

INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland; office PAC 203; tel. 685 2483; prutland@wesleyan.edu
office hours Tuesday 10.00-12.00 and 2.00-3.00.

ASSESSMENT: Will be out of 100 points, as follows:

- 1) Three short papers, average 3-4 pages in length. Due on September 17, November 5 and December 3. [10 points each]
- 2) Mid-term exam on October 19 [20 points]
- 3) Final research paper, outline due on Nov. 20; 12-15 page paper due Dec. 12. [30 points]
- 4) Occasional quizzes and class participation. [20 points]

I expect all students in the class to follow current events in Russia and the other ex-Soviet states. I will be sending regular email bulletins with news and analysis from the region.

READINGS

Basic texts for the course, which you should consider buying, are:

John Dunlop	<i>The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Empire</i> (1995)
Lilia Shevtsova	<i>Yeltsin's Russia</i> (1999)
Stephen White (ed.)	<i>Developments in Russian Politics 6</i> (sixth edition, 2005)
Richard Sakwa	<i>Putin: Russia's Choice</i> (2003, being reprinted in 2007)

This book is out of print, but I have copies that I will lend you:

Hedrick Smith	<i>The Russians</i> (1976). (Do not confuse this with his later book <i>The New Russians</i>)
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You should also consider buying one of the books on the oligarchs listed in week 7 by Freeland, Hoffman, Brady or Klebnikov.

All the articles and chapters listed are available on the Blackboard site for this class. Many of the books listed on the syllabus are on reserve in Olin.

PRINT PERIODICALS

Useful periodicals which you may wish to consult for your term paper:

<i>Europe/Asia Studies</i> (formerly <i>Soviet Studies</i>)	DK266.A2 S74
<i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> (formerly <i>Soviet Economy</i>)	HC335 .S588
<i>Slavic Review</i>	D377.A1 A5
<i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i>	HX1 .S74
<i>Problems of Post-Communism</i>	HX1 .S74

WEB SITES

- www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/ Johnson's List, a comprehensive daily bulletin on Russia.
- www.cdi.org/russia Center for Defense Information's Russia Weekly, good on security issues.
- www.themoscowtimes.com English-language daily ,required reading for expats in Moscow.
- Russian daily news and commentary sites (in English):
- <http://www.gazeta.ru/english/> <http://www.itar-tass.com/eng/>
<http://www.russiaprofile.org/> <http://polit.ru/story/int.html>
<http://en.rian.ru/>
- <http://www1.russiatoday.ru/test/> Kremlin sponsored TV in English.
- <http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/> President Putin's web site.
- www.rferl.org Daily *Newsline* and background reports from US-funded Radio Liberty.
- www.jamestown.org Jamestown Foundation's *Eurasia Daily Monitor*
- www.tol.cz *Transitions Online*. Articles on the region and archives from 1995.
- www.russiavotes.org for data on election results and public opinion polls on major issues.
- www.eurasianet.org for stories on Central Asia and the Caucasus.
- www.cacianalyst.org news and analysis on Central Asia and the Caucasus.
- http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/country_profiles/default.stm
BBC news index of stories and timelines for each country.
- www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/world/europe/easterneurope/russia/
archive of *Wash. Post* articles on Russia through 2005
- www.nytimes.com/library/world/europe/russia-index.html
archive of *New York Times* stories on Russia through 2000
- <http://web.ku.edu/~herron/eurasia/russia.php>
fairly comprehensive list of links to English and Russian language sites

Week 2
Sept 10

THE WEIGHT OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

Is there such a thing as “Russian political culture,” and if so what does it consist of?
How great an influence does the pre-1917 Russian past have on the present?
Does Russia’s history set it apart from the rest of Europe?

- * Richard Hellie ‘The structure of Russian imperial history,’ *History and Theory*
Dec. 2005, n. 44, 88-112
- * Stephen Kotkin ‘Stalinism as civilization,’ from D. Hoffman (ed.) *Stalinism*
- * Stephan Hedlund ‘Can they go back and fix it?’ (Hokkaido, 2002)

- John Keep *A History of the Soviet Union*
- Martin Malia *The Soviet Tragedy* chs. 1-9
- Theodore Von Laue *Why Lenin? Why Stalin?*
- Stephen F. Cohen *Rethinking the Soviet Experience* ch. 4, ‘The Stalin question’
- Tim McDaniel *The Agony of the Russian Idea*

Weeks 2-3
Sept 12-17

THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

How was the Soviet Union ruled? What was it like to live under the Soviet system? What was the nomenklatura? What role did the Communist Party play in Soviet society? Why was the USSR so stable in the 1960s and 1970s? What held the system together in the absence of the mass terror of the Stalin years?

