

POLITICS IN RUSSIA (CPO 3633/EUS 4930) – SPRING 2023  
Class #12289  
Professor Moraski

*Abbreviated Syllabus*  
(Last updated December 13, 2022)

**\*\*See Canvas in January 2023 for the Final Syllabus\*\***

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## CONTACT INFORMATION

Mondays, Wednesdays, & Fridays, Period 5 (11:45-12:35)  
220 CSEE (Computer Sciences/Engineering)

Professor Moraski  
313 Anderson Hall  
Phone: 352-273-2361  
Email: [bmoraski@ufl.edu](mailto:bmoraski@ufl.edu)  
Website: <https://people.clas.ufl.edu/bmoraski/>

Office Hours (via Zoom)  
Mondays & Wednesdays:  
1-2:30 pm or by appointment

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## COURSE DESCRIPTION & OBJECTIVES

This course focuses on politics in the Russian Federation. 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 communism. While Russia had made more progress toward the institution of free and competitive elections than several other former Soviet republics during the 1990s (like Belarus and the Central Asian states), economic and political freedoms have substantially declined since 2000. 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 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 considers 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 a Comparative Politics (CPO) course, the class serves as an example of how to compare domestic politics in a single country at different moments in time. I also occasionally place Russian developments in comparative perspective, highlighting at times how the experience of one country can lead to a reconsideration of conventional wisdom.

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## STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES

### Required Reading

Students are responsible for all materials in the lectures and readings as well as any handouts (electronic or otherwise). I will make electronic copies of the readings on a course project site accessible via Canvas. To log in, go to <https://lss.at.ufl.edu/>.

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 lectures to “fill in the blanks” so that I can assign more interesting texts than what would otherwise be required. Likewise, I will not cover many aspects of the assigned readings because I do not want to use the lectures to reiterate what students can read on their own. Note, however, that all of the material in the assigned readings is fair game for the exams.

In sum, students should plan to attend class consistently and do all of the assigned readings if they wish to perform well in the course.

Please note that **I reserve the right to change the course schedule—exam dates and readings**—as I see fit throughout the semester. I will use Canvas to announce, ahead of time, any necessary changes to the exam dates. I will also regularly remind students of the assigned readings at the start of each class session.

### Final Course Grades

The following components will determine final course grades:

- Four in-class exams, each worth 22.5% of the final course grade (i.e., 90% of the final course grade);
- Attendance and participation during *regular* class periods (i.e., not exam days), worth 10% of the final course grade.

### Exams

Make-up exams will be arranged only for *university-accepted excuses*. In the event of an absence, students should provide proper documentation.

If a student misses an exam and cannot contact me beforehand, the student should contact me within 48 hours of the absence to receive full consideration. In almost any situation, you should be able to pass along a message via email or voicemail even if it is from a roommate or family member.

If you foresee a problem with the exam dates, this may not be the right course for you. If a makeup exam is required (due to illness, for example), the makeup will be available during the first hour of the final exam period: 10:00-11:00 am on Thursday, April 28. To preserve the integrity of the exams, the format of any make-up will differ from the original.

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### Attendance and Participation

Higher attendance rates and more frequent, high quality participation will yield better attendance and participation grades. Full credit indicates perfect attendance as well as frequent participation reflecting knowledge of the assigned readings. For students who attend less than 70% of class sessions, participation can help but not enough to merit more than a 70% for this portion of the course grade. In addition, I reserve the right to assign **zeros** for attendance and participation to students who are habitually tardy, consistently absent, or engage in disruptive behavior.

Note as well that I do not give full attendance credit if you come in late. ***If you arrive after the class starts***, it is incumbent upon you to check with me after class to make sure that I have recorded your attendance. The size of a “tardy penalty” depends on how late you are. If you arrive shortly after the lecture has begun, I usually apply a 10% penalty (i.e., 0.9 rather than 1.0 for the period).

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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## 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.

### 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>.

### 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.

**Additional policies will be available on the full course syllabus**, which students will be able to access on Canvas in January 2023.

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## COURSE OUTLINE \*\*Subject to changes\*\*

### Week 1 (Jan 9-13) – Course Introduction and Marxism-Leninism

Monday

- Course overview

Wednesday

- Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. Available from [Project Gutenberg](#) as a free e-book (in Kindle and other formats).

Friday

- Satter, *It was a Long Time Ago, and It Never Happened Anyway*, Chapter 2: “Efforts to Remember”

### Week 2 (Jan 16-20) – The Soviet Experiment

**Monday, January 16 – No class (MLK Jr. Holiday)**

Wednesday

- Satter, Chapter 3: “Butovo and Kommunarka”

Friday

- Satter, Chapter 6: “The Responsibility of the State”
- *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*. “Russia Lurches toward ‘Total Repression’ as Supreme Court Rules to Shut Memorial.” December 28, 2021.

### Week 3 (Jan 23-27) – Russia’s Transition from Communism

Monday

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

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Wednesday

- Evans, Geoffrey and Stephen Whitefield. 1998. "The Evolution of Left and Right in Post-Soviet Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 50(6): 1023-1043.

Friday

- Remington, Thomas F. 2000. "The Evolution of Executive-Legislative Relations in Russia since 1993." *Slavic Review* 59(3): 499-520.

