else. Your comments should be relevant and reflect that you have read the articles. Please be polite in your comments and responses to others.

Current Affairs: Read the News!

Current affairs will be regularly incorporated into class. In addition to the articles you are required to read and comment on, you should regularly look for news on current affairs in Russia. New stories that are covered in class will be covered on exams. Some good non-American news sources about Russia include:

- Johnson’s Russia List: This is an excellent way to read articles (in English) about what is going on in Russia from a variety of Russian, international, and American news sources. You can sign up for free daily news from Russian and international news sources from “Johnson’s Russia List” at russialist.org. You can also just check this website instead of receiving the stories by e-mail.
Johnson’s Russia List includes articles from major news sources around the world and Russian newspapers. Russian-language articles have been translated into English which is a great advantage of this free service.

- **BBC:** The “Europe” web page of the BBC for news on Russia which can be found at: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/europe/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/europe/). Scan the BBC headlines for news on Russia and read any relevant articles. You can also search “Russia” from the BBC web page to find the most relevant news.

- **RT:** Formerly called Russia Today, RT is available at [www.rt.com](http://www.rt.com) (click on the Russian Politics section). This is a Russian state-owned news sources which provides news in English. In particular, you should note how the perspective is the same or different for reporting on the same events when reading the BBC versus Russia Today. It is also interesting to take a look at US news reported in Russia Today at [www.rt.com/usa](http://www.rt.com/usa).

- **PONARS Eurasia:** At [www.ponarseurasia.org](http://www.ponarseurasia.org), you can find regularly find new commentary from academic experts about current events in Russia and other post-communist countries.

- **Public Opinion Polls:** Check out Putin’s approval ratings, and other important results of national polls (including attitudes towards the US) at Levada (a private polling company) ([http://www.levada.ru/en/](http://www.levada.ru/en/)) and at the Russian Public Opinion Research center (a state-owned polling organization) ([https://www.wciom.com/](https://www.wciom.com/)). Both have English versions of their websites.

**Optional Research Paper**

You have the option to submit an 8-10 page research paper. If you are interested in this option, come talk to me and I will provide you with more detailed information. If you choose to write a research paper, your research paper will be worth 20% of your final grade and each midterm will be worth 20% of your final grade. You will be asked to submit your paper on D2L by Thursday, April 26. You should keep in mind that the penalty for plagiarism in this course is failing the course. Don't plagiarize.

**Extra Credit**

There is one opportunity for extra credit in this course. On the course schedule 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. Some optional extra credit readings will be available on D2L.

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 2 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 on D2L by the final day of class. Please do not submit paper copies of your extra credit. I cannot promise that paper copies will be counted for extra credit. Instead, upload your extra credit in the appropriate folder on D2L.**
Required Books
Much of the required reading will be available electronically on the D2L website for our course.

The required books for this course are the following:


Recommended, but not required (should be cheap to purchase online):


Note about cost & buying books
The Remington book is most important and you need it beginning in week 1. Used copies of Remington are fine, but make sure you get the 7th edition published by Pearson/Longman or Routledge. Amazon also has rental options for the Remington book. New paperback copies of the Frye book should be about $25 and used copies should be a bit cheaper. The McAuley book is a short paperback and there should be affordable used copies available online.

Copies of the Remington, Frye, and McAuley books are also on reserve at Norlin Library and can be checked out at the main circulation desk at Norlin.

Contacting Instructor
I am available during my regular office hours. I am happy to make arrangements to meet with you at a time that is more convenient for your schedule. You are also welcome to stop by at other times as I am typically in my office during the day.

A note about e-mail
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 professional correspondence. This means that your message should adhere to norms of academic writing including the use of proper punctuation. You should also avoid slang and 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 (because many students will have the same question) or in person during office hours (because they require some explanation) 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 your professor a letter from Disability Services in a timely manner (for exam accommodations provide your letter at least one week prior to the exam) so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities. Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or by e-mail at dsinfo@colorado.edu. If you have a temporary medical condition or injury, see Temporary Injuries guidelines (http://www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices/students/temporary-medical-conditions) under the Quick Links at the Disability Services website (http://www.colorado.edu/disabilityservices) and discuss your needs with me.

Religious Observance
Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. In this class, requests for special accommodations need to be presented in a timely
manner meaning at least one week prior to scheduled exams/assignments. Although I will always try to accommodate requests, I reserve the right to deny requests for accommodations that are requested less than a week before the assignment or exam, or which are made after an assignment or exam.

