

POLITICS IN RUSSIA (CPO 3633) -- SPRING 2016

Professor Moraski
(Last updated January 5, 2016)

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CONTACT INFORMATION

Politics in Russia, CPO 3633, Section 12B9
34 Anderson Hall
MWF; 7th Period (1:55-2:45)

Professor Bryon Moraski
332 Anderson Hall
Phone: 352-273-2361
Email: bmoraski@ufl.edu
Website: <http://users.clas.ufl.edu/bmoraski/>

Office Hours:
Mondays, Wednesdays & Fridays
11:30-12:30 & by appointment

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COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course focuses on politics in the Russian Federation. It briefly introduces the student to the politics of the Soviet Union and addresses the fundamental changes that have occurred in Russia, the largest and most important country to emerge from the breakup of the USSR. As the core of the former Soviet Union, the initial problems that Russia confronted highlight the various economic, political and social difficulties that accompanied the region's transition away from Soviet rule. While Russia had made more progress toward a democratic political system and a capitalist economy than several former Soviet republics during the 1990s (like Belarus and the Central Asian states), economic and political freedoms have since declined substantially. How can we understand these developments? The course provides students a foundation for answering this difficult question.

The course begins by covering the major political developments of Soviet rule. Following a discussion of the collapse of the Soviet Union, we will focus on the initial struggle for power in post-Soviet Russia and the origins and evolution of Russia's initial political institutions. After outlining Russia's institutional framework, we turn to how Russia's first president, Boris Yeltsin, addressed the various challenges that the country confronted during his time in office and how those policies facilitated the rise of Russia's second (and fourth!) president, Vladimir Putin. The remainder of the course will consider how Putin consolidated power in Russia so that he could leave office in 2008 only to return in 2012 and the implications of these changes on Russia's political trajectory as well as its relations with its neighbors and the West.

As a Comparative Politics (CPO) course, the class is offered as an example of how to compare domestic politics in a single country at different moments in time. At the same time, I occasionally attempt to place Russian developments in comparative perspective, highlighting how the experience of one country can lead to a reconsideration of conventional wisdom.

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STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES

Students are responsible for all materials in the lectures and readings as well as any handouts (electronic or otherwise). A *significant* portion of the material that will be covered in class, especially early on, cannot be found in the assigned readings. I regularly use lecture to “fill in the blanks” so that I can assign readings that demonstrate how the Russian case speaks to the larger political science literature. Likewise, many aspects of the assigned readings will not be covered in class since I do not want to use lectures to simply reiterate what students can read on their own. Rather, we will use class to discuss the readings and deepen our understanding of the topics under consideration while simultaneously developing critical thinking skills. In the end, then, while the lectures and readings will complement one another, students must attend class consistently and do the assigned readings *ahead of time* if they wish to perform well in the course.

The following components will determine final course grades:

- Class attendance and in-class participation, worth **10%** of the final course grade;
- Three examinations, each worth **30%** of the final course grade (90% total).

Higher attendance rates and more frequent and higher quality participation will yield better attendance and participation grades.

- A full 10% reflects perfect attendance as well as frequent participation reflecting knowledge of the assigned readings.
- 7-9% corresponds to student attendance of 70-90% of class sessions *with* occasional (rather than frequent) participation about the topic being discussed (and not necessarily based on the assigned readings, e.g., personal experience or reflection).
- 1-6% indicates student attendance at 60% (or less) of class sessions. If students attend less than 60% of class sessions, participation can help but not enough to merit more than a 6% for the attendance and participation portion of the grade.
- 0% can be assigned to students who are habitually tardy or engage in disruptive behavior.

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<u>Grading Scale</u>	<u>(Grade Point Equivalent)</u>
A = 90 or above	4.00
A- = 87-89	3.67
B+ = 84-86	3.33
B = 80-83	3.00
B- = 77-79	2.67
C+ = 74-76	2.33
C = 70-73	2.00
C- = 67-69	1.67
D+ = 64-66	1.33
D = 60-63	1.00
D- = 57-59	0.67
E = 56 or below	0.00

For information on UF grading policies for assigning grade points, see <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx>. Note that a grade of C- is not a qualifying grade for major, minor, Gen Ed, or College Basic distribution credit.

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Required Reading

The required reading for the course comes from:

- Mary McAuley. 1992. *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991*. Oxford University Press
- Online book chapters, journal articles, and other electronic resources (see below).

