RUSSIAN POLITICS

Instructor: Peter Rutland; tel. 2483; email <prutland>, office PAC 203; office hours TTh 10.30-12.00.

ASSESSMENT: Out of 100 points, as follows:

1) Three short papers, 3-4 pages in length, due on Sept 16, Oct 10 and Nov 7. [15 points each]

2) Role playing exercise: player nomination due Sept 29; 3-4 page biographical essay due Oct 24 [10 points]; group declarations due Nov 25; 5-7 page policy memo due Dec 1. [20 points].

3) Weekly quizzes on the required reading. Each extra credit or quiz will earn 1 point for a correct answer; exceptionally, 2 points may be given. [15 points]

4) Class participation, extra credit reports on campus lectures (4 maximum). [10 points]

All papers should be emailed to the professor by 4.00 pm on the due day as attached documents in Word.

READEINGS

Books for the course, available for purchase in Broad Street Books:

Stephen Kotkin  

Stephen White (ed.)  
**Developments in Russian Politics 8** (2014)

Masha Gessen  
**The Man Without a Face** (2013)

The following books are out of print, but I have copies that I will lend you:

Hedrick Smith  

Lilia Shevtsova  
**Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Realities** (1999)

All the articles listed on the syllabus are available on the course’s Wesfiles page through the hyperlinks. I only use Moodle to report grades.

Students must attend every class and complete the required reading each week, marked with *. All the other readings are optional, mainly for use when writing papers. Unexplained absence from three classes will be treated as withdrawal from the course. Plagiarism i.e. using material not written by yourself without clear attribution to the source will be punished. You are welcome to bring laptops to class but you must NOT use them for email or web surfing.

Given the time constraints, this syllabus necessarily leaves out many important topics, such as gender, religion, civil society, social protests, nuclear weapons, Russia-China relations, etc. You can cover one of these topics in your final paper if you wish.

Power and policy in the Kremlin: a role playing exercise

We will also be running a role-playing exercise, borrowed from Juliet Johnson at McGill University. The basic schema is as follows (more detailed instructions will follow):

1) Each student takes on the identity of a leading Russian political actor.
2) Prepare a biographical profile, and a policy proposal.
3) Negotiate (outside of class) with other actors to form coalitions in support of one or other proposal.
4) An expanded government meeting will take place in class on Dec, where proposals will be presented to Putin, and he picks the winner.
### Sept 1

#### INTRODUCTION

Russia and the EU competed to include Ukraine in their respective free trade zones. Protests erupted in Kyiv when President Yanukovich backed out of the EU treaty in Nov 2013. Yanukovich fled in Feb 2014, triggering Russia’s annexation of Crimea in March and insurrection in east Ukraine.

Is Putin a new Hitler, or was he merely responding to Western provocations?

* Serhii Kudelia ‘The house that Yanukovich built,’ *Journal of Democracy* 25: 3 May 2014, 19-34
* Oleksander Andreyev & Andrew Wilson ‘Ukraine: a failing state?’ *Open Democracy*, 5 May 2014
* Igor Zevelev ‘The Russian world boundaries,’ *International Affairs*, June 2014

### Sept 3

#### CRISIS IN UKRAINE

### Sept 8

#### THE WEIGHT OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

Is there such a thing as ‘Russian political culture,’ and what does it consist of?

How great an influence does the pre-1917 Russian past have on the present?

Does Russia’s history set it apart from the rest of Europe? Why Lenin? Why Stalin?

* Stephen Kotkin ‘Stalinism as civilization,’ from David Hoffman (ed.) *Stalinism*
* Peter Rutland ‘The past as prolog,’ ch. 1

### Sept 10-15

#### THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

How was the Soviet Union ruled? What was it like to live under the Soviet system?

What was the nomenklatura? What role did the Communist Party play in Soviet society?

Why was the USSR so stable in the 1960s-70s? Why did it survive in the absence of mass terror?

* Hedrick Smith *The Russians*, whole book, but esp. chs 10-11
* Martin Malia *The Soviet Tragedy* ch. 10
* Ilya Utekhin *Kommunalka* Video tour of life in a Soviet-era communal apartment.
* Peter Rutland & Victoria Smolkin-Rothrock ‘What was the Soviet Union? Looking back at Brezhnev,’ *Russian History*, 41 (2014) 299-306

Sept 11  Extra credit opportunity  Lecture by Professor Daniel Bell (Tsinghua University)  
4.30 pm  ‘On Political Meritocracy: China and the Limits of Democracy’ Location: Freeman Center

Tues, Sept 16  FIRST ASSIGNMENT  Topic: The Soviet system

Email the paper to <prutland> by 4.00 pm on Tues. Sept 16. Write a 3-4 page paper on Smith’s The Russians. How did the Soviet system work? How did people adapt to life within the system?

