

**Russian Politics**  
**Political Science 633**

**Spring 2006**  
**MW 8-9:15 – 2211 Law**

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- 1-2:15 on Wednesdays at 410 North Hall (263-2025) or by appointment

**RUSSIAN POLITICS**

**Course Description:** A historic transition is underway in Russia. Breaking with its authoritarian past, Russia is making an effort to become a market democracy. During the upcoming semester, we will assess the progress to date and try to determine what the future holds for Russia. We will focus primarily on four key goals which Russia has set for itself: democracy, the market, the rule of law, and civil society. In each case, we begin by defining the concept and then turn to its applicability in the Soviet and post-Soviet context. In an effort to understand the legacy with which Russia was confronted when the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991, we begin with a brief survey of the Soviet era.

**Course Requirements:** Students are expected to attend class regularly and to take part in class discussion. There will be mid-term and final examinations. There are two writing assignments. For the first, students have the option of either (a) attending 3 evening screenings of course-related films, participating in post-screening discussions, and writing a short paper (5-6 pages) comparing any 2 of the films; or (b) writing a research paper (15-17 pages) on a topic that is mutually acceptable to the student and instructor. Details about the requirements for the research paper are on the course web page. Under either option, the paper must be submitted in class on Tuesday, April 19, 2006. For the second assignment, students will be required to write a short essay (4-5 pages) reflecting on the readings for one class meeting. A schedule for this assignment will be posted on the course website. Two cautionary notes: (1) these essays must be turned in during the class period for which the readings being discussed are assigned, and (2) students will be expected to participate actively in the class discussion on the day the essay is due. Failure to meet these requirements will affect the grade on the paper. Students interested in receiving honors credit for the course must consult with the instructor by January 30, 2006, to set up additional assignment(s). Graduate students should consult with the instructor for the supplemental reading list and paper assignments.

**Grades:** Final grades will be calculated on the following basis: final exam (30%), mid-term exam (25%), research/film paper (20%), in-class quiz on *Sofia Petrovna* (5%), participation paper (10%), class participation (10%).

**Readings:** A reading packet is available for purchase at the Law School Duplication Center (located on the ground floor of the Law Building) under the course number. The cost is \$30.50. Students should purchase all of the following books at the University Bookstore:

Rose Brady, *Kapitalizm* (Yale University Press, 1999)

Lydia Chukovskaya, *Sofia Petrovna* (Northwestern University Press, 1994)

Alena V. Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favours* (Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics 1917-1991* (Oxford University Press, 1992)

## PART I: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

- Jan 18**            **Introduction**
- Jan 23**            **Revolution: Lenin Comes to Power – The Creation of the USSR**  
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 1-2  
Litveiko, “In 1917,” *In the Shadow of the Revolution*, pp. 49-65  
Chivers, “With Lenin’s Ideas Dead, What to Do With His Body?” *New York Times*, October 5, 2005, p. A3
- Jan 25**            **Becoming a World Power: The Soviet Union Under Stalin**  
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 3-4  
Belskaia, “Arina’s Children,” *In the Shadow of the Revolution*, pp. 219-34  
Myers, “Still the Tyrant, Stalin Refuses to Be Wished Away,” *New York Times*, May 4, 2005, p. A4
- Jan 30**            **Muddling Through: The Soviet Union Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev**  
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 5-6  
Young, *Growing Up in Moscow: Memories of a Soviet Girlhood*, pp. 116-42
- Feb 1**             **The Unraveling of the Soviet’s Union Under Gorbachev & the Revival of Russia Under Yeltsin**  
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 7-8  
Brown, “Transformational Leaders Compared: Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin,” *Gorbachev, Yeltsin & Putin: Political Leadership in Russia’s Transition*, pp. 11-40  
Gwyn, “Secrecy May Be Inevitable in the Soviet System,” *Toronto Star*, May 7, 1986, p. A21  
Shevtsova, “From Yeltsin to Putin: The Evolution of Presidential Power,” *Gorbachev, Yeltsin & Putin: Political Leadership in Russia’s Transition*, pp. 67-90  
Text of Yeltsin’s Resignation Speech, *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 2000, p. A19  
Randolph, “Ultimate Soviet Henchman Returns to His Pedestal,” *New York Times*, November 20, 2005, section 4, p. 11
- Feb 1**             **Evening Film & Discussion — “Burnt by the Sun” (1995)**

**Feb 6**

**Understanding Russia's Place in the World: Past and Present**

Kennan, "The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917-1976," *Foreign Affairs*, (1976), reprinted in *Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, pp. 325-47

