

Political Science 361
Russian Politics
Eastern Michigan University
Fall 2018
CRN: 16623

T & Th, 12:30-1:45 pm, 420 Pray Harrold

Professor Judith Kullberg
Office: 601-J Pray Harrold
Telephone: (734) 487-1405 or 487-3113

Office hours: T & Th, 11 am-12 pm and by
appointment
Email: judith.kullberg@emich.edu

Course Description

This course will explore the ongoing political, economic and social transformation of Russia, the largest and most powerful successor state of the Soviet Union. Although the primary focus will be on contemporary Russian politics, we will analyze current events within the broader context of Russian history, including the Revolution of 1917 and the development of Soviet socialism or communism. We will consider the extent to which perestroika, Mikhail Gorbachev's attempt to restructure Soviet socialism in the late 1980s, was a consequence of both the development of Soviet society and serious problems of the Soviet system. We will also examine how the reforms of *perestroika* contributed directly to the breakdown of the Soviet system.

The dissolution of the USSR initiated a second period of far-reaching change, as more radical economic reforms were launched in Russia under the leadership of Boris Yeltsin (1990-1999). Although the foundations for a democratic political system and market economy were laid during Yeltsin's presidency, the transformation was incomplete and elements of the authoritarian past persisted. Moreover, the price paid by the Russian people for the reforms was high: steep declines in the health and material well-being, the dismantling and disintegration of the social welfare system, and a significant increase in the incidence of crime and many other social problems.

Under the more predictable and stronger leadership of Vladimir Putin, the economy stabilized and elements of capitalism emerged. His tenure has been characterized by periods of robust economic growth and improvements in the average standard of living, but also very high levels of income inequality. In the political sphere, elections have become much less competitive, democratic institutions have been weakened, and older political patterns of hierarchy, suppression of dissent, and Russian nationalism have reappeared. Putin has revitalized the security services to solidify his power, modernized the Russian military and military industry, and reasserted Russia's status as a great power in the international system. Following a brief stint in the presidency by his prime minister and close associate, Dmitry Medvedev, Putin was reelected in 2012 and 2018 for successive six-year terms. The current Russian political system has been characterized by the Putin regime as "managed" or "sovereign" democracy, a form of authoritarianism with some limited room for dissent and political pluralism, but no genuine civil liberties, including freedom of speech and of the press. However, a widespread opposition movement emerged in 2011-12 after irregularities in the parliamentary elections, and has

persisted despite state efforts to repress it. Widespread protests occurred again in 2017 and have continued this year.

Since the beginning of the Putin era, Russia's foreign policy has reflected the nationalist ideology of the Kremlin. The country's current foreign policy strategy envisions Russia's national interests as opposed to or in tension with the interests of the U.S., NATO, and the European Union. Strained relations between Russia and the West have contributed to a significant deterioration of international security, as can be seen in the paralysis of the United Nations Security Council in the face of several crises, including the civil war in Syria. Russia's seizure of Crimea and support for pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine have also undermined European security. Western economic sanctions against Russia and lower world oil prices have weakened the Russian economy, but Russia has nevertheless been successful in projecting its power to affect the politics of other nations, as can be seen in the military intervention in Syria, support for right-wing nationalist and populist parties across Europe, and its interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election and reported attempts to influence the 2018 elections. The connections between Russia and key figures in the Trump campaign and administration have led to the Mueller investigation and also contributed to considerable deepening political divisions and conflicts and tension in the United States.

How can we explain Russia's long-term trajectory from underdeveloped, backward empire at the end of the 19th century, to communist superpower in the middle of the 20th century, then decline to the status of a "third world country with nukes" in the 1990s, and finally return as a great power in the 21st century? What are the internal dynamics of the current Russian political system? Is it possible that the opposition movement could broaden and lead to re-democratization in the foreseeable future? Why has contemporary Russia sought to undermine the U.S.-backed liberal international order, and what effect have Russian actions had on the U.S. and the rest of the world? We will consider these and related questions over the course of the semester.

Objectives

By the end of the semester, you will have a good understanding of the general patterns of Russian and Soviet political history and political behavior and be able to explain how the events and choices in the past have affected the trajectory of political change and the problems of the present. You will become familiar with various theories of political change and use them to analyze Russian politics. In addition, you will be able to identify and describe Russian political institutions and discuss the factors influencing their performance. Through study of the political and economic evolution of Russia, you will deepen your understanding of the regime types of the contemporary world (communism, liberal democracy, and forms of authoritarianism), as well as the character and dynamics of different types of economic systems (state socialism, capitalism, and mixed economy). You will also acquire an understanding of globalization and its effects on Russian society and politics.

