

SS375: Politics of the Post-Soviet States

Fall 2018 (AY19-1)

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COURSE HOURS: K2 (1445-1600), Lincoln Hall B101 B

Course Overview

Россия - Сфинкс. Ликуя и скорбя,	Russia is a Sphinx. Rejoicing, grieving,
И обливаясь черной кровью,	And drenched in black blood,
Она глядит, глядит, глядит в тебя	It gazes, gazes, gazes at you,
И с ненавистью, и с любовью!...	With hatred and with love!..

– Aleksandr Blok, “The Scythians” (1918)

Russian symbolist poet Aleksandr Blok’s manifesto, “The Scythians,” penned in the wake of the Russian Revolution and addressed to the “old world” of Europe, captures Russia’s long, conflicted (some might even say tortured) relationship with the West – and ultimately, with itself. *What is Russia, and what is Russia’s place in the world?* These are the existential questions over which the Scythians of Blok’s poem agonize, and they are the fundamental questions with which we will struggle in SS375 as we explore the politics, economics, and society of Russia and the post-Soviet States.

Perhaps more than any other country or region of the world, the contemporary politics of Russia and the other successor states of the Soviet Union are inextricably intertwined with and forged by historical forces reaching back centuries across time and across the vast Eurasian steppe. Thus, the course begins where any class on Russia must: with some history. In Part I, we explore Russia’s pre-revolutionary history and the enduring legacy of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Recognizing that the shock waves radiating from “Red October” extended far beyond the *Ten Days that Shook the World* memorialized in journalist John Reed’s famous account, we further examine the Soviet political, economic, and social system, paying special attention to how the Marxist-Leninist ideology written into the Soviet regime’s genetic code explains not only the regime’s violent nature, but also its seismic collapse in 1991.

Part II begins amid the rubble of the Soviet collapse, surveying the broken pieces of state and regime as the engineers of a new post-Soviet reality sought to build new polities, economies, and even societies from the wreckage. In this section we will wrestle with key questions in the study of post-communist politics: why did the post-Soviet states chart such divergent political paths after transition? Why was political and economic reform successful in some countries but a failure in others? How do post-Soviet citizens interact with the state and engage in political activity, especially in the face of corruption and increasingly restricted political rights? Finally, what are the key elements of “Putinism” - is there even such a thing? Will the House that Vladimir Built – Russia’s Putinist edifice – outlive its architect?

Part III examines critically Russia’s place in the world, seeking to understand the ends, ways, and means that inform Russia’s strategic interactions with its neighbors and beyond. Through an exploration of Russian

grand strategy, Moscow's use of frozen conflicts and hybrid warfare to pursue political objectives, and an increasingly antagonistic relationship with the West, we will come to terms with the case-specific question that cadets first encountered in its general form in SS307: *Why does Russia do what it does?* The course concludes with an opportunity for cadets to navigate for themselves the treacherous terrain of foreign policy making in the face of an aggressively revisionist Russia in Eastern Europe. Through a simulation of a national security crisis and NSC meeting, cadets will learn about the policy making process as well as the challenges that NATO faces in defending its Baltic members.

And so, the course concludes where Blok began: is Russia in the 21st century to be a part of Western civilization, or is her destiny to stand apart, gazing upon the West "with hatred and with love"?

Student Learning Objectives

Through SS375, each cadet will develop a sophisticated understanding of the complex interaction between politics, economics, and society in Russia and the other post-Soviet states. Furthermore, they will develop the knowledge, analytical skills, and communication skills to support their further intellectual development as they progress through the International Affairs major at West Point:

1. **Think Critically:** Students will think critically about the core puzzles and questions associated with the post-Soviet region, employing intellectual pluralism to evaluate different explanations for political, economic, and socio-cultural change and continuity.
2. **Read Critically:** Students will read critically a wide spectrum of academic, policy, and popular literature on the post-Soviet states in order to understand, analyze, and critique the arguments, methods, and evidence that are used in the literature on post-communist politics.
3. **Gain Disciplinary Knowledge:** Students will understand and critically engage the key definitions, theories, debates, and disagreements in the field of post-communist politics in order to understand how the post-Soviet states have diverged in their political, economic, and social development since the collapse of the Soviet Union.
4. **Conduct Research:** Students will identify the social science methodologies and data sources appropriate for a policy-oriented research project and memo, and will have the ability to conduct empirical research using those methodologies.
5. **Assess and Develop Policy:** Students will integrate and apply knowledge to describe, explain, and analyze a current policy challenge in the post-Soviet region, as well as develop policy options for addressing that challenge.
6. **Communicate Effectively:** Students will communicate clear and effective analysis and arguments about complex political issues verbally and in writing.