Don’t just summarize Smith’s observations. You should try to read/skim the whole book, but your essay should focus on a specific topic. What struck you as most interesting in Smith’s account? Did it confirm or refute your prior stereotypes of life in the ‘Evil Empire”? How does life in the USSR compare with life in other societies, such as the US? Is Smith’s reporting reliable?

Sept 17  GORBACHEV’S REFORMS (1985-89)

How did Gorbachev rise to power? What were Gorbachev’s goals in introducing glasnost and perestroika? Why did he fail? Is Gorbachev a hero, a villain, or a fool?

* Stephen Kotkin  Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse
* Peter Rutland  ‘The Soviet collapse’ ch 2.
* David Kotz & Fred Weir  ‘Why did the USSR fall?’ Dollars and Sense, July 1997
Stephen Cohen  ‘Was the Soviet system reformable?’ Slavic Review, 63: 3, 2004
History Channel  ‘Gorbachev: a man who changed the world’ (1998 documentary)

Sept 22  THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION (1989-91)

Why did the Soviet Union collapse – and was its collapse inevitable?  
Who launched the Aug. 1991 coup, and why did it fail?

* Stephen Kotkin  Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse
* John Dunlop  The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union ch 2-5
  [This is an ebook, which you can read online through the Olin catalog]
* Leon Aron  ‘Everything you think you know about the Soviet collapse,’  
  Foreign Affairs, July 2011

Sept 24  YELTSIN IN POWER (1991-93)

What were Yeltsin’s goals, and what was the political coalition supporting him?  
How were the economic and military assets of the Soviet Union divided among the new states?

* Lilia Shevtsova  Yeltsin’s Russia: Myths and Reality esp. chs 1-3
* Peter Rutland  ‘From Soviet Union to CIS,’ ch. 3.
History Channel  Boris Yeltsin: The People’s Choice (1998 documentary)
Boris Yeltsin  The Struggle for Russia chs. 1-5
Leon Aron  Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life  (Yeltsin GOOD)
Peter Reddaway  The Tragedy of Russia’s Reforms  (Yeltsin BAAD)
**Sept 29**

**THE TRANSITION TO CAPITALISM**

Why was shock therapy launched in 1992? Who benefited from those reforms? Was there any alternative to that radical reform package? How else could the transition to capitalism have been managed?

* Peter Murrell  
  ‘What is shock therapy? What did it do in Poland and Russia?’  

* Peter Rutland  
  ‘Russia’s transition to a market economy’ ch. 5, pt 1 (thru 1996)

David Kotz & Fred Weir  
Revolution from Above: the Demise of the Soviet System chs. 9-12

Anders Aslund  
How Russia Became a Market Economy

Anders Aslund  
Russia’s Capitalist Revolution

**Oct 1**

**THE YELTSIN YEARS (1993-99)**

In Oct 1993 Yeltsin suppressed a parliamentary rebellion and consolidated presidential rule, but he managed to win re-election in 1996. Was Yeltsin the father of Russian democracy, or its gravedigger?

* Peter Rutland  
  ‘Politics under Yeltsin,’ ch. 4

* Peter Rutland  
  ‘Has democracy failed Russia?’, National Interest (Dec. 1994)

* Lilia Shevtsova  
  Yeltsin’s Russia: Myths and Reality chs. 6-9

Stephen Fish  
Democracy Derailed in Russia

Boris Yeltsin  
The Struggle for Russia chs. 7-9

Meanwhile the 1990s saw wealth and power shifting into the hands of a new oligarchic elite:

* Peter Rutland  
  ‘Russia’s transition to a market economy,’ ch. 5, pt 2

* Joseph Stiglitz  
  ‘What I learned at the world economic crisis,’ New Republic  
  17 May 2000

* Joel Hellman  
  ‘Winners take all: the politics of partial reform’  

Chrystia Freeland  
Sale of the Century

David Hoffman  
The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia

Marshall Goldman  
The Piratization of Russia

Paul Klebnikov  
Godfather of the Kremlin: Berezovsky and the Looting of Russia

**Oct 6**

**THE MAFIA**

Why did organized crime and bureaucratic corruption rise so rapidly in Russia and the other post-soviet states? Can the state do anything to get either of these evils under control? We take the ‘rule of law’ for granted – but where does it come from, and under what conditions does it take root and develop?

