

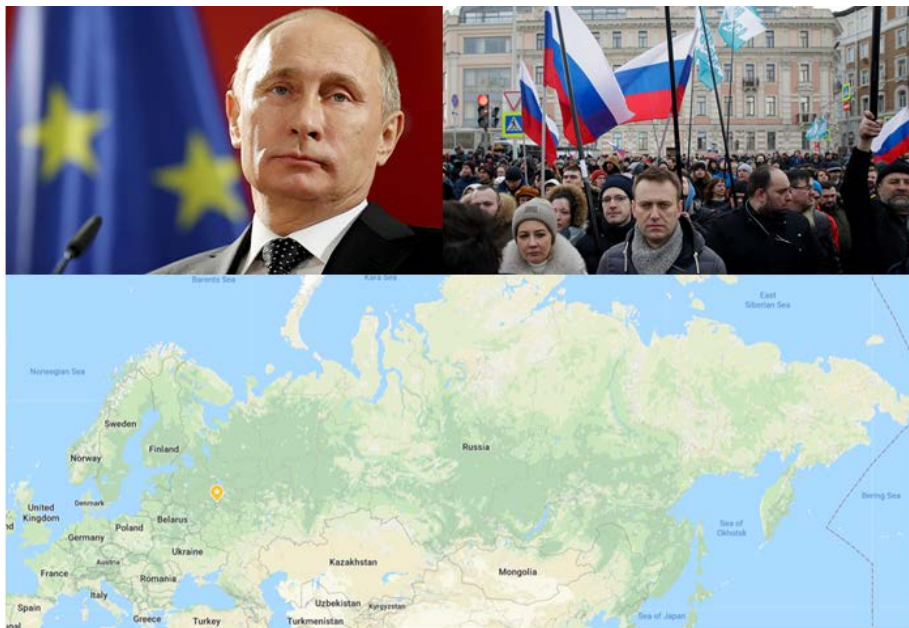
## **PSCI 3022: Russian Politics** **Spring 2019, MWF, 1-1:50pm in Muenzinger E431** **Professor Sokhey**

Office: Ketchum Hall 133 (Ketchum is located between Norlin Library and Atlas)  
E-mail: [sokheys@colorado.edu](mailto:sokheys@colorado.edu)  
Office phone: 303-292-2985  
Office hours: Mondays, 2-4pm & by appointment\*

\*I am happy to arrange meetings outside of my scheduled office hours as the times above are not likely to accommodate all students. You are always free to stop by my office outside of these hours, or to arrange another specific time to meet. On Wednesdays and Fridays, the morning (before 10:30am) and afternoon (2-4pm) will also usually be a good time for me to meet.

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Welcome to Russian Politics! PSCI 3022 is an upper division political science course. This course covers a brief review of Soviet history, the Yeltsin era (in the 1990s), the Putin era (in the 2000s), Russia's foreign policy, and how Russia compares to other countries today. Students are required to take a geography quiz, 2 midterm exams, and a final exam. Students are also asked to regularly participate in class, comment on current affairs articles on the Canvas website for the course, and write a policy brief.



## Requirements

Your course grade will be based on the criteria listed below. Exams and assignments are graded on a standard 100 percentage point scale. Please pay attention to the relative weight of different course requirements as listed below.

The two biggest components of your grade are:

- 2 Midterm Exams 40% (20% each)
- In-Class Participation 25%

I also require several other assignments/exams/quizzes to enhance your learning:

- Policy Brief (includes online discussion) 15%
- Final Exam 10%
- Geography Quiz 5%
- Current Events Discussion on Canvas 5%
- Extra Credit Reaction Papers *See more information below*

## Grading

I will use the scale below in assessing grades.

A	94+	C+	77-79	F	59 and below
A-	90-93	C	74-76		
B+	87-89	C-	70-73		
B	84-86	D+	67-69		
B-	80-83	D-	60-66		

## Course Website

Our course website can be found at <https://canvas.colorado.edu>. I will use this website to post readings and information about the course. You should check this website regularly. You will also be required to comment on current affairs articles on this website (more information on this below in the section on “current events”). On a few days of class, you will be asked to watch a video lecture and complete other activities on Canvas.

## Midterm Exams (worth 40% total; worth 20% each)

The two midterm exams will consist of multiple choice, identification, and short answer questions. I will provide more information in class on what you should expect on the exams. The midterm exams are not cumulative. On the final exam, you will be asked to answer 1 long essay question. This question will focus on the big questions we have focused on from week 13 onwards, but will also ask you to draw on information from the first part of the course.