Requirements

Grading Scale

The following grade scale will be used to assess cadet work:

Table 1: Department of Social Sciences Grade Scale

	Grade	Percent	QP	Subjective Interpretation
Mastery	A+	97.0-100.0	4.33	Above standards of writing
	A	93.0-96.9	4.00	Mastery of concepts
	A-	90.0-92.9	3.67	Can apply concepts to new situations
Proficiency	B+	87.0-89.9	3.33	Meets standards of writing
	B	83.0-86.9	3.00	Solid understanding of concepts
	B-	80.0-82.9	2.67	Strong foundation for future work
Passing	C+	77.0-79.9	2.33	Approaching standards of writing
	C	73.0-76.9	2.00	Acceptable foundation for future work Acceptable understanding of concepts
Below Standard	C-	70.0-72.9	1.67	Below standards of writing
	D	67.0-69.9	1.00	Doubtful understanding of concepts Weak foundation for future work
Failing	F	Below 67.0	0.00	Unacceptable standards of writing Definitely failed to demonstrate understanding of concepts

Graded Assignments

The course requirements, worth 1,000 points in total, are as follows:

1. **Assigned Readings, Lessons 1-30:** The key to success in SS375 is completing the assigned readings before each lesson. Though there are no points assigned directly to readings, they are the daily “homework” for the class, just like a problem set in math. Failure to do the readings might not have an immediate grade impact comparable to failure to submit a problem set, but the long-term consequences are significant: success or failure on ALL of the course graded events below hinges on your comprehension and utilization of the ideas presented in readings.
2. **Response Papers (200 points each, due 19 SEP/31 OCT/30 NOV):** Cadets will write three response papers of approximately 1,000 words each. In each response paper, cadets will respond to a prompt that requires them to think critically and synthetically about course lessons, readings, and class discussions.
3. **CFR Model Diplomacy Simulation:** The capstone project of SS375 is a simulation of a National Security Council meeting responding to a crisis in the Baltic region involving Russia and NATO allies. The simulation is based on a scenario developed by the Council on Foreign Relations’ “Model Diplomacy” program. Cadets will be assigned in small groups to represent a specific agency or individual involved in the U.S. foreign policy making process. Cadets will read the assigned CFR materials, collaborate with their partners, and conduct additional research as needed to prepare for the simulation exercise. The graded components of the capstone simulation are as follows:
 - **Position Memo (200 points, due 14 DEC):** Each group will prepare a two-page (single spaced) position memo. This memo is written from the perspective of your assigned role: it will present a set of policy options for consideration by the NSC and recommend one of them to the president.
 - **NSC Meeting Simulation (100 points, held during TEE period):** We will conduct the simulation NSC meeting during assigned SS375 TEE period. During the meeting, each group will

present their opening position for consideration by the president (Round 1). Round 2 consists of discussion and deliberation of policy options by all members of the NSC. In Round 3, each group will make their final recommendation and the president will make a policy decision. Following the announcement of the president's decision, we will set aside assigned roles and conduct a wrap-up and reflection of the simulation and its results. Grades for the simulation will be based on the quality of an individual's participation in the meeting and discussion.

4. **Class Participation (100 Points):** As a seminar-style class, active cadet engagement is vital to creating the proper learning environment in SS375. Students will be awarded up to 100 points for their participation in class discussions. Worthwhile participation is based on completing assigned readings, good note taking during reading and in class, careful pre-class preparation, and thoughtful contributions to in-class discussion. Far more important than quantity of participation is the quality of an individual's participation in class.
5. **Bonus Points (Priceless, but 20 points max):** SS375 cadets are required to join the course Facebook group "Politology" (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/irtopia/>), which will serve as an online forum for our class.¹ I will frequently post articles and items of interest that relate to course topics, and encourage you to do the same. Cadets can earn 5 bonus points (up to a max of 20) for each article they post with a paragraph of commentary linking that article to a concept from class.² If you do not have a Facebook account, you may send your article and commentary to me, and I will post on your behalf.

