
Russian Politics



Spring 2022

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(Zoom)

Course Description

With US-Russia relations at a new post-Cold-War low, it is increasingly important to know how to interpret and understand political developments in Russia – a country which has played an immensely important, influential role in world history, yet which in its current political form is just 30 years old. This course is an introduction to the politics of Russia. This course offers a comprehensive introduction to the driving forces behind Russian politics. What explains Putin's rise to power? Who decides policy? What role do political parties play in governance? How did the transformations of the 1990s (and earlier) influence contemporary Russia? Is nationalism a challenger or a cheerleader of the Kremlin? Why are protests sometimes permitted and sometimes repressed? How do relations with the US, Europe, China, and beyond influence Russian politics, and vice-versa?

This course will provide insights into the above questions and more. Students will have the chance to learn about Russian politics through not only lectures and readings, but films, workshops, expert practitioners, and music. They will also be able to develop a written project on a topic in Russian politics of their choosing: either an academic research paper, a policy report, or a long-form journalistic report.

In the first part of the course, we will examine the historical legacies of the Soviet (and pre-Soviet) eras on the challenges faced by the nascent Russian state in the 1990s. Then we will look at the state's formal political and economic institutions, focusing on the transition to capitalism under Yeltsin and economic development under Putin, as well as the nuts and bolts of how the state functions. In the third section we will turn to questions of identity and federalism. With over 190 ethnic groups inhabiting 1/7th of the globe's land mass, how has the Russian state sought to govern and foster a shared sense of political community? In section four we examine state-society relations, including the interactions between top-down and bottom-up actors and organizations across educational, religious, business, and media spheres. We will also examine struggles and contestation over rights and values, including the politics of protest. In the final section we look outside of Russia to examine links between domestic and foreign politics and shifts in Russian foreign policy more broadly.

Instructor biography: Adam Lenton is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at GWU. His dissertation research examines nation-building and ethnic politics in Russia. Prior to joining GWU, he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and Sciences Po Paris, and has spent over three years working and studying in Russia. His research has appeared in Problems of Post-Communism and Russian Politics.

Course Goals

By the end of this course, you will be able to:

- (1) Identify details of Russia's political system and explain key elements and topics in Russian politics;
- (2) Critically analyze and compare perspectives on (1), being aware of different theoretical and normative interpretations;
- (3) Draw upon a wide range of academic, policymaking, and journalistic analysis within and outside of Russia to interpret its political developments;
- (4) Identify, evaluate, and use a wide range of data sources (i.e. surveys/censuses, Russian government publications, speeches, archival materials) to transition as a consumer to a producer of knowledge about issues in Russian politics;
- (5) Apply this knowledge to different professional and academic settings;
- (6) Discuss Russian politics intelligently, actively, and creatively.

Academic prerequisites

Students ideally should have completed an introduction-level course in political science or international affairs (i.e. PSC1001 *Introduction to Comparative Politics* or equivalent).

Textbooks & Materials

All required materials will be available via Blackboard.

Course Requirements

■ *Attendance and Participation:*

Attendance is required unless prior accommodations have been granted in coordination with the instructor. Students should come prepared to comment and ask questions about the week's topic to engage meaningfully with their peers on the subject. Lectures will be recorded and available via Blackboard for those who cannot attend class in-person.

■ *Readings/required course preparation:*

Students are required to have completed the assigned readings at the very latest by Thursday's class (when we will have our weekly quizzes). I encourage you to read at least some of the texts before Tuesday's class so that you are acquainted with the topic. To help you budget your time, estimates of the number of pages for each week's readings are given in brackets (for example, for the first class meeting the Remnick reading is 28 pages and the King reading is 11 pages, so a total of 39 pages of reading needs to be done on the first week).

For each credit, students are expected to spend a minimum of 100 minutes on independent coursework for every 50 minutes of direct instruction.

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■ *Weekly quizzes:*

Each week we will have a short online quiz after class on Thursday to cover the material assigned for that topic (lecture + readings). The link will be provided during class, and the quiz must be completed by midnight that evening. Students unable to attend can complete the quiz after watching the lecture recording. From the 14 quizzes I will drop the 2 lowest scores and average the result (Note that this score is graded on a curve).

