

Russian Politics
Political Science 334

Fall 2019
TR 2:30 – 3:45 Ingraham 120

Professor Kathryn Hendley (khendley@wisc.edu)

Website: <https://canvas.wisc.edu/courses/165307>

Classlist: polisci334-1-f19@lists.wisc.edu

Office Hours: 12:30-2pm on Thursdays in 9101 Law Building (263-5135) or by appointment
Also available on Tuesdays & Thursdays from 7:10-8:10am in 9101 Law Building

RUSSIAN POLITICS

Course Description: A historic transition began with the collapse of the USSR in 1991. Russia proclaimed its desire to break with its authoritarian past and to become a market democracy. The rise of Putin has brought a return to authoritarianism with a veneer of democracy. During the upcoming semester, we will assess the twists and turns of post-Soviet Russia and try to determine what the future holds for Russia. We will focus primarily on three key goals which Russia has set for itself: democracy, the market, and the rule of law. In each case, we begin by defining the concept and then turn to its applicability in the Soviet and post-Soviet context. In an effort to understand the legacy with which Russia was confronted when the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991, we begin with a brief survey of the Soviet era.

Course Requirements: Students are expected to attend class regularly and to take part in class discussion. There will be mid-term and final examinations. There are two writing assignments. For the first assignment, students will be required to write a short essay (4-5 pages) reflecting on the readings for one class meeting. A schedule for this assignment will be posted on the course website. Two cautionary notes: (1) these essays must be turned in during the class period for which the readings being discussed are assigned, and (2) students will be expected to participate actively in the class discussion on the day the essay is due. The grade for participation (10%) will be determined largely based on performance on this day. The second writing assignment requires students to write an essay (8-9 pages) based on *Putin Country* by Anne Garrels (the “Garrels Paper”). Details about the requirements for the Garrels paper are on the course web page. This paper must be submitted in class on **Tuesday, November 19th**. Students interested in receiving honors credit for the course must consult with the instructor by **September 19th**, to set up additional assignment(s).

Course requirements for graduate students are detailed on a separate syllabus.

Grades: Final grades will be calculated on the following basis: final exam (30%), mid-term exam (25%), Garrels paper (20%), in-class quizzes on the readings (5%), participation paper (10%), and class participation (10%). There will be at least three in-class quizzes with simple multiple choice questions. One is scheduled for October 8th, and will cover the readings on *Sofia Petrovna*, *Gulag Archipelago*, and *Secondhand Time*. The other two will be unannounced.

Readings: A reading packet has been prepared and is posted on the course website. If desired, students can get a hard copy of this reader by going to the Law School Copy Shop, located on the ground floor of the law school, or ordering a copy on the Copy Shop’s website (https://law.wisc.edu/copyshop/course_packet_request.html). The cost is \$33.

Students should purchase all of the following books. They are available at the University Bookstore:

Lydia Chukovskaya, *Sofia Petrovna* (Northwestern University Press, 1994)

Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics 1917-1991* (Oxford University Press, 1992)

Stephen Wegren, ed., *Putin’s Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018, 7th ed.)

Anne Garrels, *Putin Country: A Journey Into the Real Russia* (Picador, 2017)

Course Credit-Hour Expectations: This is a 3-credit course. It meets for two 75-minute sessions each week over the fall semester and carries the expectation that students will work on course learning activities (reading, writing, assignments, studying, etc.) for about 3 hours out of the classroom for every class period.

Learning Outcomes for Russian Politics:

- Increase knowledge of the trajectory of political life in Russia from 1917 through the present
- Learn the theoretical and institutional underpinnings of democracy, markets and the rule of law, and how to structure an argument as to the presence or absence of these institutions
- Improve oral advocacy skills through classroom discussion

Academic Integrity Statement: By enrolling in this course, each student assumes the responsibilities of an active participant in UW Madison's community of scholars in which all academic work and behavior are held to the highest standards. Cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, and helping others commit these acts are examples of academic misconduct, which can result in disciplinary action. This includes, but is not limited to, failure on the assignment/course, disciplinary probation, or suspension. Substantial or repeated cases of misconduct will be forwarded to the Office of Student Conduct & Community Standards for additional review. For more information, refer to <https://conduct.students.wisc.edu/academic-integrity/>

