

SS375: Politics of the Post-Soviet States

Fall 2021 (AY22-1)

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UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
COURSE HOURS: J2 (1245-1400) & K2 (1455-1610)
LOCATION: Lincoln Hall B201

Course Overview

Россия - Сфинкс. Ликуя и скорбя, И обливаясь черной кровью, Она глядит, глядит, глядит в тебя И с ненавистью, и с любовью!...	Russia is a Sphinx. Rejoicing, grieving, And drenched in black blood, It gazes, gazes, gazes at you, With hatred and with love!...
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– 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. In doing so, we will come to terms with the case-specific question that cadets first encountered in its general form in SS307/SS357: *Why does Russia do what it does?*

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.

My Teaching Philosophy

My approach to teaching at West Point is straightforward: I set the bar high, and I keep it there. I recognize that I have high expectations of my students that are reflected in the quantity and difficulty of the readings I assign, the complexity of exam questions and paper assignments I give, and the expectation of informed, thoughtful, and engaged participation in class. I apply consistently the high standards of the USMA grade scale, where "acceptable" work earns a C, "solid" work warrants a B, and true "mastery" of a subject is required to earn an A. Based on my many years of teaching at West Point and Yale, I know that *all* my students are capable of rising to the occasion if they choose to do so. The ones who fail to clear the bar do so not for lack of ability, but because they make choices — whether knowingly or not — that hold them back from reaching their academic potential.

I will do my utmost to provide you the tools that you'll need to reach *your* potential in this class and beyond. But I do expect you to be proactive in reaching for and utilizing those tools - I can't force you to accept what I am offering any more than I can force you to care about maximizing (rather than simply satisfying)

your academic success. If you do choose to reach for the sky and vault the bar I set, I will be your most fervent cheerleader along the way and celebrate your achievements alongside you - the pride of seeing my students succeed is why I got into teaching in the first place.

This means that you have choices to make: it is your choice to rise to the occasion and reach your potential, it is your choice to seize the tools I've offered for your success, and it is ultimately your choice about how you allocate your time to this course and the other obligations in your life. The choices you make (in this or any other endeavor) should always be informed by the idea of "opportunity costs." When you choose to allocate your time and resources to one activity, you forgo other opportunities not chosen. Good decision makers will always incorporate the value of paths not taken in assessing the overall costs and benefits of an action: what am I giving up by choosing 'X'? You are adults who meet economists' minimum criteria for rationality,¹ and I will respect the choices you make, even when those are different choices than the ones that I would make. In return, I expect you to own your choices and accept personal responsibility for the consequences of those choices, both positive and negative. However much or little time you allocate toward this class, I simply expect you to own the outcomes.

The most important choice you will make is your choice to conduct yourself with uncompromising personal integrity in all your affairs, whether academic, military, or personal. West Point's fundamental mission is to develop "leaders of character." As LTG(Ret) Caslen frequently noted, competent leadership counts for nothing if it is not backed up by character, integrity, and honor. I share LTG(Ret) Caslen's belief and trust that you do as well; as such I expect you practice uncompromising integrity during our time together. Choosing otherwise is the one choice you can make that I cannot accept.

Beyond high standards and respect for your choices, what else can you expect of me? You can expect that I will bring my A-game to every lesson. I am truly passionate about political science, international relations, and global politics, and I commit to bring that energy to the classroom every day. You can also expect that I will apply my standards fairly and uniformly to all students regardless of their beliefs, backgrounds, or ability. Every student gets a fair deal from me. You can expect a classroom environment that fosters open discussion, debate, and often disagreement. Critical thinking and deliberation are the lifeblood of the university, and so we will practice it throughout our seminar-style discussions. I expect all students to be active, engaged, and informed participants in these discussions where we will wrestle with some of the most urgent problems of our world.

The road ahead will be challenging, but I am confident that the intellectual journey on which we are embarking together will be one of the most rewarding of your collegiate career.

1. Rational actors are able to form ranked preferences, the transitive property applies to those ranked preferences, preferences remain stable over time, and actions are oriented toward achievement of those ranked preferences. Adding additional insights from Bayes' theorem directs that rational actors also will update their priors in the appropriate direction and degree upon receipt of new information.

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. All papers and note assignments should be submitted in the “Assignments” tab in MS Teams.

