

Political Science 354Y1Y
Russian Politics and Society
2010 - 2011
Department of Political Science
University of Toronto

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When the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991 the newly independent states moved into a period of uncertain **transition**. The outcome of the transition in Russia is still uncertain. Initially, there were high expectations that democracy would replace the former communist regime. However, the transition has encountered a multitude of challenges that have resulted in a growing concern that communism is being replaced by another form of authoritarian regime. We will focus on the challenges / results in building a new political regime in post-Soviet Russia.

A balanced perspective in exploring the transition requires that we undertake several exercises in the course. First, we must understand the heritage of the past, both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union. Consequently, an introductory section and an introduction to each major topic will be devoted to a description and analysis of the Russian imperial and Soviet system's development and legacy.

The primary focus of the course consists of an exploration of a number of contemporary issues relating to the transition from Soviet communism: economic reform (especially privatization and marketization); the development of new national political institutions (including a constitution, a legislature, the presidency); building new relations between the centre and the regions (federalism); regional and local politics; the emergence of political parties and elections; the role of political elites; the reorganization of old social forces and the emergence of new social forces that constitute “civil society” (including organized crime, women’s issues, labour); and the role of nationalism in state-building. Our analysis will focus primarily on developments in Russia. However, comparative material may be drawn from other successor states.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Term Test on Russian Empire & Soviet Union (November 11)	25%
Term Test on Transition Politics (February 17 or April 7)	25%
Essay on Transition Politics (Due February 17 or April 7)	50%

Thursday February 17

Students have an **option**. You may write a term test **or** an essay. The term test and essay will cover the material in the material on economic reform, national institutions, federalism, and regional / local government. If you write a term test, it will be worth 25% of the final mark. If you write an essay, it will be worth 50% of the final mark. Essays should be 15 pages double spaced. Detailed guidelines for the term test / essay will be provided during the term.

Thursday April 7

Students have an **option**. You may write a term test **or** submit an essay. The term test and essay will cover the materials on parties, elections, elites, civil society, and nationalities . The term test will be worth 25% of the final mark. The essay will be worth 50% of the final mark. Essays should be 15 pages double spaced. Detailed guidelines for the term test / essay will be provided during the term.

The University of Toronto is encouraging faculty and students to conserve paper. As a result, to conserve paper, please print double-sided.

Written work not submitted by the due date may be subject to a penalty of 1% per day (including weekends) unless a valid, documented reason for delay is provided before the deadline. A make-up term test may be written only on the basis of a documented reason.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays before handing them in to the Department. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism at <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>.

Required readings are contained in:

- Stephen White, Zvi Gittelman & Richard Sakwa (eds), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th edition, available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstores;
- Online in e-journals available through the University of Toronto Library Website;
- A package of readings.

COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READINGS

PART I. THE RUSSIAN IMPERIAL AND SOVIET LEGACY

1. Russian Strategies of Modernization

A. Nove, "Russia as an Emergent Country", in Nove, *Political Economy and Soviet Socialism*, Chapter 2.

A.J. Rieber, "The Reforming Tradition in Russia", in Donald D. Barry (ed.), *Perestroika at the Crossroads*, Chapter 1

J.F. Hough & M. Fainsod, "The Origins of Bolshevism", Chapter 1 in Hough & Fainsod, *How the Soviet Union is Governed*

2. Soviet Strategies of Modernization

Overview:

D. Lane, *State and Politics in the USSR*, Chapter 3, pages 58 -84

War Communism & New Economic Policy:

E.H. Carr, "War Communism", Chapter 3 in Carr, *The Russian Revolution from Lenin to Stalin, 1917 - 1929*

R. Daniels, "Stalin's Rise to Dictatorship 1922-29" in A. Dallin & A.F. Weston, *Politics in the Soviet Union*, 1-37.

S.F. Cohen, "Bukharinism and the Road to Socialism", Chapter 4 in Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*

Stalinism:

R. Tucker, "Stalinism as Revolution from Above", in R. Tucker, Chapter 5

S. Bialer, "The Mature Stalinist System", in Bialer, *Stalin's Successors*

E.A. Osokina, "Economic Disobedience under Stalin", Chapter 5 in L. Viola, *Contending with Stalinism*

Khrushchev & Brezhnev:

R. Tucker, "Swollen State, Spent Society: Stalin's Legacy to Brezhnev's Russia", *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1981/1982, 414-435, in Laird & Hoffmann.