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: The University of Wisconsin-Madison supports the right of all enrolled students to a full and equal educational opportunity. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Wisconsin State Statute (36.12), and UW-Madison policy (Faculty Document 1071) require that students with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in instruction and campus life. Reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities is a shared faculty and student responsibility. Students are expected to inform faculty of their need for instructional accommodations by the end of the third week of the semester or as soon as possible after a disability has been incurred or recognized. Faculty will work either directly with the student or in coordination with the McBurney Center to identify and provide reasonable instructional accommodations. Disability information, including instructional accommodations as part of a student's educational record, is confidential and protected under FERPA. <https://mcburney.wisc.edu/facstaffother/faculty/syllabus.php>

Diversity & Inclusion: Diversity is a source of strength, creativity, and innovation for UW-Madison. We value the contributions of each person and respect the profound ways their identity, culture, background, experience, status, abilities, and opinion enrich the university community. We commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence in teaching, research, outreach, and diversity as inextricably linked goals.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison fulfills its public mission by creating a welcoming and inclusive community for people from every background – people who as students, faculty and staff serve Wisconsin and the world. <https://diversity.wisc.edu/>

Please notify the instructor within the first two weeks of class of any specific days that you will need to miss a class due to religious observances.

PART I: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

- Sept 5** **Introduction**
Transcript of interview with Putin, June 26, 2019, *Financial Times*
Frye, “Putin Touts Russia as a Great Power. But He’s Made It a Weak One,”
Washington Post, June 6, 2019
- Sept 10** **Revolution: Lenin Comes to Power – The Creation of the USSR**
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 1-2
Litveiko, “In 1917,” *In the Shadow of the Revolution*, pp. 49-65
Sebag Montefiore, “What If the Russian Revolution Had Never Happened? *New York Times*, November 6, 2017
Levada Center, Lenin’s Mausoleum, December 21, 2017
- Sept 12** **Becoming a World Power: The Soviet Union Under Stalin**
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 3-4
Figs, *The Whisperers*, pp. 122-132
Levy, “A New View of a Famine that Killed Millions,” *New York Times*, March 16, 2009
Luhn, “Stalin, Russia’s New Hero,” *New York Times*, March 11, 2016
Levada Center, “Perceptions of Stalin,” April 14, 2018
- Sept 17** **Muddling Through: The Soviet Union Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev**
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 5-6
Kramer, “A River of Pictures of the Dead from Russia’s Sacred War,” *New York Times*, May 11, 2018
Young, *Growing Up in Moscow: Memories of a Soviet Girlhood*, pp. 116-42
Cook & Dimitrov, “The Social Contract Revisited,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 69:1, pp. 10-12, 2017
Safire, “The Cold War’s Hot Kitchen,” *New York Times*, July 24, 2009
Taubman, “How a Speech Won the Cold War,” *New York Times*, February 25, 2006
- Sept 19** **The Unraveling of the Soviet’s Union Under Gorbachev & the Revival of Russia Under Yeltsin**
McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, ch. 7-8
Alexievich, *Secondhand Time*, pp. 20-24, 135-7
MacFarquhar, “Reviled by Many Russians, Mikhail Gorbachev Still Has a Lot To Say,” *New York Times*, June 2, 2016
Yablokova, “15 Years On, Coup Is a Dim Memory,” *Moscow Times*, Aug. 18, 2006
Text of Yeltsin’s Resignation Speech, *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 2000
Applebaum, “Russia’s Agent of Change; For All His Flaws, Boris Yeltsin Started Something Big,” *Washington Post*, April 24, 2007 [Western perspective on Yeltsin at the time of his death]
Lipman, “Yeltsin the Revolutionary,” *Washington Post*, April 25, 2007 [Russian perspective on Yeltsin at the time of his death]

