

**University of Edinburgh
School of Social and Political Science
Politics and International Relations**

MA CONTEMPORARY RUSSIAN POLITICS (PLIT10048)

2012-2013



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OFFICE HOURS: Tuesday 10-12. Appointments only at all other times please (please contact me by email in the first instance)

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Welcome to Contemporary Russian Politics!

This semester-length honours course examines the consequences of the fall of the Soviet Union and the primary actors, institutions, ideas and developments in contemporary Russia (the Russian Federation).

COURSE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Aims: The course's main aim is to provide students with a critical understanding of:

- The socio-political processes which led to the demise of the Soviet Union
- The nature of post-Soviet political change and the evolution of the Russian state
- The major institutions of the Russian state (e.g. Presidency, Duma, Federation Council, judiciary)
- Political and civil society (e.g. parties, 'clans', interest groups)
- The role of these institutions and actors in the formulation of domestic and foreign policy (particularly as regards the other post-Soviet states)

Objectives: By the end of the course, it is expected that students will be able to:

- Demonstrate knowledge of key institutions and processes in contemporary Russian politics
- Develop a personal assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the Russian political system.
- Exhibit a strong understanding of competing analytical and ideological approaches for understanding Russian Politics
- Evaluate alternative explanations for particular political developments and events in Russia

CLASS TIMES

This course is taught through one 50 minute lecture and one 50 minute seminar per week.

Lecture: *Monday 1110-1200:* Forrest Hill D.02 (First lecture is Monday 17 September)

Tutorials (The exact number of tutorials will depend on student numbers and be confirmed in Week 1. Tutorials will start in Week 2 – none in Week 1).

A: *Monday 1510-1600:* Appleton Tower M3

B: *Monday 1610-1700:* Appleton Tower M3

C: *Tuesday 1510-1600:* Appleton Tower M3

D: *Tuesday 1610-1700:* David Hume Tower 6.11

The lecture will cover events, facts, background, and overviews of interpretations of the week's topic. Seminars are each attended by c. 15 students. The seminars do not duplicate lectures, but are intended for you to explore themes relevant to the lectures of that week in greater depth and in discussion with fellow students. Tutorial participation is essential and will be assessed (see following pages). Further details of subjects and readings are given from page 7 onwards.

ASSESSMENT

Requirements and deadlines

Assessment for this course comprises three components:

- Assessed tutorial participation 10%
- Essay 40%
- Final exam 50%

1. Tutorial participation

Tutorial assessment is designed to incentivise reading, engagement with the literature and help form a lively, informed tutorial atmosphere. It is based on three elements: attendance, contribution to discussion and group presentation (see below).

2. Essay

Students must write **one typed essay of 2000 words**, which accounts for 40% of the final mark. The deadline is **Friday 9th November at 12 NOON**. Please note that **essays which are more than 10% too long or too short (i.e. 200 words) will have one mark deducted for every ten words over 2200 or ten words under 1800 words. 2000 words includes references but excludes bibliography and title.**

3. Examination

The final (unseen) examination will be held during mid-late December 2012. Examination dates are set centrally by Registry and will appear on their site (<http://www.scripts.sasg.ed.ac.uk/registry/examinations/index.cfm>), usually by November 2012. The exam will count for 50% of your total assessment. The exam lasts two hours, and usually comprises 6 questions (of which you choose two). Exam questions (which do not duplicate essay questions) usually ask for a broader overview of issues arising from the course.

Preparing for tutorial participation

Tutorial participation is based on three elements: attendance, contribution to discussion and group presentation. For the assessment form please see Appendix 1.

Attendance

You are expected to attend every tutorial and to arrive promptly. If attendance is likely to prove a problem you should inform the tutor well in advance. Full attendance does not carry a mark but five marks will be deducted from the overall tutorial score for every unexplained absence.

Contribution to discussion (50% of your overall tutorial assessment mark)

Each student who is not presenting in a given week should read a relevant chapter from a core textbook and at least three additional items from the core reading for each week, in order to respond constructively to class discussion. You should prepare for class a reading summary of one-page A4 maximum highlighting the main points three sources you have read and including three points or questions for discussion (i.e. what you would use to structure the discussion if you were leading it). You should attempt to include these points in discussion if possible and should submit the summary online to your tutorial Learn page in advance of the tutorial. Submit your

summaries in word or rtf format with your name and week in the document name (e.g. 'LukeMarchWk4.doc'). These summaries will not be formally graded but will be taken into account in your overall contribution mark.

Group presentation (50% of your overall tutorial assessment mark)

Students will be put into groups of 3 or 4 in the first tutorial and each group will usually give two presentations throughout the semester. These are timed 15-minute maximum presentations followed by Q&A. The students doing the presentation are expected to take questions, pose questions and facilitate discussion for the remainder of the tutorial. Each presentation should be accompanied by a handout of 2 pages of A4 max, distributed in paper form to students at the tutorial and uploaded to the course Learn page in advance. Powerpoint facilities may be used if available (this is not always possible in Edinburgh tutorial rooms, however). Group presentations will be assessed according to the following criteria: content of handouts, quality of presentation, understanding of core concepts, engagement with literature as well as capacity to respond to questions and facilitate discussion.

Submitting your essay

Essay Deadline: FRIDAY 9 NOVEMBER 2012, 12 NOON
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All Honours course work must be submitted as **hard copies AND electronically**.

Please make sure you consult the Politics/IR 'Honours Handbook' (available on the Politics/IR website) **for further information on submission of coursework; 'Late Penalty Waivers'; plagiarism; help for students with learning disabilities; special circumstances; common marking descriptors, re-marking procedures and appeals.**

FEEDBACK

All coursework will be marked and returned to students **within 3 weeks** of the submission date (i.e. by **Friday 30 November**)

Since 2008-2009, Politics and IR students receive **generalized feedback** on their **exam** performance. Generalized feedback will be posted on the WebCT pages for this course by **31st January 2013** at the latest.

Exam marks will usually be available in the first week of February 2013. This delay is because exams need to be second-marked and checked by the external examiner. The University is shut for two weeks over Christmas and post is often delayed, so the process takes time.

You have the option of **getting brief verbal feedback on individual exam scripts once they have been marked**. In order to do this you must request it from Luke March in his office hours within three weeks of receiving the exam marks (i.e. by **end of February 2013**). You will not be able to request it after this date.

Luke is more than happy to discuss any issues relating to the course with students in office hours (Tuesdays 10-12).

ESSAY QUESTIONS

You may choose any question from the list below. Essays may rely on lectures and seminar material for background, but you should not quote from these directly and it is expected that you will read widely and emphasise your original thoughts. Full attention must be given to proper spelling, grammar, referencing, and format.