Classroom Behavior
Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, color, culture, religion, creed, politics, veteran’s status, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity and gender expression, age, disability, 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. For more information, see the policies on classroom behavior (http://www.colorado.edu/policies/student-classroom-and-course-related-behavior) and the student code (http://www.colorado.edu/osc/sites/default/files/attached-files/studentconductcode_15-16.pdf).

Discrimination and Harassment
The University of Colorado Boulder (CU-Boulder) is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment. CU-Boulder will not tolerate acts of sexual misconduct, discrimination, harassment or related retaliation against or by any employee or student. CU’s Sexual Misconduct Policy prohibits sexual assault, sexual exploitation, sexual harassment, intimate partner abuse (dating or domestic violence), stalking or related retaliation. CU-Boulder’s Discrimination and Harassment Policy prohibits discrimination, harassment or related retaliation based on race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, political affiliation or political philosophy. Individuals who believe they have been subject to misconduct under either policy should contact the Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) at 303-492-2127. Information about the OIEC, the above referenced policies, and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding sexual misconduct, discrimination, harassment or related retaliation can be found at the OIEC website (http://www.colorado.edu/institutionalequity).

Academic Honesty & Student Conduct
All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy (http://www.colorado.edu/policies/academic-integrity-policy) of the institution. Violations of the policy may include: plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access, clicker fraud, resubmission, and aiding academic dishonesty. All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to the Honor Code Council (honor@colorado.edu; 303-735-2273). Students who are found responsible of violating the academic integrity policy will be subject to nonacademic sanctions from the Honor Code Council as well as academic sanctions from the faculty member. Additional information regarding the academic integrity policy can be found at http://honorcode.colorado.edu.

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 and reported to the Committee on Academic Misconduct. **If I find that you have plagiarized, you will fail the course.** Plagiarism does not only include lifting text verbatim from another source and using it as your own, but includes paraphrasing a work and not properly citing it in your paper (i.e., using an idea or argument without proper attribution).

When considering whether or not to plagiarize, consider whether you are willing to fail the course and possibly face 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, or not turning in an assignment at all, are 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+
- **A-** 90-93
- **B+** 87-89
- **B** 84-86
- **B-** 80-83
- **C+** 77-79
- **C** 74-76
- **C-** 70-73
- **D+** 67-69
- **D-** 60-66
- **F** 59 and below
## Course Schedule

**Note:** All reading is required unless otherwise noted. Readings that are not available from the required books will be posted on the D2L website as indicated below. Please let me know prior to class if you have difficulty accessing any of the readings. Recommended readings can be completed for extra credit (see details above under “Extra Credit”).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Week 1</th>
<th>Tuesday, Jan. 16</th>
<th>Introduction: Why Study Russian Politics?</th>
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|        | Thursday, Jan. 18| **What’s Going on in Russia Today?**  
Putin, Elections, the Winter Olympics, Ukraine, the role of American politics, and much more! |
2) Christopher Jarinas, “Yes, the Kremlin is Worried—about Russia’s Own Presidential Elections,” Washington Post, December 6, 2017.  
|        | In-class: Post-Communist Geography |

| Week 2 | Tuesday, Jan. 23 | **A Quick Look at the Soviet System: How Did We Get Here?**  
**Soviet Politics**  
What did the Soviet political system look like? Are the stereotypes true, or an exaggeration? |
|--------|------------------|------------------------------------------------|
|        |                  | **Recommended background reading on the Communist era:**  
* Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage*, see a short biography of Kornai at: [http://www.economics.harvard.edu/faculty/kornai/cv/bio.pdf](http://www.economics.harvard.edu/faculty/kornai/cv/bio.pdf)  
* Maria Krenz, *Made in Hungary: A Life Forged by History*, Donner Publishing, 2009. (Ms. Krenz is a CU alum and was born and lived in Hungary during the Holocaust and under Communism until she left in 1957. This book gives an excellent personal account of life under Communism.)  
* Slavenka Drakulic, *How we Survived Communism & Even Laughed*  
* Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago* |
|        | Thursday, Jan. 25| **Soviet Economy**  
What did the Soviet economy look like? Why were attempts to reform the Soviet economy unsuccessful? |
2) Current news: Comment on D2L before class |

