

Department of Political Science
Carleton University

Winter 2006

PSCI 3208A
Reform and Political Change in the Russian Federation
Lecture: Fridays 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m., 413 SA

Professor Andrea Chandler

Phone: 520- 2600 extension 1418

E-mail: Andrea.Chandler@carleton.ca (Inquiries **only**; *do not send assignments* by e-mail)

Office: Loeb D692

Office hours: Monday, 10:00- 11:30 and 2:30-3:30; Friday 10:00-11:30, or by appointment

Course description:

This course examines the politics of reform in the Russian Federation, from the historical roots of the Soviet Union to the presidency of Vladimir Putin following his election in March 2000. The course will employ various analytical approaches used to explain the political difficulties involved with economic, political and constitutional reform in Russia, with attention to the lasting historical and institutional effects of Soviet communism. The goals of the course are to explore a survey overview of Russian politics; to examine critically some of the major theoretical and analytical approaches that scholars have employed to try to explain the unpredictable path of politics in this part of the world from 1985 to the present; to encourage students to develop skills for researching Russian politics; and to discuss the dilemmas that post-Soviet politics raises for our understanding of political change in general. Scheduled discussions, based on group work, are an integral part of the course. Written assignments are intended to encourage students to read sources critically and to engage in thoughtful analysis based on thorough research.

The course focuses on the Russian Federation, a country that claims eighty-nine republics and regions, ranging from the capital city of Moscow to the separatist republic of Chechnya. For fifteen years, post-communist Russia has defied the predictions and challenged the theories of political scientists. Russia continues to fascinate because of its bouts of sudden political tumult while basic institutional structures remain relatively resilient to change. This course will explore various possible answers to the question: what factors account for Russia's seemingly unique political evolution?

Textbooks: (ordered for purchase in university bookstore)

Thomas F. Remington, *Politics in Russia*. 4th edition. New York: Pearson-Longman, 2006.

A course reader of additional required readings for the course has been compiled and is available for purchase in the university bookstore. Readings can also be found on reserve in McOdrum library. All assigned readings are compulsory.

Course Requirements:

- Class attendance and participation in structured group work discussions: **10%**. In the course, we will have **four** structured group work discussions: January 20; February 10; March 3; and March 24. All students are required to attend, to participate actively in the group work discussions, and to prepare for these discussions by reading the assigned reading in advance. Attendance will be recorded and will be considered in the calculation of each student's participation mark. Participation will be evaluated **individually** for all students on the basis of their cumulative constructive contributions to focussed class discussions.
- Two 3-page papers on structured group work discussions: **20%** (each paper weighted equally at 10%). Each student is **required** to submit two brief papers, each of which assesses the results of one of the scheduled course discussions (meaning that students will choose two of the four discussions for the term, and write one written assignment on each of the two). In the paper the student should discuss: the positions by various groups in the discussion; the results of the group work discussion; and how those results relate to the issues raised in the assigned readings for the course. The first 3-page paper is due **February 17** and should be based on one of the first two discussions; the second is due **April 7** and should be based on one of the last two discussions.
- Final paper, **30%, due April 10, 2006**. The final assignment is a written research paper, 10-15 typed, double-spaced pages in length, which must be submitted to the instructor in hard copy. The instructor must approve all students' paper topics in advance. Early in the term, the instructor will give students a list of suggested paper topics. See the end of this course outline for suggested additional readings.
- **Final examination: 40%**. The examination will take place in the regularly scheduled examination period (April 10 – 29, 2006). Students will be responsible for all material covered in the course, including lectures, readings and discussions.

All course requirements must be completed to receive a passing grade. Written assignments must be handed in to Professor Chandler personally. Marks will be deducted for lateness. Late penalties will be assessed on the basis of the date that the instructor receives the paper. Exceptions will be considered for medical reasons (with appropriate documentation) or a family emergency. University deadlines for handing in term assignments will apply. Once term assignments are graded, students may collect their completed papers during the instructor's scheduled office hours, or by providing a stamped, self-addressed envelope in which the assignment may be returned by mail.

*All written assignments should answer a specific question and make a clear argument, providing facts and evidence to back up statements made. Papers should analyze, rather than describe, the issues and events discussed. All papers should use footnotes or endnotes to acknowledge sources consulted, and provide a complete bibliography. In particular, the final assignment is a research paper and should demonstrate that you have consulted a range of scholarly sources: a minimum of eight published books or articles. Footnotes should be complete and accurate, inserted into the text of your paper as appropriate whenever you have referred to someone else's idea, argument, or research. Any time you quote directly from a source, the citation should be indicated in quotation marks and footnoted. Quotations from secondary sources are to be avoided, as are quotations of more than fifty words in length from any one source. *** If you are unsure about how to use footnotes or endnotes, please see the instructor for advice. Students who do not write the final examination, but whose term work is otherwise complete and satisfactory, will receive a grade of ABS.*

Schedule of course discussions and readings:

Week 1. Introduction (January 6)

Week 2. The Soviet experience and the impact of centralization (January 13)

Remington, chapter 1 and pp. 31-44, 93-99, 122-125.

Week 3. *Perestroika* and the decline of the Communist Party. *Discussion* (January 20)

Alexander Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1992, pp. 279-302.

Remington, pp. 44-53, 99-108, 131-36.

Week 4. The collapse of the USSR; "shock therapy" (January 27)

Remington, pp. 192-212.

R. Judson Mitchell and Randall S. Arrington, "Gorbachev, Ideology and the Fate of Soviet Communism," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 33 (2000), pp. 457-74.

Week 5. Constitutional Clashes (February 3)

Remington, chapter 3.

Michael Urban, "The Politics of Identity in Russia's Postcommunist Transition: the Nation against Itself." *Slavic Review*, vol. 53, no. 3, fall 1994, pp. 733-65.

