

Carleton University
Department of Political Science

Winter 2018

Political Science 3208A
Reform and Political Change in the Russian Federation
Wednesdays, 11:35-2:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Andrea Chandler
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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 10:00-11:00 and 2:30-3:00; Thursdays, 11:45-1:45
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Course description:

This course examines the politics of reform in the Russian Federation, including its historical roots in the Soviet Union; the politics of transition under post-communist President Boris Yeltsin, in the 1990s; the reorientation of the state under the leadership of Vladimir Putin; and the impact of social movements and political parties. Since 2000, scholars have tried to explain the upsurge of nationalism, the increased control of the state and the apparent reversal in democratization. Despite Russia's bouts of sudden political tumult, many basic institutional structures remain relatively resilient to change. Because of the extent of reforms that were undertaken during Putin's presidency, the course will pay considerable attention to political trends since 2000. However, the course will sustain a strong emphasis on the examination of the reform process throughout the transition from Soviet socialism, which must be understood in its historical context. The 2011-2012 elections constituted a major turning point in Russian political development, leading to a period of renewed authoritarianism with the return of Putin to the presidency.

The goals of the course are to provide a survey overview of Russian politics, within a historical and comparative context; to examine critically some of the major theoretical and analytical approaches that scholars have employed to try to explain the peculiarities of Russian development; to develop skills in research and analytical writing; and to debate the questions that post-Soviet politics raises for our understanding of political change in general. Students are required to attend and participate actively in class discussions, as spoken debate can promote greater understanding of complicated, dynamic political processes. Written assignments are intended to encourage students to read sources critically and to engage in thoughtful, original analysis based on thorough research.

Textbook: (available for purchase at the Carleton University Bookstore)

Timothy J. Colton. Russia: What Everyone Needs to Know. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

In addition to the textbook, a number of compulsory articles and book chapters are assigned. These readings will be available to registered students through CuLearn

(click on “View Course in Ares” at the lower left). Students are expected to come to class having prepared the readings for that week in advance.

Course Requirements:

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| Attendance and participation in three designated class discussions (see below) | 15% |
| Proposal for final research paper, due <u>February 7</u> , to be submitted online through CuLearn | 20% |
| Final research paper | 30%, due in hard copy on or before April 4, to be submitted directly to the professor. |
| Final examination (to be held during the scheduled examination period in April) | 35% |

- Class attendance and participation in discussion: ***15% (5% for each of three discussions)***. In the course, we will have ***three*** structured group work discussions during part of class time: January 31, February 28, and March 28. All students are required to attend, to participate actively in discussions (which may include the preparation of small group presentations), and to prepare for these discussions by completing the assigned reading in advance. Discussion-based work will occur during class time. Attendance will be recorded and will be considered in the calculation of each student’s participation mark. Participation will be evaluated ***individually*** for each student on the basis of his/her cumulative constructive contributions to focussed class discussions. Participation is not defined simply as talking, but also includes listening and contributing to small group discussion. ***Late arrivals or early departures from class during the dates specified in this paragraph will result in a reduced mark for attendance and participation. In preparing presentations, students should endeavour to speak to the group rather than to read from a text. In any group presentations, each group will designate one spokesperson. Students who miss an occasional class discussion because of a documented illness or family emergency are encouraged to see the instructor as soon as possible to discuss the missed work.***
- Proposal for final research paper, due ***on or before February 7***, to be submitted online through CuLearn (20%). **Please submit as an attachment using MS Word or pdf only.** Students who prefer to submit a hard copy may do so, provided it is submitted **directly to the professor** on or before the date due. The proposal should include: a research question or hypothesis, with an analytical question to be explained; an explanation of the parameters of the topic, including the specific focus, time period to be examined and/or case study; a focussed explanation of the sequence of the organization of the paper; a discussion of at least one primary source to be used for the topic; and a bibliography including at least eight scholarly books and peer-reviewed journal issues relevant to the topic;. Length of assignment: 5-7 pages (double-spaced, 12 point font, including bibliography). *The*

proposal is a discussion or preliminary research that is already underway, so it should demonstrate an appropriate level of familiarity with the research question and with the source material. The professor will post suggested research paper topics on CuLearn; students who choose other topics are expected to discuss them personally with the professor well in advance of the due date. See additional information below (Statement on Written Work).