Texts and Readings

Much of the required reading for the course will come from the three texts below:

Geoffrey Hosking, *The First Socialist Society: A History of the Soviet Union from Within* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). Second enlarged edition. ISBN: 978-0674304437

Stephen White, Richard Sakwa, Henry E. Hale, eds. *Developments in Russian Politics* (Duke University Press, 2014) 8th ed. ISBN-13: 978-0822358121

Vladimir Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Change* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015). ISBN-13: 978-0822963684

All additional required readings can be found on the course website (log in to canvas.emich.edu). Where possible, readings listed as “recommended” will also be posted on the site. All assignments, class handouts, news articles, and videos will also be available on the course website.

In addition to the required weekly reading, you will read one of the books on contemporary Russia listed below and write a précis (short summary) of it.

Svetlana Alexievich, *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets* (Random House, 2016). ISBN: 978-0399588808

Bill Browder, *Red Notice: A True Story of High Finance, Murder, and One Man's Fight for Justice* (Simon & Schuster, 2015). ISBN: 978-1476755717

Karen Dawisha, *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* (Simon & Schuster, 2014). ISBN: 978-1476795195

Masha Gessen, *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin* (Riverhead Books, 2012). 978-1-59448-842-9

Mikhail Gorbachev, *The New Russia* (Polity, 2016). 978-1509503872.

Thane Gustafson, *Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia* (Belknap Press, 2012). ISBN: 978-0-674-06647-2

David E. Hoffman, *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* (Public Affairs, 2011). ISBN: 978-1610390705

Ben Judah, *Fragile Empire: How Russia Fell In and Out of Love with Vladimir Putin* (Yale University Press, 2013). ISBN: 978-0300181210.

Edward Lucas, *The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, 3rd ed. revised and updated). ISBN: 978-1137280039

Michael McFaul, *From Cold War to Hot Peace: An American Ambassador in Putin's Russia* (Houghton Mifflin, 2018). ISBN: 978-0544716247

Arkady Ostrovsky, *The Invention of Russia: From Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War* (Viking Press, 2015). ISBN: 9780399564161

Peter Pomerantsev, *Nothing is True and Everything is Possible: The Surreal Heart of the New Russia* (Public Affairs, 2014). ISBN: 978-1610394550

Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan, *The New Nobility: The Restoration of Russia's Security State and the Enduring Legacy of the KGB* (Public Affairs, 2010). ISBN: 978-1-586488024
Shaun Walker, *The Long Hangover: Putin's New Russia and the Ghosts of the Past* (Oxford University Press, 2018). ISBN: 978-0190659240

Expectations and Evaluation

To do well in this course, you should attend class regularly, complete readings *before* the class for which they are assigned, and participate in class discussions. You will also prepare for and participate in simulations of the Russian government's decision-making process. Preparation for the simulation will include two short research papers. To assess your mastery of course material and concepts, two exams will be given, a midterm and a final.

Attendance & Participation

Since lectures and discussion will help you to master course concepts, regular class attendance and participation is important. You can earn up to 50 points (approximately 1.85 points per class) for attending regularly and contributing to class discussion. The level of preparation for a class may occasionally be assessed through quizzes and other in-class activities.

Follow current affairs

To benefit fully from this course, I encourage you to follow current news about Russia. Listening to or reading world news will reinforce what you are learning and allow you to apply theories and concepts from readings to analyze current events. Recommended news sources include: The New York Times and The Washington Post (available online and in library news databases); periodicals such as The Economist or The Nation; and radio news broadcasts such as the non-commercial Free Speech Radio News (online at <http://www.fsrn.org> or broadcast on WCBN, 88.3 FM, 5:30-6:00 p.m. Mon.-Fri.); National Public Radio (online at <http://news.npr.org> or on the hour at WEMU, 89.1 FM or WUOM, 91.7 FM); and BBC news (online at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world> or broadcast on WUOM, 91.7 FM, 9:00-10:00 am and 11 p.m. – 5:00 a.m., daily).

Russian Government Simulation & Briefing Papers

Simulations of the Russian government's decision-making process will be held, on **November 13** and **December 4 & 6**. You will be assigned a role as a member of the Russian government or other significant political figure early in the semester and play that role in all three simulations.