- Sept 24** **Understanding Russia’s Place in the World: The Soviet Legacy**
 Kennan, “The United States and the Soviet Union, 1917-1976,” *Foreign Affairs*, (1976), reprinted in *Soviet Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, pp. 325-47
 Thompson, *Russia and the Soviet Union*, 6th ed., pp. 270-79, 284-91, 297-301, 315-19
 Arbatov, *The Soviet Viewpoint*, pp. 53-59
 MacFarquhar, “At Summit Meetings, Kremlin Often Tried to Steamroller U.S. Presidents,” *New York Times*, July 14, 2018
- Sept 26** **Understanding Russia’s Place in the World: The Post-Soviet Reality**
 Wegren ed., *Putin’s Russia*, chapters 10 & 11
 Ryzhkov, “Why We Should Welcome Russia Rejoining PACE [Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe],” *Moscow Times*, June 26, 2019
 Chernenko, “What Makes Putin So Popular At Home? His Reputation Abroad,” *New York Times*, March 16, 2018
 MacFarquhar, “Outrage Grows as Russia Grants Passports in Eastern Ukraine,” *New York Times*, May 7, 2019
- Oct 1** **Contemporary Challenges**
 Wegren ed., *Return to Putin’s Russia*, chapters 1, 6 & 8
 Alexievich, *Secondhand Time*, pp. 297-301
 Semukhina & Reynolds, “Russian Citizens’ Perceptions of Corruption and Trust of the Police,” *Policing & Society*, 24:2, pp. 161-3, 171, 174-5, 180-1, 2014
 Kramer, “Collapsed High-Rise an Emblem of Russian Hardships: Failing Infrastructure Risks More Disasters,” *New York Times*, January 6, 2019
 Kramer, “As Rural Wages Crater, Russian Doctors Leave or Take to the Streets,” *New York Times*, May 26, 2019

PART III: IS RUSSIA MAKING A TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY?

- Oct 3** **Defining Democracy & Applying it to Soviet and Post-Soviet Realities**
 Schmitter & Karl, “What Democracy is ... and is Not,” in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, pp. 49-62, 1996
 Levitsky & Way, “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism,” *Journal of Democracy*,” vol. 13, pp. 53-58, 2002
 Hazard, *The Soviet System of Government*, pp. 14-25, 41-56, 217-8
 McAuley, *Soviet Politics*, chs. 1-3 (review)
- Oct 8** **Stalinist Terror: Authoritarianism in Action**
 Chukhovskaya, *Sofia Petrovna*
 Excerpt from Stalinist criminal code (Article 58)
 Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag Archipelago*, pp. 60-68
 Alexievich, *Secondhand Time*, pp. 32-3, 68-70, 176-85
 Kramer, “Yes, a Lot of People Died, But ...,” *New York Times*, August 12, 2007
 Gessen, “Is It 1937 Yet?” *New York Times*, May 5, 2015
 Levada Center, “The Great Terror,” September 6, 2017 [public opinion poll results]

In-Class Quiz on *Sofia Petrovna*, *Gulag Archipelago*, and *Secondhand Time*

- Oct 10** ***Demokratizatsiya: Institutional Innovations During the Gorbachev Era***
 White, *Russia's New Politics*, pp. 1-33
 Alexievich, *Secondhand Time*, pp. 58-63
 Steele, "Mikhail Gorbachev: I Should Have Abandoned the Communist Party Earlier," *The Guardian*, Aug. 16, 2011
- Oct 15** **Political Parties and Elections – Part I**
 Moser, "The Impact of Parliamentary Electoral Systems in Russia," in *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 195-207
 Rose, "How Floating Parties Frustrate Democratic Accountability," in *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 215-223
- Oct 17** **Political Parties and Elections – Part II**
 Wegren, ed., *Putin's Russia*, pp. 189-98
 Reuter, "Political Parties," in *Developments in Russian Politics 9*, pp. 42-53
- Oct 22** **Reinventing Legislative and Executive Power**
 Ryabov, "Legislative-Executive Relations," *Between Dictatorship and Democracy*, pp. 83-94
 Noble, "Parliamentary Politics in Russia," in *Developments in Russian Politics 9*, pp. 56-66
 Jarmas, "Families of Victims of Russia's Mall Fire Are Angry. What Does This Mean for Putin's Power?" *Washington Post*, March 29, 2018
 Trudolyubov, "A Guide to Getting Along in Putin's Russia," *New York Times*, April 16, 2018
- Oct 24** **Federalism: The Rise and Fall of Regional Leaders**
 Hazard, *The Soviet System of Government*, pp. 81-97
 Wegren, ed., *Putin's Russia*, Chapter 2
 Golosov & Tkacheva, "Let My People Run: Pre-Election Resignations of Russia's Governors, 2013-2015," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 65:4, pp. 243-49, 2018
 Gershkovich, "'Time for Radical Measures': Lyubov Sobol Is Seizing the Protest Moment," *Moscow Times*, July 30, 2019 [available on web site]
- Oct 29** **State-Society Relationship: Civil Society (part 1)**
 Wegren, ed., *Putin's Russia*, Chapter 4
 Chulkovskaya, "StopHam: The End of the Road for Russia's Parking Vigilantes?" *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, April 4, 2016
 Cichowlas, "Patriarch Kirill: From Ambitious Reformer to State Hardliner," *Moscow Times*, April 14, 2017
 Hartog, "What Happens to a Pollster When Russia Doesn't Like the Results," *The Guardian*, September 16, 2017
 Alexeeva, "In Russia, Human Rights Groups Need Western Aid More Than Ever," *Washington Post*, February 24, 2016
 Nechepurenko, "After Protests, Putin Halts Cathedral Project," *New York Times* May 18, 2019