S. Cohen, "The Stalin Question Since Stalin" in Cohen, *Rethinking Soviet Experience*, 93-127.

PART II. THE TRANSITION

3. Transition: Stages, Criteria, Democratization, Overview

J. Linz & A. Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies", *Journal of Democracy*, 7,2, Apr 1996, 14-33 (e-journal)

Stephen White, Zvi Gittelman & Richard Sakwa (eds), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6th edition, Chapters 1,14

S. Bialer, "Gorbachev's Program of Change: Sources, Significance, Prospects", in Bialer (ed.), *Gorbachev's Russia and American Foreign Policy*

J.L. Noguee & R. J. Mitchell, "Russia's Politics: The Struggle for Reform", in Noguee & Mitchell, *Russian Politics*, Chapter 5

Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back", *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2008 (e-journal)

4. (Re)construction of History & Identity

B. Forest & J. Johnson, "Unraveling the Threads of History: Soviet Era Monuments and Post-Soviet National Identity in Moscow", *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 92 (3), 2002 (e-journal)

K. Dawisha, "Communism as a Lived System of Ideas in Contemporary Russia", *East European Politics & Societies*, 19 (3), 2005, 463-493 (e-journal)

5. Economic Reform

P. Rutland, "The Rocky Road from Plan to Market" in S. White, et. al., *Developments in Russian Politics*, 4th edition, Chapter 8

S. White, Chapter 11

V. Brovkin, "Fragmentation of Authority and Privatization of the State: From Gorbachev to Eltsin", *Demokratiztsiya*, 6,3, Summer 1998, 504-517 (e-journal)

A. Ledeneva, "Continuity & Change of Blat Practices in Soviet & Post-Soviet Russia", Chapter 10 in S. Covell, et. al. (eds), *Bribery & Blat in Russia*

6. National Institutions: Executive – Legislative Relations

White Chapters 2 (presidency), 3 (parliament), 8 (constitution)

Constitution of the Russian Federation, Chapters 1,4,5,6,7,9. Available on line at <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/constit.html>

7. Centre – Periphery Relations: Federalism

White Chapter 9

G.W. Lapidus & E.W. Walker, "Nationalism, Regionalism, and Federalism: Center-Periphery Relations in Post-Communist Russia" in Lapidus (ed), *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation*, 79-113

Constitution of the Russian Federation, Chapters 3,8. Available on line at <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/constit.html>

8. Regional & Local Politics

White, Chapter 10

P. Kirkow, "Regional Warlordism in Russia: The Case of Primorskii Krai", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47, 6, 1995, 923-947 (e-journal)

D.J. Jensen, "The Boss: How Yuri Luzhkov Runs Moscow", *Demokratizatsiya*, 8,1, Winter 2000, 83-122 (e-journal)

9. Parties & Elections

White, Chapters 4 (elections), 5 (parties)

Russian Analytical Digest, "Russia After the Duma Elections", December 2007, pages 1-25. online at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad>

A.Wilson, "Meeting Medvedev: The Politics of the Putin Succession", European Council on Foreign Relations, Policy Brief, February, 2008, http://ecfr.3cdn.net/86379961b6ec765eba_40m6iiul7.pdf

Constitution of the Russian Federation, Articles 81,96. Available on line at <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/constit.html>

10. Leadership: Presidents, Oligarchs & Siloviki

G. Breslauer, "Evaluating Gorbachev & Eltsin as Leaders", in a. Brown & L. Shevtsova (eds), *Gorbachev, Eltsin & Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition*, pp 51 - 57

L. Shevtsova, "From Yeltsin to Putin: The Evolution of Presidential Power", in A. Brown & L. Shevtsova (eds), *Gorbachev, Eltsin & Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition*, Chapter 4

W. Tompson, "Putin and the 'Oligarchs': A Two-Sided Commitment Problem", http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/90/1/Putin_and_the_'oligarchs'.pdf

O. Kryshtanovskaya & S. White, "Putin's Militocracy", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2003 (e-journal)

11. Civil Society

White, Chapters 6 (civil society), 7 (media), 12 (social conditions)

Alexander Lukin, "Russia's New Authoritarianism and the Post-Soviet Political Ideal", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2009, 25, 1, pp. 66-92

Constitution of the Russian Federation, Chapters 1,2. Available on line at <http://www.departments.bucknell.edu/russian/const/constit.html>

Students will be expected to read **one or more** of the following case studies on the development of civil society:

L.M. Sundstrom, "Women's NGOs in Russia: Struggling from the Margins", *Demokratizatsiya*, 10,2 (Spring 2002), 207-229 (e-journal)