Why quizzes? There are several reasons. First, frequent in-class quizzes have been found to increase student performance.¹ Quizzes can also help students who are struggling: one study found that quizzes drastically reduced the rate of students receiving grades D or lower in an introductory microeconomics course.² This is corroborated by findings showing that quiz assessment can help to narrow the achievement gap between socioeconomic classes, and that the positive effects on student performance hold in subsequent semesters, suggesting that quizzes help to develop effective study skills that have long-term payoffs.³ They also help me as an instructor to identify areas to focus on in subsequent classes.

Since I drop your 2 lowest scores, this means that you have up to 2 “get out of jail free” absences that you can use.

■ *Map quizzes:*

On January 27 and February 24, we will have two short map quizzes at the end of class in addition to the weekly quizzes: one on the capitals and countries of the former Soviet Union, and one on key regions, cities, and republics in Russia. Being able to identify where key regions and sites are located is useful knowledge, especially in a country as large as Russia.

■ *Weekly reflections:*

Each student is required to submit **three** weekly reflection memos, worth 5% of the final grade each. These should be around one side of paper, 1.5 line spacing and in a standard 11- or 12-size font (around 500 words). Reflections are due at 11:59PM on Sundays via email. **At least one must be submitted prior to Spring Break.**

The reflections should bring together connections and observations on **any** Russia-related political issue that you have engaged with and encountered that week. Some guidance and recommendations for the reflections:

Outstanding memos (grades of A and A-) reflect work which the writer could easily use in its current form as a basis for a more substantial analytical report or project with minimal changes required. Such memos will incorporate several sources (2-5) to bear on an issue related to Russian politics, and will not simply summarize or describe their content, but identify connections and/or tensions between them (for instance, different approaches to a similar issue, disagreements about

¹ Thomas, Ayanna K., et al. "Should you use frequent quizzing in your college course? Giving up 20 minutes of lecture time may pay off." *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition* 9.1 (2020): 83-95; Gokcora, Deniz, and Daniel DePaulo. "Frequent quizzes and student improvement of reading: a pilot study in a community college setting." *SAGE Open* 8.2 (2018): 2158244018782580. Batsell Jr, W. Robert, et al. "Ecological validity of the testing effect: The use of daily quizzes in introductory psychology." *Teaching of Psychology* 44.1 (2017): 18-23.

² Tallarico, Carol Diane, and Mary Ann Wisniewski. "A Better Way to Teach Principles of Microeconomics? Evidence from the Classroom." *Journal of the Academy of Business Education* 16 (2015).

³ Pennebaker, James W., Samuel D. Gosling, and Jason D. Ferrell. "Daily online testing in large classes: Boosting college performance while reducing achievement gaps." *PloS one* 8.11 (2013): e79774.

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an issue, etc.). The memo is sufficiently insightful to inform somebody with a professional or academic interest in Russia about something new, as well as making a case for why this topic may be important or interesting. This could mean looking at a specific aspect of a well-known issue or examining something with a local or technical focus that general specialists may not be acquainted with.

Good memos (grades of B and B+) reflect work which may in part resemble the above and which has potential to be developed into a larger project, but would require some revisions. They may display some of the following limitations: they may be based on limited or overlapping sources, engage in more superficial description or summary in parts, may fail to draw connections, or they may fail to present a coherent topic.

Memos do not need to be directly linked to the week's topic, but you may wish to use the topic as starting point. Alternatively, you may wish to base your memos on something you have read in the news, reports from think tanks, events/presentations you have attended in DC, or even trends you have noticed in social media.

You may also write a reflection memo on any of the recommended films. In this case you should identify a key theme or issue that the film raises and elaborate upon its relation to Russian political developments.

■ *Midterm exam:*

20% of the final grade will come from an open-book take-home midterm exam, to be distributed during week 7 and covering the first three parts of the course: legacies, political economy, and identity and nationalism. It will consist of six questions (two from each part of the course). You will be required to provide short (1000-word) essay responses to two of these questions, which must be chosen from different parts of the course. You will have 2 weeks to submit it. Outside research is not required for a top grade, but consultation and use of additional material from the syllabus (including optional readings and media) and sources from the below list is recommended.

■ *Final written project:*

Each student will produce a written project for the course of approximately 10-15 pages (double-spaced). This is worth 35% of your grade. This project is designed to be a standalone piece that showcases your ability to use your knowledge of Russian politics in academic, journalistic, or policy-related spheres. As such, there are three broad tracks available to you for this project: an academic research paper, a long-form journalistic reportage, or a policy memo.

