

PLS 431

Politics and Governance of the Russian Federation

Nazarbayev University
Spring 2018
Mondays 4:00 to 6:50 pm
Room 8.322 B

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Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays, 9:00 to 11:00 am

Course Description:

- The purpose of this course is to acquaint students with the politics of the Russian Federation. Specifically, this course will examine topics such as the collapse of the USSR and founding of the Russian Federation; Russia's uneven transition from a planned to market economy; relations between Moscow and Russia's regions during the post-Soviet era; state-society relations; the decentralization and recentralization of power under Yeltsin and Putin, respectively; national security challenges in the North Caucasus region; and Russian foreign policy in the post-Soviet space and elsewhere. This is an advanced 400-level undergraduate writing-intensive class designed to enhance students' understanding of contemporary Russian foreign/domestic politics.

Course Readings:

- The following textbooks should be available to students at the Nazarbayev University Library. Other assigned readings are available via hyperlink or the NU Library online database system.
 - Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2011).
 - Vladimir Putin, *First Person* (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2000).

Course Requirements:

TWO take-home quizzes will be administered over the course of the semester. The days on which take-home quizzes are assigned will be chosen by the professor. Students will be tasked with responding to a question related to the assigned readings for the next upcoming class. Students should incorporate **ALL** of the assigned readings for the next upcoming class into their written responses. Papers are to be submitted by 4:00 pm via Moodle on the day of the next class session and should consist of 1,500 words (approximately 5-6 pages). Students who do not submit their work by the start of the next class will receive a grade of 0 for the assignment. Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and

any legible 12-point size font in their papers. Each quiz is worth 25 points (for a combined total of 50 points for the two take-home quizzes) and will be graded according to the following rubric:

Grading	Assessment
23-25 (A)	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is very extensive and clear; written response is cogent and creative; usage of proper citation format; question posed by the professor is answered by student in its entirety.
20-22 (B)	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is commendable yet also somewhat incomplete; written response is intelligible but lacks creativity; citation format is evident but not fully consistent either; question posed by the professor is largely answered by student.
18-19 (C)	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is intelligible but is evidently lacking; written response demonstrates that the student possesses a cursory grasp of the assigned readings; citation format is inconsistent and rather unprofessional; question posed by the professor is answered in a satisfactory manner.
15-17 (D)	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is poor and lacking; written response is largely unintelligible; question posed by the professor is largely unanswered by student.
0-14 (F)	Student's understanding of the assigned readings is very poor or nonexistent; written response is virtually unintelligible; question posed by the professor is not answered at all.

Attendance is taken on a daily basis. Students are to come to class well-prepared to engage in discussion about the assigned readings for each seminar. All electronic devices are to be turned off prior to class. Students who use any such devices in class will be asked to leave. Students who are caught sleeping will also be asked to leave. **On the days in which a take-home quiz is assigned, students who are not present in class and do not have a valid medical excuse for being absent will not be able to submit their work the day of the next class session for grading. Such students will receive a grade of 0 for the assignment.** The professor also reserves the right to revise and/or update the syllabus throughout the course of the semester.

Students are required to write **ONE** critical reaction memo of 3,000 words (approximately 10-12 pages). Memos should critically analyze and synthesize **ALL** of a given week's assigned readings. In writing memos, students should strive to provide answers to the following questions:

- **What are the questions the authors are addressing?**
- **What are the shortcomings of the authors' arguments?**

Each memo should consist of: (1) a brief introductory paragraph summarizing the topic which you intend to discuss; (2) followed by several paragraphs which emphasize the assigned readings; along with (3) a critical discussion of the readings; and (4) a conclusion. Memos are to be submitted by the start of class (4:00 pm) online via Moodle on the day of the scheduled seminar meeting of a given week. **Late memos for any week will receive a grade of 0.** Students will sign-up for the weeks in which they intend to write memos at the start of the semester. The professor will place a sign-up sheet outside his office on **January 8, 2018.** **It is not necessary to conduct a literature review of other works outside of the syllabus for this assignment.**

NOTE: No more than **TWO** students may write their reaction memos on any given week. Students are required to cite assigned readings in their memos. Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. **Students may write their critical reaction memos for Weeks 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.**

