

INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland; office PAC 203; tel. 685 2483; email 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) Four short papers, average 3-4 pages in length. (2 points per day penalty for late submission.)
Due on September 19, October 12, November 7 and December 7. [10 points each]
- 2) Mid-term exam on October 19 [20 points]
- 3) Final exam on December 21. Students preferring not to do the final exam can apply to write a final paper by submitting an outline on November 21. 15-20 pages, due on December 12. [30 points]
- 4) Class participation. [10 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, and some electronic versions of reading for the next week's lectures.

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)
David Hoffman	<i>The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia</i> (2004)
Lilia Shevtsova	<i>Putin's Russia</i> (revised edition 2005)
Stephen White (ed.)	<i>Developments in Russian Politics 6</i> (sixth edition, 2005)
Andrew Meier	<i>Black Earth: A Journey through Russia After the Fall</i> (2005)

These two books are 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> .
Boris Yeltsin	<i>The Struggle for Russia</i> (1995)

All the basic text and most but not all the books and articles cited in this syllabus are on reserve in the Olin Library. Many of the articles are available on the web or through Olin's electronic journals. An item which is *italicized* is a book or journal title, an item in "quotation marks" is an article. An item with an asterisk * is required reading for all students.

Simulation

On we will hold an in class "constitutional convention" to debate what kind of political system, economic institutions and foreign policy was most suitable for Russia as of January 1993. Each student will be given the identity of a leading politician, and assigned to one of four political groups who will meet to draw up common position papers for the simulation. The second assignment will be the paper you write in preparation for the simulation (possibly a joint paper), *or* a profile of your assigned character.

PRINT PERIODICALS

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

Europe/Asia Studies (formerly Soviet Studies) DK266.A2 S74

Post-Soviet Affairs (formerly Soviet Economy) HC335 .S588

Slavic Review D377.A1 A5

Communist and Post-Communist Studies HX1 .S74

Transitions DJK51 .T7 biweekly magazine, 1995 –98

Problems of Post-Communism HX1 .S74 short analytical articles.

WEB SITES

www.themoscowtimes.com English-language daily which is required reading for expats in Moscow.

www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/world/europe/easterneurope/russia/ archive of Wash. Post articles

www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/ Johnson's List, a daily bulleting which is a must-read for Russia-watchers.

www.cdi.org/russia Center for Defense Information's Russia Weekly, esp. good on security issues.

<http://www.gazeta.ru/english/> Russian daily news site.

<http://en.rian.ru/> Official Russian news agency site.

<http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/> President Putin's web site.

www.rferl.org Daily news (*Newsline*) and background reports from the US-funded Radio Liberty.

www.jamestown.org Jamestown Foundation's *Eurasia Daily Monitor*

www.tol.cz *Transitions Online*. Current articles on the region and archives from 1995 on.

www.russiavotes.org for data on election results and public opinion polls on major issues.

www.eurasianet.org for stories on the other former Soviet republics, Central Asia and the Caucasus.

www.cacianalyst.org news and analysis on Central Asia and the Caucasus.

www.nytimes.com/library/world/europe/russia-index.html archive of NY Times articles up to June 2000.

PROGRAM

Week 1

THE WEIGHT OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

Sept 7

How great an influence does the pre-1917 Russian past have on the present?
Is there such a thing as “Russian political culture,” and if so what does it consist of?

Background reading:

- * 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 since Stalin.’
- Tim Mcdaniel *The Agony of the Russian Idea*

Week 2

THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM

Sept 12-14

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
- Peter Rutland *The Politics of Economic Stagnation in the Soviet Union* (introduction)

FIRST ASSIGNMENT due on September 19

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?

Week 3

Sept 19-21

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' (2005)
- * David Kotz & Fred Weir 'Why did the USSR fall?,' *Dollars and Sense*, July 1997, no. 212.
- * Stephen Cohen 'Was the Soviet system reformable?' *Slavic Review*, vol. 63, no. 3, 2004.

Stephn 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*
 Robert Strayer *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?*
 Archie H. Brown *The Gorbachev Factor*
 Michael Ellman & Vladimir Kontorovich (eds) *The Destruction of the Soviet Economic System*
The National Interest *The Strange Death of Soviet Communism* (March 1993)
 Richard Sakwa *Gorbachev and his Reforms*
 Marshall Goldman *What Went Wrong With Perestroika*

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 (Autobiography of 1988-92 period.)
- Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* chs 1-3
 Leon Aron *Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life* (Yeltsin GOOD)
 Peter Reddaway *The Tragedy of Russia's Reforms* (Yeltsin BAAD)
 John Morrison *Boris Yeltsin: from Bolshevik to Democrat*
 Boris Yeltsin *Against the Grain* (Autobiography of his early years.)