## In-Class Participation (worth 25%)

Your participation grade will be based on reading quizzes and in-class assignments. There is no subjective component (based on something like how often you speak in class) to your participation grade. There are no make-ups for the reading quizzes and in-class assignment because these are specifically intended to evaluate your participation in class. There will, however, be many of these throughout the semester (usually at least 1 a week, or more) so that missing just a few will not have a large negative impact on your grade. If you miss many of these, then there will, of course, be a larger impact on your final grade.

## **Policy Brief (15%)**

You are required to write a policy brief in which you explain a current issue related to Russian politics, take a position on what the Russian government should do, or take a position on what another government should do in relation to Russia. Your policy brief should be 3-pages, double-spaced, 12 point font, Times New Roman, and with 1” margins on all sides. Do not include an excessively space-consuming header to help fill up the 3 pages. You should plan on citing sources in your policy report. More detailed information will be provided in class. Don't be fooled by the short length of the paper. You need to write 3 succinct, well-researched, and well-articulated pages. The short length should give you plenty of opportunity to research and revise these 3 pages.

**Reminder: Don't plagiarize – the penalty for plagiarizing in this class is failing the class. You will also be reported to the honor council at the University of Colorado. See the section on the Honor Code below.**

## **Final Exam (worth 10%)**

The final exam will consist of 1 long essay question. If you attend class regularly, you will likely have a good idea about what this question will be.

## **Geography Quiz (worth 5%)**

There will be a geography quiz at the end of week 2 which tests your knowledge of the post-Soviet countries (including Russia, of course), country capitals, and major geographic features.

## **Current Events Discussion on Canvas (worth 5%)**

Keeping up with current events is an important part of our class. I will post articles on Canvas with current relevant news. On the class schedule on the syllabus, I have marked the days of class for which you should read and comment on these articles. You will be required to: 1) make 1 relevant comment about the articles, and 2) respond to 1 comment from someone else. Your comments should be relevant and reflect that you have read the articles. Please be polite in your comments and responses to others. Suggestions for topics or articles in which you are especially interested are very welcome!

## **Resources for Current News about Russia**

Current affairs will be regularly incorporated into class. In addition to the articles you are required to read and comment on, below I have listed some news sources about Russia including several which will give you a non-American perspective. Many people are surprised to find out how much accurate news and polling data are available about Russia in English on the web. Check it out!

- **Johnson's Russia List:** This is an excellent way to read articles (in English) about what is going on in Russia from a variety of Russian, international, and American news sources. You can sign up for free daily news from Russian and international news sources from “Johnson's Russia List” at [russialist.org](http://russialist.org). You can also check this website instead of receiving the stories by e-mail. Johnson's Russia List includes articles from major news sources around the world and Russian newspapers. Russian-language articles have been translated into English which is a great advantage of this free service.
- **BBC:** The “Europe” web page of the *BBC* for news on Russia which can be found at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/europe/>. Scan the *BBC* headlines for news on Russia and read any relevant articles. You can also search “Russia” from the *BBC* web page to find the most relevant news.

- **RT:** Formerly called *Russia Today*, RT is available at [www.rt.com](http://www.rt.com) (click on the Russian Politics section). This is a Russian state-owned news sources which provides news in English. In particular, you should note how the perspective is the same or different for reporting on the same events when reading the *BBC* versus *Russia Today*. It is also interesting to take a look at US news reported in *Russia Today* at [www.rt.com/usa](http://www.rt.com/usa).
- **PONARS Eurasia:** At [www.ponarseurasia.org](http://www.ponarseurasia.org), you can find regularly find news commentary from academic experts—based in the US, Europe, and Russia—about current events in Russia and other post-communist countries.
- **Public Opinion Polls:** Check out Putin’s approval ratings, and other important results of national polls (including attitudes towards the US) at Levada (a private polling company) (<http://www.levada.ru/en/>) and at the Russian Public Opinion Research center (a state-owned polling organization) (<https://www.wciom.com/>). Both have English versions of their websites.

## Extra Credit

There is one opportunity for extra credit in this course. On the course schedule below, you will notice that there are sometimes optional readings for extra credit. These are interesting additional sources which are available if you are interested and may be helpful for your policy brief. If you are especially interested in a topic on the syllabus for which there are not recommended readings, please let me know and I may be able to recommend readings for extra credit. Some optional extra credit readings will be available on Canvas.