Students will be tasked with writing an essay of 3,500 words (approximately 12-14 pages) in response to a question posed by the professor concerning the nature of Russian domestic politics. This question will be provided to students at the start of class on **January 22, 2018.** Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. Papers are to be submitted by the start of class (4:00 pm) on **March 12, 2018** via Moodle. All papers submitted after the due date will receive a grade of 0. Students must also include a bibliographic listing of all of the cited references at the end of their paper (your bibliographic listing will not count towards the overall word limit for this writing assignment). **Students are expected to venture outside of the syllabus readings in writing their papers.**

Students will also be tasked with writing another essay of 3,500 words (approximately 12-14 pages) in response to a question posed by the professor concerning the nature of Russian foreign policy. This question will be provided to students at the start of class on **March 12, 2018.** Students must use footnotes for citations (any style), 1-inch margins, double-spaced pages, and any legible 12-point size font. Papers are to be submitted by 4:00 pm on Monday **April 23, 2018** via Moodle. All papers submitted after the due date will receive a grade of 0. Students must also include a bibliographic listing of all of the cited references at the end of their paper (your bibliographic listing will not count towards the overall word limit for this writing assignment). **Students are expected to venture outside of the syllabus readings in writing their papers.**

Research papers and critical reaction memos will be graded according to the following rubric:

Grading	Assessment
135-150 (A)	Student writes in a very coherent and creative manner; usage of proper citation format; paper has a full introduction and a conclusion; few or no grammatical and/or spelling errors in student's work; student references scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus to supplement his/her work and exemplifies critical thinking.
120-134 (B)	Student writes in an intelligible manner but his/her work is also lacking in creativity;

	citation format is evident but not fully consistent either; cursory introduction and conclusion; noticeable grammatical/spelling errors; student references some scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus; critical analysis of other scholarly works is adequate.
105-119 (C)	Student barely writes in a satisfactory manner; paper is largely lacking in terms of an introduction and conclusion; citation format is inconsistent; grammatical/spelling errors are prevalent; references to scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus are quite lacking; critical analysis of other scholarly works is inadequate.
90-104 (D)	Student writes in a largely unintelligible manner; citation format suffers from serious flaws; brief/no introduction and/or conclusion; many grammatical/spelling errors; virtually no references to articles/texts outside of syllabus or critical analysis of other scholarly works.
0-89 (F)	Student writes in an unintelligible manner; citation format is nearly nonexistent; multiple grammatical/spelling errors; few/no references to scholarly articles/texts outside of syllabus; critical analysis is wholly inadequate in scope.

Academic Integrity:

- Students are required to ensure that the work which they submit for grading in this class is their own. **Students must provide citations in the form of footnotes when referencing the works of other scholars in all of their assignments.** Instances of cheating and/or plagiarism will not be tolerated and will result in receiving a score of 0 for an assignment. All instances in which plagiarism is suspected will be referred to SHSS for disciplinary committee review. Copying, rephrasing of text without citations, as well as submitting unoriginal work constitutes plagiarism.

Grading:

2 Take-Home Quizzes	50 (25 Points Each)
Critical Reaction Memo	150
Domestic Politics Paper	150
Foreign Policy Paper	150
Total	500 Points

Scale:

	A: 475-500	A-: 450-474
B+: 425-449	B: 400-424	B-: 375-399
C+: 350-374	C: 325-349	C-: 300-324
D+: 275-299	D: 250-274	F: 249 and below

Class Schedule:

Week 1: Introduction - Monday (1-8)

- Richard Stengel, "Choosing Order Before Freedom," *Time Magazine*, December 19, 2007.
- Adi Ignatius, "A Tsar is Born," *Time Magazine*, December 19, 2007.

Week 2: Putin - Monday (1-15)

- Vladimir Putin, *First Person* (2000).
- Treisman, p. 80-122.
- VIDEO: "Putin's Revenge," *PBS Frontline* 36.2-3 (2017).

Week 3: The Soviet Downfall - Monday (1-22)

- Treisman, p. 1-40.
- Charles J. Sullivan, "Conceptualizing the Collapse: Stalin, Gorbachev, and the Downfall of the USSR," *East European Quarterly* 43.4 (December 2015): 243-264.

