

**Political Science 336**  
**Fall 2020**  
**MWF 11:30-12:30**  
**A&C S149**  
**Credits: 3**

**Department of Political Science**  
**Professor Michael Jasinski**  
**Office Hours: Thursdays 11-2 pm**  
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### **Russian Politics**

“Rus, whither are you speeding to? Answer me. No answer. The middle bell trills out in a dream its liquid soliloquy; the roaring air is torn to pieces and becomes wind; all things on earth fly by and other nations and states gaze askance as they step aside and give her the right of way.”

--Nikolai Gogol', *Dead Souls*, 1842

**Course Description:** Even though Russia and the United States share many similarities, including large territorial size, wealth of natural resources, highly diverse population, and major power status, Russia's political system has developed along very different lines from that of the United States. The course examines the factors influencing the development of the Russian political system, occasionally delving into the reasons for the US-Russian political divergence, including the causes and effects of Russia's two regime changes during the 20th century. While predominantly a study of domestic policies, the course also evaluates the influence of the international environment of Russia's political system during different periods of its existence, and discusses the impact of Russia's political influence on its neighboring states.

**Prerequisites:** None

### **Political Science Student Learning Outcomes**

#### **1) Understand and apply history as a lens of inquiry**

*Political Science students should be able to*

- A. use history as a framework for understanding contemporary politics
- B. understand that discerning historical patterns and their disruption are critical parts of the discipline

#### **2) Understand and explain contemporary politics**

*Political Science students should be able to*

- A. demonstrate an understanding of current political debates and themes in the different subfields
- B. connect theory and history in the service of answering “big questions” facing contemporary politics

**Office hours - Office Hours (MS Teams):** The Political Science Department uses Microsoft Teams (MS Teams) for holding office hours. This system is available to all UWO students. Faculty will be available during the hours noted on your syllabus. When logging into MS Teams, look closely at the status symbols for your instructor. A green dot by the professor's icon (which may be their picture or their initials) means they are available. A red dot means they are busy.

Generally, you are able to join office hour meetings and talk openly in the forum or use the chat function freely. At times, your instructor may be in a private meeting with a student during office hours, and will mark my availability as "busy" (a red dot).

We hope that using MS Teams for office hours for all of our courses will help students become more accustomed to virtual office hours during the pandemic. The main point to remember is that we are available to you. Please use our office hours freely and often. We are here to help. Many faculty are also happy to set up meetings outside of my office hours if students have conflicts with the posted times.

**Expectations for Academic Honesty:** A college education is intended to develop your skills, knowledge, and confidence. Graded assignments are designed to work on these items. Thus, to gain the skills, knowledge, and confidence of a college-educated person all graded work is to be your own. When you are directed to work alone, an assignment or test must be done by you, its primary ideas are to be your own, and any outside materials should be dealt with properly (quoted when using someone's words, and cited when quoting or referencing them in any other way). When your teacher directs you to work in teams, the work is to be done by the team. More information can be found here: <https://uwosh.edu/politicalscience/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2020/08/Academic-Honesty.pdf>

**Note:** If substantive changes are made in course syllabus, such as changes in schedule or assignments, notification will be provided in a timely manner and a revised syllabus made available.

**Disclosure statement:** "Students are advised to see the following URL for disclosures about essential consumer protection items required by the Students Right to Know Act of 1990: <https://uwosh.edu/financialaid/consumer-information/>."

**Statement of reasonable accommodation for student with disabilities**

<https://www.uwosh.edu/deanofstudents/Accessibility-Center/faculty-and-staff-resources/syllabus-statement>

**Grievance Procedure:** The Department of Political Science is committed to offering you a high-quality classroom experience, and we take your feedback very seriously. If you have concerns about anything related to this course, assignments, or teaching method,

you are encouraged to first speak with your instructor directly. If you are not comfortable speaking with the instructor, you are invited to speak with the Chair of the Department of Political Science, Dr. James Krueger. He can be reached at kruegerj@uwosh.edu. Should he be unable to resolve your concerns, he will guide you to appropriate resources within the College of Letters and Science.

**Note to Political Science Majors:** Political Science majors should take Political Methodology (245) in either their sophomore year or the first semester of their junior year. Political Science 245 is a prerequisite for the senior capstone, Political analysis (401), and cannot be taken concurrently. If you are currently a political science major or if you think you will be one of our majors in the future, it is important that you save your graded coursework from this class. If you have questions, please see me or any faculty member after class.

**Course Delivery Method:** this is a “high-flexibility” in-person class format, designed to reduce virus exposure to the maximum extent possible while preserving the ability to conduct in-class sessions. In practical terms it means the following:

--Monday and Wednesday class sessions will be held on-line, using Collaborate Ultra. The lecture/discussion will take place in real time, but will also be recorded for future access. It will be accompanied by Powerpoint slides.