You should complete a recommended reading and write a two-page summary which: 1) *briefly* summarizes the content of the reading, and 2) gives your reaction & thoughts about the reading. Your response paper should relate to what we are covering in the course. You may complete 2 recommended readings for extra credit. Each recommended reading response you complete is worth 2 points on your final grade. You may only receive 1 extra credit point if the response paper does not summarize the reading correctly or does not give your reaction to the reading. **To receive extra credit, you must submit an extra credit response paper on Canvas before the final day of class. Please do not submit paper copies of your extra credit. I cannot promise that paper copies will be counted for extra credit. Instead, upload your extra credit in the appropriate folder on Canvas.**

## Required Books

Much of the required reading will be available on the Canvas website for our course.

### Required:

Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets after Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, ISBN: 978-0-521-73462-2.

### Recommended (but not required):

Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics. 1917-1991*, 1991, ISBN: 978-0-19-878067

### ***Note about cost & buying books***

New paperback copies of the Frye book should be about \$30 and used copies should be a bit cheaper. There appear to be rental options for the Frye book with online vendors. You may wish to check out online vendors like Amazon and Chegg in addition the University bookstore. You will not need the Frye book until week 13 of the semester so you should have plenty of time to order it online.

## **Contacting Professor Sokhey**

For the purposes of this class, I prefer to go by “Professor Sokhey” or “Dr. Sokhey”. I am available during my regular office hours (which are indicated at the top of the syllabus). I am also happy to make arrangements to meet with you at a time that is more convenient for your schedule. You are welcome to stop by at other times as I am typically in my office during the week from roughly 9am-5pm.

E-mail is the quickest and easiest way to contact me outside of class and I always make an effort to respond promptly. Please be polite and professional in your emails. Some questions are best answered in class (because many students will have the same question) or in person during office hours (because they require some explanation) In these cases, I may wait to address your question in class or indicate that we should arrange a time to talk.

## **Accommodations for Disabilities**

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. Information on requesting accommodations is located on the [Disability Services website](#). Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or [dsinfo@colorado.edu](mailto:dsinfo@colorado.edu) for further assistance. If you have a temporary medical condition or injury, see [Temporary Medical Conditions](#) under the Students tab on the Disability Services website.

## **Religious Holidays**

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. In this class, please make an effort to let me know as soon as possible before you need an accommodation and, preferably, at least a week before you need to arrange an accommodation. See the [campus policy regarding religious observances](#) for full details.

## **Classroom Behavior**

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, political affiliation or political philosophy. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records. For more information, see the policies on [classroom behavior](#) and the [Student Code of Conduct](#).

## **Sexual Misconduct, Discrimination, Harassment and/or Related Retaliation**

The University of Colorado Boulder (CU Boulder) is committed to fostering a positive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. CU Boulder will not tolerate acts of sexual misconduct (including sexual assault, exploitation, harassment, dating or domestic violence, and stalking), discrimination, and harassment by members of our community. Individuals who believe they have been subject to misconduct or retaliatory actions for reporting a concern should contact the Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) at 303-492-2127 or [cureport@colorado.edu](mailto:cureport@colorado.edu). Information about the OIEC, university policies, [anonymous reporting](#), and the campus resources can be found on the [OIEC website](#).

Please know that faculty and instructors have a responsibility to inform OIEC when made aware of incidents of sexual misconduct, discrimination, harassment and/or related retaliation, to ensure that individuals impacted receive information about options for reporting and support resources.

## Honor Code

All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to [the academic integrity policy](http://www.colorado.edu/policies/academic-integrity-policy) (<http://www.colorado.edu/policies/academic-integrity-policy>) of the institution. Violations of the policy may include: plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access, clicker fraud, resubmission, and aiding academic dishonesty. All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to the Honor Code Council ([honor@colorado.edu](mailto:honor@colorado.edu); 303-735-2273). Students who are found responsible of violating the academic integrity policy will be subject to nonacademic sanctions from the Honor Code Council as well as academic sanctions from the faculty member. Additional information regarding the academic integrity policy can be found at <http://honorcode.colorado.edu>.

All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own and should not be work you have submitted in any other course. No cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper attribution) will be tolerated. Any cases of cheating or plagiarism will be handled according to university policy and reported to the Committee on Academic Misconduct. **If I find that you have plagiarized, you will fail the course.** Plagiarism does not only include lifting text verbatim from another source and using it as your own, but includes paraphrasing a work and not properly citing it in your paper (i.e., using an idea or argument without proper attribution).