- Final paper, **30%**, due April 4, in person, to the professor. The final assignment is a written research paper, 10-15 typed, double-spaced pages long, which must be submitted to the instructor in hard copy. *This paper is expected to show original analysis, sustaining an argument which will be supported with evidence. The final assignment is a research paper and should demonstrate that you have considered a range of scholarly sources: a minimum of eight published books or articles, as appropriate to the research topic. The paper should demonstrate careful and critical consideration of a broad range of carefully chosen, quality research sources (including peer-reviewed scholarly publications). The professor does not consider encyclopedias or general Internet information sources (such as Wikipedia) to be acceptable research sources for university-level research papers. Papers which simply assemble or reiterate information, or which do not demonstrate sufficiently rigorous research, will not be considered satisfactory assignments. See additional information below (Statement on Written Work).*
- Final examination: **35%**. The examination will be scheduled during the official exam period (April 14-26). Students will be responsible for all material covered in the course, including lectures, readings and discussions.

Students who do not write the final examination, but whose term work is otherwise complete and satisfactory, will receive a grade of ABS.

CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PROFESSOR

The professor holds scheduled office hours that are specifically dedicated to answering questions from students. Students are encouraged to come to these office hours. When students have questions related to the course material, the content of assignments, and research strategies, it is best to discuss those questions in person with the professor.. Do not hesitate to ask for help in finding research sources, or to ask further questions about material covered in course lectures. Students can also contact the professor to make an appointment for a meeting time outside of office hours. Students may also use e-mail to contact the professor for brief exchanges of factual information. The professor normally replies to e-mail messages within two working days. Students are encouraged to check CuLearn regularly for possible announcements.

STATEMENT ON WRITTEN WORK

*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, endnotes or parenthetical referencing to acknowledge sources consulted, and provide a complete bibliography. 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 cite sources properly, please see the professor for advice.*

LATE PAPERS

Papers are expected to be submitted on time, to facilitate prompt marking for your fellow students. Extensions for written assignments will be considered for family emergencies and for documented medical reasons. Marks will be deducted for lateness, and the university schedule for winter 2018 establishes April 11 as the final deadline for all written assignments. Late penalties will be assessed on the basis of the date that the professor receives the paper. Please submit papers according to the instructions specified for that assignment. 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.

SCHEDULE OF COURSE TOPICS AND READINGS

Week 1. INTRODUCTION (January 10)

Week 2. THE SOVIET SYSTEM (January 17)

Colton, pp. 1-63.

Week 3. *PERESTROIKA*, 1985-91 (January 24)

Colton, pp. 63-97.

R. Judson Mitchell and Randall S. Arrington, "Gorbachev, Ideology and the Fate of Soviet Communism," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 33, no. 4, December 2000, pp. 457-74.

Week 4. THE SOVIET COLLAPSE: GROUP WORK DISCUSSION (January 31)

Stephen F. Cohen, "Was the Soviet System Reformable?" *Slavic Review*, vol. 63, no. 3, fall 2004, 459-88.

Leon Aron, "Everything you Think You Know about the Collapse of the Soviet Union is Wrong," *Foreign Policy*, no. 187, July-August 2011, pp. 64-70.

Colton, pp. 97-101.

Week 5: POLITICS OF ECONOMIC REFORM (February 7)

Colton, pp. 101-28.

Thane Gustafson, "Putin's Petroleum Problem: How Oil is Holding Russia Back – and How it could Save it," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 6, 2012, pp. 83-96.

Week 6. DEMOCRATIZATION AND SOCIETY; PUTIN'S ACCESSION TO POWER (February 14)

Colton, 128-33.

Elise Giuliano and Dmitry Gorenburg, "The Unexpectedly Underwhelming Role of Ethnicity in Russian Politics, 1991-2011." *Demokratizatsiya*, vol. 20, no. 2, spring 2012, pp. 175-88.