- * Hedrick Smith *The Russians*, whole book but esp. chs 10-11

- John Keep *A History of the Soviet Union* parts 1-3
- Michael Roskin *The Rebirth of Eastern Europe* chs. 1-6
- Martin Malia *The Soviet Tragedy* ch. 10

FIRST ASSIGNMENT due on September 17

Topic: The Soviet system

Write a 3-4 page paper on Hedrick Smith’s *The Russians*. How did the Soviet system work? How did Soviet citizens adapt to life within the system?

Don’t just summarize Smith’s observations. You should read the whole book, but in your essay you may want to focus in on a specific topic. What struck you as most interesting in Smith’s account? Did it confirm or refute your prior stereotypes of life in the “Evil Empire”? How does life in the USSR compare with life in other societies, such as the US? Is Smith’s reporting reliable?

Weeks 3-4
Sept 19-24

GORBACHEV'S GAMBLE

How did Gorbachev rise to power? What were Gorbachev's goals in introducing glasnost and perestroika? Why did he fail? Is Gorbachev a hero? a villain? a fool?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* ch. 1
- * Peter Rutland 'The Russian revolution of 1991 and the dissolution of the USSR,' from James deFronzo (ed.), *Revolutionary Movements in World History* (2006)
- * David Kotz & Fred Weir 'Why did the USSR fall?,' *Dollars and Sense*, July 1997
- * Stephen Cohen 'Was the Soviet system reformable?' *Slavic Review*, v. 63, n. 3, 2004

- Stephen Kotkin *Armageddon Averted*
- David Kotz & F. Weir *Revolution from Above: the Demise of the Soviet System* chs. 1-6
- Michael Cox (ed) *Rethinking the Soviet Collapse*
- Archie H. Brown *The Gorbachev Factor*
- Michael Ellman & Vlad Kontorovich (eds) *The Destruction of the Soviet Economic System*
- The National Interest* *The Strange Death of Soviet Communism* (March 1993)

Week 4
Sept 26

THE RISE OF YELTSIN (1989 - 91)

Was Yeltsin the father of Russian democracy, or its gravedigger? What were Yeltsin's goals? What was the political coalition supporting him?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* chs. 2-4

- Boris Yeltsin *The Struggle for Russia* chs. 1-2
- Leon Aron *Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life* (Yeltsin GOOD)
- Peter Reddaway *The Tragedy of Russia's Reforms* (Yeltsin BAAD)

Week 5
Oct 1

THE AUGUST COUP

Who launched the August 1991 coup, and why did it fail?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* ch. 5
- * Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* chs 1-3

- Boris Yeltsin *The Struggle for Russia* chs. 3-5
- Mikhail Gorbachev *The August Coup*
- Martin Sixsmith *Moscow Coup: the Death of the Soviet System*
- Andrei Grachev *Final Days: the Inside Story of the Collapse of the Soviet Union*

Week 5**SHOCKING THERAPY**

Oct 3

Why was shock therapy launched in 1992? Was there any alternative to that radical reform package? Who benefited from those reforms?

- * Peter Murrell 'What is shock therapy? What did it do in Poland and Russia?'
Post-Soviet Affairs, April-June 1993.
- * Peter Rutland 'The rocky road from plan to market' - ch. 8 in Stephen White (ed) *Developments in Russian Politics 4* (1997)
- Yoshiko Herrera 'Russian economic reform' ch. 4 in Zoltan Barany & Robert Moser (eds.), *Russian Politics*
- David Kotz & F. Weir *Revolution from Above: the Demise of the Soviet System* chs. 9-12
- Anders Aslund *How Russia Became a Market Economy*

Week 6**YELTSIN CONSOLIDATES HIS RULE (1992-94)**

Oct 8

In October 1993 Yeltsin suppressed a rebellion by the parliament and introduced a new constitution that consolidated presidential rule. Why did the democratic movement fail to replace the Soviet system with a truly democratic political order?

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* chs 3-4
- * Peter Rutland 'Has democracy failed Russia?,' *National Interest* (Dec. 1994)
- Boris Yeltsin *The Struggle for Russia* chs. 7-9
- Eugene Huskey *Presidential Power in Russia*
- Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser (eds) *Russian Politics: Challenges of Democratization* chs. 1-3

Week 6**MID-TERM TEST**

Oct 10

October 15**FALL BREAK --- NO CLASS****Week 7****THE RISE OF THE OLIGARCHS**

Oct 17

Why did political and economic power shift into the hands of a new oligarchic elite? What was the basis of Yeltsin's power? Why and how did he win the 1996 election? Why did the economy crash in 1998?