Week 4

Sept 28

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
 - * 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 THE BIRTH OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES
Oct 3

How did the Soviet state break up into 15 separate, newly-sovereign states? How were its economic and military assets divided? Where did wars break out, and why? Who held power in the new states?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* ch. 6
- Graham Smith (ed.) *The Nationalities Question in the post-Soviet States*
- Gail Lapidus *From Union to Commonwealth*
- Ian Bremmer & Ray Taras (eds) *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*

Week 5 SHOCKING THERAPY
Oct 5

Why was shock therapy launched in 1992? Who benefited from the radical economic policies of 1992?

- * 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*
- Boris Yeltsin *My Struggle for Russia* ch. 6
- Lynn Nelson & Irina Kuzes *Property to the People*

Week 6 YELTSIN CONSOLIDATES HIS RULE (1992-94)
Oct 10

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?

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

Week 6**SIMULATION and SECOND ASSIGNMENT**

Oct 12

We will hold an in class “constitutional convention” to debate what kind of political and economic system and foreign policy is most suitable for Russia as of January 1993. The second assignment will be a 3-4 paper you write in preparation for the simulation, *or* a profile of your assigned character.

October 17**FALL BREAK --- NO CLASS****Week 7****MID-TERM TEST**

Oct 19

Week 8**THE RISE OF THE OLIGARCHS**

Oct 24

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?

- * David Hoffman *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia*
esp. Ch 15 on the 1998 crash.
- * Joseph Stiglitz ‘What I learned at the world economic crisis,’ *New Republic* 5/17/2000
- * Thomas Graham ‘Russia’s new regime’ (*Transition*, 1994)
- * Joel Hellman ‘Winners take all: the politics of partial reform’ *World Politics*, Jan. 1998, vol. 50, no. 2.

- Peter Rutland ‘Mission Impossible? The IMF and the failure of market transition in Russia,’ *Review of International Studies*, no. 25, 1999
- Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin’s Russia: Myths and Reality* chs. 6-9
- Boris Yeltsin *Midnight Diaries* (third volume of his autobiography)
- Chrystia Freeland *Sale of the Century*
- Marshall Goldman *The Piratization of Russia*
- Rose Brady *Kapitalizm: Russia’s Struggle to Free its Economy*
- Paul Klebnikov *Godfather of the Kremlin: Boris Berezovsky and the Looting of Russia*
- Peter Rutland *Business and the State in Russia* Introduction, Chapter 7.

Week 8**THE MAFIA**

Oct 26

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*, vol. 51, no. 5 (July 1999) pp. 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
Week 9
Oct 31

Russia's Economy of Favors.
THE CHECHEN WAR (1994-96, 1999-2005)

Yeltsin launched a disastrous invasion of Chechnya in December 1994. Why did this happen, and why did the Russians prove unable to win the war? Why did the second war break out in 1999?

- * Andrew Meier *Black Earth*, part 2, "South to the Zone," pp. 53-158
- * Pavel Felgengauer 'A war Moscow cannot afford to lose,' *Transition*, no. 31, May 1996
- * Rajan Menon & Graham Fuller 'Russia's ruinous Chechen war,' *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 2, Mar 2000
- * Mark Kramer 'The perils of counter-insurgency: Russia's war in Chechnya,' *International Security*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2004.

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, usually jammed.
<http://eng.kavkaz.memo.ru/> *Caucasian Knot* website.

Nov 7

THIRD ASSIGNMENT

Topic: 'Anywherestan: birth of a nation.'

Select ONE of the ex-Soviet states apart from Russia. Write a 3-4 page paper in which you explain the country's main ethnic, political and economic features and the most important controversies since independence in 1991. You can focus in on one particular issue if you wish eg. a civil war, an oil pipeline.

Week 9-10

THE CHALLENGE OF INDEPENDENCE

Nov 2-7

How did the newly-independent states that came out of the USSR cope with independence?
How successful have they been in embracing market reform and developing their natural resources? How has the "Great Game" between Russia and the US for influence in the region played out?

- * Pal Kolsto 'Nation-building in the former USSR,' *J. of Democracy*, v. 7, n. 1, 1996
- * Charles Fairbanks 'Disillusionment in the Caucasus and Central Asia,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 12, n. 4, October 2001
- * Keith Darden 'Blackmail as a tool of state domination: Ukraine under Kuchma,' *East European Constitutional Review*, spring 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, no 4, 2001
- * Kathleen Collins 'Clans, pacts & politics in Central Asia' *J. of Democracy*, v 13 n. 3 2002

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THE CHALLENGE OF INDEPENDENCE (continued)