--The Friday session will be actually in person, in class. Since we are a relatively small class, I highly encourage you to attend, even though attendance is not mandatory in order to accommodate possible health issues and other individual concerns. That lecture/discussion will also take place on Collaborate Ultra and will be recorded, for access by people who cannot attend the class for health reasons or due to being on quarantine. Wearing of masks in class is absolutely mandatory, unfortunately. I recommend paper or light cloth masks that allow you to speak with relatively low discomfort while wearing them. If you have medical or psychological issues related to mask wearing (and I completely empathize with you on that score if you do), you are better off not coming to class—the course is designed in such a way that you can fully participate in it and complete it even without setting foot in class at all.

Once the semester progresses and by some miracle the pandemic recedes (not very likely but we’re all keeping our fingers crossed), we might go to three in-class sessions per week, but even then the online, asynchronous option will remain, because the mask requirement and quarantines will remain in place as precautions.

**Readings:** All on Canvas

**Attendance:** Optional

## Assessing the Student Learning Outcomes:

--**Weekly Responses.** Starting with week 2, each week's slides will contain a number of discussion questions that would have ordinarily been part of the class discussion, and which will now be moved to Canvas.

The requirement here is to write 250-word responses for **four** of the discussion questions **for each week**. Submit them to the relevant dropbox under Assignments on Canvas.

Each response is graded on a three-point scale (1-3). These points will be earned as follows:

- Actually provides a sound, logical, evidence-supported answer to the question.
- Cites relevant readings, including readings for that week or other weeks. No reading may be cited more than in two responses per week. As an alternative, you may cite outside sources that you have located through your own research.
- Is of proper length.

Meeting each of the three above gets you 1 point, for a total of three per 250-word essay.

I will provide written feedback on Canvas to each of your answers.

Collectively, they will amount to 70% of the final course grade.

--**Research Project**, which accounts for 30% of the final course grade.

The initial submission is worth 5% of the grade, while the final revised paper is worth 25%. Irrespective of the option you pick, your paper should be amply supported citations from relevant published works. No more than 25% of your bibliography should come from among the syllabus readings.

### Pick one of the following options.

--**Option 1: Road Not Taken.** Pick a moment in Russia's past when the country's elites faced a genuine choice over the course of its politics. You may choose one from among the following examples or create one of your own (which you should clear it with the instructor):

- Lenin or Kerensky?
- Stalin or Trotsky?
- Khrushchev or Beria?
- Brezhnev or Kosygin?
- Yeltsin or GKChP?
- Putin or Khodorkovsky/Navalny/Kasparov, etc.?

For maximum grade, your paper ought to address the following:

- How would have the executive power looked like under the executive arrangement?
- What would be the law-giving body, and what powers would it enjoy?
- How would Russia's economy be run?
- What would be the unifying principle of national identity?
- What would be the implications for Russia's internal cohesion?
- What would be the implications for Russia's status as Great Power?
- How would Russia's relations with the external world evolve?
- Last but not least, why did that alternative model of Russia fail to find acceptance?

**--Option 2: "Russia has only two allies, its Army and its Navy".**

Here, you put yourself in the shoes of Russian/Soviet leadership of a particular era (pick a specific leader and his era, but not before the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), and provide a description and analysis of the national strategy of that time. Your analysis ought to continue the following:

- Identification of the most dangerous internal threat to power of the Russian state.
- Identification of the most dangerous external threat to the power of the Russian state.
- Policies intended to preserve national cohesion (both "sticks" and "carrots"), including economic and social policy.
- Policies aimed at preserving and expanding the country's international influence.
- The role of allies and use of military force in that strategy.
- Relative success or failure (in other words, does the leader go down in history as a Great Russian Leader?) and causes—which specific policies proved the weak link?
- Last but not least: comparison to contemporary Russia and its own current policy took kit. Have lessons been learned? Are mistakes being repeated?

**Research Paper Grading Criteria:**

Each paper will be evaluated according to the following:

- Introduction that establishes what the topic of your paper is, and its importance to understanding international conflict.
- A clear hypothesis which explains the argument you are making in the paper.
- Extensive empirical evidence backing up your hypothesis.
- Supporting your assertions and evidence with bibliography and citations.
- Proper grammar, syntax, spelling.

Each of these categories will receive a mark of 1 (inadequate), 2 (adequate), or 3 (outstanding). A paper which scores nothing but 1s will receive a comprehensive grade of F (40%), a paper with nothing but 2s will receive a comprehensive grade of C- (70%), and a paper with nothing but 3s will receive a comprehensive grade of A (100%).