Herspring & Rutland, "Putin and Russian Foreign Policy," in *Putin's Russia*, pp. 259-89

Myers, "Putin Uses Soft Power to Restore the Russian Empire," *New York Times*, November 14, 2004, Week in Review, p. 3

Myers, "Russia and Europeans Sign Pact, but Tensions Persist," *New York Times*, May 11, 2005, p. A3

Fleishman, "Russia Wields Its New Arsenal: Fuel," *Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 2005, p. A1 [web]

Finn and Anderson, "Gas Dispute Leaves Cloud Over Russia's Chairmanship of G-8," *Washington Post*, January 6, 2006, p. A16 [web]

**Feb 8**

**Confronting Terrorism: Chechnya, Beslan & Beyond**

Kipp, "Putin and Russia's Wars in Chechnya," *Putin's Russia*, pp. 205-29

Birch, "A Violinist Tells Tale of Ordeal as Hostage," *Baltimore Sun*, November 3, 2002, p. 1A

Baker, "Russian Lawmakers Vote to Curb News Media; Terrorism Reporting Restricted After Crisis," *Washington Post*, Nov. 2, 2002, p. A18

LaFraniere, "Moscow's Chechens Complain of Abuse; Police Accused of Campaign of Harassment in Wake of Theater Hostage Crisis," *Washington Post*, November 1, 2002, p. A30

Mydans, "Moscow's Gloom Deepens as Fear Becomes Routine," *New York Times*, September 6, 2004, p. A8

Mydans & Chivers, "Russia Grieves for Children and Putin Vents His Fury," *New York Times*, September 8, 2004, p. A1

Dudiyeva, "Three Days and Forever," *New York Times Magazine*, August 21, 2005, p. 62

Voitova, "A Search for Truth at Beslan Trial," *Moscow Times*, June 17, 2005

Voitova, "Beslan Mothers Camp in Court," *Moscow Times*, Aug 25, 2005

Schreck, "Mothers Win Pledge But No Apology," *Moscow Times*, September 5, 2005

Chivers, "Report on Russia Massacre Faults Officials," *New York Times*, December 29, 2005, p. A4 [web]

**Feb 13**

**Putin's Russia: Contemporary Challenges**

Shevtsova, "From Yeltsin to Putin: The Evolution of Presidential Power," *Gorbachev, Yeltsin & Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition*, pp. 90-107

Lieven, "The Essential Vladimir Putin," *Foreign Policy*, Jan/Feb 2005

Specter, "The Devastation," *The New Yorker*, Oct 11, 2004, pp. 58-69

Rose, "Russian Responses to Transformation: Trends in Public Opinion Since 1992," *Studies in Public Policy*, no. 390, pp. 18-27  
 Myers, "On Russian TV, Whatever Putin Wants, He Gets," *New York Times*, February 17, 2004, p. A1  
 Sarkissov, "Rusty and Radioactive," *New York Times*, Sept 2004, p. A2

## **PART II: IS RUSSIA MAKING A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY?**

- Feb 15**      **Defining Democracy & Applying it to the Soviet Reality**  
 Schmitter & Karl, "What Democracy is ... and is Not," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (1996), pp. 49-62  
 Hazard, *The Soviet System of Government*, pp. 14-25, 41-56, 217-8  
 McAuley, chs. 1-3 (review)
- Feb 16**      **Evening Film & Discussion — "Moscow Does Not Believe In Tears" (1979)**
- Feb 20**      **Stalinist Terror: Authoritarianism in Action**  
 Chukhovskaya, *Sofia Petrovna*  
 Excerpt from Stalinist criminal code (Article 58)  
 Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag Archipelago*, pp. 60-68
- In-Class Quiz on *Sofia Petrovna***
- Feb 22**      ***Demokratizatsiya*: Institutional Innovations During the Gorbachev Era**  
 White, *Russia's New Politics*, pp. 1-33  
 Gorbachev, *Memoirs*, pp. 237-260, 278-94, 303-7
- Feb 27**      **Political Parties and Elections**  
 McFaul, "Political Parties," in *Between Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 105-134  
 Myers, "Putin Revels in Election, But Others Cite Flaws," *New York Times*, Dec. 9, 2003, p. A1  
 Lipman, "The Putin Toothpick," *New Yorker*, March 8, 2004, pp. 27-28  
 Myers, "Only in Russia: 'None of the Above' Is on Ballot, and Wins," *New York Times*, March 23, 2004, p. 4  
 Mereu, "Bill Lets Bureaucrats Lead Political Parties," *Moscow Times*, August 9, 2004  
 "Putin's Party Leads in Moscow Council Vote," *New York Times*, December 5, 2005, p. A12