Guest Lectures

We will have two required guest lectures during the semester:

- 15 October, time TBD: COL(ret) Richard Hooker.³
- 5 December, time TBD: Ambassador Michael McFaul.⁴

Course Readings

All assigned readings in the syllabus are available for download as a zip file on the **SS375 BlackBoard page**.

You are required to bring hard copies of all assigned readings/texts to class on the day that we discuss them. Much of our work in class will require close readings of scholarly writing, so it is essential that everyone has the readings at their fingertips during class.

Cadets should also get in the habit of following news from Russia and the former Soviet Union on a daily basis. The following are some reputable sources for doing so:

- Johnson's Russia List <http://russialist.org/>

1. All cadets are required to join the Facebook group during the first week of classes and remain members for the duration of the semester. When the semester is over, you're free to leave the group, but you're also welcome to stay in it if you'd like to stay connected with the current events posted in the future. It is my policy to only accept friend requests from 2LTs and higher. If you're interested in staying in touch after graduation, please wait until that time to send a request.

2. In order to receive bonus points, articles must be posted NLT 3 December - the purpose of the bonus opportunity is to encourage active engagement throughout the semester, not a desperate last-minute flurry.

3. COL(ret)Hooker served from April 2017 until July 2018 as special assistant to the president and Senior Director for Europe and Russia on the National Security Council.

4. Ambassador McFaul served from 2009 - 2011 as special assistant to the president and Senior Director of Russian and Eurasian Affairs on the NSC. From December 2011 - February 2014, he served as the United States Ambassador to Russia. Since returning to his position as a political science professor at Stanford University, AMB McFaul has been an outspoken critic of the Putin regime and its foreign and domestic policies.

- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty <https://www.rferl.org/>
- The Moscow Times <https://themoscowtimes.com/>
- Eurasia Daily Monitor <https://jamestown.org/programs/edm/>
- Eurasianet <https://eurasianet.org/>
- Meduza <https://meduza.io/en>

Course Policies

Electronics in Class An increasingly large body of research presents evidence that the use of electronics in class undermines student learning.⁵ In order to facilitate active engagement and a productive learning environment, cadets are not permitted to use laptops, tablets, or smart phones in class. Because some course readings are provided electronically via BlackBoard, you will have to print hard copies of those readings to bring to class. If you haven't invested in a cheap ink jet printer, now might be a good time to do so.

Absences You must notify your instructor and the section marcher of any planned absence at least 24 hours in advance. All graded assignments are due at their specified time: guard duty, trip sections, athletic competitions, etc. do not preclude you from turning in graded assignments on time.

Documentation of Sources All sources used to produce coursework in SS375 must be properly acknowledged and documented, IAW the Dean's Documentation of Academic Work. This includes but is not limited to published and unpublished sources, written, verbal, audiovisual, and electronic sources, class notes and study guides written by someone other than you, and all assistance received from other persons. *All* ideas of any kind (not just direct quotes) must be thoroughly documented through footnotes and a works cited page. **If you have any questions or doubts as to whether or how to document a source or idea, ASK YOUR INSTRUCTOR FOR GUIDANCE in order avoid plagiarism.**

Citation Style All sources used in your written work must be documented using the Chicago Manual of Style's "notes and bibliography" style (16th edition). This citation style requires the use of footnotes throughout the paper, as well as a "Works Cited" list at the end. The definitive guide for how to properly format citations can be found online here: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/16/ch14/ch14_toc.html. You should also consult the relevant sections of the *Little, Brown Handbook* for further guidance on documentation. Failure to cite and format properly according to the Chicago notes-bibliography style may result in a reduced grade.

