

Russia and the West
Political Science V 3675, Section 01
Spring 2010
Department of Political Science, Barnard College
Mon. Wed. 4:10–5:25pm
Barnard Hall 302

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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This course has several goals. First, it introduces students to one of the most important phenomena of the twentieth century: the formation of the Soviet state. Based on an ideology conceived of by a 19th century German, the Soviet Union and socialist system not only affected the lives of millions of Soviet citizens and determined the outcome of WWII, it also served as a model for new and post-colonial states throughout the world and formed one superpower state in the bipolar international system that defined international politics for decades. Second, the course investigates a second major twentieth century event: the collapse of the Soviet Union and creation of the Russian Federation. The effort to construct new political institutions, a functioning economy, and a healthy society in Russia represents one of the greatest political dramas of our time. This course considers processes of democratization, economic reform, nationalism, separatism, federalism and war in post-1991 Russia. The third part of the course addresses Russia's relations with the world, focusing especially on relations with the United States and Europe. The Russian Federation, like its predecessor states the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, is concerned with how it fits into the system of nation-states. Is part of the European West or the Asian East? Does its political and economic system, and cultural practices make it unique among states in the world? We will study how Russian leaders and intellectuals make sense of Russia's identity, as well as Russia's policies toward the US, Europe, the Near Abroad, and China. On a practical level, by studying the richness of Soviet history and current Russian politics, this course will sharpen students' ability to assimilate facts. It will also strengthen students' analytical and writing skills.

READINGS:

All books and articles assigned in this course are placed on reserve at Butler Library and Barnard Library. All articles are available through Courseworks as well as through the e-journals tab on the website of Columbia University library. The following texts are available for purchase at Book Culture (212-865-1588, 536 W 112 Street, www.bookculture.com).

- 1.) Ronald Grigor Suny, The Soviet Experiment (Oxford University Press, 1998).
- 2.) David Remnick, Resurrection (Random House, 1997).
- 3.) Stephen K. Wegren and Dale Herspring, eds., After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain, Fourth Edition, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

- 1.) **Attendance/Participation:** 10%
- 2.) **Exam #1:** In class exam 20% (**closed-book**)
- 3.) **Exam #2:** Take home essay exam: 20%
- 4.) **Analytical essay:** 25%. 7-8 pages on topic of your choosing. Due Wed. May 5 by 5pm.
submit hard copy to professor.
- 5.) **Final exam:** 25%

Regular class attendance is expected and attendance will be taken. Students are permitted to miss one class during the semester without providing a reason. If students miss more than one class without a valid excuse, participation grade will be lowered. A valid excuse is a documented medical illness or family emergency. Students should come to class with the reading assignments completed.

Students must take all exams according to the schedule. Exceptions will be granted only in the case of a documented medical or family emergency. Only Prof. Giuliano (not the teaching assistants) will grant permission to take a make-up exam.

Grading is supervised by Prof. Giuliano who sets guidelines and reviews grading by teaching assistants. Students who believe there is an error with an exam grade should speak to their teaching assistant. If this does not resolve the student's concern, Prof. Giuliano will review the exam. Exam grades given by TAs are rarely changed, however, and review by the professor may cause your grade to be either lowered or raised.

Failure to complete any of the four main requirements of the course (exams, paper, and final exam) will result in an F for the course. These assignments are course requirements and as such, I consider a failure to complete the requirements to be a failure to complete the class.

Students must adhere to the Barnard College academic Honor Code. All students must sign the Barnard College Honor Code statement before taking each exam. If you cheat on any assignments you will fail the course and you will be referred to the Barnard College Honor Board.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNMENTS:

W. Jan 20. Introduction

M. Jan. 25 What kind of country is Imperial Russia?

Nikolas Gvosdev, "Russia: European But Not Western?" *Orbis* (Winter 2007) 129-140.
Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*. NY: Oxford University Press. Section on Westernizers vs. Slavophiles in "Ideologies" in Ch. 18, pp. 398-407.
James Cracraft, ed. *Major Problems in the History of Imperial Russia*. NY: Houghton/Mifflin, 1994. pp. 3-35 (overview; essays by Pipes, Trubetzkoy, Masaryk) and pp. 327-40 (overview and essay by Herzen)