- March 1      Reinventing Legislative and Executive Power**  
 Ryabov, "Legislative-Executive Relations," *Between Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 83-104  
 Mereu, "Bill Steamrollered Through," *Moscow Times*, Aug. 4, 2004  
 Kagarlitsky, "One Lie Too Many," *Moscow Times*, Aug. 5, 2004  
 Myers, "Putin Issues Plan to Tighten Grasp, Citing Terrorism," *New York Times*, September 14, 2004  
 Myers, "In Russia, Dissent Grows Over Moves to Curb Regional Autonomy," *New York Times*, October 4, 2004  
 Latynina, "Competence? Not Required for Governors," *Moscow Times*, September 21, 2005  
 Abdullaev, "Putin May Stay Beyond 2008," *Moscow Times*, March 17, 2005
- March 2      Evening Film & Discussion — "Little Vera" (1989)**
- March 6      Federalism & the Devolution of Power: The Rise of Regional Leaders**  
 Hazard, *The Soviet System of Government*, pp. 81-97  
 Huskey, "Political Leadership and the Center-Periphery Struggle: Putin's Administrative Reforms," *Gorbachev, Yeltsin & Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition*, pp. 113-41  
 Petrov, "Putin's Centripetal Reforms," *Moscow Times*, June 6, 2004
- March 8      MID-TERM EXAM**
- March 13     SPRING BREAK**
- March 15     SPRING BREAK**

**PART III: IS RUSSIA MAKING A TRANSITION TO A MARKET ECONOMY?**

- March 20     Starting Point: Plans and Markets in Theory**  
 Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*, pp. 33-46, 78-85  
 Millar, *The ABCs of Soviet Socialism* (1981), pp. 3-33
- March 22     The Reality of the Planned Economy**  
 Schroeder, "Soviet Economic 'Reform' Decrees: More Steps on the Treadmill," *Soviet Economy in the 1980s*, pp. 65-68, 82-88  
 Grossman, "The 'Second Economy' of the USSR," *Problems of Communism* (1977), pp. 25-40  
 Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favors*, pp. 1-9, 28-72
- March 22     Evening Film & Discussion — "The Brother" (1998)**

- March 27**     **Perestroika: Trying to Make the Planned Economy Efficient**  
Hewett, *Reforming the Soviet Economy* (1988), pp. 303-33  
Smith, *The New Russians*, pp. 179-205
- March 29**     **Privatization: The Impact of Market Reforms**  
Brady, chs. 1, 2, 4 (skim ch. 3)  
Murrell, “What is Shock Therapy? What Did it Do in Poland and Russia?”  
*Post-Soviet Affairs*, 9:2 (1993), pp. 111-37  
Ashwin, *Russian Workers: The Anatomy of Patience*, pp. 37-64
- April 3**       **Post-Privatization Reality**  
Brady, chs. 5, 7, postscript (skim ch. 6)  
Ledeneva, pp. 175-214  
LaFraniere, “The Cashless Society: Bartering Chokes Russian Economy,”  
*The Washington Post*, Sept. 3, 1998, p. A1  
Desai & Idson, *Work Without Wages*, pp. 48-59
- April 5**       **“Recovery” Under Putin: Real or Illusory?**  
“Taming the Robber Barons,” *The Economist*, May 22, 2004, pp. 5-6  
“Watch Your Back: Running a Small Business is Far from  
Straightforward,” *The Economist*, May 22, 2004, pp. 11-12  
Chivers, “Workers Feel the Growing Pains of Russia’s Auto Industry,”  
*New York Times*, November 16, 2004, p. A3  
Yablokova, “Bribery Soars to \$318 Billion Per Year,” *Moscow Times*, July  
21, 2005  
Kramer, “Awash in Petrodollars, Russia Frets About the Paradoxes of  
Bounty,” *New York Times*, November 15, 2005, p. C3  
Faulconbridge, “Putin Soothes Business Concerns,” *Moscow Times*,  
November 17, 2005
- April 6**       **Evening Film & Discussion – “The Tycoon” (2003)**