I will consult with you individually to help you identify a topic and approach that interests you. I will also assign short tasks during the semester to help you prepare and start thinking about the project.

Sources to consult:

Developing expertise in a region or country requires continual investment. One goal of this course is to encourage you to keep ahead of current affairs, scholarly analysis, policy trends, and societal developments related to Russia. This is especially important if one is based outside of the region in question.

Below are some helpful sources to bookmark and regularly consult.

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News/current affairs:

- Meduza (<https://meduza.io/en>) [Rus: <https://meduza.io/>]
- Johnson's Russia List (<https://russialist.org/>)
- The Moscow Times (<https://www.themoscowtimes.com/>)
- Current Digest of the Russian Press (<https://dlib.eastview.com/browse/publication/6765/udb/350#/>) – weekly digest of articles translated into English
- TASS (<https://tass.com/>) [Rus : <https://tass.ru/>]
- Caucasian Knot (<https://www.eng.kavkaz-uzel.eu/>) [Rus: <https://www.kavkaz-uzel.eu/>]
- RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty (<https://www.rferl.org/>) [Rus: <https://www.svoboda.org/>] – there are also some good regional versions (for instance, the North Caucasus/Volga region).
- Major Western outlets (*New York Times, BBC, Washington Post, CNN, Le Monde, Der Spiegel, The Economist, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy*)

Think tanks/policy:

- Russian International Affairs Council (<https://russiancouncil.ru/en/>) [Rus: <https://russiancouncil.ru/>]
- INEMO (<https://www.imemo.ru/en>) [Rus : <https://www.imemo.ru/>]
- Carnegie Center Moscow (<https://carnegie.ru/?lang=en>) [Rus: <https://carnegie.ru/>]
- Russia in Global Affairs (<https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/>) [Rus: <https://globalaffairs.ru/>]
- CSIS (<https://www.csis.org/programs/europe-russia-and-eurasia-program/russia-and-eurasia>)
- Kennan Institute (<https://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/kennan-institute>)
- IERES, GWU (<https://ieres.elliott.gwu.edu/>)
- PONARS Eurasia (<https://www.ponarseurasia.org/>)
- Chatham House (<https://www.chathamhouse.org/regions/russia-and-eurasia/russia>)
- Brookings Institute (<https://www.brookings.edu/topic/russia-eurasia/>)
- RAND Corporation (<https://www.rand.org/topics/russia.html>)
- Atlantic Council (<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/programs/eurasia-center/>).

Data sources:

- Levada Center (public opinion, surveys) (<https://www.levada.ru/en/>) [Rus: <https://www.levada.ru/>]
- President of Russia (official speeches, transcripts) (<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts>) [Rus: <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts>]
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (official documents, speeches, transcripts) (https://www.mid.ru/en/main_en) [Rus : <https://www.mid.ru/ru/home>]
- Federal State Statistic Service (ROSSTAT) (<https://eng.gks.ru/>) [Rus: <https://rosstat.gov.ru/>]

Also see the GW Library's research guide to contemporary Russian politics, compiled by Dr. Mark Yoffe: <https://libguides.gwu.edu/c.php?g=258862&p=1728605>.

Academic journals (available via GW library):

- *Post-Soviet Affairs*
- *Problems of Post-Communism*
- *Russian Politics*
- *Democratizatsiya*

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- *Nationalities Papers*
- *Europe-Asia Studies*
- *Eurasian Geography and Economics*
- *The Russian Review*
- *Slavic Review*
- *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*
- *Ab Imperio*
- *Kritika*

Grading

“B+” refers to written work that fulfills all the requirements of a given assignment and does so well. Grades of A- and A are reserved for truly outstanding work, for which all students will be encouraged to strive. Grades of B or lower indicate that the assignment has not been adequately performed to the full extent expected, although a straight B indicates that the work still has significant merit whereas a D should serve as a strong warning to seek help.

<i>Assignment Type</i>	<i>Percentage Value Per Assignment</i>	<i>Number of Assignments</i>	<i>Total [Percent] of Final Grade</i>
Weekly quizzes	2	12	24%
Map quizzes	3	2	6%
Reflection memos	5	3	15%
Midterm exam	-	-	20%
Final project	-	-	35%

The grading scale below determines your final letter grade. [Note: the scale below is based on 100 percent and is the default grading schema in Blackboard’s Grade Center.]