W. Jan. 27 Imperial Russia to Soviet Russia: The Bolshevik revolution

Suny, Introduction xiii-xvi
Ch. 2: pp. 35-54. (Look at map on p. 30)
Socialism and Civil War:
Suny, Ch. 3: pp. 56-60; Intervention and the Civil War in the South: 72-76; Waiting for the International Revolution: 82-84
Ch. 4: Five Easy Steps. p. 123; The Party-State: 127-29; A Retreat to State Capitalism (NEP): 136-39.
Ch. 7: Cultures and Classes: 170-172; Peasant Russia: 176-181; The Nepmen: 181-184; New Soviet Man and Woman: 184-88; Building Legitimate Authority: 190-93.

M. Feb. 1 Stalin and the revolution from above

Suny, Ch. 6: Stalin's Path to Power: 167-168
Ch. 9: The Stalin Revolution: 217-231
Ch. 10: Stalin's Industrial Revolution: 233-250.
The Terror
Suny, Ch. 11: 252-268

W. Feb. 3 The Great Fatherland War (WWII)

Suny, Ch. 13: 291-294
Ch. 14: 309-323 and pp. 331-335 (from "Early in 1945...")
The cold war begins
Suny, Ch. 15: 337-355; Ch. 16: Cold War & Hot War/High Politics: 377-384.

M. Feb. 8 The Cold War/ Khrushchev/ Brezhnev

The Thaw
Suny, Ch. 17, entire; Ch. 18: 404-407; The Arms Race: 411-420
Khrushchev's Secret Speech
Brezhnev
Suny, Ch. 19: The Leadership: 421-425; Prague Spring: 427-429; Brezhnev Ascendant: 435-446
Hedrik Smith, "The Privileged Class" in The Russians. (NY: Quadrangle Books, 1976).

W. Feb. 10 Gorbachev: Glasnost and perestroika

Suny, Ch. 20: The Road to Radical Reform: 451-462

From Reform to Revolution: 465-468

Herspring, Putin's Russia, pp. 131-134 (Gorbachev's economic policy)

"The Gorbachev Era," McFaul & Petrov, Between Dictatorship and Democracy, 26-33

Nina Andreeva, "I Cannot Forego My Principles"

Dear Comrade Editor, Riordan and Bridger, eds. pp. 16-39

Boris Yeltsin speech, "Elite Privileges"

Mikhail Gorbachev, "Speech at the Conference of the Aktiv of the Khabarovsk Territory
Party Organization, July 31, 1986"

Oleg Bogomolov "I Can't Absolve Myself of Guilt"

M. Feb. 15 The Rise of Ethnic Minority Nationalism in the Soviet Republics

Suny, Ch. 20: The Awakening of Nations: 462-465

"The Alexe Mateevici Cultural Club: An Informal Group Becomes a Mass Movement"

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, August 25, 1989

The coup and the collapse: 1991

Suny, Ch. 21: 469-484

Excerpt of interrogation of coup plotters, *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*

David Remnick, Resurrection, Chapter 1.

Yeltsin, "Speech to RSFSR Congress of Peoples' Deputies, Oct. 28, 1991"

Gorbachev, "Resignation Speech, December 25, 1991"

W. Feb. 17 Evaluating the Soviet System

Alexander Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 1992, 279-302

Katherine Verdery, Ch. 1 in *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?* (Princeton University Press, 1996.)

M. Feb. 22 In-class Exam #1

Part II: The Russian Federation

W. Feb. 24 State-building in Russia: simultaneous political and economic transformations

Michael McFaul, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution*, Ch. 4 "Institutional Design in the First
Russian Republic" pp. 121-160

Remnick, Resurrection, Ch. 2, Ch. 3 (Parties/Parliament);

M. March 1 Parliamentary-Presidential Conflict and Yeltsin's reforms

Michael McFaul, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution*, Ch. 5 "The Failure of the First
Russian Republic" pp. 161-204.

Remnick, Resurrection, Ch. 10, Ch. 11 (Yeltsin's campaign)

W. March 3 Nationalist and Regionalist Separatism in a Liberalizing State/Chechnya

Wegren/Herspring, *After Putin's Russia*, Ch. 3, pp. 60-64 *only*.

