

Russian and Post-Soviet Politics

POSC 4511-101; Fall 2010; MWF 1:00-1:50

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Office Hrs.: MWF 9:30-10:30, 2:00-3:00; and by appt.

Overview: One of the most powerful states in the history of the world, the Soviet Union disappeared rather suddenly, and rather quietly. In this course, you will be studying the Soviet Union and the states — particularly the Russian Federation (Russia) — that emerged from its collapse. POSC 4511 is a comparative politics course, and we will thus focus primarily on domestic politics and policy rather than international relations and foreign policy. I have also decided to change the focus of the course somewhat by using the concepts of regime types and regime transition to provide an anchor for our examination of the Russian and post-Soviet political landscape.

Readings: A number of the readings for the course are available through the “Content” page of the D2L site for the class. Go to <https://d2l.mu.edu/> (or click on the D2L link at the bottom of Marquette University’s home page) and log in with your Checkmarq/eMarq user name and password. On your D2L home page, click on the link for the class (“POSC 4511/5511/4996 101 Rssia & Pst-Sovt Politics - 1340_5842_101,”) under the “2010 Fall Term” tab and the “Political Science” sub-tab. Once you reach the course home page, click on the “Content” link on the taskbar at the top of the page. These readings will be .pdf files, so you will need a (free) version of Acrobat Reader to open them.

Readings not on reserve are available via the Internet or in the following three books, which you are required to buy:

- 1) Ronald Suny, *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States*, Second Edition, May 2011. ISBN10: 0195340558, ISBN13: 9780195340556
- 2) Lilia Shevtsova, *Yeltsin’s Russia: Myths and Reality*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment For International Peace, 1999. ISBN: 0-87003-127-9
- 3) Lilia Shevtsova, *Putin’s Russia* (Revised and Expanded Edition). Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005. ISBN 0-87003-213-5

Requirements and Grading: Attendance is required. More than six absences will result in your final semester grade being lowered by one grade (B to BC, for example) for *each* additional absence. You will also be expected to have completed the assigned readings before class. There will be one *in-class midterm* and one *final exam*, as well as a number of writing assignments (this is a writing development course after all). The *short writing assignments* (due on October 8th and November 22nd) will account for 15% of your final semester grade total, the midterm (on October 15th) 20% , the *short research paper* (due December 6th) 20%, and the final exam (on December 13th) 35%. Attendance and class participation will make up the remaining 10% of your grade. In addition to its impact on your discussion grade, and its direct impact on your final semester grade if you miss more than six times, attendance will also be used to bump you up or down at the end of the semester if you are otherwise between two grades.

While generally a nice person, I take academic dishonesty very seriously. Academic dishonesty violates the principles of Marquette, and it is unfair to your fellow classmates. If you are caught copying during tests, plagiarizing on papers (representing someone else’s ideas as your own, including by not adequately citing them), or helping someone do either of these, I will make every effort to ensure that you receive an F in the class as well as any other punishments that are warranted. Don’t test me on this one!

Following Current Events: Those of you expecting a “current events” course will be somewhat, but hopefully only somewhat, disappointed. The first several weeks cover pre-Soviet and Soviet history. It continues to be impossible to understand the problems facing the successor states today without understanding the roots of those problems. Like it or not, history is the mother of political science, and Soviet legacies continue to affect the post-Soviet states. The added coverage of history is also important because of the emphasis in the course on using the past and present Russian political system to better understand regime types and regime transition more broadly. Say what you will about the current Russian government, but it is not (yet) governing over a totalitarian system.

That said, we will also spend time analyzing recent happenings in Russia and the other post-Soviet states. You should read newspapers like the *New York Times*, news magazines like the *Economist*, and take advantage of reputable online news outlets (such as msnbc.com). The following sites are a sample of additional places where you can follow events in the Eurasian region online:

<http://www.russiaprofile.org/>

<http://www.einnews.com/russia/>

<http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/>

<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/>

<http://www.russiavotes.org/>

<http://www.rferl.org>

<http://www.eurasianet.org>

<http://www.tol.cz>

Finally, a professor (and occasional co-author of mine) at the University of Kansas also runs the most impressive list of Web links available on Eurasia at: <http://web.ku.edu/~herron/>

LECTURE AND READING SCHEDULE

* = Readings on reserve on the D2L site.