1. 'In 1985 no government of a major state appeared to be as firmly in power, its policies as clearly set in their course, as that of the USSR' (Adam Ulam). So why did the USSR collapse just six years later?
2. To what degree has post-Soviet Russia been influenced by a Soviet political-cultural legacy?
3. 'The prominence of politico-bureaucratic groups in Russian politics is clearly established' (Richard Sakwa). Discuss with reference to the role of the Kremlin's so-called 'clans'.
4. 'Weak state, strong officials'. To what degree is this true of Vladimir Putin's regime?
5. To what degree have Russian national, regional and religious policies managed to contain the 'threat' of radical Islam?
6. The Russian party system is 'unfavourable for opposition of any kind' (Vladimir Gel'man). Discuss.

READINGS

Purchase of at least one of the core texts is essential. They are usually available at local bookshops, especially Word Power (www.word-power.co.uk) and Blackwells (http://bookshop.blackwell.co.uk/jsp/readinglists/displaylist.jsp?fm_course=18387).

Core textbooks

- Stephen White, *Understanding Russian Politics* (2011)
- Richard Sakwa, *Russian Politics and Society* (4th edn, 2008)

Supplementary texts

- Catherine Danks: *Politics Russia* (2009) (Best basic introduction)
- Eric Shiraev, *Russian Government and Politics* (2010) (Also good overview)
- Edwin Bacon, *Contemporary Russia* (2nd edition 2010) (Good basic background text)
- Graeme Gill and James Young (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Russian Politics and Society* (2012)
- Thomas Remington, *Politics of Russia* (6th edition, 2010)
- Stephen K. Wegren, *After Putin's Russia* (4th edition, 2009)
- Joel M. Ostrow (ed.) *Politics in Russia: A Reader* (2013) (ordered for library)
- Richard Sakwa, *Putin: Russia's Choice* (2nd edn, 2008)
- Richard Sakwa, *The Crisis of Russian Democracy* (2011)
- David Kotz and Fred Weir, *Russia's Path from Gorbachev to Putin: The Demise of the Soviet System and the New Russia* (2007)
- Stephen White, Richard Sakwa & Henry E. Hale (eds.) *Developments in Russian Politics* 7 (2010)

Soviet politics

For time considerations we cannot go much into the Soviet past, but some knowledge of Soviet history is a definite asset. Relevant introductory texts include:

- David R. Marples, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union 1985-1991*
- Archie Brown, *Seven Years that Shook the World: Perestroika in Perspective*
- Richard Sakwa, *Gorbachev and his Reforms, 1985-1990*
- Stephen White *Gorbachev and After*, or *After Gorbachev*
- Mary Buckley, *Redefining Russian Society and Polity*
- Rachel Walker, *Six Years that Shook the World*
- Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics 1917-1991*
- Richard Sakwa, *Soviet Politics in Perspective*
- Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Soviet Experiment*
- Peter Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to End*

This reading list is by no means exhaustive, as new sources are emerging all the time. Please check the library catalogue for updates throughout the year. If Edinburgh University Library has not yet catalogued recent acquisitions, please look in the National Library of Scotland (www.nls.uk). If you spot any useful book that the library does not have, please alert me and I will order it.

Journals

Because of the rapid changes in Russia and the former Soviet Union, it is important that you stay up-to-date with recent developments. Most useful for this is the *Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press* (which contains English translations of the Russian press). The most relevant academic

journals are: *Europe-Asia Studies*; *Post-Soviet Affairs*; *Slavic Review*; *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, *Communist and post-Communist Studies*; *BJPS*; *APSR*; *World Politics*; *Foreign Affairs*, *New Left Review* and *RFE/RL Research Report* (until August 1994). The best UK press coverage of current Russian politics is usually found in either *The Financial Times* or (with reservations) *The Economist*. An interesting introduction is 'Enigma Variations', the Special Report on Russia in *The Economist*, 29 November 2008. Current journals are held on the first floor of the library and recent print editions of the *Current Digest* are on the second floor (in reference section).

E-journals: Increasingly, many useful journals are 'e-journals' which means articles from them can be directly downloaded through the library's website. Go directly to this website: <http://www.lib.ed.ac.uk/lib/resources/collections/serials/ejintro.shtml> for an alphabetical listing of e-journals.

Most issues of the following relevant journals are currently available as e-journals

- British Journal of Political Science
- Communist and post-Communist Studies
- Current Digest of the Post-Soviet Press
- East European Politics (formerly Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics)
- Europe-Asia Studies
- International Affairs
- Journal of Democracy
- Journal of Politics
- Parliamentary Affairs
- Politics
- Political Quarterly
- Political Studies
- Post-Soviet Affairs
- West European Politics

I will also put several journal articles on the course website, indicated by 'Learn' on the reading list. 'Learn' is the dedicated course website available through MyEd when you register for this course.

The Internet

The Russian internet (*Runet*) is very rich with political sites. Unfortunately, most of these are not available in English. A list of the most accessible English-language websites is attached in Appendix 2. Please note that websites vary immensely in quality, credibility and reliability. Some of the online analysis of Russia is extremely good. Other sites are useful for up-to-date interpretation of certain political events, but are seldom as analytical as the 'hard copy' sources used in this handout. Use them as supplementary sources, not your main ones.

WEEKLY TOPICS

As a general rule, **you must read a relevant chapter from a core textbook and at least three additional items from the core reading for each week**, in order to respond constructively to class discussions and contribute well to the tutorial participation exercises. The most vital texts are indicated with an asterisk (*). Supplementary reading is essential for essays or when core reading is unavailable, and students will be given credit for imaginative use of sources. Students are not expected to read every item from the supplementary reading (see it more as a menu), but to select materials on topics that fit their interests.

Key:

- [e-journal]:** Available as e-journal through University library catalogue by journal title search or e-journals page: <http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/information-services/library-museum-gallery/finding-resources/find-ejournal/search-ejournal>
- Learn:** A small number of articles are available on course Learn page via the 'E-reserve' link.

WEEK 1: INTRODUCTION (17 Sept)

Lecture: General introduction to course/Political culture mini-lecture

No seminars

Core readings on political culture

- Edwin Bacon *Contemporary Russia* (chapter 7)
Russell Bova *Russia and Western Civilization: Cultural and Historical Encounters* (esp. chapter 7 by Russell Bova 'Democracy and Russian Political Culture, pp. 243-276 **Learn*** and Philip Grier, 'The Russian Idea and the West', pp. 23-77).
- Frederic Fleron 'Post-Soviet political culture in Russia: an assessment of recent empirical investigations,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 48, no. 2, March 1996, pp. 225-260 **[e-journal]**
- Alexander Lukin 'Russia's New Authoritarianism and the Post-Soviet Political Ideal', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2009 **[e-journal]*** (also used in week 10)
- Vladimir Petukhov 'Public Attitudes About Democracy' in McFaul, Petrov and Andrei Ryabov *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, chapter 11 pp. 268-291 **Learn***
- Richard Sakwa *Russian Politics and Society* (chapter 15)*
Stephen White *Understanding Russian Politics* (chapter 7)
Stephen White 'Soviet nostalgia and Russian politics', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2, January 2010, Pages 1–9. Available at: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1879366509000049>