* Paul Klebnikov  
  ‘Godfather of the Kremlin,’ Forbes, 30 December 1996

* Peter Rutland  
  ‘Crime and corruption,’ ch. 8

* Vadim Volkov  
  ‘Violent entrepreneurship in post-Communist Russia,’  
  Europe-Asia Studies, 51: 5 (July 1999) 741-54

Robert Sharlet  
‘In search of the rule of law,’ in S. White, Developments 7, ch. 8

Federico Varese  
The Russian Mafia

Alena Ledenova  
Russia’s Economy of Favors

Movies:  
*Brother*, Tycoon, Eastern Promises, Transiberian, Lord of War
Oct 8

THE CHECHEN WARS

Why did Chechnya try to secede from the Russian Federation? Why did Yeltsin invade Chechnya in December 1994, and why did the Russians lose the first war? Why did the second war break out in 1999? How did Putin win the war?

* Peter Rutland ‘The Chechen war,’ ch. 7
Rajan Menon & G. Fuller ‘Russia’s ruinous Chechen war,’ Foreign Affairs, 79: 2, Mar 2000
Anatol Lieven Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power
Carlotta Gall & Thomas de Waal Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus
Kavkaz Center Chechen rebel web-site
Movies: Prisoner of the Caucasus, Blokpost, House of Fools, War, Alexandra

Friday Oct 10

SECOND ASSIGNMENT Topic: ‘The Russian transition’

Email the paper to <prutland> by 4.00 pm on Friday 10th. Write a 3-4 page paper on either:

a) Was there ever any chance of democracy taking root in Russia in the 1990s? OR b) Was shock therapy a mistake? OR c) How and why did power shift so quickly into the hands of the oligarchs?

Oct 13

THE BIRTH OF THE NEW STATES

What were the common challenges the new states faced? Who held power in the new states, and what sorts of political regimes emerged?

* Gerry Easter ‘Preference for presidentialism: Post-communist regime change,’ World Politics, 49: 2, Jan 1997
Ian Bremmer & Ray Taras (eds) Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States

What was Russia’s role in the post-cold war ‘new world order’? Could Russia’s leaders – and society – make the mental transition from superpower to nation-state?

* Peter Rutland ‘Russia’s foreign and security policy,’ ch. 6
Vera Tolz ‘Forging the Nation: National identity and nation-building in post-communist Russia,’ Europe-Asia Studies, 50: 6, 993-1022
Valery Tishkov ‘Consolidating civic nationalism in Russia,’ Foresight, 19 Jun 08

Oct 15

CENTRAL ASIA

The Central Asian states set about building new nations – but did not take the democratic path.

* Stephen Kotkin ‘Trashcanistan. A tour through the wreckage of the Soviet Empire,’ New Republic, 4 April 2002
* Pauline Luong Jones & Erika Weinthal ‘Prelude to the resource curse. Explaining oil and gas development in the Soviet successor states,’ Comparative Political Studies, 34: 4, 2001
Kathleen Collins  ‘Clans politics in Central Asia,’ *Journal of Democracy*, 13: 3, 2002
Cullen Murphy  ‘Get in touch with your inner Turkmenbashiy,’ *Atlantic*, Nov 2002
Dmitri Trenin  *The End of Eurasia*
Pauline Luong Jones  *The Transformation of Central Asia*
Martha Olcott  *Central Asia’s Second Chance*

**Oct 20-23**  FALL BREAK – no classes

**Friday Oct 24**  Crimean Tatar event.
6.30 pm  Panel and musical performance on the fate of the Crimean Tatars.

**Friday Oct 24**  THIRD ASSIGNMENT
Biographical profile for role-play 3-4 page essay.

**Oct 27**  THE CAUCASUS

What were the causes of the wars that broke out in Azerbaijan and Georgia?
What are Russia’s interests in the region, and what role did Russia play in the 1990s?
What was the US interest in the region, and what role did the US play?
What would a solution to these conflicts look like?