96 – 94: A	93 – 90: A-	89 – 87: B+
86 – 84: B	83 – 80: B-	79 – 77: C+
76 – 74: C	73 – 70: C-	69 – 67: D+
66 – 64: D	63 – 60: D-	<60: F

Diversity & Inclusion

It is my aim to help facilitate and foster an inclusive, collegial environment as we seek to understand political dynamics in Russia. I strongly believe that diversity in students’ individual beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences is a strength in this endeavor. Whilst we may diverge in our interpretations and analyses, each student must show respect for every other member of the class.

There are well documented gender and racial biases in scholarship which reflect broader institutional and structural barriers and inequities. Political science scholarship on Russia is no exception. It is also important to reflect upon what it means to “study” a foreign country. This raises several ethical and scholarly questions: whose voices are elevated and promoted in this endeavor, and whose remain marginalized, both in the United States and Russia? How do our positionalities as students based in the United States (and in its capital) influence or filter the perspectives or viewpoints we engage with? These are important questions beyond the academy.

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One of my duties as an instructor is to help us to critically engage with and evaluate perspectives on Russian politics. Where possible, I have tried to ensure a balance of both Russian- and non-Russian perspectives. The assigned readings in this course are split approximately as follows: *

	Russian	Non-Russian	<i>Total</i>
Male	18%	28%	46%
Female	32%	22%	54%
<i>Total</i>	50%	50%	

**For the purposes of this syllabus, I consider "Russian" perspectives to be those of an author or co-author who is or was based in the Russian Federation, to the extent where this information is available.*

Policies

Email Response Time

I will respond to emails within 24 hours during weekdays. To normalize digital detoxing, I will not respond to emails over the weekend unless of an urgent nature.

I will return assignments and other written work within one week. I will not chase up students regarding assignments.

Policies on Late Assignments

Sometimes we need help and/or an extension. This happens to all of us, and it is important to treat assignments as part of working in a professional environment. If a line manager/colleague/editor has asked you to submit work by a certain date, it is professional courtesy to inform them *in advance* if this might not be possible. Oftentimes this is not a problem. But it may come across as disrespectful if a deadline passes and no advance notice has been given: the person may have set aside time in their day or weekend to go through the submitted work, or they may have a deadline for their own manager, etc.

Accordingly, I will accept late assignments for no penalty and for any reason if: a) this is communicated to the instructor via email **at least 24 hours before** the deadline; and b) you reach out to me to strategize when it will be submitted.

Otherwise, standard late policies will apply without exception: 1/3 of a letter grade will be applied at the passing of the deadline, and each 24-hour period afterwards.

Academic Integrity and Honesty

All members of the university community are expected to exhibit honesty and competence in their academic work. Students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking exams. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and will be held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Academic dishonesty is defined as "cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against

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the community and will be prosecuted through the proper university channels. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>.

Support for Students with Disabilities

GW's Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities. Additional information is available at <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.

Please speak with me in the first week of class to discuss what kinds of accommodations can be made for you.

Mental Health Services 202-994-5300

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: <https://healthcenter.gwu.edu/counseling-and-psychological-services>

University Policy on Religious Holidays

Students should notify me during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance.

Safety and security

In the case of an emergency, if possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

Schedule & Weekly Learning Goals

The schedule is tentative and subject to change.

Part one: Legacies

1. Introduction – 30 years since the collapse of the USSR (January 11 & January 13) [ONLINE]

Required reading: [39 pages]

- Remnick, David. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*. Vintage Books, 1994, chapters 3 & 4. [28]
- King, Charles. 'How a Great Power Falls Apart'. *Foreign Affairs*, 30 June 2020. [11].

Additional films:

- "The Week That Shook the World: The Soviet Coup," *ABC News*, 1992. Available at: https://youtu.be/LUzc2Ilw_O8. [65 minutes]
- "Why did the USSR collapse? War in Afghanistan, oil, perestroika, Gorbachev, Yeltsin." *Varlamov*, 17 August 2021. Available at: <https://youtu.be/24Y5UFRWnTE>. [43 minutes, English subtitles]

2. Historical legacies in Russian politics (January 18 & January 20)

Required reading: [64 pages]

- Hale, Henry. *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*, 2014, chapter 3, "Eurasian History as Patronal Politics," pp. 39-61. [23]
- Tsygankov, Andrei. *The Strong State in Russia: Development and Crisis*, 2014, chapter 2, "The Roots of the Russian State: Autocracy," pp. 11-25 [15]
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz, *The Red Mirror*, 2021, chapter 3, "Shared Mental Models of the Late Soviet Period", pp. 53-78. [26]