Supplementary reading

- Russell Bova 'Political culture, authority patterns, and the architecture of the new Russian democracy', in Harry Eckstein et. al., *Can Democracy Take Root in Post-Soviet Russia?*, pp. 177-200

Archie Brown (ed.) Timothy J. Colton and Michael McFaul D. Bahry	<i>Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader</i> , chapters 20, 22 'Are Russians Undemocratic?', <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> , No. 2, April-June 2002, pp. 91-121 [e-journal] 'Comrades into citizens? Russian political culture and public support for the transition', <i>Slavic Review</i> , vol. 58, no. 4, 1999 [e-journal]
Frederick C Barghoorn	'Soviet Russia: Orthodoxy and adaptiveness' in Lucian Pye et. al., <i>Political Culture and Political Development</i> , pp. 450-511
Archie Brown and Jack Gray (eds.) Harry Eckstein	<i>Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States</i> (esp. 'Introduction', chapter 2) 'A culturalist theory of political change', <i>American Political Science Review</i> , vol. 82, no. 3, 1988, pp. 789-904, and discussion in <i>APSR</i> , vol. 84. no. 1, 1990, pp. 249-258 [e-journal]
James Gibson	'Becoming tolerant? Short-term changes in Russian political culture', <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> , Apr 2002, Vol.32, No.2, pp.309- 334 [e-journal]
Ruth Lane	'Political culture: residual category or general theory?', <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> , vol. 25, no. 3, 1992, pp. 362-387
Allen C. Lynch	<i>How Russia is Not Ruled: Reflections on Russian Political Development</i> , Chapter 1, pp. 18-46. Also relevant: chapter 2 47-84*
<i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i>	Vol, 14, no. 3, 1998 (whole issue—articles by Bunce, Steven Fish, Miller et al)
Tim McDaniel	<i>The Agony of the Russian Idea</i>
Thomas F. Remington	<i>Politics in Russia</i> (2010) chapter 5
Viktor Sergeev & N. Biryukov	<i>Russia's Road to Democracy</i>
Robert C Tucker	'What time is it in Russia's history?' in Catherine Merridale & Chris Ward (eds.) <i>Perestroika in Historical Perspective</i>
Stephen White	<i>Political Culture and Soviet Politics</i> (partic. chapters 1-4)
Stephen Whitefield (ed.)	<i>Political Culture and Post-Communism</i> , partic chapters 2. 3.)

WEEK 2: THE SOVIET SYSTEM (24 Sept)

Lecture: The USSR: origins, structures, development

Seminar: Approaches to the Soviet system

- Was the USSR a 'totalitarian' state?

Core reading

Richard Sakwa	<i>Soviet Politics in Perspective</i> , esp. chapter 10 [e-book]
Michael Cox (ed.)	<i>Rethinking the Soviet Collapse</i> (browse chapters 1-6). Chapter 2 pp 32-50 Learn*
Peter Kneen	'Reconceptualizing the Soviet System: Pluralism, Totalitarianism and Science', <i>Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics</i> , Vol. 14, No. 4, December 1998, pp. 28-50 [e-journal]
Valerie Bunce & John Echols	'From Soviet Studies to Comparative Studies: The Unfinished Revolution', <i>Soviet Studies</i> , Vol. 31, No. 1 January 1979, pp 43-55 [e-journal]

- Vincent Barnett 'Understanding Stalinism: The 'Orwellian discrepancy' and the 'rational choice dictator' *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 3, 2006, pp. 457-467 [e-journal]
- Frederic J. Fleron and Erik Hoffman *Post-Communist States and Political Science* (look at chapters 1-7)

Supplementary reading

- John Armstrong 'New essays in Sovietological Introspection', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 9, April/June 1993, pp. 171-75
- David Benn 'Hitlerism and Stalinism: Comparisons and explanations', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 2, 2006, pp. 291-299 [e-journal]
- Archie Brown *Soviet Politics and Political Science*
- Archie Brown 'Political power and the Soviet state: Western and Soviet perspectives', in Neil Harding (ed.), *The State in Socialist Society*
- Valerie Bunce 'The Political Economy of the Brezhnev era: the Rise and Fall of Corporatism', *BJPS*, vol. 13, April 1983, pp. 129-158 [e-journal]
- Robert Burrowes 'Totalitarianism: The Revised Standard Version', *World Politics* 22, January 1969, pp 272-294 [e-journal]
- Tony Cliff *State Capitalism in Russia*
- Frederic J Fleron Jr (ed.) *Communist Studies and the Social Sciences*
- Carl J Friedrich & Zbigniew K Brzezinski *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*
- H Gordon Skilling & Franklyn Griffiths (eds.) *Interest Groups and Soviet Politics*
- David Lane *The Socialist Industrial State* (esp. chapters 1-3)
- Moshe Lewin *The Making of the Soviet System* (chapters 9-12)
- Juan J. Linz *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*
- Richard Lowenthal 'Development versus Utopia in Communist policy' in Chalmers Johnson (ed.) *Change in Communist Systems*, pp 33-116
- Roy Medvedev *On Socialist Democracy*
- Alfred Meyer 'Observations on the travails of Sovietology,' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 10, no. 2, April-June 1994, pp. 191-195
- T H Rigby 'Reconceptualising the Soviet system', chapter 14 in White et al. (eds.), *Developments in Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics* (1992)
- Jeremy Smith *The Fall of Soviet Communism, 1986-1991*, partic. Part. 1 pp. 7-30
- Susan Gross Solomon *Pluralism in the Soviet Union* chaps. 3 and 5
- Leon Trotsky *The Revolution Betrayed: The Soviet Union, What it is and Where it is Going*
- Chris Ward *Stalin's Russia* (chapters 4 and 6)
- Michael E. Urban 'Conceptualising political power in the USSR: patterns of binding and bonding', *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol. XVIII, no. 4, 1985, pp. 207-226

WEEK 3: PERESTROIKA AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR (1 Oct)

Lecture: Gorbachev's perestroika

Seminar: The collapse of the USSR

- Why did reform of the USSR fail (consider institutional, ideological, strategic, tactical and personal reasons)?