When considering whether or not to plagiarize, consider whether you are willing to fail the course and possibly face other university sanctions for doing so. If you are having difficulty completing course assignments, consider alternatives to cheating including contacting me (or your other instructors) for help. The consequences of turning in a poorly done assignment, or not turning in an assignment at all, are much less severe than plagiarizing.

## Extensions & Make-ups

As a general rule, I will not grant any extensions or make-ups. All deadlines have been clearly marked on the course schedule and you should make note of them. In case of extreme emergency (such as serious illness), extensions and make-ups must be discussed with the instructor individually and will be arranged on a case-by-case basis contingent on proper documentation of any incident preventing the student from meeting the deadline.

## Course Schedule

Most of the readings will be made available on the Canvas website for our course at <https://canvas.colorado.edu>. Please let me know prior to class if you have difficulty accessing any of the readings. Please see above for more information about the “optional reading for extra credit”.

The course is organized around 4 topics:

- Topic 1: Introduction & Background (Weeks 1 and 2)
- Topic 2: The Yeltsin Era (1990s) (Weeks 3-5)
- Topic 3: The Putin Era (2000s) (Weeks 6-10)
- Topic 4: Russia in Comparative Perspective (Weeks 12-16)

### Topic 1: Introduction & Background

#### Week 1: Why study Russian politics? What’s going on in Russia today?

**Monday, Jan. 14 - Welcome to Russian politics!**

**Wednesday, Jan. 16**

#### Required reading

- 1) Thomas Remington, “State and Regime in Russia,” in *Politics in Russia*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (chapter posted on Canvas)
- 2) Pavel Aptekar, Vladimir Ruvinsky, and Maria Zheleznova, “Russian daily reviews 2018 political and economic results: The year of war and football,” *Vedomosti*, December 28, 2018.
- 3) Lev Gudkov, “Russians trust their bosses less and less and war scare them more. A review of the year with sociologist Le Gudkov,” *Novaya Gazeta*, December 25, 2018.

#### Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Marlene Laruelle, “Is Russia Really ‘Fascist’? A Comment on Timothy Snyder,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 539, September 2018.

**Friday, Jan. 18 – Current Events & Post-Communist Geography**

#### Required reading

- 1) Read & comment on current events article (or articles) on Canvas before class time. Note that suggestions are always welcome for current news articles related to Russia that you would like to read about and discuss in class. Many of these articles will be from a variety of Russian-language news sources (but will, of course, be posted in English).
- 2) Marlene Laruelle, “Putin the Geographer,” *Riddle*, October 31, 2018.

#### Week 2: A Quick Look at the Soviet System

**Monday, Jan. 21 – No Class, Martin Luther King Jr. Day**

**Wednesday, Jan. 23 – GEOGRAPHY QUIZ IN CLASS**

#### Required Reading

- 1) Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991*, Introduction, pp. 1-11 & Chapter 4: Terror, pp. 50-61

## Friday, Jan. 25

### Required Reading

- 1) Masha Gessen, “The Weight of Words: One of Russia’s most famous writers confronts the state,” *The New Yorker*, October 6, 2014. An article about the modern Russian writer, Lyudmila Ulitskaya. Available here: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/10/06/weight-words>
- 2) Read & Comment on current events on Canvas before class

### Optional reading for extra credit about the Communist era

- Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, 1973.
- Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, 1963
- Slavenka Drakulic, *How we Survived Communism & Even Laughed*, Vintage, 1993.
- Janos Kornai, *Economics of Shortage*, see a short biography of Kornai at: <https://economics.harvard.edu/people/janos-kornai> and his website here: <http://www.kornai-janos.hu/KornaiJ-home-English.html>
- Maria Krenz, *Made in Hungary: A Life Forged by History*, Donner Publishing, 2009. Ms. Krenz is a CU alum and was born and lived in Hungary during the Holocaust and under Communism until she left in 1957. This book gives an excellent personal account of life under Communism. See her discuss the book here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YOOr8HLoXVw>
- Neil MacFarquhar, “Rapper is Jailed for 12 Days in Russia as a Culture War Spreads,” *New York Times*, Nov. 23, 2018

## Topic 2: The Yeltsin Era (1990s)

### Week 3: The End the Soviet Union & the Emergence of Yeltsin

#### Monday, Jan. 28 – The End of the Soviet Economic System

##### Required reading:

- 1) Richard Ericson, “The Classical Soviet-type Economy,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 1991.