1. Assigned Readings 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.

Admittedly, there is a lot of assigned reading for this course - this is typical for advanced electives here and at our peer civilian universities. One of the most important life skills you need to develop is what I call “multi-speed” critical reading: knowing when to slow down to absorb key points or challenging concepts and when to speed up (even skim) to get the gist of passages without dwelling deeply on them. Developing and practicing these skills will greatly enhance your reading efficiency and make the volume of assigned reading manageable without sacrificing understanding.

2. Reading Notes (100 points total): You are required to submit reading notes for every lesson in the “Assignments” tab of our course in MS Teams. In your reading notes, you should include a bulleted list of 6-8 main ideas from *each* assigned reading for that lesson. These must be completed NLT 1200 the day of class. You are not required to submit notes for readings marked "Recommended" in the syllabus. I will randomly select three cadets each lesson to have their notes graded. Your notes will be graded on a 10-point scale, with your semester average scaled to 100 points at the end of the semester. Late submissions will not be accepted: you will receive a zero if you are selected and have not submitted notes for the day. Reading notes are intended to be your own individual work - sharing or copying notes is highly discouraged; should you use another student’s notes or any resources outside the assigned readings, you must document that assistance in your submission and can expect a lower grade than if you completed the work yourself.

3. Map Quiz (50 Points): Cadets will take a fill-in-the-blank map quiz on the post-communist states of Eurasia during lesson 5 (31 August).

4. Response Papers Cadets will write three response papers as follows:

- ^ Paper 1: 250 points, due 15 September
- ^ Paper 2: 250 points, due 3 November
- ^ Paper 3: 250 points, due 8 December

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. All papers should be submitted in Black Board, where they will be analyzed with SafeAssign.

5. Class Participation (100 Points): As a seminar-style class, active cadet engagement is vital to creating the proper learning environment in SS375, especially in a virtual learning environment. 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. You will fill out a daily participation self-assessment at the end of each lesson to help me award credit for participation in our course.

Course Readings

All cadets are required to purchase the following books for the course:

- ^ Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993)
- ^ Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015)

All additional assigned readings will be posted in the "Files" tab on MS Teams. I will inform you on Teams of any changes to assigned readings as the semester progresses.

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. You may find it easiest to print hard copies of readings so that you don't have to switch between screens repeatedly throughout class.

You 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/>
- ^ 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>

Additionally, the following think tanks offer high-quality analysis of the post-Soviet region:

- ^ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <https://carnegieendowment.org/programs/russia/>
- ^ Atlantic Council <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/programs/eurasia-center/>

- ^ Center for Strategic & International Studies <https://www.csis.org/programs/russia-and-eurasia-program>
- ^ Council on Foreign Relations <https://www.cfr.org/europe-and-eurasia/russia>
- ^ Kennan Institute <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/program/kennan-institute>
- ^ Center for Naval Analyses <https://www.cna.org/centers/cna/sppp/rsp/>

Course Policies

Course Communications While the majority of our lessons will be in-person this semester (àé áî!), we will use the SS375 site in Microsoft Teams as our online collaborative space. I will post general course-wide announcements in the General channel of our MS Teams site. This may include occasional changes to the syllabus, readings, and class meetings, so please set your notifications in Teams to ensure that you don't miss these announcements. I will also frequently post current event articles relevant to our class in the General tab, and I encourage you to do the same if you read something interesting about the post-Soviet region.

If you need to contact me individually, please use email - it's easier for me to keep track of messages in Outlook than in Teams chat.

Additional Instruction I am available for as much additional instruction as you ask for. I'm also happy just to talk about Russia, even if you don't have specific questions about the course material or assignments. AI sessions may be in-person or virtual depending on our mutual availability. When emailing me to set up AI, please offer several blocks of time when you are available; I will generate a calendar invitation that works for both of us.

Absences Please notify me and the section leader 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 to 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 (17th 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: <https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/part3/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, instructor AI, or information commonly found in encyclopedias and similar reference sources. 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.

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. Work deemed in violation of this policy will receive zero credit.

Plagiarism and Misrepresentation Cases of suspected plagiarism and other academic misconduct in SS375 will be referred to the Cadet Honor System. However, it is important to understand that plagiarism is not just an ethical violation of the Honor Code; 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. 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.²

The scale or severity of the academic penalty assessed for plagiarized or misrepresented work cannot be based on 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: in SS375, assignments containing plagiarized material will receive zero credit.

2. 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.