Additional films:

- *Burnt by the Sun*, directed by Nikita Mikhalkov, 1994. [152 minutes]
- *Stilyagi*, directed by Valery Todorovsky, 2008. [120 minutes]
- *Cold Summer Of 1953*, directed by Alexander Proshkin, 1987. Available at: <https://youtu.be/pgCGGSKPia0>. [96 minutes]

Part two: Political and economic institutions

3. Economic reforms in the Yeltsin era (January 25 & January 27)

Required reading: [27 pages]

- Zubarevich, Natalia. 'Four Russias: Rethinking the Post-Soviet Map'. openDemocracy. 29 March 2012. Available at : <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/four-russias-rethinking-post-soviet-map/>. [17]
- Vladimir Popov, "Russia's Mortality Crisis: Will We Ever Learn?" PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo No. 127, October 2010. Available at: <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/russias-mortality-crisis-will-we-ever-learn>. [4]

Additional films:

- *Zhmurki*, directed by Alexey Balabanov, 2005. [111 minutes]
- *Brat*, directed by Alexey Balabanov, 1997. [100 minutes]

Map quiz no.1 (January 27):

- Former Soviet Union: countries and capitals.

4. Formal institutions: the executive from Yeltsin to Putin (February 1 & February 3)

Required reading: [21 pages]

- Frye, Timothy. *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021), pp. 15-36 [21]

Guest speaker (February 3):

- Mark Yoffe (Ph.D., Librarian for Russia, Eurasia and Eastern/Central Europe, Global Resources Center, RUS, George Washington University Libraries, Washington, D.C.)

5. Formal institutions: the legislative and judicial branches, security services, and law enforcement (February 8 & February 10)

Required reading: [42 pages]

- Ross, Cameron. 'Regional Elections in Russia: Instruments of Authoritarian Legitimacy or Instability?' *Palgrave Communications* 4, no. 1 (December 2018). [9]
- Noble, Ben. 'Russia: new research shows even authoritarian regimes struggle to pass laws' *The Conversation*, October 1, 2018, <https://theconversation.com/russia-new-research-shows-even-authoritarian-regimes-struggle-to-pass-laws-104084>, [9]
- Taylor, Brian D. 'The Russian Siloviki & Political Change'. *Daedalus* 146, no. 2, 27 March 2017: 53–63. https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00434. [11]
- Ferris, Emily. 'Corruption, No Confidence, Poor Communication: How Governors Behaving Badly Will Impact Russia's Regional Elections'. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 21 July 2020. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/corruption-no-confidence-poor-communication-how-governors-behaving-badly>. [6]
- Schulman, Ekaterina. 'The Russian Parliament and the Pandemic: A State of Emergency, Post-constitutional Changes, Retaliatory Laws'. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, February 2021. [The Russian Parliament and the Pandemic: A State of Emergency, Post-constitutional Changes, Retaliatory Laws | PONARS Eurasia](https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/the-russian-parliament-and-the-pandemic-a-state-of-emergency-post-constitutional-changes-retaliatory-laws). [7]

Part three: Identity and nationalism

6. The "Parade of Sovereignties" and the rise and decline(?) of regionalism (February 15 & February 17)

Required reading: [25 pages]

- Giuliano, Elise, and Dmitry Gorenburg, "The Unexpectedly Underwhelming Role of Ethnicity in Russian Politics 1991-2011," *Demokratizatsiya*, v.20, no.2, Spring 2012, pp.175-88. [14]
- Yusupova, Guzel. "Why Ethnic Politics in Russia Will Return," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no.584, March 2019. [5]
- Lenton, Adam. 'Last Man Standing: What the Latest Dispute over Tatarstan's Presidency Tells us about the Enduring Ethnic Factor in Russian Politics,' *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, November 2021. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/last-man-standing-what-the-latest-dispute-over-tatarstans-presidency-tells-us-about-the-enduring-ethnic-factor-in-russian-politics/>. [6]

Workshop:

- Soviet and post-Soviet newspapers and journals (Gelman Library, Global Resources Center, or online).