#### Week 4 (Jan 30-Feb 3) – Informal Politics in Yeltsin's Russia

Monday

- Breslauer, George W. 1999. "Boris Yeltsin as Patriarch." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 15(2): 186-200.

#### **Wednesday, January 25 – Exam 1**

Friday

- Rose, Richard. 1999. "Living in an Antimodern Society." *East European Constitutional Review* 8(1/2): 68-75.

#### Week 5 (Feb 6-10) – Federalism and the Rule of Law in the 1990s

Monday

- 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.

Wednesday

- 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.

Friday

- Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs*, Chapter 1 ("Veblen's Warning")

#### Week 6 (Feb 13-17) – Elections in the 1990s

Monday

- Moser, *Unexpected Outcomes*, pp 32-43.

Wednesday

- Rose, Richard. 2000. "How Floating Parties Frustrate Democratic Accountability: A Supply-Side View of Russia's Elections." *East European Constitutional Review* 9: 53-9.

Friday

- McFaul, Michael. 2000. "Russia under Putin: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." *Journal of Democracy* 11(3): 19-33.

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### Week 7 (Feb 20-24) – Putin’s Rise

#### Monday

- Wilhelmsen, Julie. 2005. “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 57(1): 35-59.

#### Wednesday

- White, Stephen and Ian McAllister. 2003. “Putin and His Supporters.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 55(3): 383-99.

#### Friday

- Remington, Thomas. 2006. “Presidential Support in the State Duma.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(1): 5-32.

### Week 8 (Feb 27-March 1) – Putin’s Consolidation of Power

#### Monday

- Moraski, Bryon J. and William M. Reisinger. 2007. “Eroding Democracy: Federal Intervention in Russia’s Gubernatorial Elections.” *Democratization* 14(4): 603-21.

#### Wednesday

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

### **Friday, March 3 – Exam 2**

### Week 9 (Mar 6-10) – Putin’s “Managed Democracy”

#### Monday

- Robertson, Graeme B. 2009. “Managing Society: Protest, Civil Society, and Regime in Putin’s Russia.” *Slavic Review* 68 (3): 528-47.

#### Wednesday

- Atwal, Maya and Edwin Bacon. 2012. “The Youth Movement Nashi: Contentious Politics, Civil Society, and Party Politics.” *East European Politics* 28(3): 256-66.

#### Friday

- “Putin’s Kiss” with questions on Canvas.

### Week 10 (Mar 13-17) – No Class (Spring Break)

### Week 11 (Mar 20-24) – Russia’s “Tandem-ocracy”

#### Monday

- Hale, *Patronal Politics*, pp. 276-282
- Ryabov, Andrei. 2008. “Analysis: Tandemocracy in Today’s Russia.” *Russian Analytical Digest* 49 (November 5): 2-7.

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Wednesday

- 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.

Friday

- 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 12 (Mar 27-31) – Managing Putin's Return

Monday,

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

Wednesday

- Moraski, Bryon J. 2017. "Reverse Coattail Effects in Undemocratic Elections: An Analysis of Russian Locomotives." *Democratization* 24(4): 575-93.

#### **Friday, March 31 – Exam 3**

#### Week 13 (Apr 3-7) – A New Direction?

Monday

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

Wednesday

- Frye, *Weak Strongman*, Chapter 7: "Hitting Them with Carrots: The Role of Repression"

Friday

- Greene, Samuel A. and Graeme B. Robertson. 2019. *Putin v. the People*. Chapter 4: "The Gatherer of Lands"

#### Week 14 (Apr 10-14) – Opposition Tactics and Regime Responses

Monday

- Fedor, Julie and Rolf Fredheim. 2017. "'We need more clips about Putin, and lots of them': Russia's state-commissioned online visual culture." *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 45(2): 161-181.

Wednesday

- Turchenko, Mikhail, and Grigorii V. Golosov. 2021. "Smart Enough to Make a Difference? An Empirical Test of the Efficacy of Strategic Voting in Russia's Authoritarian Elections." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37(1): 65–79.

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Friday – No class. Watch video.

- Synovitz, Ron. 2020. “Name Your Poison: Exotic Toxins Fell Kremlin Foes.” *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*.

Week 15 (Apr 17-21) – Sources of Support for Putin prior to the 2022 Invasion of Ukraine

Monday

- Greene and Robertson, *Putin v. the People*, Chapter 7: “Russia’s Putin”

Wednesday

- Snegovaya, Maria and Kirill Petrov. 2022. “Long Soviet Shadows: The Nomenklatura Ties of Putin Elites.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 38(4): 329-348.

Friday

- Von Gall, Caroline and Laura Jäckel. 2020. “The 2020 Russian Constitutional Reform.” *Russian Analytical Digest* 250: 2-5.
- “Duma and Regional Elections 2021” in *Russian Analytical Digest* 271, pp. 1-16.

Week 16 (Apr 24-26) – Assessing the Consequences of the War

Monday

- “Political and Economic Consequences of Russia’s War against Ukraine” in *Russian Analytical Digest* 283, pp. 1-15.

**Wednesday, April 26 – Exam 4**

Finals Week (May 1-5)

**Wednesday, May 3, 2023, 7:30-8:30 am Makeup Exams (if necessary)**

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