Week 6: Constitutional Clashes – Discussion (February 10)

(Review readings from Week 5)

Week 7. Democratization, parties and elections I (February 17)

Remington, chapter 6.

Robert G. Moser, *Unexpected Outcomes: Electoral Systems, Political Parties and Representation in Russia*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001, chapter 4, "Electoral Systems and Women's Representation in Russia," pp. 32-55.

Matthew Wyman, "The Russian Elections of 1995 and 1996," *Electoral Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1997, pp. 79-86.

READING WEEK FEBRUARY 20-24 NO CLASS

Week 8: Democratization, parties and elections, II: Discussion (March 3)

Review readings for Week 6, plus:

Richard Rose, "A Supply-Side View of Russian Elections," *East European Constitutional Review*, vol. 9, no. 1/2, winter-spring 2000, pp. 53-59.

Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul, "Reinventing Russia's Party of Power: Unity and the 1999 Duma Election," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 3, July-September 2000, pp. 201-224.

Andrei V. Berezkin, Mikhail Myagkov, and Peter C. Ordeshook, "The Urban-Rural Divide in the Russian Electorate and the Effect of Distance from the Urban Centers," *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics*, vol. 40, no. 6, September 1999, pp. 395-406.

Hale, Henry E., Michael McFaul and Timothy J. Colton, "Putin and the 'Delegative Democracy' Trap: Evidence from Russia's 2003-04 Elections," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 285-319.

Week 9. Who controls the regions? (March 10)

Stephen K. Wegren, "Socioeconomic Transformation in Russia: where is the rural elite?" *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 52, no. 2, March 2000, pp. 237-72.

C. Ross, "Putin's Federal Reforms and the Consolidation of Federalism in Russia: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back!" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 36 (2003), pp. 29-47.

Week 10. "A dictatorship of law and order?" The politicization of governance (March 17)

Remington, chapter 8.

Robert Sharlet, "Putin and the Politics of Law in Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2001, pp. 195-234.

Marshall I. Goldman, "The Yukos Affair," *Current History*, 103/675, October 2004, pp. 319-23.

Week 11. (March 24) Social Implications of Market Reform (Discussion)

Remington, chapter 5.

Linda J. Cook. "Institutional and Political Legacies of the Socialist Welfare State," in David Lane, ed. *The Legacy of State Socialism and the Future of Transformation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, pp.107-25.

Week 12. Foreign Policy (March 31)

Remington, chapter 9.

Allen C. Lynch, "The Realism of Russia's Foreign Policy," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1, 2001, pp. 7-31.

Robert Cottrell, "The Emperor Putin," *New York Review of Books*, 10 February 2005, pp. 19-22.

Suggested Additional Readings:

Joseph E. Stiglitz, "Who Lost Russia?" in *Globalization and its Discontents*, New York: Norton, 2002.

Timothy J. Colton, *Transitional Citizens: Voters and What Influences them in the New Russia*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Archie Brown, ed. *Contemporary Russian Politics: a Reader*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Mark G. Field and Judyth L. Twigg, eds. *Russia's Torn Safety Nets: Health and Social Welfare During the Transition*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Timothy Frye, *Brokers and Bureaucrats: Building Market Institutions in Russia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Luke March, "For Victory? The Crises and Dilemmas of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2001, 263-90.

Andrei P. Tsygankov, "The Final Triumph of the Pax Americana? Western Intervention in Yugoslavia and Russia's Debate on the Post-Cold War Order," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 34 (2001) 133-56.

Archie Brown, "Vladimir Putin and the Reaffirmation of Central State Power," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2001, pp. 45-55.

Paul Chaisty and Petra Schleiter, "Productive but not Valued: The Russian State Duma, 1994-2001," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 54, no. 5, 2002, 701-24.

Joel M. Ostrow, "Conflict Management in Russia's Federal Institutions," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 49-70.

Thane Gustafson, *Capitalism Russian-Style*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Timothy Frye, *Brokers and Bureaucrats: Building Market Institutions in Russia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Thomas F. Remington, *The Russian Parliament: Institutional Evolution in a Transitional Regime, 1989-1999*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.

Eugene Huskey, *Presidential Power in Russia*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1999, pp. 163-82.

Steven S. Smith and Thomas F. Remington, *The Politics of Institutional Choice: the Formation of the Russian State Duma*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Marsha A. Weigle, *Russia's Liberal Project: State-Society Relations in the Transition from Communism*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Michael McFaul, *Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Bryon J. Moraski and William M. Reisinger, "Explaining Electoral Competition across Russia's Regions," *Slavic Review*, vol. 62, number 2, summer 2003, pp. 278-301.

Sarah E. Mendelson, "Russians' Rights Imperiled: Has Anybody Noticed?" *International Security*, vol. 26, no. 4, spring 2002, pp. 39-69.

Alfred Stepan, "Russian Federalism in Comparative Perspective," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2000, pp. 133-76.

Christopher Marsh and Nikolas K. Gvosdev, eds. *Civil Society and the Search for Justice in Russia*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2002.

Linda Racioppi and Katherine O'Sullivan See, "Organizing Women before and after the Fall: Women's Politics in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Russia," *Signs*, vol. 20, no. 4, 1995, pp. 818-849.

Valerie Sperling, Myra Marx Ferree and Barbara Risman. "Constructing Global Feminism: Transnational Advocacy Networks and Russian Women's Activism." *Signs*, vol. 26, no. 4, 2001, 1155-1186.

Shlapentokh, Vladimir. "Wealth versus Political Power: the Russian Case." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2004, pp. 135-60.

Academic Accommodations

For Students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required

to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, *subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean.*

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure – No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.