Elise Giuliano, "Secessionism from the Bottom-Up," *World Politics* 58 (January 2006): 276-310. Focus Intro, Parts I and III)

Chechnya

Remnick, *Resurrection*. Ch. 6 and Ch. 9

Valery Tishkov, *Chechnya : Life in a War-Torn Society*. Berkeley Univ. Press, 2004. Ch. 4 "The road to war"

M. March 8 Politics under Putin

After Putin's Russia, Richard Sakwa, Ch. 1, "Political Leadership

After Putin's Russia, Tom Remington, Ch.2, "Putin, the Dominant Party Regime"

W. March 10 The Economy/ Law under Putin

After Putin's Russia, Peter Rutland, Ch. 7, "The Oligarchs and Economic Development"

After Putin's Russia, Kathryn Hendley, Ch. 4, "The Law in Post-Putin Russia"

M. March 15/W. March 17

Spring Break: March 12-21

M. Mar.22 Center-Region Relations under Putin /The second war in Chechnya

Alfred Stepan, "Russian Federalism in Comparative Perspective," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 16 (April-June 2000): 133-76.

After Putin's Russia, Petrov and Slider, Ch. 3, "The Regions under Putin and After"

Gail Lapidus, "Putin's War on Terrorism: Lessons from Chechnya" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 18 (January-March 2002), 41-48.

W. Mar. 24 Analytical Perspectives

Kathryn Stoner Weiss and Michael McFaul, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back," *Foreign Affairs*, 87, 1 (Jan/Feb 2008).

Valerie Bunce, "Comparing East and South" *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 6, no. 3 (July 1995): 87-100.

Timothy Colton and Cindy Skach, "A Fresh Look at Semipresidentialism: The Russian Predicament," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 16, (July 2005): 113-26.

Sarah Mendelson and Ted Gerber, "Soviet Nostalgia: An Impediment to Russian Democratization" *Washington Quarterly*, 2005, 29:1: 83-96.

M. Mar 29

Take home Exam due in class

Film: Greetings from Grozny, PBS Wide-Angle documentary

Part III: Russia's Relations with the West

W. Mar 31 Russia's foreign policy: An Overview

- Robert Legvold, ed., Introduction pp. 3-11 only in *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century and the Shadow of the Past* (Columbia University Press, 2007).
- Celeste Wallander, "The Sources of Russian Conduct: Theories, Frameworks, and Approaches" Ch. 1 in Wallander, ed., *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy after the Cold War* (Westview, 1996).
- Ronald Suny, "Living in the Hood: Russia, Empire, and Old and New Neighbors," in *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century and the Shadow of the Past* (Columbia University Press, 2007.)

M. April 5 Putin's Foreign Policy

- After Putin's Russia*, Andrei Tsygankov, "Putin and Foreign Policy" Ch. 9, pp. 195-215.
- Andrei Tsyganov, "Russia in the Post-Western World: The End of the Normalization Paradigm?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (October-December 2009) 347-369.

W. April 7 NATO Expansion/Europe

- Bruce Porter, "Russia and Europe After the Cold War: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policies" Ch. 6 in Wallander, ed. *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy*, 1996.
- Martin Smith, "A Bumpy Road to an Unknown Destination? NATO-Russian Relations, 1991-2002" *European Security* 11: 4, (2002) 59-77.
- Dmitri Trenin, "NATO and Russia: Partnership or Peril?" *Current History* (October 2009): 299-303.

M. April 12 Europe and Russia

- Angela Stendt, "Reluctant Europeans: Three Centuries of Russian Ambivalence Toward the West" Ch. 7, Legvold, *Russian Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*. 2007
- Krok-Paszowska and Jan Zielonka, "The European Union's Policies Toward Russia" Ch. 7, *Russia's Engagement with the West*, Motyl, Ruble and Shevtsova, eds. (M.E. Sharpe, 2005) pp.151-169.