PART I: REGIME TYPES AND REGIME TRANSITION

Week 1 (Aug 30-Sep 3): INTRODUCTION: REGIME TYPES AND RUSSIAN POLITICS

Themes: Regime and Regime Types

Readings:

* Lowell Barrington and Anne Mozena, “Authoritarianism,” in William A. Darity, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd ed. Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2007.

* Lowell Barrington, “Totalitarianism,” in Carl Mitcham, ed., *Encyclopedia of Science, Technology, and Ethics* (Farmington Hills, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2005), pp. 1966–1968.

* Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), ch. 1.

Recommended Readings:

* C. Friedrich and Z. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), ch. 1.

* Juan Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), ch. 4.

* Rostislav F. Turovskii, “Regional Political Regimes in Russia: Toward a Methodology of Analysis,” *Russian Politics and Law* 48, no. 2 (March–April 2010): 27–49.

September 3: No Class, Dr. B. at the American Political Science Association.

Week 2 (Sep 6-10): REGIME TRANSITIONS

Themes: Liberalization, Democratization, and Democratic Breakdown

Readings:

- *D. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2 (1970): 337–363.
- *J. Linz and A. Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (1996): 14–33.
- *A. Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 2 (April 1998): 91–107.
- *Alfred Evans, "What Russia Can Teach Us about Democratization," paper presented at the Western Political Science Association annual convention, Vancouver, BC, March 2009.

Recommended readings:

- *G. O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (1996): 34–51.
- *R. Gunther, N. Diamandouros, and H-J Puhle, "O'Donnell's 'Illusions': A Rejoinder," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996): 151–159.
- *G. O'Donnell, "Illusions and Conceptual Flaws," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996): 160–168.

September 6: No Class, Labor Day Holiday.

PART II: REGIMES AND TRANSITIONS IN PRE-SOVIET AND SOVIET RUSSIA

Week 3 (Sep 13-17): PRE-SOVIET RUSSIAN POLITICS

Themes: Authoritarianism, Early Attempts at Totalitarianism, and More Authoritarianism

Readings:

Suny, ch. 1

- *Richard Hellie, "The Structure of Russian Imperial History," *History and Theory*, no. 44 (December 2005): 88-112.

Dmitry Babich, "Wanted: A Dictator," RIA Novosti, July 13, 2010, available at:
<http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20100713/159724046.html>.

Start reading ahead for next week.

Recommended readings:

Alexander Yanov, *Origins of Autocracy: Ivan the Terrible in Russian History* (University of California Press, 1981). Pick a chapter.

James Cracraft, *The Revolution of Peter the Great* (Harvard University Press, 2006), ch. 5 ("Revolution and Resistance").

Week 4 (Sep. 20-24): THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION AND EARLY SOVIET SYSTEM

Themes: Revolution, the Failure of Democracy, and the Resurrection of Dictatorship

Readings:

Suny, chs. 2-3, 5-6.

Recommended readings:

Suny, chs. 4, 7-8.

K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," available at the Marxist Internet Archive: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>

- *Stephen Cohen, "Bukharin, Lenin and the Theoretical Foundations of Bolshevism," *Soviet Studies* 21, no. 4 (April 1970): 436-457.

Week 5 (Sep. 27-Oct. 1): FROM LENIN TO STALIN

Theme: Totalitarianism.

Readings:

Suny, chs. 9, 11, and 13.

*E. Ginzburg, *Journey into the Whirlwind* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1967), pp. 3-97.

Recommended readings/viewings:

Suny, chs. 10, 12, 14-16.

The rest of Ginzburg (requires purchase of the book; it is not on reserve).

*James Heinzen, "The Art of the Bribe: Corruption and Everyday Practice in the Late Stalinist USSR," *Slavic Review* 66, no. 3 (Fall 2007): 389-412.

*Golfo Alexopoulos, "Amnesty 1945: The Revolving Door of Stalin's Gulag," *Slavic Review* 64, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 274-306.

G. Orwell, *Animal Farm*; G. Orwell, 1984.

The film *Closet Land* (1991), with Madeleine Stowe and Alan Rickman. NOTE: Not a children's film!

Week 6 (Oct. 4-8): KHRUSHCHEV TO GORBACHEV

Themes: Reform, Stagnation, and the Usefulness of the Concept of Quasi-totalitarianism.

Readings:

Suny, chs. 17-18, ch. 19 (pp. 479-495 only).