Common Knowledge Cadets are not required to cite in-class discussions, lectures, or instructor AI. IAW USMA DAW, this is considered "common knowledge." Information and ideas gained from course texts and assigned readings are *not* considered common knowledge and *must* be documented properly. When in doubt, ask your instructor for clarification.

Late Assignments The penalty for late submissions is **20 percentage points per 24-hour period** after the due date. Cadets are required to notify instructors that they will be submitting work late. As a matter of policy, extensions will not be granted without a verified medical profile or emergency pass that justify late submission - trip sections, guard duty, athletic competitions, or other taskings do not warrant extensions.

5. Susan Payne Carter, Kyle Greenberg, and Michael S Walker, "The impact of computer usage on academic performance: Evidence from a randomized trial at the United States Military Academy," *Economics of Education Review* 56 (2017).

Regrading of Major Assignments Cadets may request a regrade on any assignment worth 20% or more of the overall course grade. Cadets requesting a regrade will first meet with their instructor to discuss the basis for their disagreement with the original grade. If a cadet still believes that a regrade is warranted, he or she must submit a memo to the Course Director requesting a regrade within 5 business days of having received the graded assignment. The memo should contain a detailed and specific explanation of why the cadet believes a regrade is justified.

Multiple Submission of Academic Work Cadets are prohibited from submitting for credit their own academic work (whether in part or in whole) that has already been submitted for credit in this or any other course. This includes work produced for another class in a previous semester or in the current semester, as well as work produced for SS375 in the current semester or in a previous semester. Not only does such “double-dipping” give an unfair advantage over students who compose new work from scratch, it “short circuits” the developmental learning process of a multi-stage research process.

SafeAssign Plagiarism Software All cadet papers and exams will be submitted electronically via BlackBoard and analyzed using the SafeAssign plagiarism software. This tool compares submitted files against a database of all papers uploaded to BlackBoard at USMA and other colleges, as well as against online publications, databases, websites, and reference sites (like Wikipedia, etc.). Cadets are encouraged to use SafeAssign as a tool to double-check their work and ensure that everything has been properly documented. BlackBoard assignments will allow for unlimited SafeAssign submissions until the assignment is due to allow for revisions if corrections are needed.

Plagiarism and Misrepresentation The following outlines academic consequences of plagiarism and misrepresentation for SS375. The policies derive from the Dean’s Documentation of Academic Work (DAW) and Department of Social Sciences policies. In cases where plagiarism or other academic misconduct is suspected, instructors will follow appropriate Cadet Honor System procedures. In a process distinct from referral to the Cadet Honor Committee, instructors assess the academic merit of cadet’s work. Plagiarism and intentional misrepresentation are serious violations of academic integrity and demonstrate “a significant failure of scholarship by depriving your instructor, fellow cadets, and other scholars of the ability to distinguish your work from the work of others.”⁶ Therefore, any instance of plagiarism will result in an automatic failure of the assignment. When determining a numeric grade (0-66%) for the failed assignment, instructors will assess the extent and severity of plagiarism.

A note concerning intentional vs. unintentional plagiarism: There are two related but independent facets to plagiarism and misrepresentation: one concerns ethics, the other concerns academic standards. It is often the case in instances of plagiarism that determining a cadet’s “intent to deceive” is the central focus of the Cadet Honor System proceedings. This recognizes the fact that plagiarism – insofar as it is a deliberate attempt to claim others’ work as your own – is an ethics violation of the lying and cheating clauses of the Cadet Honor Code. Thus, determining whether the cadet intended to deceive is a key function that is the purview of the institutions governing the Cadet Honor Code.

However, plagiarism is not only an ethical violation. It also represents a failure of academic standards and thus warrants a significant academic penalty separate from any findings by the Cadet Honor Process, IAW the DAW. When it comes to plagiarism as a failure of academic standards, the question of “intent” is secondary: instances of plagiarism and misrepresentation – even if unintentional – represent substandard academic work. The assessment of the quality of academic work and the application of penalties for substandard work is the exclusive prerogative of USMA faculty members as subject matter experts. Academic penalties are thus separate from any administrative penalties that may – or may not – be imposed by USCC or the Cadet Honor Board.⁷

6. Office of the Dean, Documentation of Academic Work (June 2017), United States Military Academy, 13

7. See USCC PAM 15-1: “The Cadet Honor Code, System, and Committee Procedures (9 October 2015), section 2-4.e.2 and section 2-7.