S. Crowley, "Comprehending the Weakness of Russia's Unions", *Demokratizatsiya*, 10,2 (Spring 2002), 230-255 (e-journal)

T. Frisby, "Rise of Organised Crime in Russia: Its Roots & Social Significance", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 50,1, 1998, 27-49 (e-journal)

V. Volkov, "Violent Entrepreneurship in Post-Communist Russia", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 51, 5, 1991, 741-754 (e-journal)

M. Atwal, 'Evaluating Nashi's Sustainability: Autonomy, Agency and Activism', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 61: 5, 2009, 743 — 758 (e-journal) (Youth)

12. Nationalities

R. Suny, "State, Civil Society, & Ethnic Cultural Consolidation in the USSR-- Roots of the National Question" in G. Lapidus, et. al., (eds), *From Union to Commonwealth: Nationalism & Separatism in the Soviet Republics*, Ch 2

V. Tolz, "Conflicting "Homeland Myths" and Nation-State Building in Post-Communist Russia", *Slavic Review*, 57,2 (Summer 1998), 267-294 (e-journal)

G. Lapidus, "The Dynamics of Secession in the Russian Federation: Why Chechnya?" in M. Alexseev (ed), *Center-Periphery Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia: A Federation Imperilled*, Chpt 2 and "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2002,18,1, 41-48

M.L. Roman, "Making Caucasians Black: Moscow Since the Fall of Communism & the Racialization of Non-Russians", *Journal of Communist Studies & Transition Politics*, 18, 2, June 2002, 1-27 (e-journal)

13. Summary & Conclusions: Leadership and Transition

White Chapters 1, 14 (reread)

R. Orrtung, "Putin's Political Legacy", *Russian Analytical Digest*, #36, March 4, 2008, pages 2-5 <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/details.cfm?lng=en&id=48069>

G. Hahn, "Putin's Stealth Authoritarianism and Russia's Next Revolutionary Wave", *RFE/RL, Regional Analysis*, 15 April 2004, Volume 4, Number 14 <http://www.rferl.org/reports/rpw/2004/04/14-150404.asp>; 22 April 2004, Volume 4, Number 15 <http://www.rferl.org/reports/rpw/2004/04/15-220404.asp>; 15 April 2004, Volume 4, Number 16 <http://www.rferl.org/reports/rpw/2004/04/16-280404.asp> Note there are three parts.

Political Science 354Y1Y
Essay Guidelines
2010 - 2011

Identify one set of **domestic** issues which Russia has confronted in its transition. Undertake a case study, using the issue, to explore the nature of the political transition Russia is undergoing. The issue should be chosen from the topics we are covering during the Spring Term. **You should choose a subcategory within these broad topics for the focus of your case study.** If you wish to write an essay on a topic not identified in the lists, you must get approval of the instructor before you write the essay.

YOU ARE REQUIRED TO COMPLETE ONE (1) ESSAY. THE TOPIC YOU CHOOSE WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE DATE ON WHICH YOU SUBMIT YOUR ESSAY. FOR A FULL EXPLANATION OF YOUR OPTIONS, CHECK THE INSTRUCTIONS IN THE COURSE OUTLINE

Topics for February 17

Economic Reform;
National Institutions (Constitution, Presidency, Legislature, Presidential-Legislative Relations);
Federalism;
Regional / Local Politics;

Topics for April 7

Parties;
Elections;
Leadership;
Civil Society;
Nationalities

Undertake a case study of the issue by:

1. Defining the **criteria for democratization**, using the key elements of democracy affected by your case study.
2. Briefly identifying the **Soviet legacy**.
3. Tracing the **course of reform** in your subject area in the late Soviet and post-Soviet periods.
4. Examining **opposition** and **resistance** to reform.
5. **Assessing** the contribution of developments in your issue area to the post-Soviet transition. In what ways have changes contributed toward or limited the development and consolidation of democracy? What type of political regime do you see emerging on the basis of your case study?

Notes:

1. Your essay should be maximum **3000 words** (approximately 12 pages) in length. It should be printed, double-spaced, using 12-point font and 1" margins.
2. *The University of Toronto is encouraging faculty and students to conserve paper. As a result, to conserve paper, please print double-sided.*
3. **Specialized** secondary sources (books and articles) **must** be used. The list of *additional readings* on my website will be a useful starting point.
4. Proper **endnotes / footnotes** and **bibliography** must be provided. Material obtained on the internet must be identified in footnotes and the bibliography by author, title, the full web-site address, and the date on which you accessed it.
5. Essays must be submitted in **hard copy**. Essays submitted electronically will not be accepted.
6. Essays not submitted by the due date may be subject to a **penalty** of 1% per day, including weekends, unless a valid, documented **reason** for delay is provided.