N. Khrushchev, "The Secret Speech," available at:

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1956khrushchev-secret1.html>

*A. Genatulin, "Rough Weather," in Goscilo and Lindsey, eds., *Glasnost: An Anthology of Russian Literature under Gorbachev* (1990), pp. 303-365.

*Stephen Cohen, "Was the Soviet System Reformable?" *Slavic Review* 63, no. 3 (2004).

Recommended Readings:

*Philip G. Roeder, *Red Sunset: The Failure of Soviet Politics*, ch. 6 ("Institutionalized Stagnation").

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988). Pick a chapter.

Marshall Goldman, *What Went Wrong With Perestroika?* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992). Pick a ch.

FIRST WRITING ASSIGNMENT DUE, Friday, October 8, in class:

In one page (double-spaced, Times New Roman, 12 pt. font), tell me what you plan to write your short research paper on, what this project will contribute to what we already know about the topic, and what data you will use that are *not* secondary-source data.

Week 7 (Oct. 11-15): THE AUGUST COUP AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Themes: Elite Splits, Coups, and Regime Collapse versus State Collapse.

Readings:

Shevtsova, *Yeltsin's Russia*, ch. 1.

*Philip G. Roeder, *Red Sunset: The Failure of Soviet Politics*, ch. 1 ("Why Did Soviet Bolshevism Fail?").

Recommended Readings:

*H. Hale, "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell," *Perspectives on Politics* 3/1 (2005): 55-70.

*Kristian Petrov, "Construction, Reconstruction, Deconstruction: The Fall of the Soviet Union from the Point of View of Conceptual History," *Studies in East Eur Thought* 60 (2008):179-205.

OCTOBER 15 (FRIDAY): MIDTERM EXAM, IN CLASS.

PART III: REGIMES AND TRANSITIONS IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA

Week 8 (Oct. 18-22): YELTSIN'S RUSSIA

Themes: *Building Democracy in Undemocratic Ways, the Events of October 1993 (or Can There Be "Unconstitutional" Acts with No Functioning Constitution?)*

Readings:

Shevtsova, *Yeltsin's Russia*, chs. 2-7.

Recommended Readings:

*Peter Reddaway and Dmitri Glinski, *The Tragedy of Russia's Reforms: Market Bolshevism Against Democracy* (United States Institute of Peace, 2001), ch. 7 ("Tanks as the Vehicle of Reform: The 1993 Coup and the Imposition of the New Order").

*Timothy J. Colton, *Yeltsin: A Life* (Basic Books, 2008), ch. 13 ("Governing the State").

*R. Menon and G. Fuller, "Russia's Ruinous Chechen War," *Foreign Affairs* 79, no. 2 (March 2000).

Ruslan Khasbulatov, "Yeltsin Destroyed Parliamentary Democracy in Russia," RFE/RL Report, September 29, 2008, available at:

http://www.rferl.org/content/Yeltsin_Destroyed_Parliamentary_Democracy_In_Russia/1292496.html.

Friday, October 22: No Class, Mid-semester Break.

Week 9 (Oct. 25-29): THE END OF THE YELTSIN ERA AND THE EMERGENCE OF PUTIN

Theme: *Why Didn't Russian Democracy Become Consolidated?*

Readings:

Shevtsova, *Yeltsin's Russia*, chs. 8-11.

Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia*, ch. 2.

Recommended Readings:

*E. Kapstein and N. Converse, "Why Democracies Fail," *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (October 2008): 57-68.

*Peter Rutland, "Has Democracy Failed Russia?," *National Interest*, December 1, 1994.

*C. Gaddy and B. Ickes, "What Went Wrong: Russia's Virtual Economy," *Analysis of Current Events*, vol. 10, nos. 9-10 (Sept./Oct. 1998), pp. 3-4, 6.

*Alexander Sokolowski, "Institutional Determinants of Chronic Policy Failure in Yeltsin's Russia," *Demokratizatsiya* 11, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 412-439.

*Peter Rutland, "Putin's Path to Power," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 16, no. 4 (Dec. 2000).

Week 10 (Nov. 1-5): THE EARLY PUTIN YEARS

Themes: *"Creeping Authoritarianism," Leadership, Government Performance, and Legitimacy.*

Readings:

Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia*, chs. 3-5, 8-9.