Core reading

Richard Sakwa	'A cleansing storm: the August coup and the triumph of perestroika', <i>JCS</i> , vol. 9, no 4, March 1993, pp 131-149 [e-journal]*
Rasma Karklins	'Explaining regime change in the Soviet Union', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , vol. 46, no. 1, 1994 [e-journal]*
David R. Marples	<i>The Collapse of the Soviet Union 1985-1991</i> , esp. chapter 6, pp. 101-110 [e-book]*
Alexander Dallin	'Causes of the collapse of the Soviet Union', <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> , 8/4, October-December 1992, pp. 279-302 Learn*
D Shlapentokh	'Post-Mao China: an alternative to 'The end of history'', <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i> , 2002 [e-journal]*
<i>Slavic Review</i>	Special Issue on Gorbachev and Reform of the USSR Vol. 63, No. 3, Autumn, 2004 (partic articles by Brown, Cohen, Dawisha, Hanson [e-journal]*)

Supplementary reading

Archie Brown	<i>Seven Years that Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective</i> (esp. chapter 7)
Richard Sakwa	<i>Soviet Politics in Perspective</i> (esp. chapter 17)
Martin McCauley	<i>Gorbachev</i> (chapters 5-7)
Archie Brown	<i>The Gorbachev Factor</i> (esp. chapters 8 and 9)
Ed. A Hewett & Jan Hellenberg Edward W. Walker	<i>The Demise of the Soviet Union: Analysing the Collapse of a State Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union: The Soviet Bloc and After</i>
Mark Beissinger	<i>Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State</i>
John Miller	<i>Mikhail Gorbachev and the End of Soviet Power</i> (esp. chapter 2, 9, 10)
Ed. Hewett et al (eds.)	<i>Milestones in Glasnost and Perestroika</i> , pp. 390-495 (chapters by Breslauer, Brown, Hough, Migranyan)
Neil Robinson	'Gorbachev and the place of the Party in Soviet reform 1985-1991', <i>Soviet Studies</i> , Vol. 44, No. 3, 1992, pp. 423-444 [e-journal]
Rachel Walker	<i>Six Years that Shook the World</i>
Stephen White	<i>After Gorbachev</i> , chapters 1, 3, 4, 7
John Keep	<i>Last of the Empires: A History of the Soviet Union, 1945-1991</i> , Part III, especially chapters 10-13
Richard Sakwa	<i>The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union 1917-1991</i> (browse documents)
Mary Buckley	<i>Redefining Russian Society and Polity</i>

Tatyana Zaslavskaya	'The Novosibirsk Report', <i>Survey</i> , 29/1 Spring 1984, pp. 83-108 (see offprints under 'Hanson')
John B Dunlop	<i>The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Empire</i> , (chapters 1-5)
Christopher Marsh	<i>Unparalleled Reforms: China's Rise, Russia's Fall, and the Interdependence of Transition</i> (esp. chapter 3)
Z Gitelman	'Nations, republics and commonwealth,' in White et al, <i>Developments in Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics</i> , 2 nd ed.
	<i>Problems of Communism</i> , Nov-December 1991, articles by Breslauer, Beissinger, Knight, Shub
Anthony D'Agostino	<i>Gorbachev's Revolution 1985-1991</i>
Mark Galeotti	<i>Gorbachev and his Revolution</i>
Jeffrey Surovell	'Gorbachev's last year; leftist or rightist?', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , vol. 46, no. 3, 1994, pp. 465-487 [e-journal]

WEEK 4: POLITICAL ECONOMY (8 Oct)

Lecture: *The politics of Russian economic reform*

Seminar: 'Clans', oligarchs and the Russian executive

- Who are the 'clans' and 'oligarchs' in Russian politics and what is the nature of their influence over the Russian executive?

Core reading

Richard Sakwa	<i>The Crisis of Russian Democracy</i> , chapters 3 and 4 [e-book]*
White, Pravda et al	<i>Developments in Russian Politics</i> 7, chapters 2, 11*
Daniel Treisman	'Putin's Silovarchs', <i>Orbis</i> , Vol. 51, No. 1, Winter 2007, pp.141-153 [e-journal]*
Philip Hanson & Elizabeth Teague	'Big Business and the State in Russia' <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , Vol. 57, no. 5, 2005, pp. 657- 681 [e-journal]
Ol'ga Kryshtanovskaya & Stephen White	'Inside the Putin court: A Research Note' <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , Vol. 57, no. 7, 2005, pp. 1065- 1077 [e-journal]*
Bettina Renz	'Putin's militocracy?: An alternative interpretation of the role of <i>Siloviki</i> in contemporary Russian politics', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , vol. 58, no. 6, 2006, pp. 903-924 [e-journal]*
Oxana Gaman-Golutvina	'Changes in Elite Patterns', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , Vol 60, no. 6, 2008, pp. 1033-1050 [e-journal]
Ol'ga Kryshtanovskaya and Stephen White	'The Sovietization of Russian Politics', <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> , Vol. 25, No. 4, October-December 2009 [e-journal]*

For latest updates see recent issues of *Current Digest of Post-Soviet Press*, *RFE/RL Newsline* and *Johnson's Russia List* (e.g. search for 'Khodorkovsky' and 'siloviki').

Supplementary reading

Richard Sakwa	<i>Putin: Russia's Choice</i> (2008 edn) pp. 71-79, 143-50, ch. 9
Edwin Bacon	<i>Contemporary Russia</i> , chapter 5
Victoria Bonnell and George Breslauer (eds.)	<i>Russia in the New Century</i> , parts II and III
Archie Brown (ed.)	<i>Contemporary Russian Politics: a Reader</i> , Section 6

Chrystia Freeland	<i>Sale of the Century</i>
Thane Gustafson	<i>Capitalism Russian-Style</i> , chapters 5-7
Dale Herspring	<i>Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain</i> , chapters 6 and 7
David Hoffman	<i>The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia</i>
Juliet Johnson	'Russia's emerging financial-industrial groups,' in <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> , vol. 13, Oct/Dec 1997, pp. 303-332
Paul Klebnikov	<i>Godfather of the Kremlin</i>
Peter Kneen	'Political corruption in Russia and the Soviet legacy', <i>Crime, Law and Social Change</i> , vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 349-368
Alena Ledeneva	<i>Russia's Economy of Favours</i>
Michael S. Poulton	'Russian Business: The Warp and Weave of Its History' in Russell Bova (ed.) <i>Russia and Western Civilization: Cultural and Historical Encounters</i> , chapter 8
Peter Rutland	'Business and Civil Society in Russia' in Alfred B. Evans et al. (eds) <i>Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment</i> , pp 74-94
Peter Rutland	<i>Business and the State in Contemporary Russia</i>
Peter Rutland	'Putin's Economic Record: Is the Oil Boom Sustainable?', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , vol. 60, no.6, 2008, pp. 1051-1072 [e-journal]
Vladimir Shlapentokh	'Wealth Versus Political Power: The Russian Case' <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i> , Volume 37, Issue 2, 2004. pp. 135-160 [e-journal]
William Tompson	'The Russian economy under Vladimir Putin' in Cameron Ross (ed.) <i>Russian politics under Putin</i> , chapter 7

WEEK 5: LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE (15 Oct)

Lecture: The evolution of executive-legislative relations in Russia

Seminar: Putin, Medvedev and the evolution of executive-legislative relations

- Is it accurate to characterise the Russian executive as a 'super-presidential' system?