**Course Schedule**

**Week 1: *“And so far we have not seen any evidence Russia can be governed in any other way”***

Makarkin, “The Russian Social Contract and Regime Legitimacy”

Orlov, “The Peculiarities of Russian National Character”

**Week 2: *“International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power.”***

Paul, “The Military Revolution in Russia, 1550-1682”

Tuckerman, “Applied Marxism in Soviet Russia”

Martin, “Marxism, Nationalism, and Russia”

Derluguian, “Sovereign Bureaucracy in Russia’s Modernizations”

Lukin, “Looking West from Russia”

Griffiths, “From Situations of Weakness”

**Week 3: *“Two Romes have fallen. The third stands. And there will be no fourth. No one shall replace your Christian Tsardom!”***

Hosking, “The Russian Empire: How and Why”

Lenin, “The Nationalities Question”

Berman, “Valerii Chkalov: Soviet Pilot as the New Soviet Man”

Koutaissoff, “Soviet Education and the New Soviet Man”

Zevelev, “Russian National Identity and Foreign Policy”

Kuzio, “Russian National Identity and the Russia-Ukraine Crisis”

**Week 4: *“Cadres decide everything”***

Ostrowski, “The Mongol Origins of Muscovite Political Institutions”

Cherniavsky, “Ivan the Terrible as a Renaissance Prince”

Smith, “The Young Czar and His Advisers”

Strakhovsky, “The Statesmanship of Peter Solypin”

Harris, “Stalin as General Secretary: The appointments process and the nature of Stalin’s power”

Getty, “Stalin as Prime Minister: power and the Politburo”

Shevtsova, “Boris Yeltsin and the Future of Democracy in Russia”

**Week 5: *“Give Russia 20 years of peace and you won’t recognize her”***

Lincoln, “What we want is a Great Russia”

“The Role Played by the Russian Duma in the Formation of the New Russia”

Strakhovsky, “Stolypin and the Second Duma”

Conroy, “Stolypin’s Attitude toward Local Self-Government”

Remington, “Parliament and the Dominant Party Regime”

Remington, “Russia’s Constitutional Order”

**Week 6: *“I have conquered an empire but have not been able to conquer myself”***

Levine, “Pan-Slavism and European Politics”

Esthus, “Nicholas II and the Russo-Japanese War”

McKenzie, “The Soviet Union, the Comintern and World Revolution: 1935”

Cox, "Trotsky and His Interpreters"  
Gompert, "The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan"  
Shevel, "Russia and the Near Abroad"  
Bishara, "Russian Intervention in Syria"  
Kofman, "A Comparative Guide to Russia's Use of Military Force"

**Week 7 "We want to achieve a new and better order of society: in this new and better society there must be neither rich nor poor; all will have to work."**

Mosse, "Stolypin's Villages"  
Wolfe, "Lenin, Stolypin, and the Russian Village"  
Bandera, "NEP as an Economic System"  
Gregory, "Collectivization, Accumulation, and Power"  
Bunce, "The Political Economy of the Brezhnev Era"  
Shevtsova, "The Farewell to Communism and the First Reforms"  
Aron, "The YUKOS Affair"

**Week 8 "We hoped for the best but it turned out as always"**

Chamberlin, "The Short Life of Russian Liberalism"  
Engel, "Not By Bread Alone"  
Elkin, "Kerensky Government and Its Fate"  
Lenhart, "Catalyst Coup"

**Week 9 "Yes, it was a cult of personality, but at least there was a personality!"**

Nye, "Types and Skills"  
Walker, "Motivational Foundations of Political Belief Systems"

**Week 10 "In a time like ours, the weak are not taken into account; only the strong are"**

Kennan, "The Struggle Against Hitler, and the Purges"  
Kennan, "The Nonaggression Pact"  
Kennan, "Russia and the West as Allies"  
Kennan, "Russia and the War in Asia"  
Glantz, "The Parameters of the Soviet-German War"

**Research Paper Due Friday, Week 10**

**Week 11 "And just the historical practices of the Russians, who typically, are almost genetically driven to co-opt, penetrate, gain favor, whatever, which is a typical Russian technique."**

Dvoichenko-Markov, "The American Philosophical Society and Early Russian-American Relations"  
Golder, "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War"  
Wang, "Theodore Roosevelt and Japan's Monroe Doctrine"  
Colburn, "Governor Alfred E. Smith and the Red Scare, 1919-1920"

Cohen, "A Study in Nativism"

Kennan, "The Approach to Normal Relations"

Gibson, "McCarthy Red Scare"

Stewart, "Gorbachev and the Obstacles toward Détente"

***Week 12 And blood flowed in a stream that colder grew."***

Wood, "The Chechen Experience"

Cornell, "The War Against Terrorism and the Conflict in Chechnya"

Akhmadov, "The Killing of Maskhadov"

Akhmadov, "The North Caucasus Emirate and Beyond"

Kolsto, "The Ethnification of Russian Nationalism"

***Week 13 "Aspire to expand the strength, riches, and size of the Ukrainian state, even by means of enslaving foreigners."***

Marples, "Stepan Bandera. In search of Ukraine for Ukrainians."

Ames, "Sorry America, Ukraine isn't all about you"

Klaus, "Let's Start a Real Ukrainian Debate"

***Week 14 Whoever does not miss the Soviet Union has no heart. Whoever wants it back has no brain."***

Averre, "Russian Foreign Policy and the Global Political Environment"

Aron, "The United States and Russia: Ideologies, Policies, and Relations"

Putin, "First Person"

Sakwa, "Political Leadership"

**Research Paper Resubmission Due Friday Week 14**