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* chs. 6-9
- * Joseph Stiglitz 'What I learned at the world economic crisis,' *New Republic* 5/17/2000
- * Joel Hellman 'Winners take all: the politics of partial reform' *World Politics*, Jan. 1998, vol. 50, no. 2. *continued*

THE OLIGARCHS (Continued)

Peter Rutland	'Mission Impossible? The IMF and the failure of market transition in Russia,' <i>Rev. of International Studies</i> , n. 25, 1999
Boris Yeltsin	<i>Midnight Diaries</i> (third volume of his autobiography)
Chrystia Freeland	<i>Sale of the Century</i>
David Hoffman	<i>The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia</i>
Marshall Goldman	<i>The Piratization of Russia</i>
Rose Brady	<i>Kapitalizm: Russia's Struggle to Free its Economy</i>
Paul Klebnikov	<i>Godfather of the Kremlin: Berezovsky and the Looting of Russia</i>

Week 8

THE CHECHEN WARS (1994-96, 1999-2005)

Oct 22

Why did Chechnya try to secede from the Russian Federation? Why did Yeltsin invade Chechnya in December 1994, and why did the Russians lose the first war? Why did the second war break out in 1999?

- * Rajan Menon & Graham Fuller 'Russia's ruinous Chechen war,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 79, n. 2, Mar 2000
 - * Mark Kramer 'The perils of counter-insurgency: Russia's war in Chechnya,' *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2004
 - * Pavel Felgengauer 'A war Moscow cannot afford to lose,' *Transition*, n 31, May 96
- Anatol Lieven *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power*
Carlotta Gall & Thomas de Waal *Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus*
Anna Politkovskaya *A Dirty War*
Matthew Evangelista *The Chechen Wars*
Valery Tishkov *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society*
John Dunlop *Russia Confronts Chechnya* (history prior to the war)
Sebastian Smith *Allah's Mountains: the Battle for Chechnya*
www.kavkazcenter.com Chechen rebel web-site
<http://eng.kavkaz.memo.ru/> *Caucasian Knot* website.

Week 8

THE MILITARY

Oct 24

Guest lecturer: Valerie Sperling (Clark University)

What role does the military play in post-soviet Russia? Why has the government not abolished the draft? The emergence of new 'patriotic' youth movements, official and unofficial.

- * Valerie Sperling 'The last refuge of a scoundrel: Patriotism, militarism, and the Russian National Idea,' *Nations & Nationalism*, v. 9, n. 2 (2003) 235-253.
- * Dale R. Herspring 'Putin and military reform,' in Dale R. Herspring, ed., *Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain* (2007), 173-194.

Week 9
Oct 29

THE MAFIA

Why did organized crime rise so rapidly in Russia? Can the state do anything to get it under control?

- * Vadim Volkov 'Violent entrepreneurship in post-Communist Russia,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, v. 51, n. 5 (July 1999) 741-754
- * Peter Rutland & Natasha Kogan 'The Russian Mafia: Between hype and reality'

- Federico Varese *The Russian Mafia*
- Stephen Handelman *Comrade Criminal: the Rise of the Russian Mafiya*
- Valerie Sperling *Building the Russian State* chs. 4, 9
- Alena Ledanova *Russia's Economy of Favors*

Week 9
Oct 31

THE BIRTH OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

How did the Soviet state break up into 15 separate states? How were its economic and military assets divided? Where did wars break out, and why? What were the common challenges the new states faced? Who held power in the new states, and what sorts of political regimes emerged? What was the fate of the Russian diaspora?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* ch. 6
- * Pal Kolsto 'Nation-building in the former USSR,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 7, n. 1, 1996
- * Gerry Easter 'Preference for presidentialism: Post-communist regime change,' *World Politics*, Jan 1997, v. 49, n. 2
- Charles King 'The benefits of ethnic war: Understanding Eurasia's unrecognized states,' *World Politics*, v. 53, n. 4, Jul 2001, 524-552
- Svante Cornell 'Autonomy as a source of conflict. Caucasian conflicts in theoretical perspective,' *World Politics*, v. 54, n. 2, Jan 2002, 245-276
- Graham Smith (ed.) *The Nationalities Question in the post-Soviet States From Union to Commonwealth*
- Gail Lapidus
- Ian Bremmer & Ray Taras (eds) *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*
- Graham Smith (ed) *The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet states*
- Roman Szporluk (ed) *National Identity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia*
- Igor Zevelov *Russia and Its New Diasporas*
- Timothy Heleniak 'Migration of the Russian diaspora after the breakup of the USSR' *Journal of International Affairs*, Mar 2004, v. 57, n.2
- Pal Kolsto *Political Construction Sites: Nation-Building in Russia and the Post-Soviet States*