To prepare for the simulations, you will write two short (5-7 pages, double-spaced) papers. The first will be a profile of your politician and the second a briefing on a current issue facing the Russian government. The profile of your politician will be **due September 27** and the issue briefing paper will be **due November 15**. These papers will

be shared with all members of the class on the course Canvas site. Each paper will be worth 100 points.

The simulations will involve consideration of critical problems currently facing the Russian government and the adoption of a resolution or resolutions. Up to 100 points can be earned for participation in all three simulations, approximately 33 points per simulation.

Book précis

You will write a short, 3-4 page, précis of one of the books listed above on contemporary Russia. It will be **due November 27** and be worth up to 100 points.

Exams

The exams will be composed of identification, short answer, and essay questions. The midterm (**October 23**) will be worth 150 points and the final (**December 18, 11:30 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.**) 200 points. I will distribute a study guide one week before each exam.

Course Grade

The total number of possible points that you can earn on papers, exams, the simulation and attendance and participation is 800. Your final grade in the course will be based on the percentage of the 800 points that you earn, using a standard grading scale (93-100% = A, 90-92% = A-, 87-89% etc.).

Support for Research and Writing: The University Writing Center

The University Writing Center (115 Halle Library; 487-0694) offers one-to-one writing consulting for both undergraduate and graduate students. Students can make appointments or drop in between the hours of 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. Mondays through Thursdays and from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Fridays. The UWC opens for the Winter 2017 semester on Monday, January 9, and will close on Thursday, April 20. Students are encouraged to come to the UWC at any stage of the writing process.

The UWC also has several satellite locations across campus (in Owen, Sill, Marshall, Porter, Pray-Harrold, and Mark Jefferson). These satellites provide drop-in writing support to students in various colleges and programs. The Pray-Harrold UWC satellite (rm. 211) is open Mondays through Thursdays from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. The locations and hours for the other satellites can be found on the UWC web site: <http://www.emich.edu/uwc>.

UWC writing consultants also work in the Academic Projects Center (116 Halle Library), which offers drop-in consulting for students on writing, research, and technology-related issues. The APC is open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Mondays through Thursdays. Additional information about the APC can be found at <http://www.emich.edu/apc>.

Students seeking writing support at any location of the University Writing Center should bring a draft of their writing (along with any relevant instructions or rubrics) to work on during the consultation.

Late Papers and Makeup Exams

Late papers will not be accepted, except in cases of serious illness or family emergency. Should such a situation arise, contact me immediately and be prepared to provide supporting evidence.

We will then negotiate an alternate due date. Similarly, if you cannot take an exam at the scheduled time due to illness or emergency, contact me prior to the exam to reschedule.

Religious Holidays

If you will miss class, paper deadline, or exam due to observance of a religious holiday, you must notify me by email one week in advance in order to make up the work or points lost by non-attendance.

Accessibility

If you believe you may have trouble participating or effectively demonstrating learning in this course, please meet with me (with or without an accommodation letter from the Disability Resource Center) to discuss reasonable options or adjustments. During our discussion, I may suggest the possibility/necessity of your contacting the Disability Resource Center (240 Student Center; (734) 487-2470; swd_office@emich.edu) to talk about academic accommodations. You are welcome to talk to me at any point in the semester about such issues, but it is best if we can talk at least one week prior to the need for any modifications.

Academic Dishonesty

Plagiarism – the unacknowledged use of words written by another person as one's own – is a serious violation of professional ethics and is forbidden under the EMU Student Code of Conduct. Any assignment that is plagiarized, even in part, will result in an E for the assignment. Similarly, cheating on an exam is forbidden by the Code of Conduct and will result in an E for the exam. Any incident of academic dishonesty will also be reported to the Office of Student Conduct and Community Standards for additional discipline, which could possibly include suspension or permanent dismissal. I will distribute a handout at the beginning of the semester on how to correctly cite sources and avoid plagiarism.

Classroom Conduct

It is my responsibility as the instructor to facilitate a learning environment in which there is a free exchange of information and ideas and the contributions of each member of the class are valued. The creation of such an environment requires the combined efforts of all members of the class. During class time, it is important to be fully present by paying attention to whomever is speaking. You should take notes during class: note taking helps to focus attention and facilitates mastery of material presented in class. You should also refrain from using electronic devices (cell phones or laptops) for texting or surfing the web. If electronic devices are not used appropriately, I reserve the right to ban their use during class. Finally, in order to have an open and fruitful exchange of ideas, we all must respect the right of others to express their views. Interruption when another person is speaking, disparagement of the ideas or views of others, and any other behavior that disrupts the class or interferes with the exchange of ideas will not be tolerated. For a complete overview of university policies regarding student conduct, see the [2016-17 EMU Student Handbook](#).