#### Wednesday, Jan. 30 – The End of the Soviet Political System

##### Required reading:

- 1) Mary McAuley, Chapter 7: *Perestroika* and the End of Party Rule, Chapter 8: Dispersal of Power, & Conclusion

#### Friday, Feb. 1 – The Beginning of the Russian Federation

**\*\*No in-class session on this day\*\***

##### Required reading

- 1) Read & comment on current events articles on Canvas before class time.
- 2) Igor Klymakin and Lilia Shevtsova, “The Tactical Origins of Russia’s New Political Institutions,” 1999 (2-page excerpt from *This Omnipotent and Impotent Government: The Evolution of the Political System in Post-Communist Russia*, Moscow: Carnegie Moscow Center)

##### Required for this day of class

- 1) Video lecture & online quiz to be completed before the end of class time (at 1:50pm). This video lecture will cover the timeline of 1991-1993 which are a very eventful 2 years in Russian politics.
- 2) CNN documentary “The Cold War” from 1996. This is a 24-part series that includes episodes with interviews of many leaders, political activists, and citizens in Russia and other post-communist countries from the late 1980s and early 1990s. This is an excellent insight into Russia’s early transition.



Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Phillippe Schmitter, "What Democracy is...And Is Not," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Summer), 1991, pages 75-88
- 2) Thomas Remington, *Politics in Russia*, Chapter 3, "Russia's Constitutional Order", pp. 56-82

**Week 4: The 1990s – Why It Was So Bad**

**Monday, Feb. 4 – Economic Reform**

Required reading:

- 1) Thomas Remington, *Politics in Russia*, Chapter 7, "Between State and Market," pp. 191-214

**Wednesday, Feb. 6 – The Oligarchs**

Required reading

- 1) Mikhail Khodorkovsky chapter in David Hoffman, *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia*, Public Affairs, 2003.
- 2) Boris Berezovsky chapter in David Hoffman, *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia*, Public Affairs, 2003.

Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Richard Behar, "Did Boris Berezovsky Kill Himself? More Compelling, Did He Kill Forbes Editor Paul Klebnikov?" *Forbes*, March 24, 2013.
- 2) Andre Meier, "Who Fear a Fre Mikhail Khodorkovsky?" *The New York Times Magazine*, November 18, 2009. (Also, check out: <https://www.khodorkovsky.com/>)

**Friday, Feb. 8 – 2 Coup Attempts in 2 Year: Russian Politics, 1991-1993**

Required reading

- 1) Boris Yeltsin's memoirs, Chapter 7, "A Rough Patch"
- 2) Masha Lipman, "Twenty-five years after the Failed [1991] Soviet Coup," *The New Yorker*, August 19, 2016.
- 3) Alexander Kolosnichenko, "How October 1993 led to President Putin," October 3, 2013.
- 4) Read & comment on current affairs articles on Canvas before class time

**Week 5: Chechnya & Islam in Russia**

**Monday, Feb. 11 – Chechnya & Islam in Russia**

Required reading

- 1) Shireen Hunter, "The Evolution of Russian Federalism: The Islamic Factor," in *Islam in Russia: The Politics of Identity and Security*, M.E. Sharpe, 2004, pp. 216-244.
- 2) Anna Politkovskaya, "Chechnya: A Dirty War (1999-2002)" in *Tell Me No Lies: Investigative Journalism that Changed the World*, ed. John Pilger, 2005, pp. 409-433 (D2L). Anna Politkovskaya was a Russian journalist who covered the Chechen war. She was killed in Moscow in 2006. Her work on Chechnya is controversial.

Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Debra Javeline and Vanessa Baird, "Who Sues the Government? Evidence from the Moscow Theater Hostage Crisis," *Comparative Political Studies*, 20:10, 2007, pp. 1-28; This article presents an original survey of the victims of the Nord-Ost hostage crisis and was written by one of CU's own political science professors.

**Wednesday, Feb. 13**

Required reading: Steven Levine, *Putin's Russia*, Nord-Ost chapter.

**Friday, Feb. 15 – Midterm Exam #1 (Bring a blue exam book)**

## Topic 3: The Putin Era (2000s)

### Week 6 – Putin’s Rise to Power

**Monday, Feb. 18**

Required reading

- 1) Peter Rutland. 2000. “Putin’s Rise to Power,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*.