The scale or severity of the academic penalty assessed for plagiarized or misrepresented work is likely to be much greater than a simple calculation of the percentage of text in the paper that is plagiarized. This is because every paper is evaluated holistically as the end product of a comprehensive research and writing process. Plagiarism seriously undermines that process and the legitimacy of the end product, even if only a small portion of the paper has been plagiarized. The grade penalty for plagiarized or misrepresented work reflects the seriousness of such academic misconduct accordingly.

Part I The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union

1. Introduction: Why Socialism? And Why in Russia? (21 August)

- Read SS375 Syllabus
- Aleksandr Blok. “The Scythians,” 1918.
- Martin Malia. *The Soviet Tragedy*. New York: The Free Press, 1994. Pages 21-78

2. Revolution and Its Legacy (23 August)

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. “The durability of revolutionary regimes.” *Journal of Democracy* 24, no. 3 (2013)
- Benjamin Nathans. “Bolshevism’s New Believers.” *New York Review of Books*, November 23, 2018
- Masha Lipman. “Why Putin Won’t Be Marking the Hundredth Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.” *The New Yorker*, November 3, 2017

3. The Soviet Political System (27 August)

- T.H. Rigby. “Stalinism and the Mono-Organizational Society.” In *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation*, 1st, edited by Robert Tucker. New York: Norton, 1977
- Alexander Dallin and George W. Breslauer. *Political Terror in Communist Systems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970
- Martin Malia. *The Soviet Tragedy*. New York: The Free Press, 1994. Pages 498-504

4. Life Under Communism (31 August, no class meeting)

Dr. Person has to miss class to present a paper at the American Political Science Association annual conference in Boston, but you will be better people for having read the pieces below. The following readings by two of the Soviet Union’s greatest exiled writers give but a fleeting impression of life under communism. The opening chapter of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s epic, *The Gulag Archipelago*, describes how the Stalinist secret police (the NKVD, predecessor to the KGB) conducted arrests during the purges of the 1930s and again after the war (as in Solzhenitsyn’s own case). The elegantly composed essay by Joseph Brodsky paints a more ordinary – but no less fascinating – picture of the writer’s early life growing up in a post-war Leningrad communal apartment. Both are literary masterpieces - enjoy reading them.

- Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. “Arrest.” In *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation. Parts 1 and 2*. New York: Harper & Collins, 1974
- Joseph Brodsky. “In a Room and a Half.” In *Less Than One*. New York: Farrar, Straus / Giroux, 1986

For those interested in truly coming to terms with the nature of the Soviet system, there is no substitute for a deep immersion in the incredibly rich body of fiction and nonfiction literature produced by Soviet writers – dissidents and disciples alike – throughout the 20th century. A more complete list of 20th century Russian literature worth reading appears at the end of the syllabus.

5. The Soviet Economic System (6 September)

- Alec Nove. *The Economics of Feasible Socialism*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1983

6. The Soviet Union as a Multiethnic Empire (11 September)

- Yuri Slezkine. “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism.” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994)

7. The Soviet Collapse 1: Systemic Institutional Failure (13 September)

- Alexander Dallin. “Causes of the Collapse of the USSR.” In *The Soviet System: From Crisis to Collapse*, edited by A. Dallin and G.W. Lapidus. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995
- Ivan Szelenyi and Balazs Szelenyi. “Why socialism failed: Toward a theory of system breakdown - Causes of disintegration of East European state socialism.” *Theory and Society* 23, no. 2 (1994)
- Richard Sakwa. “The Soviet collapse: Contradictions and neo-modernisation.” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 4, no. 1 (2013)

8. The Soviet Collapse 2: Nationalism and Mass Mobilization (17 September)

Response Paper 1 Due 19 September NLT 1600

- Philip G Roeder. “Soviet federalism and ethnic mobilization.” *World Politics* 43, no. 2 (1991)
- Timur Kuran. “Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989.” *World politics* 44, no. 1 (1991)