W. April 14 Missile Defense/Russia's Military

- After Putin's Russia*, Dale Herspring, Ch. 12, "Putin, Medvedev and the Russian Military"
- Dmitri Gorenburg, "Russia's New Model Army: The Ongoing Radical Reform of the Russian Military" PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 78
<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/78419.html>
- Steven Pifer, "After START: Hurdles Ahead" *Current History*, 108 no. 720 (Oct. 2009) 304-
- Alexander A. Pikayev, "U.S.-Russian Strategic Arms Control : Back to the Future?" (September 2009) PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 59
<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/78351.html>

M. April 19 US -Russian Relations:

James Goldgeier, Michael McFaul, "Power and Purpose: US Policy Toward Russia after the Cold War" Ch.1, (Brookings: 2003.)

David Kramer, "Resetting U.S.-Russian Relations: It Takes Two" *Washington Quarterly* 33:1, (2010): 61-79.

Sarah Henderson, "Selling Civil Society: Western Aid and the NonGovernmental Sector in Russia" *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 2 (2002): 139-167.

W. April 21 The Russian- Georgian War/ Russia-China Relations

Charles King, "The Five-Day War" *Foreign Affairs*, (Nov./Dec. 2008), pp. 2-11

Stephen Sestanovich, "What Has Moscow Done? Rebuilding U.S.-Russian Relations" *Foreign Affairs*, (Nov./Dec. 2008), pp. 12-28.

Harley Balzer, "Russia and China in the Global Economy" *Demokratizatsiya* 16.1 (2008): 37-48.

Stephen Kotkin, "The Unbalanced Triangle: What Chinese-Russian Relations Mean for the United States" *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 5 (Sept/Oct. 2009) pp. 130

Andrew Kuchins, "Russia and China: The Ambivalent Embrace" *Current History* (Oct. 2007)

M. April 26 Energy Politics

Andrew Barnes, "Medvedev's Oil: The Burdens of Great Wealth and the Potential for Coping with Them," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 31, August 2008.

<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/55931.html>

Marshall Goldman, "Moscow's New Economic Imperialism" *Current History*, October 2008.

W. April 28 Russian Policy Toward the Near Abroad

Ted Hopf, "Russian Identity and Foreign Policy in Estonia and Uzbekistan", Ch. 7 in Wallander, ed. *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy*, 1996.

After Putin's Russia, Greg Gleason, Ch. 11, "Russia and Central Asia's Multivector Foreign Policies."

Andrey S. Makarychev, "Russian Policy After the Color Revolutions," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo 4 (March 2008), available at:

<http://ceres.georgetown.edu/esp/ponarsmemos/page/51608.html>

M. May 3 In conclusion

George Breslauer, "Observations on Russia's Foreign Relations Under Putin" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 4 (October-December 2009): 370-76.

Dmitri Trenin, "Russia's Spheres of Interest, not Influence" *Washington Quarterly* 2009 32: 4, 3-22.

Andrew Kuchins, "Why Russia is So Russian" *Current History*, 108 no. 720 (Oct. 2009) 311-317.

Finals Exam: Monday, May 10 4:10 pm-7 pm

Russia related websites:

nytimes.com For archived articles see: www.nytimes.com/library/world/europe/russia-index.html

www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000/eur US State Department human rights reports

themoscowtimes.com English-language newspaper published in Moscow

www.gazeta.ru/english Russian daily news

www.rferl.org Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe (US funded free radio station broadcast in the region)
It maintains a daily news service called newslines

jamestown.org Jamestown Foundation's biweekly review

cdi.org/russia Center for Defense Information's Russia Weekly (security issues)

www.therussiajournal.com weekly paper

www.ijt.cz Institute for Transition journalism (has back issues of Transition and daily reports of the Open Media Research Institute 1995-97)

Photographs:

<http://www.friends-partners.org/oldfriends/mes/russia/history.html>

<http://www.fotosearch.com/photos-images/ussr.html>

<http://www.katardat.org/russia/russia-in-pictures.html>

Maps:

http://www.geographic.org/maps/new2/ussr_maps.html

http://www.skweezer.net/ask/s.aspx/2/www.geographic.org/maps/russia_maps.html

<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions/atlas/index.html?Parent=europe&Rootmap=russi&Mode=d>