

Carleton University
Department of Political Science

Winter 2009

Political Science 3208A
Reform and Political Change in the Russian Federation
Tuesdays 8.35-11.25am
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Andrea Chandler
Office: Dunton Tower 1308
Phone: 520-2600 ext 1418
Hours: Tuesday, 11:45-2:45 , Wednesday, 2:30-3:30, or by
appointment (exceptions: on Tuesday Jan. 20, Tuesday Feb.
3, and Tuesday March 17, office hours will be 11:45-12:15 and
2:30-4:00)
E-mail: Andrea.Chandler@carleton.ca (see below).

Course description:

This course examines the politics of reform in the Russian Federation, including its historical roots in the Soviet Union, the politics of privatization under post-communist leader Boris Yeltsin, the reorientation of the state under Vladimir Putin, and the evolving political arena under new President Dmitrii Medvedev. In the past two decades, this country has endured great change, and the notion of reform has been a dominant theme of politics. Post-communist Russia has defied the predictions and challenged the theories of political scientists. Most recently, 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 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. A class conference, in weeks 8 and 9 of the course,

will encourage students to review and apply their knowledge through discussion with their fellow students. 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)

Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th ed. London: Routledge, 2008.

In addition to the textbook, a number of additional articles and book chapters are assigned for reading. All readings have been placed on reserve in McOdrum library. All assigned readings are compulsory, and students are expected to come to class having prepared the readings for that week in advance. **Please note that the reading workload is distributed over weeks 2-7 and 10-12; no reading is assigned for Weeks 8 and 9.**

Course Requirements:

Class attendance and participation in class conference	20%
Short paper analyzing results of class conference	10%, due March 17
Final research paper	30%, due April 7
Final examination	40%, to be scheduled during the formal exam period, April 8-27 th excluding April 11 th .

➤ Class attendance and participation in class conference: **20%**.

In week 8 and 9 of the course, we will have a **class conference**. At this conference, students will work in groups to deliver short, informal presentations on assigned themes, as a prelude to a general discussion of the issues as a class. Students will prepare for the conference by working in groups during 45-60 minutes of class time for weeks 4, 5, 6 and 7 (having done the assigned readings in advance). All students are required to attend and to participate actively in the group work discussions in both Week 8 and Week 9. Participation will be evaluated **individually** for each student on the basis of his/her attendance and 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. In order to maximize student interaction, to emphasize listening, and to encourage creative and engaged presentations, students may not use laptops during the class conference on Weeks 8 and 9 unless the instructor grants permission in advance. In preparing presentations, students should endeavour to speak to the group rather than to read from a text. Groups and themes will be assigned by Week 4.

- One short paper, 3-5 pages, analyzing the results of the class conference: **10%. Due March 17.** The paper should raise three or more common themes, debates or questions that arose during the conference; the paper should summarize the range of arguments raised in the conference on these themes; and should offer conclusions on the extent to which the conference showed a consensus.
- Final paper, **30%**, due **April 7**. 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. I will be holding special office hours on April 7th to accommodate the submission of the final paper from 11.45-2.45. **This paper is expected to show original analysis, sustaining an argument which will be supported with evidence. The paper should demonstrate careful and critical consideration of a broad range of carefully chosen, quality research sources (including peer-reviewed scholarly publications). The instructor does not consider encyclopedias or general Internet information sources (such as Wikipedia) to be acceptable research sources for university-level research papers. Papers that simply assemble or reiterate information, or which do not demonstrate sufficiently rigorous research will not be considered satisfactory assignments.** 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 additional information below (Statement on Written Work).**
- **Final examination: 40%.** The examination will be scheduled during the official exam period, April 8-24th, excluding April 11th. Students will be responsible for all material covered in the course, including lectures, readings and the class conference.

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. The departmental drop box cut off time is 4pm. Any assignments submitted after 4pm will be date stamped for the following weekday. 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.

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 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.

Office hours and e-mail: Students with questions for the professor may reach her by coming to her office hours (no appointment needed), by arranging a personal meeting outside of office hours, by phone, or by e-mail. Following university policy, the instructor will use "Connect" e-mail addresses when communicating by e-mail with students. Normally, the instructor expects to reply to e-mail or voicemail messages within 2 days during the working week. The instructor generally does not send e-mail messages on evenings or weekends. The instructor uses e-mail to communicate with students in order to exchange general information about the course or suggestions about reading and research: e-mail will not be used for communicating marks. Students are encouraged to check WebCT regularly for possible announcements.