Gerry Easter	'Preference for presidentialism: Post-communist regime change,' <i>World Politics</i> , Jan 1997, v. 49, n. 2
Oksan Bayulgen	'Foreign capital: Curse or blessing?' <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i> , v. 38, n. 1, March 2005.
Dmitri Trenin	<i>The End of Eurasia</i>
Anders Aslund	<i>Building Capitalism: the Transformation of the Former Soviet bloc</i>
Graham Smith (ed)	<i>The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet states</i>
Roman Szporluk (ed)	<i>National Identity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia</i>
Karen Dawisha (ed)	<i>Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus</i>
Ian Bremmer (ed)	<i>New States, New Politics</i>

For your chosen country:

- * *Nations in Transit* Annual reports on the political situation in each post-soviet country, starting in 1998. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/nattransit.htm>
- * *Transitions Online* Annual reports on each country since 97. <http://archive.tol.cz/links1.html>
www.eurasianet.org stories on the ex- Soviet republics, Central Asia and Caucasus
<http://cacianalyst.org> stories on Central Asia and the Caucasus
www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000/eur/ US State Department human rights reports on each country

Week 10-11

Nov 9-14

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 the first two years?

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Putin's Russia* chs. 1-8
 - * Stephen White (ed.) *Developments in Russian Politics 6*, chs. 1-10
 - * Vladimir Putin *First Person* (interviews with Putin) excerpted on the web at: www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/putin/
 - * Peter Rutland "Putin's challenge," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, December 2000
- 'Russia under Putin' Special issue of *Journal of Democracy*, July 2000.
- Cameron Ross 'Putin's federal reforms,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, v. 36, n. 1.
- Stephen White 'Putin and his supporters,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, v. 55, n. 3, 2003
& Ian McAllister
- Timothy J. Colton 'Are Russians undemocratic?,' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, v. 18, n. 2, 2002
& and Michael McFaul

For overviews of the political scene, see the relevant papers from the Carnegie Endowment conference "Russia: Ten Years After" held in June 2001:
<http://www.ceip.org/files/programs/russia/tenyears/theme.htm#politics>

Week 11

Nov 16

FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

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

- * 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, March 2004.
- * Vladimir Kalashnikov "The discharge of the Light Brigade" *Transitions* (November 1998)

'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 21

Deadline to submit proposal for final paper.

Week 12

Nov 21-28

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 went on to win an easy victory in the March 2004 presidential election, and further centralized power in the wake of the September 2004 Beslan tragedy.

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Putin's Russia* chs. 9-13
- Michael McFaul & Nikolai Petrov 'What the elections tell us,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 15, n. 3, 2003
- Stephen Sestanovich 'Force, money and pluralism,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 15, n. 3, 2004
- Michael McFaul et al (eds) *Between Dictatorship and Democracy. Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*
- Stephen Fish *Democracy Derailed in Russia*
- Allen C. Lynch *How Russia is Not Ruled. Reflections on Russian Political Development*
- 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, January 2005

Week 13**THE ORANGE REVOLUTIONS**

Nov 30-Dec 5

Just as authoritarianism was strengthening in Russia, a wave of mini-revolutions swept the region: Georgia 2003, Ukraine 2004, and Kyrgyzstan 2005. Do these represent a breakthrough to genuine democracy in the region? What are the chances of such revolutions spreading to Belarus, Uzbekistan – or Russia ?

- * Charles Fairbanks 'Georgia's rose revolution,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 15, n. 2, Apr 2004
- * Adrian Karatnycky 'Ukraine's orange revolution,' *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 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*, vol. 52, no. 2, March 2005.
- David Marples 'Europe's last dictatorship: the roots of authoritarianism in "White Russia,"' *Europe-Asia Studies*, September 2005, vol. 57, no. 6
- Lucan Way 'Authoritarian state building and the sources of political liberalization in the Western former Soviet Union,' *World Politics*, forthcoming 2005.
- Cullen Murphy 'My way. Get in touch with your inner Turkmenbashi,' *Atlantic*, Nov 02

December 7**FOURTH ASSIGNMENT****Topic: 'Democracy in Russia.'**

How would you characterize Putin's political regime? What are the prospects for democracy in Russia? (3-4 pages).

Week 13**FINAL MEETING**

Dec 7

Contemporary challenges facing Russia's political system and economic policy.

Has Russia become a "normal" country? Is she a reliable partner and ally of the United States?

- * Andrei Shleifer & Dan Treisman 'A normal country,' *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 2, Mar 2004
- * Pavel Baev 'The evolution of Putin's regime,' *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 51, no.6, December 2004
- * Robert W. Orttung 'Russia,' *Nations in Transit*, 2005
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/nattransit.htm>
- * Anders Aslund 'Putin's decline and America's response,' Carnegie Endowment Policy brief, August 2005. <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/>

December 21**FINAL EXAM**

9.00-11.00 am.

THE END