Core reading

Paul Chaisty	'Majority Control and Executive Dominance: Parliament-President Relations in Putin's Russia', in Alex Pravda (ed.), <i>Leading Russia—Putin in Perspective: Essays in Honour of Archie Brown</i> , pp. 119-138 [e-book]*
Gerald M. Easter	'Preference for Presidentialism: post-communist regime change in Russia and the NIS,' <i>World Politics</i> , vol. 49, no. 2, 1997, pp. 184-211 [e-journal]*
M. Steven Fish	'The executive deception: superpresidentialism and the degradation of Russian politics', in Sperling V. (ed.), <i>Building the Russian State</i> [e-book]*
Andrew Monaghan	'The vertikal: power and authority in Russia', <i>International Affairs</i> , vol. 88, no. 1 (2012), pp. 1–16 [e-journal]*
Thomas Remington	'Patronage and the party of power: President-Parliamentary relations under Vladimir Putin', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , vol. 60, no. 6, 2008, pp. 959-988 [e-journal]
Richard Sakwa	<i>Putin: Russia's Choice</i> (2008 edition) Part 5

Supplementary reading

- Edwin Bacon *Contemporary Russia*, chapter 4
- Archie Brown (ed.) *Contemporary Russian Politics: a Reader*, chapters 4-8
- Eugene Huskey *Presidential Power in Russia*, (esp. chs. 2-4, 6)
- Juan Linz 'Presidentialism or parliamentarism: does it make a difference?' in Linz & Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, pp. 3-42
- Juan Linz 'Some thoughts on presidentialism in postcommunist Europe,' in Ray Taras, (ed.), *Postcommunist Presidents*, pp. 1-14 **Learn**
- Thomas F. Remington 'The evolution of executive-legislative relations in Russia since 1993', *Slavic Review*, vol. 59, no. 3, 2000 **[e-journal]**
- Thomas F. Remington *The Russian Parliament: Institutional Evolution in a Transitional Regime*
- Thomas F. Remington 'Majorities without Mandates: The Russian Federation Council since 2000' *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 55, No. 5, July 2003 **[e-journal]**
- Andrei Ryabov 'Legislative-Executive Relations', in McFaul, Petrov and Ryabov, *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, Chapter Four
- Richard Sakwa *Russian Politics and Society*, 4th edition (contains text of Russian constitution).
- Steve Smith & T. F. Remington *The Politics of Institutional Choice: The Formation of the Russian State Duma*
- Raymond Taras 'Separating power: keeping presidents in check,' in R. Taras (ed.), *Postcommunist Presidents*, pp. 15-37
- Stephen White 'Russia: presidential leadership under Yeltsin,' in R. Taras, (ed.) *Post communist Presidents*, pp. 38-66
- Stephen White et al. (eds.) *Developments in Russian Politics 7*, chapters 2 and 3*
- Tiffany Troxel *Parliamentary Power In Russia, 1994-2001*

DVD SESSION

Wednesday October 15 2-4 pm (Forrest Hill, D.02)

Film tbc

WEEK 6: CENTRE-PERIPHERY RELATIONS (22 Oct)

Lecture: Centre-periphery relations

Seminar: Chechnya and the North Caucasus

- What are the chief problems in the North Caucasus and how effective have Russia's policies been at resolving them?

Core reading

- Emil Souleimanov and Ondrej Ditrych 'The Internationalisation of the Russian-Chechen Conflict: Myths and Reality', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 7, 2008 **[e-journal]**
- Roland Dannreuther and Luke March 'Chechnya: Has Moscow Won?' *Survival*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2008 **[e-journal]***
- Gordon M. Hahn 'The Jihadi Insurgency and the Russian Counterinsurgency in the North Caucasus', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 24, no. 1, Jan-March, 2008 **[e-journal]**
- John Russell 'Chechnya: Russia's 'war on terror' or 'war of terror'? *Europe-Asia Studies*; January 2007, Vol. 59 No. 1, pp 163–168 **[e-journal]**
- Domitilla Sagramoso 'Violence and conflict in the Russian North Caucasus *International Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 4, July 2007, pp. 681-705 **[e-journal]***
- Charles King and Rajan Menon 'Prisoners of the Caucasus: Russia's Invisible Civil War' *Foreign Affairs* July/August 2010 **[e-journal]***
- Roland Danreuther and Luke March *Russia and Islam: State, society and radicalism* (esp. chapters 8-11)* **[e-book]**

Supplementary reading

- John B. Dunlop and Rajan Menon 'Chaos in the North Caucasus and Russia's future' *Survival*, vol. 48, no. 2, 2006 **[e-journal] ***
- John B. Dunlop *Russia Confronts Chechnya: Roots of a Separatist Conflict*
- Dov Lynch 'The Enemy is at the Gate': Russia after Beslan' *International Affairs*, January 2005, Vol. 81, No. 1, pp. 141-161 **[e-journal]**
- R Seely *Russo-Chechen Relations 1800-2000: a Deadly Embrace*
- Gordon M. Hahn 'The Impact of Putin's Federative Reforms on Democratization in Russia', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, No. 2, April-June 2003
- Elena Chebankova 'The Limitations of Central Authority in the Regions and the Implications for the Evolution of Russia's Federal System', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol 57, No. 7, 2005, pp. 933-951 **[e-journal]**
- Tracey German *Russia's Chechen War*
- Matthew Evangelista *The Chechen Wars*
- Matthew Evangelista 'Is Putin the New de Gaulle? A Comparison of the Chechen and Algerian Wars', *Post Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 4, October-December 2005, pp. 360-377
- Gordon M. Hahn *Russia's Islamic Threat*

- Richard Sakwa
Richard Sakwa
McFaul et al. *Putin: Russia's Choice*, chapter 8
Chechnya: From Past to Future
Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform, chapter 9 'Federalism' by Nikolai Petrov
- Archie Brown (ed.)
G. W. Lapidus *Contemporary Russian Politics: a Reader*, section 9
'Putin's war on terrorism: lessons from Chechnya', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol.18, no.1, Jan-Mar 2002, pp.41-48 **Learn**
- Richard Sakwa
Richard Sakwa
Cameron Ross *Russian Politics and Society* (3rd edn.), chapters 9, 10
Chechnya: From the Past to the Future
'Putin's Federal Reforms and the consolidation of federalism in Russia: one step forward, two steps back!', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 36 (2003), 29-47 **[e-journal]**
- Graeme Herd (ed.)
John Russell *Russian Regions and Regionalism*
'Obstacles to peace in Chechnya: What scope for international involvement?' *Europe-Asia Studies*, September 2006, Vol. 58 No. 6, pp. 941–964 **[e-journal]**
- Jeff Kahn
Anatol Lieven
Dmitri Trenin and
Alexei Malashenko
Julie Wilhelmsen *Federalism and Democratization*
Chechnya: Tombstone of Soviet Power
Russia's Restless Frontier, the Chechnya Factor
'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2005, pp. 35-60 **[e-journal]**