7. The Chechen Wars and politics in the North Caucasus (February 22 & February 24)

Required reading: [86 pages]

- Treisman, Daniel. *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*. 2011, chapter 8, "The Mountains," pp. 262-309. [37]
- Zhemukhov, Sufian N., Sergey Markedonov, and Akhmet A. Yarlykapov. 'The North Caucasus and Nearby Border Regions'. Religion and Violence in Russia. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2018. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep22453.11>. [35]
- Theodore Gerber and Sarah Mendelson, 'How Russians Think About Chechnya,' *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, January 2002. <http://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/how-russians-think-about-chechnya>. [8]
- Javeline, Debra. 'Anger and Prejudice after the Beslan School Hostage Taking'. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 6 August 2014. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/anger-and-prejudice-after-beslan-school-hostage-taking>. [6]

Guest lecturer (February 24):

- Dylan Royce, Ph.D. Candidate, George Washington University.

Map quiz no.2 (February 24):

- Russian regions quiz: republics, regions, and largest cities

Recommended reading:

- Jean-Francois Ratelle and Emil Souleimanov, "A Perfect Counterinsurgency? Making Sense of Moscow's Policy of Chechenisation," *Europe-Asia Studies*, v.68, no.8, September 2016, pp.1287-1314. [27]
- Shnirelman, Victor. 'The Politics of a Name : Between Consolidation and Separation in the Northern Caucasus'. *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, no. 23 (2006). [38]

Additional films:

- *Prisoner of the Mountains*, directed by Sergei Bodrov, 1996. [100 minutes]
- *Prikazano zabyt'*, directed by Hussein Erkenov, 2014. [94 minutes]. Available at: <https://youtu.be/wIam0Wuvcdg>.

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- *Midterm exam distributed- to cover the previous material*

8. Russian nationalism and nation-building (March 1 & March 3)

Required reading: [11 pages]

- Abalov, Alexander, & Vladislav Inozemtsev (2020): Russia: The Everlasting Empire?, *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* [11]
- Laruelle, Marlene. 'Is Nationalism a Force for Change in Russia?' *Daedalus* 146, no. 2 (April 2017): 89–100. https://doi.org/10.1162/DAED_a_00437. [12]
- Laruelle, Marlene. 'The three colors of Novorossiia, or the Russian nationalist mythmaking of the Ukrainian crisis' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 32: 1, 55-74, DOI: 10.1080/1060586X.2015.1023004. [20]
- Sharafutdinova, Gulnaz, *The Red Mirror*, 2021, chapter 5, "Constructing the Collective Trauma of the 1990s", pp. 105-32. [33]
- Trenin, Dmitri. 'A Country in Search of a Nation'. Carnegie Moscow Center. 4 November 2013. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/53488>. [2]

Guest lecturer (March 1):

- Dr. Vladislav Inozemtsev, Director of the Center for Research on Post-Industrial Societies (Moscow).

Additional films:

- *Russia 88*, directed by Pavel Bardin, 2009. [104 minutes].
- *Admiral*, directed by Andrey Kravchuk, 2008. [124 minutes].

Part four: State-society relations

9. Societal institutions and actors: business, religion, education, and media (March 8 & March 10)

Required reading: [16 pages]

- Petro, Nicolai N. "The Russian Orthodox Church." in *Routledge Handbook of Russian foreign policy*, ed. Andrei Tsygankov. Routledge, 2018. 217-232. [16]

Additional films:

- *The Student*, directed by Kirill Serebrennikov, 2016. [118 minutes].

Guest lecturer (March 8):

- Dr. Gulnaz Sibgatullina, Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Amsterdam and George Washington University.

Midterm due March 10 , 11: 59PM via Blackboard

10. Rights and values (March 22 & March 24)

Required reading: [71 pages]

- Sperling, Valerie. *Sex, Politics, and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia*. 2015, chapter 5, "Everywhere and Nowhere: Sexism and Homophobia in Russian Politics," pp. 169-222 [53]
- Johnson, Janet Elise, Alexandra Novitskaya, Valerie Sperling & Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, "Mixed signals: what Putin says about gender equality," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 37: 6 (2021), 507-525. [18]

11. The politics of protest (March 29 & March 31)

Required reading: [31 pages]

- Tucker, Joshua. 'Analysis | Alexei Navalny's Return to Russia — and His Arrest — Have Upended Russian Politics'. *Washington Post*. Accessed 7 February 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/28/alexei-navalnys-return-russia-his-arrest-have-upended-russian-politics/>. [3]
- Stanovaya, Tatiana. 'Russia's In-System Opposition Gets Second Chance in Khabarovsk'. *Carnegie Moscow Center*. Accessed 7 February 2021. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/82363>. [3]

- Chebankova, Elena. ‘Competing Ideologies of Russia’s Civil Society’. *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 2 (7 February 2015): 244–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2014.1002695>. [25]

Additional films:

- *Dear Comrades*, directed by Andrei Konchalovsky, 2020 [120 minutes].
- *Leviathan*, directed by Andrey Zvyagintsev, 2014. [2014].