Part II Brave New World: The Politics of Post-Communism

9. Trajectories from Communism (21 September)

- Michael McFaul. “The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship.” *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (2002)
- K. Darden and A. Grzymała-Busse. “The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse.” *World Politics* 59, no. 1 (2006)
- Mark R Beissinger. “A new look at ethnicity and democratization.” *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 3 (2008)

10. Democratization in Post-Communist Countries (25 September)

- V. Bunce. “Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience.” *World Politics*, 2003
- Alfred B Evans. “The failure of democratization in Russia: A comparative perspective.” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011)

- Thomas Carrothers. “The End of the Transition Paradigm.” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (2002)

11. Rebuilding State and Regime (27 September)

- M Steven Fish. “When more is less: Superexecutive power and political underdevelopment in Russia.” In *Russia In The New Century*. Westview Press, 2001
- Henry E Hale. “Formal constitutions in informal politics: Institutions and democratization in post-Soviet Eurasia.” *World Politics* 63, no. 4 (2011)

12. The Politics of Economic Reform (1 October)

- Joel S. Hellman. “Winners Take All - The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions.” *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998)
- Michael McFaul. “State power, institutional change, and the politics of privatization in Russia.” *World Politics* 47, no. 2 (1995)

13. Political Economy of Post-Communism (5 October)

- V. Bunce. “The Political Economy of Postsocialism.” *Slavic Review* 58, no. 4 (1999)
- Peter Rutland. “Putin and the Oligarchs.” *Putin’s Russia. Past imperfect, future uncertain*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003

14. Corruption and the Rule of Law (10 October)

- Henry E Hale. “25 Years After the USSR: What’s Gone Wrong?” *Journal of Democracy* 27, no. 3 (2016)
- Jordan Gans-Morse. “Threats to property rights in Russia: From private coercion to state aggression.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28, no. 3 (2012)

15. Political Parties after Communism (12 October)

- Ora John Reuter and Thomas F Remington. “Dominant party regimes and the commitment problem: The case of United Russia.” *Comparative political studies* 42, no. 4 (2009)
- Taras Kuzio. “Impediments to the emergence of political parties in Ukraine.” *Politics* 34, no. 4 (2014)

15 October: Guest lecture by COL(ret) Richard Hooker. Time/location TBD

16. Elections and Voting (16 October)

- Max Bader and Carolien van Ham. “What explains regional variation in election fraud? Evidence from Russia: a research note.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31, no. 6 (2015)
- Mikhail Myagkov, Peter C Ordeshook, and Dimitry Shakin. “Fraud or fairytales: Russia and Ukraine’s electoral experience.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21, no. 2 (2005)

17. Public Opinion and Regime Support (18 October)

- Robert Person. “The Deep Impact of Economic Collapse on Democratic Support.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 63, nos. 5-6 (2016)
- Timothy Frye et al. “Is Putin’s popularity real?” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 33, no. 1 (2017)

18. The Politics of Identity and Historical Memory (22 October)

- Oxana Shevel. “Russian nation-building from Yel’tsin to Medvedev: ethnic, civic or purposefully ambiguous?” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 2 (2011)
- Nikita Petrov. “Don’t Speak, Memory: How Russia Represses Its Past.” *Foreign Aff.* 97 (2018)
- Thomas Sherlock. “The Real Reason Russians Still Have Soviet Nostalgia.” *The National Interest*, December 25, 2016

19. Revolution Redux: The Color Revolutions (26 October)

- J.A. Tucker. “Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions.” *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 03 (2007)
- L. Way. “The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions.” *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 3 (2008)
- Jeanne L Wilson. “The legacy of the color revolutions for Russian politics and foreign policy.” *Problems of post-communism* 57, no. 2 (2010)

20. Protest and Political Action (30 October)

Response Paper 2 due 31 October NLT 1600

- Sharon L Wolchik. “Can there be a color revolution?” *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 3 (2012)
- Karrie Koesel and Valerie Bunce. “Putin, Popular Protests, and Political Trajectories in Russia: A Comparative Perspective.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28, no. 4 (2012)