Week 4: Shock Therapy and Marketization - Monday (1-29)

- Treisman, p. 41-79, 197-239
- Dmitri Glinski and Peter Reddaway, "The Ravages of Market Bolshevism," *Journal of Democracy* 10.2 (1999): 19-34.

Week 5: Federalism - Monday (2-5)

- Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, "Central Weakness and Provincial Autonomy: Observations on the Devolution Process in Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 15.1 (1999): 87-106.
- Elise Giuliano, "Secessionism from the Bottom-Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition," *World Politics* 58.2 (2006): 276-310.
- Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, "Chechnya versus Tatarstan: Understanding Ethnopolitics in Post-Communist Russia," *Problems of Post-Communism* 47.2 (2000): 13-22.

- Henry E. Hale, “Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse,” *World Politics* 56.2 (2004): 165-193.

Week 6: North Caucasus - Monday (2-12)

- Treisman, p. 262-309.
- Kimberly Marten, “Russia, Chechnya, and the Sovereign Kadyrov,” *PONARS Eurasia* Memo 116 (2010), http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/pepm_116.pdf.
- Sufian Zhemukhov, “Why Young People Turn to Islam in the North Caucasus,” *PONARS Eurasia* Memo 30 (2008), http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/pepm_030.pdf.
- Sufian Zhemukhov and Robert Ortung, “Munich Syndrome,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 61.1 (2014): 13-29.
- Michaela Pohl, “Anna Politkovskaya and Ramzan Kadyrov: Exposing the Kadyrov Syndrome,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 54.5 (September/October 2007): 30-39.

Week 7: Putin’s Return - Monday (2-19)

- Treisman, p. 123-162.
- Henry E. Hale and Timothy J. Colton, “Russians and the Putin-Medvedev ‘Tandemocracy,’” *Problems of Post-Communism* 57.2 (2010): 3-20.
- Henry E. Hale, “The Putin Machine Sputters: First Impressions of the 2011 Duma Election Campaign,” *Russian Analytical Digest* 106 (December 2011): 1-4.

Week 8: Civil Society and Political Culture - Monday (2-26)

- Henry E. Hale, “The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63.8 (2011): 1357-1375.
- Sarah Henderson, “Civil Society in Russia: State-Society Relations in the Post-Yeltsin Era,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 58.3 (2011): 11-27.
- Charles J. Sullivan, “Breaking Down the Man of Steel: Stalin in Russia Today,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 55.3-4 (2013): 449-480.
- C. J. Sullivan, ““Искусственные” праздники России” Историческая разметка пространства и времени (Издательство Волгоградского государственного университета, 2014): 140-146.
- Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul, “Russian Democracy Under Putin,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 50.4 (2003): 12-21.
- Mikhail Khodorkovsky, “A Problem Much Bigger Than Putin,” *The New York Times*, September 12, 2017.

Week 9: Opposition - Wednesday (3-5)

- Marshall I. Goldman, "Putin and the Oligarchs," *Foreign Affairs* 83.6 (November/December 2014): 33-44.
- Ol'ga Kryshantovskaya and Stephen White, "The Sovietization of Russian Politics," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 25.4 (2009): 283-309.
- Jason Lyall, "Pocket Protests: Rhetorical Coercion and the Micropolitics of Collective Action in Semiauthoritarian Regimes," *World Politics* 58.3 (2006): 378-412.
- Vladimir Gel'man, "Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy," *Europe-Asia Studies* 60.6 (2008): 913-930.
- Regina Smyth and Irina Soboleva, "Looking Beyond the Economy: Pussy Riot and the Kremlin's Voting Coalition," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 30.4 (2013): 257-275.
- Vladimir Gel'man, "The Politics of Fear," *Russian Politics and Law* 53.5-6 (2015): 6-26.

Week 10: Colour Revolutions - Monday (3-12)

- Lucan Way, "The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions," *Journal of Democracy* 19.3 (2008): 55-69.
- Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, "Getting Real About "Real Causes"," *Journal of Democracy* 20.1 (2009): 69-73.
- Henry E. Hale, "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *World Politics* 58.1 (2005): 133-165.
- Jeanne L. Wilson, "The Legacy of the Color Revolutions for Russian Politics and Foreign Policy," *Problems of Post-Communism* 57.2 (2010): 21-36.
- Sinikukka Saari "Russia's Post-Orange Revolution Strategies to Increase its Influence in Former Soviet Republics: Public Diplomacy po russkii," *Europe-Asia Studies* 66.1 (2014): 50-66.
- Evgeny Finkel and Yitzhak M. Brudny, "Russia and the Colour Revolutions," *Democratization* 19.1 (2012): 15-36.