*M. Goldman, "Putin and the Oligarchs," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2004.

Recommended Readings:

*L. Diamond, "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (Apr. 2002): 21-35.

*S. Levitsky and L. Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2: 51-65.

*Stephen White and Ian McAllister, "The Putin Phenomenon," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 24, no.4 (December 2008): 604-628.

Week 11 (Nov. 8-12): PUTIN'S SEMI-AUTHORITARIAN RUSSIA

Themes: *Semi-authoritarianism, Centralization of Power in the Russian Federal System.*

Readings:

Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia*, chs. 9-12.

Philip Pan, "Russia Lengthens Presidential Tenures," *Washington Post*, December 31, 2008, available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/12/30/AR2008123000839.html>.

Nikolai Petrov, Masha Lipman, and Henry E. Hale, "Overmanaged Democracy in Russia: Governance Implications of Hybrid Regimes," *Carnegie Papers, Russia and Eurasia Program*, Number 106, February 2010, available at: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/overmanaged_democracy_2.pdf.

Recommended Readings:

*A. Shleifer and D. Treisman, "A Normal Country," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 2 (March 2004).

A. Politkovskaya, *Putin's Russia: Life in a Failing Democracy* (Henry Holt, Co, 2005). Pick a chapter.

Nicklaus Laverty, "Limited Choices: Russian Opposition Parties and the 2007 Duma Election," *Demokratizatsiya* 16, no. 4 (Fall 2008).

Week 12 (Nov. 15-19): PUTIN AND MEDVEDEV'S TWO-RING CIRCUS

Themes: *Semi-presidentialism, Constitutionalism in Semi-authoritarian Systems, One-Party Dominant Systems, Lingering Regional Power Bases in the Russian Federal System.*

Readings:

T. Remington, ch. 2 ("Parliament and the Dominant Party Regime") of *After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, Wegren and Herspring, eds (Rowman & Littlefield).

Andreas Umland, "The Democratic Roots Of Putin's Choice," *The Washington Post*, December 11, 2007, available at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/12/10/AR2007121001560.html>.

Amy Knight, "The Truth about Putin and Medvedev," *The New York Review of Books*, May 15, 2008, available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/21353>.

*Eberhard Schneider, "Split in the Russian Political Tandem Putin-Medvedev?," *Caucasian Review of International Affairs* 3, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 219-226.

*Lilia Shevtsova, "What's the Matter with Russia?" *Journal of Democracy* 21, no. 1 (January 2009).

"The Modernizing Tandem And Its Discontents," "The Power Vertical" Blog, RFE/RL, June 10, 2010, available at: http://www.rferl.org/archive/The_Power_Vertical/3/884/884.html.

"Rights, The Reset, And The Gathering Storm," "The Power Vertical" Blog, RFE/RL, August 10, 2010, available at: http://www.rferl.org/archive/The_Power_Vertical/2/884/884.html.

Recommended Readings:

"All The President's Men," "The Power Vertical" Blog, RFE/RL, August 20, 2010, available at: http://www.rferl.org/archive/The_Power_Vertical/.

Tom Balmforth, "Managed Human Rights: Have President Medvedev's Liberal Credentials Been Dealt a Blow From Inside His Own Administration?," *Russia Profile*, August 3, 2010, available at: <http://www.russiaprofile.org/page.php?pageid=Politics&articleid=a1280858213>.

Tom Balmforth, "The Last of a Dying Breed," *Russia Profile*, July 19, 2010, available at: <http://www.russiaprofile.org/page.php?pageid=Politics&articleid=a1279566508>.

PART IV: REGIMES AND TRANSITIONS IN THE REST OF EURASIA

Week 13 (Nov. 22-26): CENTRAL ASIA

Themes: Cults of Personality, Clan Politics, and the Resource Curse.

Readings:

- *Kathleen Collins, "Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 3 (July 2002): 137-152.
- *E. Wayne Merry, "Governance in Central Asia: National in Form, Soviet in Content," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 17, no. 2 (July 2004): 285-300.
- *E. Schatz, "The Soft Authoritarian Tool Kit: Agenda-Setting Power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan," *Comparative Politics* 41, no. 2 (January 2009).
- M. Olcott, "When and How Will Kazakhstan Become A Democracy?," Testimony before the U.S. Helsinki Commission, July 22, 2008, available at:
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=20316>.