|        | Geography Quiz in class |
| Week 3 | Tuesday, Jan 30 | Russian Democracy in the 1990s  
How was the new Russian government organized? Was this good or bad for democracy? |
|---|---|---|
|   |   | 1) Remington, Chapter 3, “Russia’s Constitutional Order”, pp. 56-82  
2) Igor Klymakin and Lilia Shevtsova, “The Tactical Origins of Russia’s New Political Institutions,” 1999 (2-page excerpt from This Omnipotent and Impotent Government: The Evolution of the Political System in Post-Communist Russia, Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center) (D2L) |
| Thursday, Feb. 1 |   | Was Russia a democracy in the 1990s? (Yes!) |
2) Current News: Comment on D2L before class |
|   | In-class: CNN documentary “The Cold War” from 1996. This is a 24-part series that includes episodes with interviews of many leaders, political activists, and citizens in Russia and other post-communist countries from the late 1980s and early 1990s. This is an excellent insight into Russia’s early transition. |
| Week 4 | Tuesday, Feb. 6 | Russian Economy in the 1990s  
What is the “dual transition”? What economic reforms did the Yeltsin administration pursue? Why does it matter? |
|   |   | 1) Remington, Chapter 7, “Between State and Market,” pp. 191-214  
2) Boris Yeltsin’s memoires, Chapter 7, “A Rough Patch” (D2L) |
| Thursday, Feb. 8 |   | The Rise of the Oligarchs: Who ran Russia in the 1990s? |
|   |   | 1) Mikhail Khodorkovsky chapter in David Hoffman’s, The Oligarchs (D2L)  
2) Boris Berezovsky chapter in David Hoffman’s, The Oligarchs (D2L)  
3) Current News: Comment on D2L before class |
| Week 5 | Tuesday, Feb. 13 | Chechnya & Islam in Russia  
*What role has Chechnya played in Russia politics? Is it an important issue today? How is this related to terrorism in Russia?*  
2) Nord-Ost chapter in Steven Levine’s, *Putin’s Russia* (D2L)  
**Recommended:**  
2) Debra Javeline and Vanessa Baird, “Who Sues the Government? Evidence from the Moscow Theater Hostage Crisis,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 20:10, 2007, 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. (D2L) |  |
| Thursday, Feb. 15 | Exam #1 in class |  |
| Week 6 | Tuesday, Feb. 20 | Elections in Russia  
*What’s happened in Russia’s post-communist elections? How have elections changed from the 1990s to the 2000s?*  
**In-class:** A chronology of Russia’s post-communist elections. |  |
| Thursday, Feb. 22 | Where did Putin come from?  
| Week 7 | Tuesday, Feb. 27 | Putin’s Russia  
*What is Russian political culture and what does it look like under Putin? What role does the media play?*  
1) Remington, Chapter 5, “Political Culture and National Identity,” pp. 117-143  
2) Scott Gehlbach, “Reflections on Putin & the Media,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 26:1, 2010, pp. 77-87 (D2L)  
**In class:** Current 2018 survey data from Russia.  
**Recommended:**  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thursday, Feb. 29</th>
<th>Protest in Putin’s Russia</th>
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<td><em>Who protests in Russia, and why?</em></td>
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3) Kommersant, March 15, 2012, “Less Than 50% of Respondents Trust the Results of Elections” (D2L)


**Recommend:**

1) Debra Javeline and Vanessa Baird, “Who Sues the Government? Evidence from the Moscow Theater Hostage Crisis,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 20:10, 2007, 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. (D2L)


2) OSCE Preliminary Findings on Russian parliamentary elections in December 2011 (D2L)

3) OSCE Preliminary Findings on Russian presidential elections in March 2012 (D2L)

Week 8  Tuesday, March 6

**Russia’s International Role: Ukraine**

*How and why has Russia been involved in Ukrainian politics? How and why did this result in sanctions on Russia?*


*Note: Look on D2L for a timeline of events in Ukraine. This timeline will help you better follow the readings.*

*In-class:* We will watch part of *Winter on Fire*. This is a recent documentary about the events that began happening in Ukraine in 2013. It was released in 2015. It’s directed by Evgeny Afineevsky (who was born in Russia). It was nominated for an Oscar.