21. The Return of Authoritarianism (2 November, modified schedule)

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (2002)
- Vladimir Gel’man. “THE RISE AND DECLINE OF ELECTORAL AUTHORITARIANISM IN RUS-SIA.” *Demokratizatsiya* 22, no. 4 (2014)

22. Putin’s System (6 November)

- Robert Person. “Balance of threat: The domestic insecurity of Vladimir Putin.” *Journal of Eurasian studies* 8, no. 1 (2017)
- M Steven Fish. “What Is Putinism?” *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017)
- Vladislav Inozemtsev. “Why Putinism Arose.” *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017)

Part III International Relations of the Post-Soviet States

23. Russian Grand Strategy (8 November)

- *National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation*. President of the Russian Federation, December 31, 2015
- Stephen Kotkin. “Russia’s perpetual geopolitics.” *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (2016)
- Fyodor Lukyanov. “Putin’s Foreign Policy: The Quest to Restore Russia’s Rightful Place.” *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 3 (2016)

24. Frozen Conflicts in the Former Soviet Union (13 November)

- Robert Ortung and Christopher Walker. “Putin’s Frozen Conflicts.” *Foreign Policy*, February 13, 2015
- Jeffrey Mankoff. “Russia’s latest land grab: How Putin won Crimea and lost Ukraine.” *Foreign Affairs* 93 (2014)
- Agnia Grigas. *Frozen Conflicts: A Tool Kit for US Policymakers*. Technical report. Atlantic Council, June 27, 2016
- Robert Person. “Here’s why Putin wants to topple Ukraine’s government, not to engineer a frozen conflict.” *The Washington Post*, October 6, 2015

25. Hybrid Warfare: The Russian Way of War? (16 November)

- Alexander Lanoszka. “Russian hybrid warfare and extended deterrence in eastern Europe.” *International affairs* 92, no. 1 (2016)
- Michael Kofman. “Russian Hybrid Warfare and Other Dark Arts.” *War on the Rocks*, March 11, 2016
- Skim: United States Special Operations Command. “Little Green Men: A Primer on Modern Russian Unconventional Warfare, Ukraine 2013-2014,” 2015

26. Russia’s War against Ukraine (27 November)

- John J Mearsheimer. “Why the Ukraine crisis is the West’s fault: the liberal delusions that provoked Putin.” *Foreign Aff.* 93 (2014)
- Mark Kramer. “Why Russia Intervenes.” *Perspectives on Peace and Security - Carnegie Corporation of New York*, August 2014
- Daniel Treisman. “Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin.” *Foreign Affairs* 95 (2016)

27. The Future of U.S.-Russian Relations (29 November)

Response Paper 3 Due 30 November NLT 1600

- Michael McFaul. “Russia as It Is: A Grand Strategy for Confronting Putin.” *Foreign Affairs* 97, no. 4 (2018)

- Robert Legvold. “Managing the new Cold War: what Moscow and Washington can learn from the last one.” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 4 (2014)
- Thomas Graham. “The Sources of Russian Conduct.” *The National Interest*, August 24, 2016

28. CFR Model Diplomacy Simulation: Russia and NATO in the Baltics (3 December)

During this lesson you will become familiarized with the Council on Foreign Relations “Model Diplomacy” simulation that will constitute the capstone experience for SS375. You should carefully read the following materials prior to lesson 28. You will have access to these once you’ve registered and logged on to the Model Diplomacy portal: <https://modeldiplomacy.cfr.org>

- Model Diplomacy Student Guide
- Model Diplomacy Section 1: The NSC Guide
 - 1.1 Overview
 - 1.2 Interagency Process
 - 1.3 Timeline
 - 1.4 Departments and Agencies
- Model Diplomacy Section 2: The Case
 - 2.1 The Issue
 - 2.2 Context
 - 2.3 Recent History
 - 2.4 Timeline
 - 2.5 Root Causes
 - 2.6 Role of the United States
 - 2.7 Other interested Parties

5 December: Guest lecture by Ambassador Michael McFaul. Time/location TBD

29. CFR Model Diplomacy Simulation: Prep 1 (7 December, modified schedule)

Note: we will meet in Jefferson Hall.

