

Political Science 354H1F
Russian Politics and Society
Fall Term 2015
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 on developments in Russia. However, comparative material may be drawn from other successor states.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Term Test on Russian Empire & Soviet Union (October 15)	25%
Short Paper on Transition Politics (Due November 12 or December 2)	25%
Long Paper on Transition Politics (Due November 12 or December 2)	50%

STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE TERM TEST, ONE SHORT PAPER AND ONE LONG PAPER.

Thursday November 12

Students have an **option**. You may submit a Short Paper or a Long Paper. The paper will cover the material in the sections on economic reform, national institutions, and federalism. If you write a Short Paper, it will be worth 25% of the final mark. If you write a Long Paper, it will be worth 50% of the final mark. Short papers should be 5 pages double spaced. Long papers should be 10 pages. Detailed guidelines for the papers are found on the last page of the Syllabus.

Thursday December 2

Students have an **option**. You may submit a Short Paper or a Long Paper. The paper will cover the sections on parties and elections, civil society, nation-building, and leadership. The Short Paper will be worth 25% of the final mark. The Long Paper will be worth 50% of the final mark. Short Papers should be 5 pages double spaced. Long Papers should be 10 pages, double spaced. Detailed guidelines for the papers are found on the last page of the Syllabus.

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.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize> and www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students.

Required readings are contained in:

- Stephen White, Richard Sakwa, and Henry Hale (eds), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 8th edition, available for purchase at the University of Toronto Bookstores;
- Online in e-journals available through the University of Toronto Library Website;
- Readings on reserve at short-term loan in Robarts Library.

COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READINGS

1. Russian and Soviet Strategies of Modernization: The Legacy

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

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

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

2. Transition: Overview and Approaches

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

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 (R)

Stephen White, Richard Sakwa & Henry Hale (eds), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 8th edition, Chapters 1,15 (T)

Archie Brown, "Gorbachev at eighty: Evaluating His Achievements", *Open Democracy*, 25 February 2011, at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/archie-brown/gorbachev-at-eighty-evaluating-his-achievements>

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

Ol'ga Kryshтанovskaya and Stephen White, "The Sovietization of Russian Politics", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2009, 25, 4, pp. 283–309 (e-journal)

3. Economic Transition

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

S. White, Chapter 11(T)

Vladimir Shlapentokh, "Corruption, the power of state and big business in Soviet and post-Soviet regimes", *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 46 (2013) 147–158 (e-journal)

Michael Rochlitz, "Corporate raiding and the role of the state in Russia", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2014 Vol. 30, Nos. 2–3, 89–114 (e-journal)

4. National Institutions: Executive – Legislative Relations

White Chapters 2 (presidency), 3 (parliament), 9 (constitution) (T)

O. Kryshchanovskaya and S. White, "The Sovietization of Russian Politics", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2009, 25, 4, pp. 283–309 (e-journal)

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>

5. Centre – Periphery Relations: Federalism

White Chapter 10 (T)

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 (R)

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

6. Parties & Elections

White, Chapters 4 (elections), 5 (parties). 6 (voting behaviour) (T)

Stephen White, 'Elections Russian-Style', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 63: 4, 2011, 531 — 556 (e-journal)

Russian Analytical Digest, No 106, 21 December 2011, Special Issue on Duma Elections 2011. Read article by H.E. Hale, A. Kynev, A. Lyubarev, and Statement of GOLOS. Available at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/details.cfm?lng=en&id=135332>

Nicolai N Petro "Russia's Smouldering 'White Revolution'", <http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/nicolai-n-petro/russia%E2%80%99s-smouldering-white-revolution>

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

7. Civil Society

White, Chapters 7 (civil society), 8 (media), 12 (social conditions) (T)

Sergej Ljubownikow, Jo Crotty, Peter W. Rodgers, "The state and civil society in Post-Soviet Russia: The development of a Russian-style civil society," *Progress in Development Studies* 13, 2 (2013) pp. 153–166 (e-journal)

Bill Bowring, "Russian Legislation and NGOs in Russia," *Russian Analytical Digest* 23 November 2012 No 120: Legislation and Governance,

<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/DigitalLibrary/Publications/Detail/?id=155663&lng=en>

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)

8. Building a Nation: History & Identity

- 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*, Chpt. 2 (R)
- 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 (R) and "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2002,18,1, 41-48 (e-journal)
- 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)

9. Summary & Conclusions: Leadership and Transition

White Chapters 1, 15 (reread) (T)

- 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 (R)
- Alexander Lukin, "Russia's New Authoritarianism and the Post-Soviet Political Ideal", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2009, 25, 1, pp. 66-92 (e-journal)
- O. Kryshchanovskaya & S. White, "Putin's Militocracy", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2003 (e-journal)
- 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>

**Political Science 354H1F
Essay Guidelines
Fall Term 2015**

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 TWO ESSAYS, I.E., ONE SHORT PAPER AND ONE LONG PAPER. 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 November 12

Economic Reform;
National Institutions (Presidential-Legislative Relations);
Federalism.

Topics for December 2

Parties and Elections
Civil Society
Nationalities
Leadership

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 Short Paper should be maximum **5 pages** in length (excluding title page, endnotes and bibliography). Your Long Paper should be maximum **10 pages** (excluding title page, endnotes and bibliography). Each paper 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 acknowledge by source, 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.