SCHEDULE OF COURSE TOPICS AND READINGS

Week 1. INTRODUCTION (January 6)

Week 2. THE SOVIET SYSTEM (January 13)

Sakwa, pp. 1-9, 443-8.

Alexei Yurchak, "Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything was Forever, until it was no More," **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, vol. 45, 3, July 2003, pp. 480-510.

Week 3. PERESTROIKA, 1985-91 (January 20)

Sakwa, pp. 9-24.

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.

Joachim Zweynert, "Economic Ideas and Institutional Change: Evidence from Soviet Economic Debates 1987-1991." **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 58, no. 2, March 2006, pp. 169-192.

Week 4. THE SOVIET COLLAPSE; RADICAL REFORM (January 27)

Sakwa, chapters 2-3, 287-98.

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, **Resisting the State: Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia**. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapter 2, 19-43.

Jane Henderson, "The Russian Constitutional Court and the Communist Party case: Watershed or whitewash?" **Communist and Post-Communist Studies**, vol. 40, no. 1, March 2007, pp. 1-16.

Week 5. CONSTITUTIONAL CRISES; ELECTIONS (February 3)

Sakwa, chapters 4 and 6.

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.

Marcia Weigle, "Political Liberalism in Post-Communist Russia," **Review of Politics**, vol. 58, no. 3, 1996, pp. 469-503.

Week 6. POLITICAL PARTIES, OPPOSITIONS AND SOCIETY (February 10)

Sakwa, chapters 7-9.

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

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

FEBRUARY 16-20 WINTER BREAK – NO CLASS

Week 7. REFORM AND THE TRANSITION FROM YELTSIN TO PUTIN (February 24)

Sakwa, chapter 20 and 345-9.

Viktor Sheinis, "August 1991: a Pyrrhic Victory," **Russian Politics and Law**, vol. 45, no. 5, Sept-Oct 2007, 6-25.

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

Sarah L. Henderson, "Selling Civil Society: Western Aid and the Nongovernmental Organization Sector in Russia," **Comparative Political Studies**, vol. 35, no. 2, March 2002, 139-67.

Week 8. CLASS CONFERENCE (March 3)

Week 9. CLASS CONFERENCE (March 10)

Week 10. FEDERALISM; SOCIAL WELFARE (March 17)

Sakwa, chapters 10-12.

Elena Chebankova, "The Unintended Consequences of Gubernatorial Appointments in Russia, 2005-6," **Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics**, vol. 22, no. 4, December 2006, pp. 457-84.

Week 11. DEMOCRATIC REVERSAL (March 24)

Sakwa, ch. 14.

Andrew Konitzer and Stephen Wegren, "Federalism and Political Recentralization in the Russian Federation: United Russia as the Party of Power," **Publius**, vol. 36, no. 3, fall 2006, 503-22.

Gerald Easter, "The Russian State in the Time of Putin," **Post-Soviet Affairs**, vol. 24, no. 3, July-Sept 2008, 199-230.

Olena Nikolayenko, "Contextual Effects on Historical Memory: Soviet Nostalgia among Post-Soviet Adolescents," **Communist and Post-Communist Studies**, 41, 2 June 2008, 243-59.

Week 12. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE STATE (March 31)

Sakwa, chs. 16 and 18.

Fiona Hill, "Moscow Discovers Soft Power," **Current History**, vol. 105, no. 693, October 2006, pp. 341-47.

Charles King, "The Five-Day War," **Foreign Affairs**, Vol. 87, no. 6, Nov-Dec 2008, pp. 2-11.

Sarah E. Mendelson, "Anatomy of Ambivalence," **Problems of Postcommunism**, 53/6, November-December 2006, 3-15.

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your letter of accommodation. 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 assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April examinations**.

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Department's Style Guide is available at:

<http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

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. 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.

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 only communicates with students via Connect accounts. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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 in the after-hours academic life 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, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, 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.