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READINGS

I. INTRODUCTION

Whither Russia?

September 6 & 11

- Richard Sakwa "Politics in Russia," in Stephen White, Richard Sakwa, Henry Hale, *Developments in Russian Politics* (Duke University Press, 2014), pp.1-18.
Lilia F. Shevtsova, "Dilemmas of Postcommunist Society," *Russian Social Science Review* (May-June 1998), 4-21.
Daniel Triesman, "The Russia That Has Returned," in *The Return* (New York: The Free Press, 2011), pp. 340-389.

Recommended

- Alexander Motyl, "Fascistoid Russia: Whither Putin's Brittle Regime," *World Affairs* 174:6 (2012), pp. 54-61.
Marshall Goldman, *Petrostate*, Introduction, pp. 1-16.
Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, pp. 1-37.

Historical Approaches and Models of Soviet and Russian Politics

September 13

- Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 5-30.
Richard Pipes, "Russia's past, Russia's future," *Commentary* (June 1996).
Carl J. and Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Characteristics of Totalitarian Dictatorship," in *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, pp. 15-27.

Recommended

- Robert Tucker, "The Image of Dual Russia," in *The Soviet Political Mind* pp. 121-142
Stephen White, *Political Culture and Soviet Politics*, Chs. 1-3.
William Odom, "Soviet Politics and After: Old and New Concepts," *World Politics* (October 1992), 66-98.

II. TSARISM, REVOLUTION, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET COMMUNISM

Institutional Origins: Kievan Rus' to the Russian Empire

September 18

- Geoffrey Hosking, *Russian History: A Very Short Introduction*, Ch. 1-4

Reform and Revolution

September 20

- Geoffrey Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 1-2
V. I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), and *The State and Revolution* (1917), selections.

Civil War and the Establishment of the Soviet Union

September 25

- Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 3-4
Sheila Fitzpatrick, "The Civil War as a Formative Experience," in Gleason, Kenez and Stites, eds. *Bolshevik Culture* (1985), pp. 57-76.

The New Economic Policy and Revolution from Above

September 27

Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 5-6

Moshe Lewin, "The Immediate Background of Soviet Collectivization," in *The Making of the Soviet System* (1985), pp. 91-120

Robert C. Tucker, "Stalinism as Revolution from Above," in *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (1977), pp. 77-108.

******Politician Profile Paper Due, September 27******

Stalin and Stalinism

October 2

Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 7-10

Seweryn Bialer, "The Mature Stalinist System," in *Stalin's Successors* (1980), pp. 9-27.

Recommended

Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Stalin and the Making of a New Elite, 1928-1939," *Slavic Review* (September 1979), 377-402.

Youngok Kang-Bohr, "Appeals and Complaints: Popular Reactions to the Party Purges and the Great Terror in the Voronezh Region, 1935-1939," *Europe-Asia Studies* 57:1 (January 2005), 135-154.

Additional recommended reading for Sections I & II

Stephen Cohen. 1973. *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*.

Robert Conquest. 1990. *The Great Terror: A Reassessment*.

Robert V. Daniels, ed. 1990. *The Stalin Revolution*.

Merle Fainsod. 1958. *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule*.

Sheila Fitzpatrick. 1999. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times*.

Dominic Lieven. 2000. *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*.

Roy A. Medvedev. 1971. *Let History Judge*.

Barrington Moore, Jr. 1950. *Soviet Politics: The Dilemma of Power*.

Richard Pipes. 1992, 2nd ed. *Rural Russia Under the Old Regime*.

Robert C. Tucker. 1971. *The Soviet Political Mind*.

Robert Tucker. 1973. *Stalin as Revolutionary*.

III. DE-STALINIZATION, "NORMALIZATION" AND RADICAL REFORM

The Khrushchev Era

October 4

Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 11-12.

W. J. Tompson, "Khrushchev and Gorbachev as Reformers: A Comparison," *British Journal of Political Science* 23 (January 1993), 77- 105.

Recommended

Carl A. Linden, *Khrushchev and the Soviet Leadership*, Ch. 1, 2 & 10.

Brezhnev: “Normalization” and “Stagnation”

October 9

Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 13-14

Peter Reddaway, “Is Putin’s Regime Becoming More Like Brezhnev’s? Some Similarities and Differences,” *Demokratizatsiya* 20 (Spring 2012), 97-112.