- Oct 31** **Civil Society – part 2 (media & gender)**
 Wegren, ed., *Putin's Russia*, Chapters 5 & pp. 198-203
 Taubman, *Gorbachev*, pp. 240-43 [Chernobyl]
 Kramer, "In Russia, Days of Fake News and Real Radiation after Deadly Explosion," *New York Times*, August 12, 2019 [available on website]
 Van Sant, "Russia Criminalizes the Spread of Online News Which 'Disrespects' the Government," NPR, March 18, 2019
 MacFarquhar, "Inside the Russian Troll Factory: Zombies and a Breakneck Pace," *New York Times*, February 18, 2019 – for background watch "How Russian Bots Invade Our Elections" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZmrIkRDMsU> [links to both the article & video on website]
 Gessen, "The Release of Ivan Golunov and the Power of Collective Action in Russia," *New Yorker*, June 18, 2019
 Higgins, "Battered Russian Women, Widely Ignored by Police, Turn to European Courts," *New York Times*, July 11, 2019
 Spring, "Russia Had a #MeToo Moment," *Moscow Times*, Nov. 7, 2018
 Stanley, "Sexual Harassment Thrives in the New Russian Climate," *New York Times*, April 17, 1994
 Ferris-Rotman, "Russian Women Find a Punchline in the Age of #MeToo," *Washington Post*, August 11, 2019 [on website]

Nov 5 **MID-TERM EXAM**

PART III: IS RUSSIA MAKING A TRANSITION TO A MARKET ECONOMY?

- Nov 7** **Starting Point: Plans and Markets in Theory & Reality**
 Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*, pp. 33-46, 78-85
 Millar, *The ABCs of Soviet Socialism*, pp. 3-33
 Schroeder, "Soviet Economic 'Reform' Decrees: More Steps on the Treadmill," *Soviet Economy in the 1980s*, pp. 65-68, 82-88
 Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favors*, pp. 1-9
 Grossman, "The 'Second Economy' of the USSR," *Problems of Communism* (1977), pp. 25-40
 Voinovich, "Id Be Honest If They'd Let Me," *Four Soviet Masterpieces* [on web]
- Nov 12** ***Perestroika: Trying to Make the Planned Economy Efficient***
 **
 Before class: listen to "The New Norm" – episode of Invisibilia (June 17, 2016) [deals with challenges to opening the first McDonald's in Moscow in 1991] <https://www.npr.org/programs/invisibilia/481887848/the-new-norm?showDate=2016-06-17> [listen to the first few minutes, then jump to minute 43 for this story]
 Hewett, *Reforming the Soviet Economy* (1988), pp. 303-33
 Smith, *The New Russians*, pp. 179-205
- Nov 14** **Privatization: The Impact of Market Reforms**
 Murrell, "What is Shock Therapy? What Did it Do in Poland and Russia?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 9:2, pp. 111-37, 1993
 Blasi, Kroumova, Kruse, *Kremlin Capitalism*, pp. 26-47
 Alexievich, *Secondhand Time*, pp. 36-7