Part I The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Union

1. Course Introduction (17 August)

- ^ Read SS375 Syllabus
- ^ Aleksandr Blok. *The Scythians*, 1918
- ^ Map: [Soviet Union administrative divisions \(1989\)](#)
- ^ Map: [CIS European states \(2003\)](#)
- ^ Map: [CIS Central Asian states \(2002\)](#)

Recommended background reading for those who don't have much prior coursework in Russian history/culture:

- ^ Mark Galeotti. *A Short History of Russia*. Harlequin, 2020
- ^ Dmitri Trenin. *Russia* John Wiley & Sons, 2019

2. Socialism and the Soviet Experiment (19 August)

- ^ Martin Malia. *The Soviet Tragedy* New York: The Free Press, 1994. Pages 21-78 & 498-504

3. 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* 2017
- ^ Martin Malia. *The Soviet Tragedy* New York: The Free Press, 1994. Pages 498-504

4. The Soviet Political System (27 August)

- ^ Janos Kornai. *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992. Chapter 3: Power
- ^ T H Rigby. *Stalinism and the Mono-Organizational Society*. In *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation*, 1st, edited by Robert Tucker. New York: Norton, 1977

5. The Soviet Economic System (31 August)

- ^ NOTE: This is the most difficult reading you'll do all semester - I suggest you set aside plenty of time to work through it:
- ^ Alec Nove. *The Economics of Feasible Socialism* London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1983.

6. The Soviet Union as a Multinational Empire (2 September)

- ^ Map quiz (50 points) at the beginning of class
- ^ Ronald Grigor Suny. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993. Pages 20-126.

7. The Soviet Collapse 1: Systemic Institutional Failure (7 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
- ^ Richard Sakwa. The Soviet collapse: Contradictions and neo-modernisation. *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 4, no. 1 (2013). Read 65-71.

8. The Soviet Collapse 2: Nationalism and Mass Mobilization (9 September)

- ^ Ronald Grigor Suny. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993. Pages 127-160.
- ^ Timur Kuran. Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989. *World politics* 44, no. 1 (1991)

9. Response Paper 1 (14 September)

- ^ No class meeting. Paper is due at 1630 on 15 September (study day) in Blackboard.

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

10. Trajectories from Communism (17 September)

- ^ Michael McFaul. The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship. *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (2002)
- ^ K Darden and A Grzymala-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) (selections)

11. Democratization in Post-Communist Countries (21 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)
- ^ Recommended: Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Chapter 2 Boris Yeltsin and the Time of Troubles

12. Rebuilding State and Regime (23 September)

- ^ Gerald M. Easter. Preference for Presidentialism: Postcommunist Regime Change in Russia and the CIS. *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (1997)
- ^ M Steven Fish. When more is less: Superexecutive power and political underdevelopment in Russia. In *Russia In The New Century*. Westview Press, 2001
- ^ Alexander Baunov. The Perils of Perestroika: Why Putin Chose to Prolong His Rule July 2020. <https://carnegie.ru/2020/07/30/perils-of-perestroika-why-putin-chose-to-prolong-his-rule-pub-82400>

- Recommended: Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Chapter 3 “The Statist”

13. The Politics of Economic Transition & Reform (27 September)

- 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)
- Recommended: Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Chapter 7 “The Free Marketeer”

14. Corruption and the Rule of Law (30 September)

- 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 (5 October)

- Luke March. “Power and Opposition in the Former Soviet Union: The Communist Parties of Moldova and Russia.” *Party Politics* 12, no. 3. Read p. 341-345. Skim the rest.
- Vladimir Gel'man. “Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 6 (August 2008)

16. Elections and Voting (8 October)

- Vladimir Gel'man. “The Rise and Decline of Electoral Authoritarianism in Russia.” *Demokratizatsiya* 22, no. 4 (2014)
- 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)

17. Public Opinion and Regime Support (12 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)
- Kenneth Wilson and Jaechul Lee. “Questioning Putin’s Popularity.” *Problems of Post-Communism* 67, no. 1 (January 2020)

18. The Politics of Identity and Historical Memory (14 October)

- Oxana Shevel. “Russian nation-building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: ethnic, civic or purposefully ambiguous?” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 2 (2011)
- Taras Kuzio. “Russian stereotypes and myths of Ukraine and Ukrainians and why Novorossiia failed.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 52, no. 4 (November 2019)
- Vladimir Putin. Article by Vladimir Putin “On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians”, July 2021. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181>

19. Protest and Political Action (18 October)

- J A Tucker. “Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions.” *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 03 (2007)
- Karrie Koesel and Valerie Bunce. “Putin, Popular Protests, and Political Trajectories in Russia: A Comparative Perspective.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28, no. 4 (2012)
- Olga Onuch. “The Maidan and Beyond: Who Were the Protesters?” *Journal of Democracy* 25, no. 3 (2014)
- Recommended: Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Chapter 10 “The Stakeholders’ Revolt”