WEEK 7: ELECTIONS AND THE PARTY SYSTEM (29 Oct)

Lecture: Russian elections

Seminar: Political parties

- How can one best characterise the party system in Russia? Consider the following parties in terms of ideology, structure and electorate, relative success and reasons for it: a) the Communist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party; b) United Russia and Just Russia

Core reading

Russian parties (general background). See also relevant party chapters in the textbooks

- Edwin Bacon 'Electoral manipulation and the development of Russia's political system', *East European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 2012 **[e-journal]***
- Vladimir Gel'man 'Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 6, 2008 **[e-journal]***

- Michael McFaul 'Political Parties', in McFaul, Petrov and Ryabov, *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform*, chapter 5, **Learn**
- Richard Sakwa 'Party and power: between representation and mobilisation in contemporary Russia', *East European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2012) **[e-journal]***
- David White 'Reconceptualising Russian Party Politics', *East European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2012 **[e-journal]***
- Kenneth Wilson 'Party-System Development Under Putin', *Post Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 2006, pp. 314-348 **[e-journal]**

Specific parties (select according to party chosen):

- Ora John Reuter and Thomas F. Remington 'Dominant Party Regimes and the Commitment Problem: The Case of United Russia', *Comparative Political Studies*, April 2009 vol. 42 no. 4 501-526 **[e-journal]**
- Sean P. Roberts 'United Russia and the dominant-party framework: understanding the Russian party of power in comparative perspective', *East European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2012 **[e-journal]***
- Sean P. Roberts *Putin's United Russia Party*
- Regina Smyth et. al 'Engineering Victory: Institutional Reform, Informal Institutions, and the Formation of a Hegemonic Party Regime in the Russian Federation', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 23, no.2, 2007 **[e-journal]**
- Darrell Slider 'How United is United Russia? Regional Sources of Intra-party Conflict', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Volume 26, Issue 2 2010 , pages 257 -275 **[e-journal]**
- Luke March *The Communist Party in Post-Soviet Russia*
- Luke March 'The Russian Left after Communism,' *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* Vol. 22, No. 4, December 2006 **[e-journal]**
- Luke March 'Communism' in Graeme Gill (ed) *Handbook of Russian Politics and Society* **Learn**
- Luke March 'Managing opposition in a hybrid regime: Just Russia and parastatal opposition', *Slavic Review*, 68:3, 2009, pp. 504-527 **Learn**
- Luke March 'The Russian Duma 'opposition': No drama out of crisis?' *East European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2012 **[e-journal – on Communists, Just Russia and Liberal Democratic Party]***
- Judith Devlin *Slavophiles and Commissars* (for communists and LDPR)
- Marlene Laruelle *In the Name of the Nation: Nationalism and Politics in Contemporary Russia* (for CPRF, LDPR and United Russia)
- Andrew Wilson *Virtual Democracy: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World*, chapters 8 and 9.
- Stephen Wegren and Andrew Konitzer 'Prospects for Managed Democracy in Russia' *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 59, no. 6, 2007 **[e-journal]**

DVD SESSION

Wednesday October 31 2-4pm (Forrest Hill D.02)

Film tbc

WEEK 8: STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY (5 Nov)

Lecture: Civil society, uncivil society and quasi-civil society

Seminar: Social change in contemporary Russia

- Have the 2011-2012 elections catalysed a new era of social activism in Russia?

Core reading

- Elena Chebankova 'State-sponsored civic associations in Russia: systemic integration or the 'war of position'?', *East European Politics*, (2012) [e-journal]*
- Mikhail Dmitriev and Daniel Treisman 'The Other Russia: Discontent grows in the hinterlands', *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2012 [e-journal]*
- Yury Dzhibladze 'Russian government declares 'cold war' on civil society', *OpenDemocracy*, 21 August 2012:
<http://www.opendemocracy.net/od-russia/yury-dzhibladze/russian-government-declares-%E2%80%98cold-war%E2%80%99-on-civil-society>
- Debra Javeline and S. Lindemann-Komarova 'Rethinking Russia : A Balanced Assessment of Russian Civil Society', *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 2, 2010, pp.171-188. Available at: <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/balanced-assessment-russian-civil-society>.
- Andrew Monaghan 'The End of the Putin Era?', *Carnegie Paper*, available at: <http://carnegieeurope.eu/publications/?fa=48919&lang=en>*
- Lilia Ovcharova 'Russia's middle class: at the centre or on the periphery of Russian politics?', European Union Institute for Security Studies, 16 February 2012: <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/russias-middle-class-at-the-centre-or-on-the-periphery-of-russian-politics/>
- Simon Saradzhyan and Nabi Abdullaev 'Putin, the protest movement and political change in Russia' European Union Institute for Security Studies, 17 February 2012: <http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/putin-the-protest-movement-and-political-change-in-russia/>

Supplementary reading

- Anna Aratunyan 'Pussy Riot: Are Russians paying attention?', *Russia Beyond the Headlines*, August 27, 2012, http://rbth.ru/articles/2012/08/27/pussy_riot_are_russians_paying_attention_17693.html
- Maya Atwal & Edwin Bacon 'The youth movement Nashi: contentious politics, civil society and party politics', *East European Politics*, 28:3, (2012): 256-266 [e-journal]*
- Edwin Bacon *Contemporary Russia* (2nd edition), chapter 6
- Thomas Bremer 'The Russian Orthodox Church', *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 47 (2008) at: www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad
- Alfred B. Evans et al. (eds) *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment*, partic. Ch. 18
- Alfred B. Evans 'Russian Society and the State?', in Stephen White., Richard Sakwa and Henry Hale (eds.) *Developments in Russian Politics 7*, chapter 6
- Graeme Gill and Roger D Markwick *Russia's Stillborn Democracy? From Gorbachev to Yeltsin* (ch. 6)

Graeme Gill and James Young Human Rights Watch	<i>Routledge Handbook of Russian Politics and Society</i> , chapter 30 (chapters 25-28 and 33 also useful) 'Acting Up: Russia's Civil Society'. Available at: http://www.hrw.org/features/russia-civil-society
Thomas Remington Thomas Remington	<i>Politics in Russia</i> (2010), chapter 4 'The Russian Middle Class as Policy Objective', National Council for Eurasian and East European Research Working Paper, http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceeer/2010_825-06_Remington.pdf
Richard Sakwa Richard Sakwa Valerie Sperling	<i>Putin: Russia's Choice</i> (2008), chapter 5 <i>Russian Politics and Society</i> (2008), chapter 14 'Nashi Devushki: Gender and Political Youth Activism in Putin's and Medvedev's Russia', <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> , 28:2, 2012 [e-journal]
Stephen White	<i>Understanding Russian Politics</i> , chapter 5

WEEK 9: RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE WEST (12 Nov)

Lecture: The evolution of Russian foreign policy

Seminar: Russia and the West

- What are the main points of congruence and conflict in contemporary Russian-Western relations, and why?