- Nov 19** **Post-Privatization Reality**
 Brady, *Kapitalizm*, pp. 135-42, 206-7
 Ledeneva, *Russia's Economy of Favors*, pp. 175-92
 LaFraniere, "The Cashless Society: Bartering Chokes Russian Economy," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 3, 1998
 Desai & Idson, *Work Without Wages*, pp. 48-59

GARRELS PAPERS DUE IN CLASS ON NOV 19TH

- Nov 21** **"Recovery" Under Putin: Real or Illusory?**
 Wegren, ed., *Return to Putin's Russia*, Chapter 7
 Illarionov, "Russia, Inc.," *New York Times*, February 4, 2006
 MacFarquhar, "Putin or the World? Sanctions May Force Oligarchs to Choose," *New York Times*, April 22, 2018
 Kissi, "Amid International Pressure, Russia's Economy is a Mix of the Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," CNBC.com, May, 4, 2018
 Kramer, "Selling Real Estate in Russia? Are You Insane, or Just Drunk?" *New York Times*, December 26, 2018
 Nechepurenko & Kramer, "Putin Aims to Revive the Economy with a Plan. And Pianos," *New York Times*, June 5, 2019

PART IV: IS RUSSIA MAKING A TRANSITION TO THE RULE OF LAW?

- Nov 26** **Starting Point: Defining the Rule of Law & the Role of Law During the Soviet Era**
 Fuller, *The Morality of Law*, pp. 33-41
 Hendley, *Everyday Law in Russia*, pp. 1-5, 9-14
 Excerpt from Stalinist criminal code (Article 58)
 Excerpt from 1936 (Stalin) Constitution
 Excerpt from the 1977 (Brezhnev) Constitution
 Hazard, "The Evolution of the Soviet Constitution," *Toward the 'Rule of Law' in Russia?*, pp. 93-103
 Feofanov & Barry, "The Trial of Ian Rokotov," *Politics and Justice in Russia* (1996), pp. 22-31
- Nov 28** **Thanksgiving break – no class**
- Dec 3** **Reforms to the Legal System Under Gorbachev**
 Hendley, *Trying to Make Law Matter* (1996), pp. 34-45
 Shanker, "Gorbachev Seeks Protests, Rally Ban," *Chicago Tribune*, April 10, 1991
 Excerpt from the 1977 Constitution, as revised
 Hazard, "The Evolution of the Soviet Constitution," *Toward the 'Rule of Law' in Russia?*, pp. 103-9
 Sharlet, "The Fate of Individual Rights in the Age of Perestroika," *Toward the 'Rule of Law' in Russia?*, pp. 197-213

Dec 5

Reforms to the Legal System in Post-Soviet Russia

Wegren, ed., *Return to Putin's Russia*, Chapter 3

Trochev, "Judicial Selection in Russia: Towards Accountability and Centralization," in *Appointing Judges in an Age of Judicial Power*, pp. 375-90

Baker & Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, pp. 231-50

Barry, "In Russia, Jury is Something to Work Around," *New York Times*, November 16, 2010

Excerpt from the 1993 (Yeltsin) Constitution

Dec 10

Assessing the Present-Day Role of Law

Hendley, *Everyday Law in Russia*, pp. 142-55, 165-78

Pomerantsev, *Nothing is True and Everything is Possible*, pp. 79-104

Bogush, "Criminalisation of Free Speech," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 69, pp. 1245-6, 1249-50, 1254-5, 2017

Rankin, "Russian 'Gay Propaganda' Law Ruled Discriminatory by European Court," *Guardian*, June 20, 2017

"On the Counteraction of Extremist Activity," passed in 2002, revised in 2006

Lunkin, "Russia's Crackdown on Jehovah's Witnesses Hits Critical Milestone," *Moscow Times*, February 7, 2019

MacFarquhar, "They Killed Their Abusive Husbands. Their Acquittals Shocked Russia," *New York Times*, September 8, 2018

FINAL EXAM: SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 2019 2:45PM – 4:45PM