Recommended

James Millar, “The Little Deal: Brezhnev’s Contribution to Acquisitive Socialism,” *Slavic Review* (Winter 1985), pp.694-706.

Origins and Goals of Perestroika

October 11

Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 15, pp. 446-455

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika*, Ch. 1, “Origins, Essence, Revolutionary Character”

Tatyana Zaslavskaya, “The Sociology of Economic Reform,” in *The Second Socialist Revolution* (pp. 47-73).

The Gorbachev Reforms

October 16

Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 15, pp. 455-470

Stephen White, *Understanding Russian Politics*, Ch. 1, pp. 22-25 and Ch. 4 pp. 115-128.

Richard Sakwa, “Democracy, Politics and the Party,” in *Gorbachev and His Reforms* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1990).

Recommended

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs*, Ch. 9-16.

The Collapse of the Soviet Union

October 18

Hosking, *The First Socialist Society*, Ch. 15, pp. 471-501.

Andrew Barnes, “Three in One: Unpacking the ‘Collapse’ of the Soviet Union,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 61:5 (2014).

Recommended

Bartlomiej Kaminski, “The Institutional Sources of Crisis-Generating Tendencies,” in *The Collapse of State Socialism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 3-44.

“Moscow, August 1991: The Coup de Grace,” readings on the coup from *Problems of Communism*, (November-December 1991) 1-26, 35-43.

Boris Yeltsin, *The Struggle for Russia*, Ch. 2-3.

Additional recommended reading for Section III

- Anders Aslund. 1993. *Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform*, Ch. 1, 2, 7-9
- George Breslauer. 1982. *Khrushchev and Brezhnev as Leaders*.
- Theodore H. Friedgut. 1979. *Political Participation in the USSR*.
- Graham Gille. 1995. *The Collapse of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*.
- Mikhail S. Gorbachev. 1987. *Perestroika: New Thinking For My Country and the World*.
- Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger, eds. 1990. *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society*.
- Nikita Khrushchev. 1971. *Khrushchev Remembers*.
- Stephen Kotkin. 1991. *Steeltown, USSR*.
- Roy Medvedev. 1970. *On Socialist Democracy*.
- James Millar, ed. 1987. *Politics, Work, and Daily Life in the USSR*.
- Alexander J. Motyl, ed. 1992. *The Post-Soviet Nations: Perspectives on the Demise of the USSR*.
- William Odom. 1998. *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*.
- Robert Sharlet. 1992. *Soviet Constitutional Crisis*.
- Andrei Sinyavsky. 1988. *Soviet Civilization: A Cultural History*.
- Michael Urban. 1997. *The Rebirth of Politics in Russia*.

*******Midterm Examination*******

October 23

IV. POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The Post-Communist Condition and the Reconfiguration of the Russian Polity

October 25

- Kenneth Jowitt, "The New World Disorder," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (1993).
- The Constitution of the Russian Federation* (1993)
- Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia*, Ch. 2-3.

Recommended

- Ledeneva, *How Russia Really Works*, Ch. 3, "Kompromat: The Use of Compromising Information in Informal Politics"
- Yeltsin, *The Struggle for Russia*, Ch. 7-9
- Lucas, *The New Cold War*, Introduction, pp. 1-18.

The Putin Era: From Managed Democracy to Dictatorship

October 30

- Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia*, Ch. 4 "The (In)Famous 2000s," and Ch. 5, "The Unpredictable 2010s"

The Legislative and Executive Branches

November 1

John P. Willerton, Ch. 3 “The Hegemonic Executive,” and Thomas Remington, Ch. 4 “Parliamentary Politics,” in *Developments in Russian Politics*.

Recommended

Paul Chaisty and Petra Schleiter, “Productive but Not Valued: The Russian State Duma, 1994-2001,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 54:5 (2002), 701-724.

Elena Semenova, “Ministerial and Parliamentary Elites in an Executive-Dominated System: Post-Soviet Russia 1991-2009,” *Comparative Sociology* 10 (2011), 908-927.

Lucas, *The New Cold War*, Ch. 1, “Putin’s Rise to Power” and Ch. 2, “Putin in Power”

Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 56-146.

Elections, Parties, and Voters

November 6

Judith Kullberg, “Preserving the Radical Stronghold: The Election in Moscow,” in Timothy Colton and Jerry Hough, eds. *The 1993 Russian Parliamentary Elections* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings, 1997).