**Wednesday, Feb. 20**

Required reading

- 1) Chris Miller, *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia*, Chapter 1: Introduction & Chapter 2: State-Building, University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

**Friday, Feb. 22**

Required Reading

- 1) Read & comment on current affairs articles on Canvas before class
- 2) Timothy Frye, Scott Gehlbach, Kyle Marquardt, Ora John Reuter. “Is Putin’s Popularity Real?” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 33, Issue 1, 2017.
- 3) Samuel Greene and Graeme Robertson, “Vladimir Putin’s approval ratings are dropping. This is why,” *Washington Post*, July 19, 2018.

### Week 7 – The Media & Elections

**Monday, Feb. 25**

Required reading

- 1) Scott Gehlbach, “Reflections on Putin & the Media,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 26:1, 2010, pp. 77-87 (D2L)
- 2) Steven Levine, *Putin’s Labyrinth*, Chapter 8: Murder on an Elevator, 2008.
- 3) Andrew Kramer, “Boris Nemtsov, Putin Foe, is Shot Dead in Shadow of Kremlin,” *New York Times*, February 27, 2015.

**Wednesday, Feb. 27**

Required reading

- 1) Viatcheslav Morozov, Xymena Kurowska, and Anatoly Reshtenikov, “Why Russia’s Strategic Deception is Popular: The Cultural Appeal of the Trickster,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 554, December 2018.

**Friday, March 1**

Required reading

- 1) Read & comment on current affairs articles on Canvas before class
- 2) Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press. Read the Russia section from Chapter 5 (pages 186-201)

### Week 8 – Protests & Opposition

**Monday, March 4**

Required reading:

- 1) Regina Smyth and Irina Soboleva, “Looking beyond the economy: Pussy Riot and the Kremlin’s voting coalition,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 30:4, 2014, pp.257-275

### **Wednesday, March 6 –Protests in 2011 & 2012**

#### Required reading

- 1) Paul Chaisty and Stephen Whitefield, “Forward to democracy or back to authoritarianism? The attitudinal bases of mass support for the Russian election protests of 2011-2012,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 29:5, 2012, pp. 387-403. (D2L)

### **Friday, March 8 – Protests in 2017 & 2018**

#### Required

- 1) Read and comment on current affairs articles on Canvas
- 2) *Washington Post*, “Russians are Protesting!” March 31, 2017; Available here: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/03/31/russians-are-protesting-why-part-1-putins-vulnerable/?tid=a\\_inl&utm\\_term=.a25d79414ec8](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/03/31/russians-are-protesting-why-part-1-putins-vulnerable/?tid=a_inl&utm_term=.a25d79414ec8))
- 3) *BBC*, “Protests over retirement age hikes,” July 1, 2018.
- 4) Sarah Wilson Sokhey, “Reversing Pension Policy in Russia...Again,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, August 7, 2018 (available at: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/08/reversing-pension-policy-in-russia-again/>)

#### Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Timothy Colton and Michael McFaul, “Are Russians Undemocratic?” Carnegie Center Working Paper, 2001
- 2) OSCE Preliminary Findings on Russian parliamentary elections in December 2011
- 3) OSCE Preliminary Findings on Russian presidential elections in March 2012
- 4) Ora John Reuter, “Regional patrons and hegemonic party electoral performance in Russia,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 29:2, pp. 101-135.

## **Week 9 – 2018 in Russian Politics**

### **Monday, March 11 – Presidential & Regional Elections in 2018**

#### Required reading

- 1) Kirill Rogov, “Stress Test for the Russian Administrative Machine,” *Point & Counterpoint*, November 6, 2018.
- 2) Maria Lipman with Natalia Zubaravich, Alexey Titkov, and Denis Volkov, “The Moscow Mayoral Election: Just as Non-Intriguing as All Other Regional Races Held in Russia on September 9,” *Point & Counterpoint*, September 8, 2018.
- 3) Sarah Rainsford, “Russia election: Putin basks in election he could not lose,” *BBC*, March 19, 2018.
- 4) Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, “‘You’re A Whore,’ Zhirinovskiy Barks at Sobchak during Presidential Debate,” February 28, 2018.

#### Optional reading for extra credit

*Note: Danilo Gjukovikj is a current CU undergraduate student who has been published twice in The Washington Post. You should keep in mind articles like these when working on your policy brief due at the end of next week.*

- 1) Danilo Gjukovikj and Sarah Wilson Sokhey, “This is why the West should pay attention to the drama in Macedonia,” *Washington Post*, May 29, 2017.
- 2) Danilo Gjukovikj, “After 27 years, Greece and Macedonia have resolved their contentious ‘naming dispute’ Here’s how.” *Washington Post*, August 2, 2018.