#### **PART IV: IS RUSSIA MAKING A TRANSITION TO THE RULE OF LAW?**

- April 10**     **Starting Point: Defining the Rule of Law**  
Fuller, *The Morality of Law* (1969), pp. 33-41
- April 12**     **The Role of Law During the Soviet Era**  
Sharlet, “Stalinism and Soviet Legal Culture,” *Stalinism*, pp. 155-79  
Excerpt from 1936 (Stalin) Constitution  
Excerpt from the 1977 (Brezhnev) Constitution  
Hazard, “The Evolution of the Soviet Constitution,” *Toward the ‘Rule of  
Law’ in Russia?* (1992), pp. 93-103

Feofanov & Barry, "The Trial of Ian Rokotov," *Politics and Justice in Russia* (1996), pp. 22-31

Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favors*, pp. 77-103

- April 17**      **Reforms to the Legal System Under Gorbachev**  
Hendley, *Trying to Make Law Matter* (1996), pp. 34-45  
Shanker, "Gorbachev Seeks Protests, Rally Ban," *Chicago Tribune*, April 10, 1991, p. C5  
Excerpt from the 1977 Constitution, as revised  
Hazard, "The Evolution of the Soviet Constitution," *Toward the 'Rule of Law' in Russia?* (1992), pp. 103-9  
Sharlet, "The Fate of Individual Rights in the Age of Perestroika," *Toward the 'Rule of Law' in Russia?* (1992), pp. 197-213

- April 19**      **Assessing the Present-Day Role of Law**  
Hendley, "Rewriting the Rules of the Game in Russia," *East European Constitutional Review*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 89-95, 1999.  
Sharlet, "Russia's Second Constitutional Court," in *Russia in the New Century*, Bonnell and Breslauer, eds. (2001), pp. 59-77  
Excerpt from the 1993 (Yeltsin) Constitution  
Chazan, "In Russia's Courts, A Judge Speaks Up – And Gets Fired," *Wall Street Journal*, August 4, 2004, p. 1  
Chivers, "Putin Pledges to Improve Russia's Human Rights Record," *New York Times*, May 28, 2005, p. A3  
O'Brien & Myers, "The Russia House, After the Oligarchs," *New York Times*, June 12, 2005, section 3, p. 1  
Myers, "Moscow Show Pits Art Against Church and State," *New York Times*, November 26, 2005, p. B9

### PAPERS DUE IN CLASS

## PART V: IS RUSSIA DEVELOPING INTO A CIVIL SOCIETY?

- April 24**      **Starting Point: Defining Civil Society & Survival Strategies during the Soviet Period**  
Fish, *Democracy From Scratch* (1995), pp. 52-79  
Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favors*, pp. 77-83, 104-38
- April 26**      **Glasnost: The Control of Information and the Loosening of These Controls During the Gorbachev Era**  
Brooks, *Thank You, Comrade Stalin!* pp. 3-18  
Smith, *The Russians*, pp. 420-57  
Smith, *The New Russians*, pp. 100-120

- May 1**      **Women in Russia: The Perpetual “Double Burden”**  
 Baranskaya, “A Week Like Any Other Week”  
 Sperling, *Organizing Women in Contemporary Russia*, pp. 98-105, 115-23, 137-45  
 Tavernise, “Women Redefine Their Roles in New Russia,” *New York Times*, March 9, 2003, p. 4  
 Bridger, Key & Pinnick, *No More Heroines*, pp. 165-81
- May 3**      **A Retreat Under Putin? Civil Society Under Siege**  
 LaFraniere, “Rights Groups Squeezed by Russian Tax Law,” *Washington Post*, January 26, 2003, p. A19  
 Alexeyeva, “Putin’s Definition of Democracy?” *Washington Post*, June 8, 2004, p. 23  
 Abdullaev, “Public Chamber Left Toothless,” *Moscow Times*, February 21, 2005  
 Medetsky, “Putin Picks Loyalists for Public Chamber,” *Moscow Times*, August 25, 2005  
 Medetsky, “Putin Warns Politically Active NGOs,” *Moscow Times*, July 21, 2005  
 Yablokova, “Duma Gives \$17.4M to NGOs,” *Moscow Times*, November 21, 2005  
 Medetsky, “Putin Orders Changes to NGO Bill,” *Moscow Times*, December 6, 2005  
 Abdullaev & Medetsky, “NGOs Say Amendments Won’t Help,” *Moscow Times*, December 21, 2005, p. 1  
 Yablokova, “Amended NGO Bill Quickly Approved,” *Moscow Times*, December 22, 2005 [web]

**FINAL EXAM      WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 2006 7:45 – 9:45am**