Part five: Connections between foreign and domestic politics

12. Cross-border flows: trade, migration, sanctions, and corruption (April 5 & April 7)

Required reading: [28 pages]

- Lipman, Maria, and Yulia Florinskaya ‘Labor Migration in Russia’, *PONARS Point & Counterpoint*. 9 January 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/point-counter/article/labor-migration-russia>. [12]
- Nigel Gould-Davies, “Oligarchs and Western Sanctions: The Dilemmas Facing Russia’s Ultra Wealthy,” PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no.589, April 2019. [7]
- Robert Person, “Russia’s been hit by a financial Cold War,” *Monkey Cage*, March 28, 2022.

Additional films:

- *Ayka*, directed by Sergei Dvortsevov, 2018. [100 minutes]

13. Russian foreign policy: the former Soviet Union (April 12 & April 14)

Required reading: [46 pages]

- Radin, Andrew, and Clint Reach. *Russian Views of the International Order*. RAND Corporation, 2017, pp. 7-36. Available at: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1826.html. [30]
- Treisman, Daniel. “Russia’s Gambler in the Kremlin,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2016, pp.47-54. [7]
- Remler, Philip. ‘Russia’s Stony Path in the South Caucasus’. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 20 October 2020. <https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/10/20/russia-s-stony-path-in-south-caucasus-pub-82993>. [6]
- Johnson, Juliet, and Benjamin Forest. ‘Waving the EU Flag in Eurasia’. *PonarsEurasia - Policy Memos*, 23 April 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/waving-eu-flag-eurasia>. [6]

Recommended material:

- Podcast: “War in the Arctic (Russia’s Hypersonic Missile Program)” *The Red Line*. 5 April 2020. Available at: <https://www.theredlinepodcast.com/post/episode-14-war-in-the-arctic>.
- Laruelle, Marlene, and Dylan Royce. ‘No Great Game: Central Asia’s Public Opinions on Russia, China, and the U.S.’, *Kennan Cable* no. 56 (2020), pp. 1-17. <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/kennan-cable-no-56-no-great-game-central-asias-public-opinions-russia-china-and-us>. [18]

- Shraibman, Artyom. 'Can Moscow Manage a Power Transition in Belarus?' Carnegie Moscow Center. Accessed 8 February 2021. <https://carnegie.ru/commentary/82715>. [3]

14. Russian foreign policy: Europe, China, the United States, and beyond (April 19 & April 21)

Required reading: [19 pages]

- Şener Aktürk, "Five Faces of Russia's Soft Power," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo no.623, November 2019. [6]
- Arutunyan, Anna. 'Putin Is Not Smiling'. *Foreign Affairs*, 17 June 2020. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2020-06-17/putin-not-smiling>. [6]
- Timofeev, Ivan. 'Why Russia-EU Relations Remain Stable Against All Odds'. *Russian International Affairs Council*. 3 February 2021. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/why-russia-eu-relations-remain-stable-against-all-odds/>. [3]
- Yatsyk, Alexandra. "Promoting Islam within the "Russian World": The Cases of Tatarstan and Chechnya", PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo, 28 August 2015. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/article/new-policy-memo-promoting-islam-within-russian-world-cases-tatarstan-and-chechnya>. [4]
- Appel, Hilary. 'Are Xi Jinping and Vladimir Putin Partners? Interpreting the Russia-China Rapprochement'. *Ponars Eurasia - Policy Memos*, 19 July 2019. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/memo/are-xi-jinping-and-vladimir-putin-partners-interpreting-russia-china-rapprochement>. [6]

Additional films:

- *Brat 2*, directed by Alexey Balabanov, 2000. [127 minutes].

15. Wrap-up session (optional on April 28)

No required readings/preparation. Either guest speaker (TBD) or round table on US-Russia relations.

Final paper due May 3, 11: 59PM via Blackboard