

**Political Science 354H1F**  
**Russian Politics and Society**  
**Fall Term 2017**  
**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**. 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 body of evidence 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 legacy 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. However, we cannot simply assume that the historical legacy has predetermined the outcome of the transition. Political agency plays an important role in shaping developments. Therefore, we must explore the type of leadership and choices made by Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Eltsin and Vladimir Putin.

The primary focus of the course consists of an exploration of a number of contemporary issues relating to the post-Soviet transition: economic reform (especially privatization and its links to corruption); 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 reorganization of old social forces and the emergence of new social forces that constitute “civil society” (including organized crime, women’s issues, labour); the role of nationalism in state- building; and, the role of political elites. Our aim is to construct a picture of the new Russian regime and to gain an understanding of its operation.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Term Test on Russian Empire & Soviet Union (October 5)	25%
Short Paper on Transition Politics (Due November 2 or November 30)	25%
Long Paper on Transition Politics (Due November 2 or November 30)	50%

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

### Thursday November 2

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. Long papers should be 10 pages. All papers should be double spaced, 1" margins, 12 point font. Detailed guidelines for the papers are found on the last page of the Syllabus.

### Thursday November 30

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. Long Papers should be 10 pages. All papers should be double spaced, 1" margins, 12 point font. Detailed guidelines for the papers are found on the last page of the Syllabus.

University of Toronto is encouraging faculty and students to conserve paper. Please **print double-sided**.

Written work not submitted by the due date may be subject to a penalty of **2% 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.

Essays should be submitted on the due date in class. If this is not possible, students should deliver their work to the Political Science Main Office, Room 3018, Sidney Smith Hall. The assignment will be date stamped and put in the instructor's file. There is a dropoff box for students who come after 5:00 p.m.

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

**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>. A range of advice on writing essays is available at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

**Required readings** are contained in:

- Stephen White, Richard Sakwa, and Henry Hale (eds), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 8<sup>th</sup> 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. (R)

## 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 Kryshantovskaya 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*, 4<sup>th</sup> 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)
- Michael Rochlitz, "At the Crossroads: Putin's Third Presidential Term and Russia's Institutions", *Political Studies Review*, 2015, 13, 59–68 (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)

David White, "Re-conceptualising Russian party politics," *East European Politics*, 28, 3, September 2012, 210–224 (e-journal)

Vladimir Gel'man, "Political Opposition in Russia: A Troubled Transformation", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 67, No. 2, March 2015, 177–191 (e-journal)

Graeme Gill, "The Decline of a Dominant Party and the Destabilization of Electoral Authoritarianism?", *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2012, 28, No. 4, pp. 449–471 (e-journal)

*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)

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

Jo Crotty, Sarah Marie Hall & Sergej Ljubownikow, "Post-Soviet Civil Society Development in the Russian Federation: The Impact of the NGO Law", *Europe-Asia Studies*, 66, 8, Oct 2014, 1253–1269

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

Students should 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)
- J. Becker, "Russia and the New Authoritarians" (Media), *Demokratizatsiya*, 2015 (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. Kryshтанovskaya & 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 <https://www.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD-36-2-5.pdf>

**Political Science 354H1F**  
**Essay Guidelines**  
**Fall Term 2017**

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 2**

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

**Topics for November 30**

Parties and Elections  
Civil Society  
Nationalities  
Political 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 the evidence in 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 acknowledged 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 2% per day, including weekends, unless a valid, documented **reason** for delay is provided.