SECOND ASSIGNMENT due on November 5

Topic: Birth of a Nation

Write a 3-4 page paper on one of the newly independent states. Briefly summarize its key features, including ethnic make-up and political regime. Focus on one challenge that the new state faced, and assess how it went about tackling it.

Week 10**THE NORTHERN ZONE**

Nov 5

How is national identity constructed in Belarus and Ukraine after the Soviet collapse?
What are the dynamics of politics in those countries?

- * Keith Darden 'Blackmail as a tool of state domination: Ukraine under Kuchma,' *East European Constitutional Review*, spring 2001
- * Lucan Way 'Authoritarian state building and the sources of regime competitiveness,' *World Politics*, v, 57, n. 1, Jan. 2005, 231-61
- Steven Levitsky & Lucan Way 'The rise of competitive authoritarianism,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 13, n. 2, Apr 2002
- David Marples 'Europe's last dictatorship: the roots of authoritarianism in "White Russia,"' *Europe-Asia Studies*, Sept. 2005, v. 57, n. 6
- Peter Rutland 'Belarus: The last dictator,' *Analysis*, Dec 2006, v. 2, n. 4, 59-70
- Adrian Karatnycky 'Ukraine at the crossroads,' *Journal of Democracy*, v.6, n.1, Jan 1995, 117-30
- Bohdan Krawchenko 'Ukraine: the politics of independence', in Ian Bremmer & Ray Taras (ed) *Nations and Politics in Soviet Successor States*, 75-98
- Dominique Arel 'A lurking cascade of assimilation in Kiev?' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v.12, n.1 Jan-March 1996, 73-90
- David Laitin *Identity in Formation: Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*
- Andrew Wilson *The Ukrainians. Unexpected Nation*
- Paul D'Anieri et al *Politics and Society in Ukraine*

Week 10**THE SOUTHERN ZONE**

Nov 7

How did the newly-independent states of the Caucasus and Central Asia cope with independence?
How successful have they been in embracing market reform and using their natural resources?

- * Stephen Kotkin 'Trashcanistan. A tour through the wreckage of the Soviet Empire,' *New Republic*, 4 April 2002
- * Charles Fairbanks 'Disillusionment in the Caucasus and Central Asia,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 12, n. 4, October 2001
- * Pauline Luong Jones & Erika Weinthal 'Prelude to the resource curse. Explaining oil and gas development in the Soviet successor states,' *Comparative Political Studies*, v. 34, n. 4, 2001
- * Kathleen Collins 'Clans, pacts & politics in Central Asia' *J. of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 3 2002
- Cullen Murphy 'My way. Get in touch with your inner Turkmenbashi,' *Atlantic*, Nov. 2002
- Oksan Bayulgen 'Foreign capital,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, v. 38, n. 1, March 2005
- Dmitri Trenin *The End of Eurasia*
- Pauline Luong Jones (ed) *The Transformation of Central Asia*
- Martha Olcott *Central Asia's Second Chance*
- Daniel L. Burghart & Theresa Sabonis-Helf (eds) *In the Tracks of Tamerlane. Central Asia's Path to the 21st Century* : <http://www.ndu.edu/ctnsp/tamerlane.htm>
- Karen Dawisha (ed) *Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*

Week 11
Nov 12-14

FROM YELTSIN TO PUTIN

Yeltsin resigned on 31 December 1999 and handed power to Vladimir Putin. Where did Putin come from, and what were his goals? What did he achieve in his first two years?

- * Richard Sakwa *Putin: Russia's Choice* chs. 1-6
- * Stephen White (ed) *Developments in Russian Politics* 6, chs. 1-10
- * Peter Rutland 'Putin's path to power,' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v. 16, n. 4, Dec. 2000
- * Vladimir Putin *First Person* (interviews with Putin) excerpted on the web at:
www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/putin/
- Marshall Goldman 'Putin and the oligarchs,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 83, n. 6, Nov. 2004
- Andrew Jack *Inside Putin's Russia*
- Peter Baker & Susan Glasser *Kremlin Rising*
- Lilia Shevtsova *Putin's Russia* chs. 1-8
- Cameron Ross 'Putin's federal reforms,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, v. 36, n. 1, 2003, 29-47
- Anders Aslund 'Russia's economic transformation under Putin,' *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, v. 45, 2004, 397-420
- Stephen White & Ian McAllister 'Putin and his supporters,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, v. 55, n. 3, 2003
- Timothy Colton & Michael McFaul 'Are Russians undemocratic?' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v. 18, no. 2, 2002

Week 12
Nov 20

FOREIGN POLICY

What are Russia's main foreign policy concerns? Can Russia cling to its status as a world power?