Thomas de Waal  *The Caucasus; An Introduction*

**Oct 29**  UKRAINE AND BELARUS

How was national identity constructed in Belarus and Ukraine after the Soviet collapse?
Why did Ukraine turn out to be more democratic than Russia – and Belarus less democratic?

* Keith Darden  ‘Blackmail as a tool of state domination: Ukraine under Kuchma,’ *East European Constitutional Review*, spring 2001
Adrian Karatnycky  ‘Ukraine at the crossroads,’ *Jour. of Democracy*, 6: 1, Jan 1995, 117-30
Andrew Wilson  *The Ukrainians. Unexpected Nation*
Paul D’Anieri et al  *Politics and Society in Ukraine*
David Marples  ‘Europe’s last dictatorship: the roots of authoritarianism in “White Russia,”’ *Europe-Asia Studies*, 57: 6, Sept. 2005
Nov 3

THE BALTICS AND MOLDOVA

Do you agree or disagree with the exclusionary citizenship policies adopted in Estonia and Latvia? How come Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were able to enter NATO and the EU so speedily? What’s the deal in Moldova?

Shirley Woods  ‘Ethnicity and nationalism in contemporary Estonia,’ in Chris Williams (ed) Ethnicity and Nationalism in Russia, CIS and Baltic States (1999)
Aris Jansons  ‘Latvia: Tempest in a textbook,’ Transitions Online 22 Feb 2006

Nov 5

THE COLOR REVOLUTIONS

While authoritarianism was strengthening in Russia, a wave of revolutions swept Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004), and Kyrgyzstan (2005 and again in 2010). Did they represent a breakthrough to genuine democracy? Why did color revolutions not take place in Uzbekistan, Belarus and Moldova?

* Charles Fairbanks  ‘Georgia’s rose revolution,’ Journal of Democracy, 15:2, Apr 2004
* Adrian Karatnycky  ‘Ukraine’s orange revolution,’ Foreign Affairs, 84: 2, Mar 2005
* Martha Brill Olcott  ‘Lessons of the tulip revolution,’ Testimony before OSCE, 7 Apr 2005
* Graeme Herd  ‘Colorful revolutions and the CIS,’ Problems of Post-Communism, 52: 2, Mar 2005

The Orange Chronicles  Documentary about the 2004 Ukrainian revolution
Lucan Way  ‘Ukraine’s Orange Revolution,’ Journal of Democracy, 16:2 Apr 2005
Anders Aslund & Michael Mcfaul (eds)  Revolution in Orange: Ukraine’s Breakthrough, 2006
David Lane  ‘The Orange Revolution: ‘People’s revolution’ or revolutionary coup?’, British Journal of Politics and International Rels, Oct 2008, 525-549
Grzegorz Gromadzki et al  Beyond Colors: Assets and Liabilities of ‘Post-Orange’ Ukraine, 2010
David Marples  ‘Color revolutions: The Belarus Case,’ Communist and Post-Communist Studies 39: 3 Sept 2006, 351-64
Iurie Rosca  ‘Moldova’s orange evolution,’ Demokratizatsiya 13: 4, 2005, 537-542
Roza Otunbayeva  ‘Kyrgyzstan’s tulip revolution,’ Demokratizatsiya 13: 4, 2005, 483-489
Eugene Huskey  ‘If you want to understand Kyrgyzstan,’ Slate, 9 Apr 2010

Friday, Nov 7

FOURTH ASSIGNMENT  Topic: Birth of a Nation

Email the paper to <prutland> by 4.00 pm on Friday Nov 7. Write a 3-4 page paper on one of the newly -independent states (but not Russia). Briefly summarize its key features, including its ethnic make-up and political regime. Then select one challenge that the new state faced, and assess how it went about tackling it.

For information on your country see the readings listed for weeks 9-10, and check out these sites:

BBC country profiles  Archive of recent stories about each country, plus historical timelines.
Eurasianet  Stories on Central Asia and the Caucasus
CA-CI Analyst  news and analysis on Central Asia and the Caucasus
International Crisis Group  Reports on conflict situations in Central Asia and the Caucasus
November 10

FROM YELTSIN TO PUTIN

Yeltsin resigned on 31 December 1999 and handed power to Vladimir Putin. Where did Putin come from, and what were his goals? What kind of political system did he create? Topics include his cult of personality; limits on media freedom; and the construction of an administrative ‘power vertical.’