**Recommended:**
4) Hiski Haukkala, “From Cooperative to Contested Europe? The Conflict in Ukraine as a Culmination of a Long-Term Crisis in EU-Russia Relations,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 23:1, 2015; focus on pages 30-37 about the recent era
| Tuesday, March 8 | **Russia’s International Role: Syria**  
*What has Russia’s role in Syria been?*  
1) Syrian conflict alliances, graphic from the *New York Times*, October 18, 2015 (D2L)  
**Recommended:**  
| Week 9 | **The Russian Presidential Election this Sunday, March 18th**  
*Why are economic issues so important if we know Putin is going to win?*  
| Thursday, March 15 | **What’s going to happen on Sunday??**  
2) Current News & Analysis: Read and comment on the current news about the Russian election on D2L before class. |
| Week 10 | **Russia’s 2018 Presidential Elections**  
*What happened on Sunday??*  
1) Current News & Analysis: Read and comment on the current news about the Russian election on D2L before class. |
| Thursday, March 22 | **What is the importance of the recent Russian election? Did anything surprising happen? Were there protests? What did potential or actual opposition candidates do?**  
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Week 11</th>
<th>Tuesday, March 27</th>
<th><strong>Spring Break (No Class)</strong></th>
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<td></td>
<td>Thursday, March 29</td>
<td><strong>Spring Break (No Class)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th>Week 12</th>
<th>Tuesday, April 3</th>
<th>Review for Exam #2</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thursday, April 3</td>
<td>SECOND EXAM</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Week 13</th>
<th>Tuesday, April 10</th>
<th>Russia in Perspective: the Post-Communist Transition</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>After spring break, we will shift to talking about how the post-communist transition varied across countries. The stakes for a successful political and economic transition are high. Countries that have failed to undergo a successful transition continue to suffer from problems like organized crime, rising mortality and morbidity, aging and shrinking populations, the provision of healthcare, conditions in the military, and sex trafficking.</td>
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Recommended:
2) Sex trafficking: Documentary on trafficking of women in the post-communist era: Mimi Chakarova, “The Price of Sex” (available at: www.priceofsex.org)
4) Demographic issues: 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) (D2L)
6) Corruption: Federico Varese, The Russian Mafia, Intro, Conclusion, and Chapter 3 (D2L)
7) Children: Documentary: Children Underground (Edet Belzberg, 2001); about orphan’s living in the subway in Bucharest, Romania
**Thursday, April 12**

**Post-Communist Transitions: Comparing Different Countries**

*The Theory & Reality of Economic Reform*

1) Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, Chapter 4: The political dynamics of economic reform, pp. 136-139 (just read the introduction section to the chapter) and Conclusion, pp. 188-191 (D2L)

2) Joel Hellman, “Winners Take All,” *World Politics*, 1998 (D2L)

**Recommended:**


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**Week 14**

**Tuesday, April 17**

**Democracy & the Market Simulation, Part 1**

Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets after Communism*, 2010, Intro and Conclusion, pp. 1-20, 244-253

*Note:* The Frye book gives you an excellent example of current political science research on post-communist political economy. We will read 6 chapters of this book as we complete a simulation in class in which you will form parties and participate in elections. Your participation in the simulation counts towards your participation grade.

**Thursday, April 19**

**Real Life Experiences**

*In-class: My Perestroika. This is a 2010 documentary directed by Robin Hessman. We will watch and discuss part of this documentary in class.*

**Read:** *Discussion Guide: My Perestroika*, published by PBS. (D2L)

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**Week 15**

**Tuesday, April 24**

**Democracy & the Market Simulation, Part 2**

**Case Studies: Russia & Bulgaria**


**Thursday, April 26**

**Democracy & the Market Simulation, Part 3**

**Case Studies: Poland & Uzbekistan**

Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets after Communism*, 2010, Poland and Uzbekistan chapters, 213-243

**Recommended:**

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Report, 1999 (D2L); This report provides a good review of the arguments made by Przeworski and Hellman and an excellent overview of the trends across countries in the late 1990s.

**Optional Research Paper Due**
| Week 16 | Tuesday, May 1 | Russian Politics: Looking Ahead  
1) Remington, Chapter 9, “Russia and the International Community,” pp. 251-268  
| Thursday, May 3 | 1) Current News & Analysis: Read and comment on the current news about the Russian election on D2L before class. | LAST DAY OF CLASS: Last day for extra credit |  |  
| Final Exam | Sunday, May 6, 4:30-7pm |  |  |  

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