Graeme Gill, *Building an Authoritarian Polity: Russia in Post-Soviet Times*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015, chapter 3.

NO CLASS FEBRUARY 21: WINTER BREAK

Week 7. CLASS DISCUSSION: The Relationship of Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy, 1991-2004 (February 28).

Mary Elise Sarotte, "Perpetuating U.S. Preeminence: the 1990 Deals to 'Bribe the Soviets Out' and Move NATO in," *International Security*, vol. 35, no. 1, summer 2010, pp. 110-37.

Samuel Charap and Timothy Colton, "Cold Peace," *Adelphi Series*, vol. 56, no. 460, pp. 29-72.

Deborah Welch Larson and Alexei Shevchenko, "Russia Says No: Power, Status and Emotions in Foreign Policy," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vo. 47, no. 3-4, September-December 2014, pp. 269-279.

Week 8. REFORMS UNDER PUTIN'S PRESIDENCY I: (March 7)

Colton, pp. 134-66.

Fabian Burkhardt, "The Institutionalization of Relative Advantage: Formal Institutions, Subconstitutional Presidential Powers, and the Rise of Authoritarian Politics in Russia, 1994–2012," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 3, no. 6, 2017, pp. 471-95.

Week 9. REFORMS UNDER PUTIN'S PRESIDENCY II: DEMOCRATIC REVERSAL (March 14)

Robert G. Moser and Allison C. White, "Does Electoral Fraud Spread? The Expansion of Electoral Manipulation in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 33, no. 2, 2017, pp. 85-99.

Colton, chapters 5-6.

Graeme Robertson and Samuel Greene, "How Putin Wins Support," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 28, no. 4, October 2017, pp. 86-100.

Week 10. CIVIL SOCIETY AND OPPOSITION SINCE 2012 (March 21)

Mark R. Beissinger, "'Conventional' and 'Virtual' Civil Societies in Autocratic Regimes," *Comparative Politics*, April 2017, pp. 351-71.

Benjamin Nathans, "Russia: the Joyful New Activism." *New York Review of Books*, August 17, 2017, vol. LXIV, number 13, pp. 51-54.

Pål Kolstø, "Crimea vs. Donbas: How Putin won Russian Nationalist Support – and Lost it Again." *Slavic Review*, vol. 75, no. 3, fall 2016, pp. 702-25.

Week 11.

Week 11. RUSSIA AND THE WEST: WHICH HAS GREATER INFLUENCE OVER THE OTHER? (Discussion, March 28)

Roy Allison, "Russia and the post-2014 International Legal Order: Revisionism and *Realpolitik*," *International Affairs*, vol. 93, no. 3, 2017, pp. 519-43.

Olga Oliker, "Putin, Populism and the Defence of Liberal Democracy," *Survival*, vol. 59, no. 1, February-March 2017, pp. 7-24.

Philip Hanson, "The State of the Russian Economy: Hopeless but not Politically Serious?" *Russian Review*, vol. 76, no. 4, October 2017, pp. 635-51.

Week 12. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE STATE (April 4)

Kristina Stoeckl, "The Russian Orthodox Church's Conservative Crusade," *Current History*, vol. 116, no. 792, October 2017, pp. 271-76.

Peter Rutland, "Trump, Putin and the Future of US-Russian Relations," *Slavic Review*, vol. 76, no. S1 (2017), pp. S41-S56.

Hanna Smith, "Statecraft and Post-Imperial Attractiveness: Eurasian Integration and Russia as a Great Power," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 63, 10`6, pp. 171-82.

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

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 University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

| Percentage | Letter grade | 12-point scale | Percentage | Letter grade | 12-point scale |
|------------|--------------|----------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| 90-100 | A+ | 12 | 67-69 | C+ | 6 |
| 85-89 | A | 11 | 63-66 | C | 5 |
| 80-84 | A- | 10 | 60-62 | C- | 4 |
| 77-79 | B+ | 9 | 57-59 | D+ | 3 |
| 73-76 | B | 8 | 53-56 | D | 2 |
| 70-72 | B- | 7 | 50-52 | D- | 1 |

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.