Core reading

Richard Sakwa	"'New Cold War' or twenty years' crisis? Russia and international politics", <i>International Affairs</i> Vol. 84, no. 2, 2008, pp. 241 – 267 [e-journal]*
Andrew Monaghan	"'An enemy at the gates'" or "from victory to victory" Russian foreign policy", <i>International Affairs</i> , Vol. 84 No. 4, 2008, pp. 717 – 733 [e-journal]*
Luke March	'Nationalism for Export? The Domestic and Foreign Policy Implications of the new 'Russian Idea'', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , forthcoming 2012 [e-journal]*
Hiski Haukkala	'Lost in Translation? Why the EU has Failed to Influence Russia's Development', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , Vol. 61 No.10, 2010, pp. 1757–1775 [e-journal]
Vinod K. K. Aggarwal and Kristi Govella	Responding to a Resurgent Russia: <i>Russian Policy and Responses from the European Union and the United States</i> [e-book: chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8 all relevant]*

Supplementary reading

Derek Averre	'Competing Rationalities: Russia, the EU and the 'Shared Neighbourhood'', <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> , Vol. 61 No.10, 2010, pp. 1689 -1713 [e-journal]
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- Vladimir Baranovsky 'Russia: a part of Europe or apart from Europe?', *International Affairs*, volume 76, no. 3, 2000, pp. 443-458 **[e-journal]**
- Jackie Gower 'European Union-Russia relations at the end of the Putin presidency', *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 16 No. 2, (2008) pp. 161-7 **[e-journal]**. **Other articles in this issue also relevant.**
- Jackie Gower and Graeme Timmins 'Russia and Europe: An Uneasy Partnership', in Jackie Gower and Graeme Timmins, *Russia and Europe in the Twenty-First Century: An Uneasy Partnership*, pp. 289-300 **Learn**
- Marcel de Haas *Russia's foreign security policy in the 21st century: Putin, Medvedev and beyond*
- Andreas Heinrich 'Under the Kremlin's Thumb: Does Increased State Control in the Russian Gas Sector Endanger European Energy Security?', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 60, No 9 , 2008 , pp. 1539 - 1574 **[e-journal]**
- Robert Legvold 'The Russia File'. *Foreign Affairs*, July-Aug 2009 **[e-journal]**
- Robert Legvold (ed.) *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century & The Shadow of the Past*
- Anatol Lieven and Dmitri Trenin *Ambivalent Neighbours: The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership*
- Bobo Lo *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*
- Edward Lucas *The New Cold War: Putin's Russia and the Threat to the West*
- Fyodor Lukyanov 'Russia-EU: The Partnership that went Astray', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 60, no. 6, 2008 **[e-journal]**
- Allen C Lynch 'The realism of Russia's foreign policy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1, 2001 pp. 7-31 **[e-journal]**
- Neil Macfarlane 'The 'R' in BRICs: Is Russia an Emerging Power?' *International Affairs*, vol. 82 no. 1, 2006, pp. 41-57 **[e-journal]**
- Katlijn Malfliet et al. (eds.) *The CIS, the EU and Russia: Challenges of Integration*
- Luke March 'Security Strategy and the Russia problem', in Roland Dannreuther and John Peterson (eds.), *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations*, pp. 97-114 **[e-book]**
- Sergei Medvedev 'The Stalemate in EU-Russia Relations' in Ted Hopf (ed). *Russia's European Choice*, pp. 215-232 **Learn**
- Peter Shearman 'The sources of Russian conduct: understanding Russian foreign policy', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 27, 2001, pp. 249-263 **[e-journal]**
- Dimitri K. Simes 'An Uncertain Reset', *Foreign Affairs*. July 17, 2009 **[e-journal]**
- Dimitri K. Simes 'Losing Russia', *Foreign Affairs*. Nov/Dec 2007 **[e-journal]**
- Angela Stent 'Restoration and Revolution in Putin's Foreign Policy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 60, no. 6, 2008 **[e-journal]***
- Christian Thorun *Explaining change in Russian foreign policy: The role of ideas in post-Soviet Russia's conduct towards the West*
- Andrei P. Tsygankov 'If not by tanks, then by banks? The role of soft power in Putin's foreign policy', *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 58, No. 7, 2006 , pp. 1079 - 1099 **[e-journal]**
- Andrei P. Tsygankov 'Russia in the Post-Western World: The End of the Normalization Paradigm?', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 4, October-December 2009 **[e-journal]**
- The Right Direction for U.S. Policy toward Russia*, Report from The Commission on U.S. Policy toward Russia (Washington D.C.: 2009), <http://www.nixoncenter.org/RussiaReport09.pdf>.

WEEK 10: DEMOCRATISATION? (19 Nov)

Lecture: Post-Soviet democratisation: themes and developments

Seminar: Characterising Russian 'democracy'

- How is it best to characterise the Russian political system, and why?

Core reading

- Richard Sakwa 'The Dual State in Russia', *Post-Soviet Affairs* Vol. 26, No. 3, July-September 2010 **[e-journal]***
- Henry E. Hale 'Eurasian politics as hybrid regimes: The case of Putin's Russia', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2010, pp. 33-41 (January 2010) **[e-journal]***
- Alexander Lukin 'Russia's New Authoritarianism and the Post-Soviet Political Ideal', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2009 **[e-journal]***
- Andrei Okara 'Sovereign Democracy: A New Russian Idea or a PR Project?', *Russia in Global Affairs*, № 2, July -September 2007, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/20/1124.html>*
- Ariel Cohen 'Putin's Legacy and United Russia's New Ideology', <http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/bg1940.cfm>*
- Pierre Hassner 'Russia's transition to autocracy', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, no. 2, 2008 **[e-journal]***
- Stephen White 'Classifying Russia's Politics' in White et al, *Developments in Russian Politics 7**
- Harley Balzer 'Managed Pluralism: Vladimir Putin's Emerging Regime', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, No. 3, July-September 2003 **[e-journal] ***
- Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman 'A Normal Country', *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2004 **[e-journal]***
- Michael McFaul 'The fourth wave of democracy and dictatorship', *World Politics*, vol. 54, 2002, pp. 212-244 **[e-journal]**

Supplementary reading

- Journal of Democracy* Articles on 'Russian Democracy in Eclipse', vol. 15, no. 3, July 2004 **[e-journal]**
- Edwin Bacon 'Conceptualising Contemporary Russia', *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 81, No. 2, April 2003 **[e-journal]**
- Journal of Democracy* *Special issue 'Elections without democracy'*, vol. 13, no. 2, April 2002 **[e-journal]**
- Archie Brown *Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader*, section 11, 12
- Valerie Bunce 'Comparative Democratization: Lessons from Russia and the postcommunist World', in Michael McFaul and K. Stoner-Weiss (eds.), *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition*, pp. 207-31 **Learn**
- David R Cameron 'Post-Communist Democracy: The Impact of the European Union', *Post Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 23, No. 3, July 2007, pp. 185-217 **[e-journal]**
- Stephen F. Cohen 'Russian Studies without Russia', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Jan-March 1999, pp. 37-55 **Learn**. See also exchange between Cohen and M. Steven Fish in *Post-Soviet Affairs*, October-December 2001.