Using scholarly journal articles and other electronic sources keeps the course content current as well as the costs of the material for the students to a minimum.

You can locate the readings yourself by using the internet and the University of Florida's library (<http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/>). However, to ease the burden, I have created a site for the course in Canvas on e-Learning (<https://lss.at.ufl.edu/>) and have uploaded the required reading there.

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POLICIES AND RELATED INFORMATION

Persons with Disabilities

Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. The Dean of Students Office will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation.

Anyone with a disability should feel free to see me during office hours to make the necessary arrangements.

Policies on Attendance, Cell Phones, and Laptops

Since class discussions and lectures often add new concepts, ideas, and interpretations that students will be responsible for knowing, it is in your best interest to attend every class and to arrive on time. Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found in the online catalog at: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>.

Students must turn cell phones to silent before coming to class. Each time a student's cell phone rings or each time that a student texts during class, 1% may be deducted from that student's participation grade (1% per instance following one warning). After the warning, I will not disrupt the class to correct student behavior. Instead, I will simply make a note of the infraction and penalize accordingly.

Computers also should be silenced before class begins. Their use should be for class purposes only (e.g., taking notes, reviewing the reading, etc.). Violations of these policies may constitute disruptive behavior and may result in a reduced attendance and participation grade (see above).

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Policy on Make-up Exams

Make-up exams will be arranged *only for university accepted excuses*. In the event of an absence, students should provide me with proper documentation. Make-ups will be given during finals week at the time designated by the Registrar's Office for the course's final exam. To preserve the integrity of the exams, the format of make-ups will differ from the original.

Policy on Cheating

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment."

The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor.

In the event that a student is found cheating, s/he will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs.

Course Evaluations

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course based on 10 criteria. These evaluations are conducted online at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results>.

Additional Information: Counseling

Phone numbers and contact sites for university counseling services and mental health Services can be found at <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx> or you may call 392-1575. To contact the University Police Department call 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

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COURSE OUTLINE (SUBJECT TO CHANGES)

Part I – Historical Overview

Week 1 (Jan 6-8) – Course Introduction

For Friday:

- Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*
Available as a free e-book (in Kindle and other formats) from Project Gutenberg at <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/61>

Week 2 (Jan 11-15) – Overview of Soviet Politics

- McAuley, Introduction and Chapters 1-6

Week 3 (Jan 18-22) – From History to Analysis

Monday – No class (Martin Luther King, Jr. Day)

- McAuley, Chapters 7-8 and Conclusion
- Cohen, Stephen F. 2004. “Was the Soviet System Reformable?” *Slavic Review* 63(3): 459-488.

Week 4 (Jan 25-29) – Russia’s Post-Soviet Institutions

- Evans, Geoffrey and Stephen Whitefield. 1998. “The Evolution of Left and Right in Post-Soviet Russia.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 50(6): 1023-43.
- Remington, Thomas F. 2000. “The Evolution of Executive-Legislative Relations in Russia since 1993.” *Slavic Review* 59(3): 499-520.
- Breslauer, George W. 1999. “Boris Yeltsin as Patriarch.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 15(2): 186-200.

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Week 5 (Feb 1-5) – Societal Continuity and Change in the 1990s (continued)

- Rose, Richard. 1999. “Living in an Antimodern Society.” *East European Constitutional Review* 8(1/2): 68-75.
- Kay, Rebecca. 2002. “A Liberation from Emancipation? Changing Discourses on Women's Employment in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia.” *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 18(1): 51-72.
- Hendley, Kathryn. 1999. “Rewriting the Rules of the Game in Russia: The Neglected Issue of the Demand for Law.” *East European Constitutional Review* 8(4): 89-95.
- Volkov, Vadim. 2002. *Violent Entrepreneurs*. Cornell University Press, **Chapter 1**

Week 6 (Feb 8-12) – Holding the Union Together

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

Friday, February 12 – Exam 1

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Part II – Putin’s Russia

Week 7 (Feb 15-19) – From Yeltsin to Putin

- Rose, Richard. 2000. “How Floating Parties Frustrate Democratic Accountability: A Supply-Side View of Russia’s Elections.” *East European Constitutional Review* 9: 53-9.
- McFaul, Michael. 2000. “Russia under Putin: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.” *Journal of Democracy* 11(3): 19-33.
- White, Stephen and Ian McAllister. 2003. “Putin and His Supporters.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 55(3): 383-99.