SPRING BREAK

Week 11: Russia and the Near-Abroad - Monday (3-26)

- Ian Bremer and Samuel Charap, "The Siloviki in Putin's Russia: Who They Are and What They Want," *The Washington Quarterly* 30.1 (2006-2007): 83-92.
- Ghia Nodia, "The Wounds of Lost Empire," *Journal of Democracy* 20.12 (2009): 34-38.
- Lowell Barrington, Erik Herron, and Brian Silver, "The Motherland Is Calling: Views of Homeland among Russians in the Near Abroad," *World Politics* 55.2 (2003): 290-313.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault," *Foreign Affairs* 93.5 (September/October 2014): 77-89.
- Vladimir Ryzhkov, "The New Putin Doctrine," *The Moscow Times*, April 3 2014.
- Jeffrey Mankoff, "Russia's Latest Land Grab," *Foreign Affairs* 93.3 (May/June 2014): 60-68.
- Karen Dawisha "Is Russia's Foreign Policy That of a Corporatist-Kleptocratic Regime?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27.4 (2011): 331-365.

Week 12: Russia and Phantom States - Monday (4-2)

- Charles King, "The Five-Day War," *Foreign Affairs* 87.6 (November/December 2008): 2-11.
- Charles King, "Eurasia Letter: Moldova with a Russian Face," *Foreign Policy* 97 (1994-1995): 106-120.
- Daniel Byman and Charles King, "The Mystery of Phantom States," *The Washington Quarterly* 35.3 (Summer 2012): 43-57.
- "Nagorno-Karabakh: Obstacles to a Negotiated Settlement," *Center for Security Studies – ETH Zurich* 131 (April 2013).
- Mark Galeotti, "Hybrid, Ambiguous, and Non-Linear? How New is Russia's 'New Way of War'?" *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 27.2 (2016): 282-301.
- Charles J. Sullivan, "Sidestepping a Quagmire: Russia, Syria, and the Lessons of the Soviet-Afghan War," *Asian Affairs* 49.1 (March 2018).

Week 13: Putinomics - Monday (4-9)

- Thane Gustafson, "Putin's Petroleum Problem," *Foreign Affairs* 91.6 (November/December 2012): 83-96.
- Jordan Gans-Morse, "Threats to Property Rights in Russia: From Private Coercion to State Aggression," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28.3 (2012): 263-295.
- Peter Rutland, "The Political Economy of Putin 3.0," *Russian Analytical Digest* 133 (2013).
- Richard Connolly, "Economic Growth and Strategies for Economic Development in Russia," *Russian Analytical Digest* 133 (2013).
- Andrey Makarychev, "The Politics of Sports Mega-Events in Russia: Kazan, Sochi, and Beyond," *PONARS Eurasia Memo* 288 (2013), http://ponarseurasia.org/sites/default/files/policy-memos-pdf/Peprm_288_Makarychev_Sept2013.pdf.
- Juliet Johnson, "Mission Impossible: Modernization in Russia after the Global Financial Crisis," *PONARS Eurasia Memo* 196 (2012), <http://ponarseurasia.org/sites/default/files/policy-memos-pdf/peprm196.pdf>.

Week 14: Russia, the West and the Future - Monday (4-16)

- Yury E. Fedorov "Continuity and Change in Russia's Policy toward Central and Eastern Europe," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 46.3 (2013): 315–326.
- Andrei P. Tsygankov "The Russia-NATO Mistrust: Ethnophobia and the Double Expansion to Contain 'the Russian Bear,'" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 46.1 (2013): 179-188.
- Dimitar Bechev, "Understanding the Contest Between the EU and Russia in Their Shared Neighborhood," *Problems of Post-Communism* 62.6 (2015): 340-349.
- Neil MacFarquhar, "Putin's Re-Election is Assured. Let the Succession Fight Begin," *The New York Times*, December 11, 2017.