* Peter Rutland, ‘The rise of Putin,’ ch. 12
* Vladimir Putin, *First Person* (interviews with Putin) excerpted on the PBS website

November 12

PUTIN IN POWER

The 2003 Yukos affair signaled that Putin was moving towards a more authoritarian system. Was Putin a dictator, or merely the head of a fractious oligarchic elite? In 2008 Putin handed over the presidency to Medvedev – but stayed on as prime minister. Was authoritarianism the best political system for Russia at this point in its history?

* Stephen White (ed), *Developments in Russian Politics 8*
* Peter Rutland, ‘From Putin to Medvedev,’ ch. 15
* Andrei Ryabov, ‘How Russia works,’ *Russian Analytical Digest*, 49, 5 Nov 2008
* Dmitry Medvedev, ‘Go, Russia!’ 10 Sept 2009
* CBC, *The Putin system* (2008 documentary)
* Andrei Shleifer & Dan Treisman, ‘A normal country,’ *Foreign Affairs*, 83: 2, Mar 2004
* Michael McFaul & Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, holds Russia back,” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2008
* Leon Aron, ‘Was liberty really bad for Russia?’, AEI, fall 2007

November 17

PUTIN RETURNS TO THE PRESIDENCY (2011-14)

In 2009 Russia was badly hit by the global financial crisis. In Sept 2011 Putin announced that he was returning to the presidency, and this triggered a wave of protests in Dec 2011. In response Putin launched a crackdown on the opposition while promoting a new nationalist ideology. Meanwhile, Russia’s oligarchs continued to flourish – and on the global stage.

* Daniel Treisman, ‘Can Putin keep his grip on power?’ *Current History*, Oct 2013
* Graeme Robertson, ‘Protesting Putinism: The election protests of 2011-12,’ *Problems of Post-Communism*, 60: 2 (April 2013), 11-23
* Peter Rutland, ‘The political economy of Putin 3.0,’ *RAD*, July 2013, 2-5
* Peter Rutland, ‘Explaining Pussy Riot,’ *Nationalities Papers*, 42 (4) 2014, 575-82
* Neil Robinson, ‘Russia’s response to crisis,’ *Europe-Asia Studies*, 65: 3 2013 450-72
* Connie Bruck, ‘The billionaire’s playlist,’ *The New Yorker*, 20 Jan 2014
* Christiane Amanpour, ‘Czar Putin’ (CNN 2009)
Nov19

PUTIN’S FOREIGN POLICY

Putin set out to restore Russia as a great power – while the US saw Russia as a spent force. The causes and consequences of the 2008 war in Georgia; and the ‘gas wars’ with Ukraine. Was Obama’s reset of relations with Russia doomed from the start?

* Peter Rutland ‘US foreign policy in Russia,’ in Mick Cox (ed.) US Foreign Policy
* Dmitry Trenin ‘Russia’s foreign policy’ in Anders Aslund et al, Russia After the Global Economic Crisis, 2010, ch. 9
* Richard Boudreaux ‘Russia’s fading army fights losing battle to reform,’ WSJ, 5/20/11
Svante Cornell et al Russia’s War in Georgia, Aug 2008
Charles King ‘The five day war,’ Foreign Affairs, Nov 2008, 2-11
Wikipedia South Ossetia War
Bobo Lo Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy
Edward Lucas The New Cold War. Putin’s Russia and the Threat to the West
Andrew Kuchins ‘US-Russia relations,’ in Anders Aslund et al, Russia After the Global Economic Crisis 2010, ch. 12

Nov 24

THE PUTIN REGIME

An overview of the state of Putin’s Russia in 2014. Putin’s sky-high ratings, the scattered opposition, the tension between siloviki and oligarchs.

* David Remnick ‘Watching the eclipse,” New Yorker, 11 Aug 2014
Stephen White ‘Russian presidential election’ Russian Analytical Dgst, 110, Mar 2012
Lilia Shevtsova ‘Medvedev’s Potemkin modernization,’ Current History, Oct 2010
Pavel Kanygin ‘Russia. Dislike,’ NG, 1 June 2011. Why young Russians are emigrating.
‘The Putin System’ French TV documentary 2012

Tues Nov 25

Role-play exercise group declarations due by 4.00 pm.

Dec 1

FINAL ASSIGNMENT POLICY PROPOSAL

5-7 page essay to be submitted to the instructor by 2.40 on Dec 1.

Dec 1-3

POWER AND POLICY IN THE KREMLIN

Role-playing exercise in class on Dec 1 and debriefing on Dec 3.