- Thomas Carothers 'The end of the transition paradigm', *Journal of Democracy*, vol.13, no. 1, January 2002. See also responses in no. 3, 2002 [e-journal]
- Timothy J. Colton 'Putin and the Attenuation of Russian Democracy' in Alex Pravda (ed.), *Leading Russia--Putin in perspective: essays in honour of Archie Brown*, pp. 103-119
- M. Steven Fish 'Postcommunist subversion: social science and democratization in East Europe and Eurasia', *Slavic Review*, vol. 58, no. 4, 1999, pp. 794-823 [e-journal]
- M. Steven Fish *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*
- Jordan Gans-Morse 'Searching for Transitologists: Contemporary Theories of Post-Communist Transitions and the Myth of a Dominant Paradigm' *Post-Soviet Affairs* Vol. 20, No. 4, October-December 2004, pp. 320-349 [e-journal]
- Graeme Gill 'A new turn to authoritarian rule in Russia?', *Democratization*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006, pp. 58-77 [e-journal]
- Charles King 'Post-Postcommunism: Transition, Comparison and the End of "Eastern Europe"', *World Politics*, 53, 2000, pp. 143-172 [e-journal]
- Ivan Krastev 'Democracy's "doubles"', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, No. 2 April 2006, pp. 52-62 [e-journal]
- Guillermo O' Donnell 'Delegative democracy' in Larry Diamond, L. & M. F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (2nd edn.)
- Andreas Schedler 'How should we study democratic consolidation?', *Democratization*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1998, pp. 1-19
- Richard Sakwa 'The Regime system in Russia', *Contemporary Politics* Vol. 3 No. 1, 1997, pp 7-25 [e-journal]
- Fareed Zakaria 'The Rise of illiberal democracy', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 76, no. 6, 1997, pp. 22-43 [e-journal]

WEEK 11: REVISION SESSION

There will be a two-hour revision session in week 11. Please check WebCT for exact date and time

APPENDIX 1: TUTORIAL FEEDBACK AND ASSESSMENT FORM

Tutor:

Student Name:

Total Mark:

Attendance

Number of Tutorials	Present	Excused Absence	Absence without excuse (5 mark deduction)
9			

Contribution to tutorial discussion (50% of tutorial mark)

Criteria	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
The student made a significant contribution to tutorial discussions					
The student's preparation and contribution demonstrated a thoughtful engagement with the readings					

Contribution to group presentation (50% of tutorial mark)

Criteria	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Satisfactory</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
The student made an articulate and animated contribution to the group exercise					
The student's contribution to the group exercise seemed to be informed by appropriate study, reading and preparation					

Comments:

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF RUSSIAN POLITICS WEBSITES

Internet sites are increasingly essential for up-to-date information. Relevant data may be found on the following. Please note that site addresses may change rapidly. If you can read Russian, let me know, as the range of Russian language sites is enormous and I can give you some pointers. If anyone finds useful sites not on this list please let me know. Periodically some sites become subscription only.

General

- The Political Studies Association (<http://www.psa.ac.uk/Content.aspx?ParentID=5>) provides links to country-specific politics resources on the Internet (e.g. on elections, constitutions, etc).
- For data on elections around the world, see: <http://www.electionguide.org/>, and in Europe, see <http://www.parties-and-elections.de>
- Richard Kimber's Political Science Resources <http://www.politicsresources.net/area/russia.htm> is also useful.

News and analysis:

Carnegie Endowment: <http://www.carnegie.ru/en/>.
Radio Free Europe: <http://www.rferl.org/section/Russia/161.html>
RIA Novosti <http://en.rian.ru/>, (Russian news agency in English: some good articles)

Johnson's Russia List www.russialist.org

This is an excellent but large archive of Russia-related English-language sources from the world's press (primarily US and Russian). It increasingly has a lot of high-quality translations from the Russian Press. Browse archive but always be aware of source origins.

Harvard Program on New Approaches to Russian Security (PONARS): <http://ponarseurasia.org/blog/>. An excellent source on domestic and (especially) foreign policy (but not always updated)

Chatham House Russia and Eurasia resources at: <http://www.chathamhouse.org/research/russia-eurasia>

Russian papers

Moscow Times <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/>
Moscow News <http://themoscownews.com/>

Russian think-tanks

Institute of Contemporary Development (think-tank close to President Medvedev)
http://www.insor-russia.ru/en/about_us

Elections, Parties

Russia Votes (public opinion data): <http://www.russiavotes.org>

Yabloko party: <http://www.eng.yabloko.ru/index.html>
Just Russia party http://www.spravedlivo.ru/international/party_english/

Free electronic subscriptions:

Jamestown Foundation Eurasia Daily Monitor: <http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/> (Daily analysis of post-Soviet events, but somewhat anti-Russian tone)
Radio Free Europe Russia Report: subscribe via <http://www.rferl.org/subscribe.aspx>
Russian Analytical Digest: subscribe via <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

COURSE PROGRAMME

WEEK 1 (17 Sept)

General introduction to course (political culture lecture)

WEEK 2 (24 Sept)

Lecture: The USSR: origins, structures, development

Seminar: Approaches to the Soviet system

WEEK 3 (1 Oct)

Lecture: Gorbachev's *perestroika*

Seminar: The collapse of the USSR

WEEK 4 (8 Oct)

Lecture: The politics of Russian economic reform

Seminar: 'Clans', oligarchs and the Russian executive

WEEK 5 (15 Oct)

Lecture: The evolution of executive-legislative relations in Russia

Seminar: Putin, Medvedev and the evolution of executive-legislative relations

DVD session: film tbc

WEEK 6 (22 Oct)

Lecture: Centre-periphery relations

Seminar: Chechnya and the North Caucasus

WEEK 7 (29 Oct)

Lecture: Russian elections

Seminar: Political parties

DVD session: film tbc

WEEK 8 (5 Nov)

Lecture: Civil society, uncivil society and quasi-civil society

Seminar: Social change in contemporary Russia

WEEK 9 (12 Nov)

Lecture: The evolution of Russian foreign policy

Seminar: Russia and the West

WEEK 10 (19 Nov)

Lecture: Post-Soviet democratisation: themes and developments

Seminar: Characterising Russian 'democracy'

WEEK 11 (26 Nov)

Revision session (exact date and time tbc)