- * Richard Sakwa *Putin: Russia's Choice*, chs. 7, 9
- * Margot Light 'Foreign policy,' in Stephen White (ed.), *Developments in Russian Politics* 6, ch. 13.
- * Allen Lynch 'The realism of Russia's foreign policy,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, v. 53, n. 1, 2001.
- * Mark Katz 'Exploiting rivalries: Russia's foreign policy,' *Problems in Post-Communism*, v. 52, n.3, May 2005.
- * Tatyana Shakleyina & Aleksei Bogaturov 'The Russian realist school,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, v. 37, n. 1, Mar. 2004.
- 'Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation' (2000)
http://www.ciaonet.org/olj/iarj/iarj_00_05a.html
- Bobo Lo *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*
- Martha Olcott et al *Getting it Wrong: Regional Cooperation in the CIS*
- Ted Hopf (ed) *Understanding Russian Foreign Policy*
- Michael Mandelbaum (ed) *The New Russian Foreign Policy*
- Celeste Wallander (ed) *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy*
- William Odom *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*

November 20

Outline for final paper is due.

Week 13
Nov 26-28

PUTIN'S AUTHORITARIAN SHIFT

Putin took down the leading oligarch, Mikhail Khodorkovsky, in 2003, and got control over the legislature after the December 2003 Duma election. He further centralized power in the wake of the September 2004 Beslan tragedy, creating a strongly centralized "managed democracy." Will this system survive the transition to a new president in 2008?

- * Richard Sakwa *Putin: Russia's Choice* chs. 1-8
- * Stephen White (ed) *Developments in Russian Politics* 6, chs. 1-10
- * Pavel Baev 'The evolution of Putin's regime' *Problems of Post-Communism*, v. 51, n.6, Dec. 2004
- Michael McFaul 'Liberal is as liberal does, *American Interest*, May 2007
- Lilia Shevtsova *Putin's Russia* chs. 9-13
- Stephen Sestanovich 'Force, money and pluralism,' *Jour. of Democracy*, v. 15 n. 3, 04
- Michael McFaul *Between Dictatorship and Democracy. Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*
- et al (eds)
- Stephen Fish *Democracy Derailed in Russia*
- Allen C. Lynch *How Russia is Not Ruled.*
- Marshall Goldman 'Putin and the oligarchs,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 83, n. 6, Nov. 2004
- Henry Hale 'Why not parties? Electoral markets and stalled democratization in Russia,' *Comparative Politics*, v. 37, n. 2, Jan. 2005
- Andrei Shleifer & Dan Treisman 'A normal country,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 83, n. 2, Mar 2004
- Robert W. Ortung 'Russia,' Freedom House report, 2005 on web:
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/nattransit.htm>
- Anders Aslund 'Putin's decline and America's response,' Carnegie brief Aug.05

THIRD ASSIGNMENT due on December 3

Topic: 'Democracy in Russia'

How would you characterize Putin's political regime? What are the prospects for democracy in Russia? Should the US try to promote democracy in Russia, and if so, how? (3-4 pages).

Week 14
Dec 3-5

THE ORANGE REVOLUTIONS

While authoritarianism was strengthening in Russia, a wave of revolutions swept Georgia 2003, Ukraine 2004, and Kyrgyzstan 2005. Do they represent a breakthrough to genuine democracy ?

- * Charles Fairbanks 'Georgia's rose revolution,' *Jour. of Democracy*, 15/2, Apr 2004
- * Adrian Karatnycky 'Ukraine's orange revolution,' *Foreign Affairs*, 84/2, Mar 2005
- * Martha Brill Olcott 'Lessons of the tulip revolution,' Testimony before Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, April 7, 2005
- * Graeme Herd 'Colorful revolutions and the CIS,' *Problems of Post-Communism*, v. 52, n. 2, Mar. 2005
- Anders Aslund & Michael McFaul (eds) *Revolution in Orange: Ukraine's Breakthrough*

Dec 7

FINAL MEETING