"We hoped for the best, but things turned out as usual."
Viktor Chernomydrin, Prime Minister of Russia, 1992-1998

Office hours: Tuesday 1:00-2:00 and Thursday 11:00-1:00, and by appointment
I am often (but not always) in my office at other times. Feel free to drop by.

Course objectives
This course uses the experience of the Soviet Union and contemporary Russia to understand change in political and economic systems, from collapse of existing governments to the revolutionary reconstruction of society to tensions between autocracy and a government responsive to popular demands. Particular focus is placed on how ordinary citizens are affected by systemic social and political change and the factors that influence whether they can shape political outcomes. For Political Science majors, this class counts as a comparative politics course. WELCOME!

Learning outcomes
This class fulfills the core Global Citizenship requirement. The Global Citizenship requirement is designed to educate students about global and transnational problems and to provide students with the tools to address issues of social justice beyond the United States. Students who complete the Global Citizenship requirement will gain a substantial subset of the following capabilities:

1. Identify sources of and strategies to address conflict, cooperation or competition in a global or regional context.
2. Investigate how people and nations confront inequality and claim a just place, whether in their own societies or in the world.
3. Identify how perceptions of “otherness” impact leaders, communities, and community-building in areas beyond the U.S. through the examination of such factors as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, economic class, age, physical and mental capability, and sexual orientation.
4. Understand the impact of their lives and choices on global and international issues.
5. Understand how their values are related to those of other people in the world.

This class also fulfills the core Social Science requirement. Students will acquire conceptual tools and methodologies to analyze and understand their social world. With these tools, you will be able to act in the world more effectively and become forces for positive change. You will gain a better understanding of human diversity. You will be able to think and write critically about human behavior and community. You will become aware of the various methodological approaches used by social scientists.
Specifically, after this class you will be able to:

- Develop coherent, logically supported arguments, both written and oral
- Describe how Western perceptions of the Soviet Union and Russia shaped policy
- Analyze how leaders, their values, and their policies shape society
- Assess the social costs of autocracy
- Evaluate competing scholarly arguments, especially about the nature of totalitarianism, the determinants of social and political change, and the reasons for the development of democracy or autocracy
- Examine the causes and consequences of political and social tensions in multi-ethnic regimes
- Analyze the nature of state power and how it is expressed through political institutions
- Adjudicate between competing theories or arguments, giving credit to perspectives other than your own
- Become more sensitive to diverse understandings of social and economic justice
- Appreciate the human costs and political demands of social change
- Analyze the power of citizens to affect regimes in nondemocratic systems

University Writing Services: I encourage you to take advantage of University Writing Services. Getting feedback benefits all writers! Trained writing consultants can help with any writing, multimedia project, or oral presentation. During one-on-one consultations, you can work on everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. These services do fill up, so please make an appointment! Also, bring your assignment description, and a few goals, to the consultation! For more information, or to make an appointment, visit www.slu.edu/writingservices.xml or call 977-3484.

Student Success Center
In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. The Student Success Center assists students with academic and career related services, is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331) and the School of Nursing (Suite, 114). Students can visit www.slu.edu/success to learn more about:

- Course-level support (e.g., faculty member, departmental resources, etc.) by asking your course instructor.
- University-level support (e.g., tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, academic coaching, career services, and/or facets of curriculum planning).

Disability Services Academic Accommodations
Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must contact Disability Services to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Once successfully registered, the student also must notify the course instructor that they wish to access accommodations in the course.

Please contact Disability Services, located within the Student Success Center, at http://www.slu.edu/retention-and-academic-success/disability-services or 314.977.3484 to schedule an appointment. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Once approved, information about the student's eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors via email from Disability Services and viewed within Banner via the instructor's course roster.

Note: Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one are encouraged to contact to Disability Services.
Title IX
Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual misconduct (e.g. sexual assault, sexual harassment, stalking, domestic or dating violence), we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident of misconduct, that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX coordinator, Anna R. Kratky (DuBourg Hall, room 36; akratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886) and share the basic facts of your experience with her. The Title IX coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK. To view SLU's sexual misconduct policy and for resources, please visit the following web addresses:
www.slu.edu/here4you

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service via which SLU embodies its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern.

The governing University-level Academic Integrity Policy was adopted in Spring 2015, and can be accessed on the Provost's Office website at:

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has adopted its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. All SLU students are expected to know and abide by these policies, which detail definitions of violations, processes for reporting violations, sanctions, and appeals. Please direct questions about any facet of academic integrity to your faculty, the chair of the department of your academic program, or the Dean/Director of the College, School or Center in which your program is housed.

College of Arts and Science Academic Integrity Information

The University is a community of learning, whose effectiveness requires an environment of mutual trust and integrity. Academic integrity is violated by any dishonesty such as soliciting, receiving, or providing any unauthorized assistance in the completion of work submitted toward academic credit. While not all forms of academic dishonesty can be listed here, examples include copying from another student, copying from a book or class notes during a closed book exam, submitting materials authored by or revised by another person as the student’s own work, copying a passage or text directly from a published source without appropriately citing or recognizing that source, taking a test or doing an assignment or other academic work for another student, securing or supplying in advance a copy of an examination or quiz without the knowledge or consent of the instructor, sharing or receiving the questions from an on-line quiz with another student, taking an on-line quiz with the help of another student, and colluding with another student or students to engage in academic dishonesty.