20. Putin’s System (22 October)

- Timothy Frye. “Russia’s Weak Strongman: The Perilous Bargains That Keep Putin in Power Essays.” *Foreign Affairs* 100, no. 3 (2021)
- Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Read chapter 9 “The System”
- M Steven Fish. “What Is Putinism?” *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017)

21. The Political Economy of Putinism (26 October)

- Robert Person. *Russia’s Grand Strategy in the 21st Century*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2022 (forthcoming). Chapter 3 “The Means of Russia’s Grand Strategy.”
- Neil Robinson. “Russian Patrimonial Capitalism and the International Financial Crisis.” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 27, nos. 3-4 (December 2011)
- Chris Miller. “The Surprising Success of Putinomics,” February 2018. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2018-02-07/surprising-success-putinomics>
- Recommended: Clifford G. Gaddy and Barry W. Ickes. “Russia after the Global Financial Crisis.” *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 51, no. 3 (May 2010)

22. Film Screening (28 October)

- Film screening: “Putin’s Palace” by Alexei Navalny. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ipAnwilMncl>

23. Response Paper 2 (3 November)

- No class meeting. Paper is due in Blackboard at 1630

Part III The International Relations of the Post-Soviet States

24. Russian Grand Strategy (5 November)

- Robert Person. *Russia’s Grand Strategy in the 21st Century*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2022 (forthcoming). Chapter 2 “The Objectives of Russia’s Grand Strategy.”
- Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Read chapter 13 “Russia Resurgent”

- Julian Cooper. *Russia's updated National Security Strategy*. Technical report 2/21. NATO Defense College, July 2021. <https://www.ndc.nato.int/research/research.php?icode=704>

25. The Russian Way of War (9 November)

- Scott Boston and Dara Massicot. *The Russian Way of Warfare: A Primer*. Technical report. RAND Corporation, December 2017. <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE231.html>
- 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*. <https://warontherocks.com/2016/03/russian-hybrid-warfare-and-other-dark-arts/>

26. Frozen Conflicts in the former USSR (16 November)

- Michal Smetana and Jan Ludvík. "Between war and peace: a dynamic reconceptualization of "frozen conflicts"." *Asia Europe Journal* 17, no. 1 (March 2019)
- Andrei A. Kazantsev et al. "Russia's policy in the "frozen conflicts" of the post-Soviet space: from ethno-politics to geopolitics." *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 2 (May 2020)
- Robert Person. "Here's why Putin wants to topple Ukraine's government, not to engineer a frozen conflict." *The Washington Post*, 2015. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/10/06/heres-why-putin-wants-to-topple-ukraines-government-not-to-engineer-a-frozen-conflict/>

27. Russian Information Warfare (19 November)

- Keir Giles. *Handbook of Russian Information Warfare*. NATO Defense College, November 2016. <https://www.ndc.nato.int/download/downloads.php?icode=506>
- Andrew Weisburd, Clint Watts, and JM Berger. "Trolling for Trump: How Russia Is Trying to Destroy Our Democracy." *War on the Rocks*, November 2016. <https://warontherocks.com/2016/11/trolling-for-trump-how-russia-is-trying-to-destroy-our-democracy/>
- Recommended: Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Chapter 14 "The Operative Abroad"

28. Russia's War in Ukraine (23 November)

- Mark Kramer. "Why Russia Intervenes." *Perspectives on Peace and Security - Carnegie Corporation of New York*, August 2014. <http://perspectives.carnegie.org/us-russia/russia-intervenes/>
- Daniel Treisman. "Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin." *Foreign Affairs* 95 (2016)
- Andrew S. Bowen. "Coercive diplomacy and the Donbas: Explaining Russian strategy in Eastern Ukraine." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 42, nos. 3-4 (June 2019)

29. The future of U.S.-Russia relations: is there one? (2 December)

- Rose Gottemoeller et al. "It's Time to Rethink Our Russia Policy." *POLITICO*, August 2020. <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/08/05/open-letter-russia-policy-391434>
- Michael McFaul. "How to Contain Putin's Russia," January 2021. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/ukraine/2021-01-19/how-contain-putins-russia>

- Recommended: Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2015. Chapter 12 “The American Education of Mr. Putin”

30. Drop - Paper Compensatory Time (7 December, no class meeting)

Compensatory time to allow cadets to conduct research for final response paper.

Response Paper 3 due in Blackboard on 8 December at 1630