- Model Diplomacy Section 3: Role-Play
 - 3.1 Role
 - 3.2 Research and Preparation
 - 3.3 Reading List
 - 3.4 Guide to the Memoranda

30. CFR Model Diplomacy Simulation: Prep 2 (11 December)

Note: we will meet in Jefferson Hall.

- No assigned reading. Conduct additional research as needed.
- Continue collaborative work on drafting policy memos.

Final memos due Friday, 14 December NLT 1600

Appendix: Soviet-era literature that you should read someday

As noted in Lesson 4, the only way to truly understand and appreciate Soviet politics and society is through its literature, much (but not all) of the best of which was written by dissidents, exiles, and the disillusioned. The following list, while necessarily incomplete, is at least a good starting point for those who want to take the plunge and attempt to unravel the “riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma” that is 20th century Russia.

The Russian Revolution, Civil War, and NEP Era:

- “The Twelve” (poem) by Aleksandr Blok
- *And Quiet Flows the Don* by Mikhail Sholokhov
- *The White Guard* by Mikhail Bulgakov
- *Doctor Zhivago* by Boris Pasternak
- *Red Cavalry* by Isaac Babel
- *Envy* by Yuri Olesha
- *The Twelve Chairs* by Ilya Ilf and Yevgeni Petrov
- *Heart of a Dog* by Mikhail Bulgakov
- *The Foundation Pit* by Andrei Platonov
- *How the Steel was Tempered* by Nikolai Ostrovsky⁸

Totalitarianism, the Great Terror, and the GULAG

- *Darkness at Noon* by Arthur Koestler⁹
- *Journey into the Whirlwind* by Evgenia Ginzburg
- *Hope against Hope* by Nadezhda Mandelshtam
- *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn
- *The Gulag Archipelago* by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn
- *Kolyma Tales* by Varlam Shalamov
- *We* by Yevgeny Zamyatin¹⁰
- *Invitation to a Beheading* by Vladimir Nabokov¹¹

Life Under Stalinism

- *The Master and Margarita* by Mikhail Bulgakov
- *Children of the Arbat* by Anatoly Rybakov¹²

8. Though set in 1918-1921, Ostrovsky’s fictionalized autobiography (published in various forms from 1932-1936) is considered to be *the* quintessential socialist realist novel, written in the style that would dominate official Soviet literature from the 1930s until Gorbachev’s *glasnost*.

9. Technically not a Soviet writer, Koestler was a German communist who, having spent time in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, became disillusioned with Stalin’s regime and the terror it spawned. His fictional account of the arrest and trial of the “Old Bolshevik” Rubashov – a composite of several real-life Bolsheviks purged in the 1930s – remains one of the most incisive explorations of the logic of Stalin’s terror.

10. Though written in 1920-1921, Zamyatin’s dystopian fantasy follows the logic of totalitarianism to its logical conclusions, anticipating the excesses of Stalinism to come in the ensuing decades and inspiring other classic dystopian classics including Huxley’s *Brave New World* and Orwell’s *1984*.

11. Like Zamyatin’s *We*, Nabokov’s *Invitation* is a semi-surrealist indictment of totalitarianism, considered to be among the author’s finest novels.

12. Considered by critics to be the best of the three, Rybakov’s *Children* is the first in a trilogy whose narrative arc spans from the early 1930s to 1943. All three are worth reading.

- *The House on the Embankment* by Yuri Trifonov
- *Generations of Winter* by Vassily Aksyonov

The Great Patriotic War (WWII)

- *Life and Fate* by Vasily Grossman
- *A Writer at War* by Vasily Grossman
- *The War Within: Diaries from the Siege of Leningrad* by Alexis Peri¹³

The Soviet Union after Stalin

- “In a Room and a Half” by Joseph Brodsky
- *Everything Flows* by Vasily Grossman
- *The Compromise* by Sergei Dovlatov
- *A Week Like Any Other* by Natalya Baranskaya
- *The Burn* by Vassily Aksyonov



Figure 1: Alexander Kosolapov, *Lenin Coca-Cola*. 1980. Acrylic on canvas.

13. Though not a Russian author, Peri weaves together 125 unpublished diaries from the siege of Leningrad to paint a disturbing and vivid picture of that horrible episode in Soviet history.