Stephen White, Ch. 4 “The Electoral Process,” Henry Hale, Ch. 5 “Russia’s Political Parties and their Substitutes,” and Ian McAllister, Ch. 6 “Voting Behavior in *Developments in Russian Politics*.

Vladimir V. Kara-Murza, “Russia’s Local Elections: Politics in Spite of Putin,” *World Affairs* 175:30 (2012).

Recommended

Michael McFaul, “Russia’s Choice: The Perils of Revolutionary Democracy,” in Timothy Colton and Jerry Hough, eds. *The 1993 Russian Parliamentary Elections* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings, 1997)

Ora John Reuter, “Regional Patrons and Hegemonic Party Electoral Performance in Russia,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29:2 (2013).

Ledeneva, *How Russia Really Works*, Ch. 2, “*Chernyi Piar*: Manipulative Campaigning and the Workings of Russian Democracy”

Lucas, *The New Cold War*, Ch. 3, “Sinister Pretense”

Stephen White, Richard Rose, and Ian McAllister, *How Russia Votes* (1997).

Post-Communist Political Economy

November 8

Philip Hanson, Ch. 11 “Managing the Economy,” in *Developments in Russian Politics*.

Mert Bilgin, “Energy Security and Russia’s Gas Strategy: The Symbiotic Relationship Between the State and Firms,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44 (2011), 119-127.

Recommended

Lucas, *The New Cold War*, Ch. 4

Goldman, *Petrostate*, Ch. 3-6

Russian Security Council Simulation I: State of the Russian Economy

November 13

*****Issue Briefing due, November 15*****

Civil Society and the Mass Media

November 15

Albert Evans, Jr. "Protests and Civil Society in Russia: The Struggle for the Khimiki Forest," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45:3-5 (2012)

Graeme Robertson, Ch. 7 "Civil Society and Contentious Politics in Russia," and Ch. 8, Sarah Oates, "Russia's Media and Political Communication in the Digital Age," in *Developments in Russian Politics*

Recommended

Janet Elise Johnson and Aino Saarinen, "Assessing Civil Society in Putin's Russia: The Plight of Women's Crisis Centers," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44 (2011), 41-52.

The Changing Character of Russian Society

November 20

Judith Kullberg and William Zimmerman, "Liberal Elites, Socialist Masses, and Problems of Russian Democracy," *World Politics* 51: 3 (April 1996), 323-58.

Svetlana Stephenson, Ch. 12 "Society and Social Divisions in Russia," in *Developments in Russian Society*.

Thanksgiving Recess

November 22-25

*****Book Précis Due November 27*****

A Law Governed State?

November 27

Kathryn Hendley, Ch. 9, "Assessing the Rule of Law," in *Developments in Russian Politics*.

Recommended

Catherine Schuler, "Reinventing the Show Trial: Putin and Pussy Riot," *TDR: The Drama Review* 57:1 (2013), 7-17.

"Grim to be Gay: Human Rights in Russia," *The Economist*, August 24, 2013, p. 50.

Russia in the Post-Cold War World

November 29

Margot Light, Ch. 13, "Foreign Policy" and Jennifer G. Mathers, Ch. 14, "Military, Security and Politics," in *Developments in Russian Politics*
Andrei Tsygankov, "Vladimir Putin's Last Stand: The Sources of Russia's Ukraine Policy," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31:4 (2015).
Media Ajir and Bethany Vaillant, "Russian Information Warfare: Implications for Deterrence Theory," *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12:3 (2018).

Recommended

Valerie Bunce, "Domestic Reform and International Change: The Gorbachev Reforms in Historical Perspective," *International Organization* 47:1 (Winter 1993).
Judith Kullberg, "Syria and the Battle for Russia," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2012.
R. Craig Nation, "Reset or Rerun? Sources of Discord in Russian-American Relations," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* (2012), 1-9.

Russian Security Council Simulation II: 2017 Budgetary Allocations; Russia-U.S. Relations

December 4 & 6

The Trajectory of Political Change in Russia

December 11

Gel'man, *Authoritarian Russia*, Ch. 6, "The Agenda for Tomorrow"
Nikolay Petrov, Maria Lipman, and Henry Hale, "Three Dilemmas of Hybrid Regime Governance: Russia from Putin to Putin," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30:1 (2014).

Recommended

Ledeneva, *How Russia Really Works*, Conclusion
Goldman, *Petrostate*, Ch. 7
Lucas, *The New Cold War*, Ch. 9

*****Final Examination*****

Tuesday, December 18, 11:30 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.