Recommended Readings:

- *Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001): 325-361.
- *Stephen Kotkin, "Trashcanistan: A Tour through the Wreckage of the Soviet Empire," *New Republic*, April 4, 2002.
- *Kelly McMann, "New Presidents in Central Asia: Will Life Improve for the Average Person?" *NewsNet*, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (May 2007).

SHORT WRITING ASSIGNMENT: Due Monday November 22, in class:

Write a letter to your US Congressional Representative or either of your US senators about a particular issue or problem in Russia. The issue or problem can be in the arenas of economics, the environment, domestic politics, or foreign policy. Discuss the issue or problem, what you think **our** government should do to help address this issue or problem, and **why**. The letter must be typed, **single-spaced**, and no more than two pages.

Wednesday-Friday, November 24-26: No Class, Thanksgiving Holiday.

Week 14 (Nov. 29-Dec. 3): THE CAUCASUS STATES AND WESTERN EURASIA

Themes: The Color Revolutions, Ethnic Democracy, and the Mess That is Ukrainian Politics.

Readings:

- *Graeme Herd, "Colorful Revolutions and the CIS," *Problems of Post-Communism* 52, no. 2 (2004).
- *Eric Miller, "Smelling the Roses: Eduard Shevardnadze's End and Georgia's Future," *Problems of Post-Communism* 51, no. 2 (2004): 12-21.
- *Lowell Barrington, "The Making of Citizenship Policy in the Baltic States," *Georgetown Immigration Law Journal* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1999): 159-199.

Recommended Readings:

My forthcoming *Comparative Political Studies* article (get from Dr. B.).

- *J. Tucker, "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September 2007): 535-551.
- D. Beachain and A. Polese, "Introduction: What's in a Colour?," in Beachain and Polese, eds., *The Colour Revolutions in the Former Soviet Republics: Successes and Failures* (Routledge).
- *Ausra Park, "The End of the Lithuanian Political 'Patriarch's' Era: From Rise to Decline and Legacies Left Behind," *Demokratizatsiya* 18, no. 2 (Spring 2010).

PART V: LOOKING AHEAD

Week 15 (Dec. 6-Dec. 10): CONCLUSION

Theme: *The Malignant Effects of Corruption, the Failure to Consolidate the Semi-authoritarian System, Will Russia Ever be a Consolidated Democracy?*

Readings:

Shevtsova, *Yeltsin's Russia*, ch. 12.

Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia*, ch. 13.

*Andrei Melville and Ivan Timofeev, "Russia 2020: Alternative Scenarios and Public Preferences," *Russian Politics and Law* 47, no. 6 (November–December 2009): 7–33.

"The Kaliningrad Syndrome," "The Power Vertical" Blog, RFE/RL, August 25, 2010, available at: http://www.rferl.org/archive/The_Power_Vertical/.

Nikolay Petrov, "The More Russia Changes...," *The Moscow Times*, June 29, 2010, reprinted at: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=41073>.

Maria Lipman, "Sleeping Giant," *Foreign Policy*, August 19, 2010, reprinted at: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=41416>

Recommended Readings:

*Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (Jan 2002): 5–21.

*G. Nodia, "How Different Are Postcommunist Transitions?," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996): 15–29.

*A. Varshney, "Why Democracy Survives," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 3 (1999): 36–50.

Jonas Bernstein, "Almost Two-Thirds of Russians Believe Democracy is the Best Political System," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, January 16, 2008, available at: http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=33296

Nikolay Petrov, "Putin's Perestroika Experiment in Kaliningrad," *The Moscow Times*, August 2, 2010, reprinted at: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=41420>.

Roland Oliphant, "Autumnal Discontent," *Russia Profile*, August 24, 2010, available at: <http://www.russiaprofile.org/page.php?pageid=Politics&articleid=a1282674826>.

SHORT RESEARCH PAPER: Due Monday December 6, in class:

Write a short (10-page, double-spaced) paper on one of the fourteen post-Soviet states (i.e., any of them other than Russia) that we did not focus on detail. In this paper, *tell me what that country tells us about political regimes or regime transition that we did not already know*. The paper will include a short literature review that provides an overview of existing works on the general topic of the paper and points to "gaps" in this literature that need to be addressed. It will also incorporate the analysis of some kind of primary data.

FINAL EXAM: Tuesday, December 13, 1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m.