

POLITICS IN RUSSIA (CPO 3633) – SPRING 2019

Professor Moraski
(Last updated 6 January 2018)

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CONTACT INFORMATION

Politics in Russia, CPO 3633, Section 03B5
34 Anderson Hall

Tuesdays, Periods 4 (10:40-11:30)
Thursdays, Period 4 & 5 (10:40-11:30 & 11:45-12:35)

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Office Hours:
Thursdays, 12:45-2:15
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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 some progress toward the institution of free and competitive elections than several former Soviet republics during the 1990s (like Belarus and the Central Asian states), economic and political freedoms have since substantially 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 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 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 well as its relations with its neighbors and the West.

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 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, aspects of some 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. That material is still “fair game” for tests. So, while the lectures and readings complement one another, students must attend class consistently and do the assigned readings if they wish to perform well in the course.

I reserve the right to change the readings as I see fit throughout the semester. Any changes to the course schedule will be reflected in a revised syllabus and the revised syllabus will be posted to my website, replacing this one. I will also regularly remind students of the assigned readings at the start of each class session.

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Final Course Grades

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).

Exams will begin at 10:40 a.m. (i.e., the start of 4th period). After receiving the tests, students must remain in the classroom until 10:55 a.m. **No exams will be distributed after 10:55 a.m.** In other words, there is only a 15-minute grace period on exam days. All exams will be collected at 11:55 a.m. (i.e., one hour and five minutes after they are initially distributed).

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.
- 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% may be assigned to students who are habitually tardy, absent, or engage in disruptive behavior.

On **double-block days**, I will take attendance twice, once for each period. You should plan to participate during both periods to receive full participation credit. Also be aware that I do not

give full attendance credit if you come in late and that this applies to both periods as well on double-block days. The size of the “tardy penalty” depends on how late you are.

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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. Note, however, that 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 (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 7-11) – Marxism and Leninism

Tuesday

- Course Introduction

Thursday

- 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>
- McAuley, Introduction and Chapters 1-2

Week 2 (Jan 14-18) – An Overview of Soviet Politics

Tuesday

- McAuley, Chapters 3-5

Thursday

- McAuley, Chapters 6-8 and Conclusion
- Cohen, Stephen F. 2004. “Was the Soviet System Reformable?” *Slavic Review* 63(3): 459-488. Available [here](#).

Week 3 (Jan 21-25) – Russia’s Post-Soviet Institutions

Tuesday

- Evans, Geoffrey and Stephen Whitefield. 1998. “The Evolution of Left and Right in Post-Soviet Russia.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 50(6): 1023-43. Available [here](#).

Thursday

- 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 4 (Jan 28-Feb 1) – Societal Change and Continuity in the 1990s

Tuesday

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

Thursday

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

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Week 5 (Feb 4-8) – Exam Week

Tuesday

- Review for Exam 1

Thursday, February 7: Exam 1

Part II – Putin’s Russia

Week 6 (Feb 11-15) – Putin’s Rise

Tuesday

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

Thursday

- McFaul, Michael. 2000. “Russia under Putin: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.” *Journal of Democracy* 11(3): 19-33.
- Wilhelmsen, Julie. 2005. “Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 57(1): 35-59.

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Week 7 (Feb 18-22) – Putin’s Consolidation of Power

Tuesday

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

Thursday

- Remington, Thomas. 2006. “Presidential Support in the State Duma.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(1): 5-32.
- McFaul, Michael and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. 2008. “The Myth of the Authoritarian Model.” *Foreign Affairs* 87(1): 68-84.

Week 8 (Feb 25-Mar 1) – Navigating Presidential Succession

Tuesday

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

Thursday

- Hale, *Patronal Politics*, pp. 276-282
- 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.

Week 9 (Mar 4-8) – Spring Break

Week 10 (Mar 11-15) – State-Societal Relations during Medvedev’s Presidency

Tuesday

- Watch *Putin’s Kiss* and answer the questions on Canvas.

Thursday

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

Week 11 (Mar 18-22) – Exam Week

Tuesday

- Review for Exam 2

Thursday, March 21 – Exam 2

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Part III – Aspirations and Challenges

Week 12 (Mar 25-29) – Energy Politics and Economic Challenges

Tuesday

- 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.

Thursday

- Moraski, Bryon and Magda Giurcanu. 2013. “European Reactions to the 2008 Georgian-Russian War: Assessing the Impact of Gas Dependence.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48(4): 432-456.
- Opdahl, Ingerid. 2015. “Gazprom in the Post-Soviet Region: Shrinking Markets, Politicised Relations.” *Russian Analytical Digest* 174: 5-9.

Week 13 (Apr 1-5) – Cracks in Russia’s Electoral “Pyramid”?

Tuesday

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

Thursday

- *Russian Analytical Digest* #108, “Duma Elections and Protest” [All]
- Klein, Aidan and Bryon Moraski. “Incentives to Deliver: Authoritarian Rule, Proportional Representation, and Support for Russia’s Ruling Party.” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties*.

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Week 14 (Apr 8-12) – Russia and the Near Abroad: The Critical Case of Ukraine

Tuesday

- 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.

Thursday

- Shevtsova, Lilia. 2014. “The *Maidan* and Beyond: The Russia Factor.” *Journal of Democracy* 25(3): 74-82.
- Snetkov, Aglaya. 2015. “From Crisis to Crisis: Russia’s Security Policy under Putin.” *Russian Analytical Digest* 173: 2-5.

Week 15 (Apr 15-19) – The 2016 Elections

Tuesday

- Orttung, Robert W. 2016. “The Role of Russia in the US Presidential Elections.” *Russian Analytical Digest* 194: 8-10

Thursday

- Hale, *Patronal Politics*, pp. 282-288
- *Russian Analytical Digest* #189, “State Duma Elections” [All]
- **Review for Exam 3**

Week 16 (Apr 22-24)

Tuesday, April 23 – Exam 3

Finals Week (Apr 29-May 3)

Make-up Exams (if necessary) will be Thursday, May 2 at 12:30.

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