

POLITICS IN RUSSIA  
FALL 2014

Profesor Moraski  
(Last updated August 6, 2014)

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## GENERAL INFORMATION

Politics in Russia, CPO 3633, Section 14A6  
34 Anderson Hall  
MWF; 3<sup>rd</sup> Period (9:35-10:25)

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Office Hours:  
Mondays & Fridays,  
10:30-11:30 (& 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 a single country at different moments in time. At the same time, there will be regular attempts to place Russian developments in comparative perspective, highlighting how the experience of once 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 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 regularly 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.

<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 journal articles and other electronic resources (see below).

Using scholarly journal articles and other electronic sources keeps the course content current while the electronic option keeps the costs of the material for the course 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.

Students are encouraged to follow political developments in the Russian Federation. One option is to use a free email News Alert from [Google](#) (using the search term, Russia).

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## POLICIES

### 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 should turn cell phones to silent or vibrate before coming to class. Each time a student's cell phone rings or each time that a student texts during class, 1% will be deducted from that student's final grade (1% per instance). If a call or text is urgent, please quietly leave the classroom to answer it.

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).

#### Policies 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 the second hour of the final exam periods.

#### 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 or TAs in this class.

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

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 (Aug 25-29) – Course Introduction

*For Wednesday: 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>

**Friday, August 29: No class** (I will be at the national political science conference.)

Week 2 (Sept 1-5) – Overview of Soviet Politics

**Monday, September 1: No Class** (Labor Day)

- McAuley, Introduction, Chapters 1-6

Week 3 (Sept 8-12) – The Soviet Collapse and Russia’s “First Republic”

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

Week 4 (Sept 15-19) – Yeltsin’s Russia

- 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.

Week 5 (Sept 22-26) – Navigating Yeltsin’s Russia

- 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.
- 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.
- Volkov, Vadim. 2002. *Violent Entrepreneurs*. Cornell University Press, **Chapter 1**

Week 6 (Sept 29-Oct 3) – Chechnya and Russian Federalism

- Robertson, Ann E. “Yeltsin, Shaimiev, and Dudaev: Negotiating Autonomy for Tatarstan and Chechnya.” In *Unity or Separation: Center-Periphery Relations in the Former Soviet Union*, Daniel R. Kempton and Terry D. Clark (eds.). Westport, CT: Praeger. **Read pages 99-101 and 105-129.**

**Friday, October 3 – Exam 1**

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Part II – Putin’s Russia

Week 7 (Oct 6-10) – From Yeltsin to Putin

- 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.

- 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 (Oct 13-17) – Consolidating Power: Institutional Changes

- Remington, Thomas. 2006. "Presidential Support in the State Duma." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(1): 5-32 .
- Moraski, Bryon J. and William M. Reisinger. 2007. "Eroding Democracy: Federal Intervention in Russia's Gubernatorial Elections." *Democratization* 14(4): 1-19.

**Friday, October 17 – No class** (Homecoming)

#### Week 9 (Oct 20-24) – Consolidating Power: Managing Elites and Society

- Robertson, Graeme B. 2009. "Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin's Russia." *Slavic Review* 68 (3): 528-47.
- Ryabov, Andrei. 2008. "Analysis: Tandemocracy in Today's Russia." *Russian Analytical Digest* 49 (November 5): 2-7.
- 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.
- 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 10 (Oct 27-31) – Keeping the Opposition at Bay

- March, Luke. 2012. "The Russian Duma 'Opposition': No Drama Out of Crisis?" *East European Politics* 28(3): 241-55.
- Bacon, Edwin. 2012. "Electoral Manipulation and the Development of Russia's Political System." *East European Politics* 28(2): 105-18.
- Horvath, Robert. 2011. "Putin's 'Preventive Counter-Revolution': Post-Soviet Authoritarianism and the Spectre of Velvet Revolution." *Europe-Asia Studies* 53(1): 1-25.

#### Week 11 (Nov 3-7) – The 2011 Elections: Cracks in the System?

- *Russian Analytical Digest* #108, "Duma Elections and Protest" [All]

**Friday, November 7: Exam 2**

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### Part III – Aspirations and Challenges

#### Week 12 (Nov 10-14) – Economic Challenges

- McFaul, Michael and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. 2008. "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model." *Foreign Affairs* 87(1): 68-84.
- 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.

#### Week 13 (Nov 17-21) – Domestic Challenges

- Wilhelmsen, Julie. 2005. “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 57(1): 35-59.
- King, Charles and Rajan Menon. 2010. “Prisoners of the Caucasus: Russia's Invisible Civil War.” *Foreign Affairs* 89: 20-34.
- 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 (Nov 24-28) – International Challenges

- Laqueur, Walter. 2010. “Moscow's Modernization Dilemma: Is Russia Charting a New Foreign Policy?” *Foreign Affairs* 89(6): 153-160.

#### ***No class Wednesday or Friday (Thanksgiving Break)***

#### Week 15 (Dec 1-5) – The Near Abroad: Obedient or Defiant?

- Lowell W. Barrington, Erik S. Herron, Brian D. Silver. 2003. “The Motherland Is Calling: Views of Homeland among Russians in the Near Abroad.” *World Politics* 55(2): 290-313.
- Cameron, David R. and Mitchell A. Orenstein. 2012. “Post-Soviet Authoritarianism: The Influence of Russia in its ‘Near Abroad.’” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28(1): 1-44.
- Shevtsova, Lilia. 2014. “The Maidan and Beyond: The Russia Factor.” *Journal of Democracy* 25(3): 74-82.

#### Week 16 (Dec 8-10) – How things we have learned continue to matter

- Coalson, Robert and Tom Balmforth. 2014. “Leading Russian NGOs Muzzled By 'Foreign Agents' Label.” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (July 23), available at: <http://www.rferl.mobi/a/russia-muzzles-ngos-foreign-agent-law/25467789.html>
- Balmforth, Tom. 2014. “Network, Son Of Nashi: New Youth Group Seeks To Woo Russia's Middle Class.” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (July 3), available at: <http://www.rferl.mobi/a/network-russian-youth-group-nashi-/25444358.html>
- Additional readings to be assigned

#### Week 17 (December 13-19) – Finals Week

***Exam 3 will be held Thursday, December 18 from 10 to 11 am.***

\*\*The second hour of the exam block will be used **only** for makeup exams that qualify (in accordance with University policy).

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