**Wednesday, March 13**

**\*\*No in-class session on this day\*\***

Note: You can see Michael McFaul's *Washington Post* column here: <https://michaelfaul.com/washington-post-column>. Today's reading gives you an American perspective.

Required reading

- 1) Michael McFaul, "Why Vladimir Putin is a terrible strategist," *Washington Post*, December 17, 2018
- 2) Michael McFaul, "Putin wanted to interrogate me. Trump called it 'an incredible offer.' Why?" *Washington Post*, July 27, 2018.

Required for this day of class

- 1) Watch video lecture before the end of class time at 1:50pm.
- 2) Comment & Discuss online: You are required to: 1) write 2 questions or comments about the video lecture and 2) respond to (at least) 2 comments or questions. This counts as an in-class assignment. This should be completed before the end of class time at 1:50pm.

**Friday, March 15 (POLICY BRIEF DUE by 5pm)**

**\*\*No in-class session on this day\*\***

Required:

- 1) Watch video lecture on Canvas before class time ends at 1:50pm.
- 2) Turn in policy brief on Canvas (due by 5pm on Friday, March 15).

**Week 10 – Midterm Exam #2**

**Monday, March 18 – Current Events**

Required

- 1) Read & comment on current affairs articles on Canvas before class time.

**Wednesday, March 20 - Review**

**Friday, March 22 – Midterm Exam #2 (Bring a blue exam book)**

**Week 11: Spring Break (March 25-29)**

<b>Topic 4: Russia in Comparative Perspective</b>
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**Week 12 – Post-Communist Transitions**

**Monday, April 1**

Required reading

- 1) Gail Kligman & Stephanie Limoncelli, "Trafficking Women After Socialism: To, Through, and From Eastern Europe," *Social Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 118-140

Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Ekaterina Botchkovar, Vanessa Bouche, Amy Farrell, and Dana Wittmer, "Gauging Public Opinion on Human Trafficking in Moldova and Albania," Research and Innovations Grants Working Papers Series, USAID, May 27, 2016.
- 2) Vanessa Bouche, Amy Farrell, Dana Wittmer, "Identifying Effective Counter-Trafficking Programs and Practices in the U.S.: Legislative, Legal, and Public Opinion Strategies that Work," January 2016. Available here: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/249670.pdf>.

### Wednesday, April 3

#### Required reading

- 1) Lauren McCarthy, "Beyond Corruption: An Assessment of Russian Law Enforcement's Fight against Human Trafficking," *Demokratiya*, 2010.

#### Required before class

- Post an abstract (a paragraph) summarizing your policy report. Upload your policy brief as an attachment to your post. Your abstract and report will be publicly available to the class.

#### Optional reading for extra credit (which includes other social topics)

- 1) *Sex trafficking*: Documentary on trafficking of women in the post-communist era: Mimi Chakarova, "The Price of Sex" (available at: [www.priceofsex.org](http://www.priceofsex.org))
- 2) *Healthcare*: Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, "Sick Man of Europe," 2005, pp. 179-196
- 3) *Military*: Peter Baker & Susan Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, "Runaway Military," 2005, pp. 179-196
- 4) *Demographic issues*: Mukesh Chawla, Gordon Betcherman, and Arup Banerji, *From Red to Gray*, World Bank, 2007, pp. 1-13 (overview), 22-34 (sections on pensions and healthcare)
- 5) *Corruption*: Federico Varese, *The Russian Mafia*, Intro, Conclusion, and Chapter 3
- 6) *Children*: Documentary: *Children Underground* (Edet Belzberg, 2001); about orphan's living in the subway in Bucharest, Romania

### Friday, April 5: Discussing Policy Briefs Online

**\*\*No in-class session on this day\*\***

#### Required comments on policy brief on Canvas (due before class time ends at 1:50pm)

- Read the policy brief by another student that you were assigned to read.
- Post 3 questions (on Canvas) regarding the policy report you were assigned to read.
- Respond to the 3 questions asked about your policy report.
- OPTIONAL for extra credit: Comment on an additional policy report and post an additional question or questions. If you received extra questions, you can respond to these for extra credit. For two additional comments or responses (beyond those required), you will get a "100" as an in-class assignment. You may get up to 2 additional in-class assignments this way (and no more than 2 additional in-class assignments for this extra credit opportunity).

## Week 13 – Democracy & the Market In-Class Simulation, Part 1

### Monday, April 8 – The Theory & Reality of Economic Reform

#### Required reading

- 1) Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, Chapter 4: The political dynamics of economic reform, pp. 136-139 (just read the introduction section to the chapter) and Conclusion, pp. 188-191
- 2) Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All," *World Politics*, 1998.

#### Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) John Earle and Scott Gehlbach, "Did Mass Privatization Really Increase Mortality?" *The Lancet*, 375 (9712), 2010, pp.1-9 (Spoiler alert: They say no.)

### Wednesday, April 10

#### Required reading

- 1) Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets after Communism*, 2010, Intro and Conclusion, pp. 1-20, 244-253. The Frye book gives you an excellent example of current political science research on post-communist political economy. We will read 6 chapters of this book as we complete a simulation in

class in which you will form parties and participate in elections. Your participation in the simulation in Weeks 13 and 14 counts towards your participation grade in the class.

Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Read Timothy Frye, “*My Perestroika and Russian Politics*”

**Friday, April 12**

**\*\*No in-class session on this day\*\***

Required for this day of class:

- 1) Comment & discuss current affairs articles before class time.
- 2) Online discussion & strategizing with your group for the simulation (due before class time ends at 1:50pm). You are required to make comments and respond to others on this day as part of your class participation for this day of class. A prompt will be provided in a discussion group online.

**Week 14 – Democracy & the Market In-Class Simulation, Part 2**

**Monday, April 15**

Required reading

- 1) **Russia & Bulgaria cases:** Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets after Communism*, 2010, Russia and Bulgaria Chapters, pp. 168-212.

**Wednesday, April 17**

Required reading

- 1) **Poland & Uzbekistan cases:** Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets after Communism*, 2010, Poland and Uzbekistan chapters, 213-243

Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) Report, 1999 (D2L); This report provides a good review of the arguments made by Przeworski and Hellman and an excellent overview of the trends across countries in the late 1990s.

**Friday, April 19**

Required reading

- 1) Comment & discuss current affairs articles on Canvas before class time.

**Week 15 – Conflict Ukraine, 2013-present**

**Monday, April 22 – The Beginnings of the Recent Conflict**

Required reading

- 1) **Ukrainian perspective:** Andrey Kurkov, *Ukraine Diaries: Dispatches from Kiev*, Random House, 2014, pages 1-26 and pages 136-163 (posted in 2 separate PDFs on Canvas)
- 2) **Russian perspective:** Kremlin Press Release, “Vladimir Putin answered journalists’ questions on the situation in Ukraine,” March 4, 2014.
- 3) **American perspective:** Michael McFaul, “To Beat Putin, Support Ukraine,” *New York Times*, August 6, 2014.

### **Wednesday, April 24 – Where are We Now?**

#### Required reading

- 1) Mikhail Alexseev, “How Do Ukrainians Want to End the Donbas War?” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 555, December 2018.
- 2) Serhiy Kudelia, “Martial Law and Presidential Powers in Ukraine,” Presidential Power blog, December 12, 2018, available at: <http://presidential-power.com/?p=9070>

### **Friday, April 26**

#### Required reading

- 1) Read & comment on current affairs articles on Canvas before class time.

#### Optional reading for extra credit

- 1) Andrey Kurkov’s novels, *Death and the Penguin* (originally published in Russian in 1996, English translation in 2001), and *Penguin Lost* (originally published in Russian in 2005, English translation in 2010). I cannot recommend these novels highly enough!
- 2) Lilia Shvetsova, “The Russia Factor,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July), 2014, pp. 74-82
- 3) Hiski Haukkala, “From Cooperative to Contested Europe? The Conflict in Ukraine as a Culmination of a Long-Term Crisis in EU-Russia Relations,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 23:1, 2015; focus on pages 30-37 about the recent era
- 4) Vladimir Mau, “Between crises and sanctions: economic policy of the Russian Federation,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 2015, pp. 1-28.

### **Week 16 –Russia Around the World**

### **Monday, April 29**

#### Required reading:

- 1) Kimberly Marten, “Into Africa: Prigozhin, Wagner, and the Russian Military,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 561, January 2019.
- 2) Dmitry Gorenburg, “Circumstances Have Changed Since 1991, but Russia’s Core Foreign Policy Goals Have Not,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 560, January 2019.

### **Wednesday, May 1 – Last Day of Class & last day to submit extra credit reaction papers**

#### Required reading

- 1) Read & comment on current affairs articles on Canvas.

### **Friday, May 3 – Official University Reading Day (No Class)**

**FINAL EXAM – Monday, May 6, 1:30-4pm**  
**In our regular classroom**  
**Bring a blue exam book**