Week 8 (Feb 22-26) – Proximate Threats and the Consolidation of Power

- Robertson, Graeme B. 2009. “Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin’s Russia.” *Slavic Review* 68 (3): 528-47.
- Moraski Bryon J. 2007. “Electoral System Reform in Democracy’s Grey Zone: Lessons from Putin’s Russia.” *Government and Opposition* 42(4): 536-63
- Wilhelmsen, Julie. 2005. “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 57(1): 35-59.

Week 9 (Feb 29-Mar 4)

- Spring Break

Week 10 (Mar 7-11) – Presidential Succession and the Consolidation of Power

- Hale, *Patronal Politics*, pp. 276-282
- Ryabov, Andrei. 2008. “Analysis: Tandemocracy in Today’s Russia.” *Russian Analytical Digest* 49 (November 5): 2-7.
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz. 2010. “Subnational Governance in Russia: How Putin Changed the Contract with His Agents and the Problems It Created.” *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*. 40(4): 672-96.
- Atwal, Maya and Edwin Bacon. 2012. “The Youth Movement *Nashi*: Contentious Politics, Civil Society, and Party Politics.” *East European Politics* 28(3): 256-66.

Week 11 (Mar 14-18) – The Consolidation of Power (continued)

- March, Luke. 2012. “The Russian Duma ‘Opposition’: No Drama Out of Crisis?” *East European Politics* 28(3): 241-55.

Friday, March 18 – Exam 2

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Part III – Challenges and Comparisons

Week 12 (Mar 21-25) – The 2011 Elections: (Phantom?) Cracks in Pyramid

- McFaul, Michael and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. 2008. “The Myth of the Authoritarian Model.” *Foreign Affairs* 87(1): 68-84.
- Padma’ Desai’s “Letter to the Editor: Putin’s Russia” and McFaul and Stoner-Weiss’s reply
- *Russian Analytical Digest* #108, “Duma Elections and Protest” **[All]**
- Hale, *Patronal Politics*, pp. 282-291

Week 13 (Mar 28-Apr 1) – Economic Challenges

- Nygren, Bertil. 2008. "Putin's Use of Natural Gas to Reintegrate the CIS Region." *Problems of Post-Communism* 55(4): 3-15.
- Gustafson, Thane. 2012. "Putin's Petroleum Problem: How Oil Is Holding Russia Back—and How It Could Save It." *Foreign Affairs* 91(6): 83-96.
- Krastev, Ivan and Vladislav Inozemtsev. 2013. "Putin's Self-Destruction: Russia's New Anti-Corruption Campaign Will Sink the Regime." *Foreign Affairs* (June 9) available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139442/ivan-krastev-and-vladislav-inozemtsev/putins-self-destruction>

Week 14 (Apr 4-8) – Domestic Security and International Interests

- King, Charles and Rajan Menon. 2010. "Prisoners of the Caucasus: Russia's Invisible Civil War." *Foreign Affairs* 89: 20-34.
- Soldatov, Andrei and Irina Borogan. 2010. "Russia's New Nobility: The Rise of the Security Services in Putin's Kremlin." *Foreign Affairs* 89(5): 80-96.
- Laqueur, Walter. 2010. "Moscow's Modernization Dilemma: Is Russia Charting a New Foreign Policy?" *Foreign Affairs* 89(6): 153-160.
- Lowell W. Barrington, Erik S. Herron, Brian D. Silver. 2003. "Research Note: The Motherland Is Calling: Views of Homeland among Russians in the Near Abroad." *World Politics* 55(2): 290-313.

Week 15 (Apr 11-15) – Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasian Politics in Comparative Perspective

- Hale, pages 325-350 of Chapter 9 and 234-238 of Chapter 7
- Shevtsova, Lilia. 2014. "The Maidan and Beyond: The Russia Factor." *Journal of Democracy* 25(3): 74-82.
- Motyl, Alexander J. "Snapshot -- The Sources of Russian Conduct: The New Case for Containment." *Foreign Affairs*. Published November 16, 2014 and available at <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/142366/alexander-j-motyl/the-sources-of-russian-conduct>
- Hale, *Patronal Politics*, Chapter 11

Week 16 (Apr 18-20)

Monday – Review

Wednesday, April 20 – Exam 3

Finals Week: Make-up exams as necessary

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