All clear violations of academic integrity will be met with appropriate sanctions. In this course, academic dishonesty on an assignment will result in an automatic grade of 0 for that assignment and a
report of academic dishonesty sent to the Academic Honesty Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences. In the case of Class B violations, the Academic Honesty Committee may impose a larger sanction including, but not limited to, assigning a failing grade in the course, disciplinary probation, suspension, and dismissal from the University.

Students should refer to the following SLU website for more information about Class A and B violations and the procedures following a report of academic dishonesty:
http://www.slu.edu/college-of-arts-and-sciences-home/undergraduate-education/academic-honesty

Required books
Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The Communist Manifesto. (Any edition is fine).
Arthur Koestler. Darkness at Noon. (Any edition is acceptable.)

Books are available at the campus bookstore.
There are additional readings on e-reserve. http://eres.slu.edu/eres/coursepass.aspx?cid=4255
(Password: sovpol16)

Course requirements
Two papers, on questions I provide, around 6 pages each—approximately 40 % of course grade
Two short-essay quizzes—approximately 15 %
Final essay exam—20 %
Attendance and class participation—25 %

Missed quizzes and tests must be excused by me before the test is given. Otherwise, the student will receive a grade of 0 for the missing work. Grades of 0 will also be given for missing papers. The zeros will be averaged into the final course grade. Late essays may be subject to penalties.

Additional requirements for Honors students: Honors students will act as teaching/research assistants for this course. This work will involve some research, class presentations, contributions to discussions, and small group leadership. Honors students will be required to hand in a five-page reflection on what they learned from this experience (due Dec 1st). If others would like to share in this experience, let me know.

Class participation: The quality of this class depends a great deal on you and your readiness to contribute meaningfully to class discussions. You should think about class as a time for exploration, for figuring out what readings mean, and for critically evaluating arguments made by various authors, by other students, and by me. A number of things follow from this:

- Attendance is required, and excessive absence will harm your grade.
- Laptops (and, of course, phones) may not be used in class. While the most self-disciplined among us will not be distracted by the wealth of entertainments provided by the internet, laptops tend to reduce uninterrupted focus on the discussion and serve as barriers to honest and direct interaction.
- Careful reading is essential. Complete all reading assignments before the class for which they are listed.
- It is helpful to keep up with current events in the former Soviet Union. Try http://www.rferl.org/ and/or a good newspaper.
- I provide a reading question for each day to help you see what you should be getting out of the reading. You are welcome to write 1-2 page answers to the question for practice addressing the
kinds of questions you’ll be graded on and for extra credit. A thoughtful, carefully reasoned answer could earn you up to 2 points added to your participation grade, up to a maximum of 10 points for the semester. For extra credit, answers must be submitted on the day the question is listed. For practice without extra credit, you can hand in answers any time.

**Russian language students.** Students who are studying Russian language may enjoy keeping up with Russian news from Russian language sources. This blog will help you get started: [http://blogs.transparent.com/russian/sneak-russian-into-your-online-experience/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=languageblog&utm_content=ruussian]

Listen to Эхо Москвы on-line: [http://tunein.com/radio/Echo-of-Moscow-912-s8735/]

Новая Газета is an excellent independent newspaper: [http://www.novayagazeta.ru/]

**Grading Scale**

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>93-100</td>
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<td>A-</td>
<td>90-92</td>
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<td>B+</td>
<td>87-89</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>60-70</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>below 60</td>
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</tbody>
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**Things I want my professor to know**

If there is ever anything you’d like me to know – maybe about struggles you are having or aspects of the class that aren’t working for you – you can always meet with me or e-mail me. If you’d rather remain anonymous, you can leave a note in my mailbox in McGannon 128. I want to be sure you can succeed.

**REVOLUTION AND STATE-BUILDING**

**August 23**

*Introduction: political change*

**August 25**


Why does Marx consider the proletariat a class in “radical chains”?

**August 30**


Does it make sense to think – as Marx does – that revolution will arise organically from the situation of the proletariat under capitalism?

**September 1**


Did the revolution that occurred in Russia in November 1917 conform more to Marx’s or to Lenin’s predictions?
September 6


If Olson is right that people are always better off living under democracy, why aren’t democracies more common?

September 8


What are some explanations for the regular recreation of autocratic regimes in Russia? Which makes sense to you?

**TOTALITARIANISM**

September 13


How is Olson’s explanation for the Stalin regime different from Fainsod’s?

September 15


What does it mean for vanguard parties to become “fossilized,” and why does it happen?

**QUIZ**

September 20

Koestler, "The Second Hearing."

How can revolutionaries justify their actions when they don’t know what the ultimate consequences will be?

September 22

Koestler, finish the book

Is Rubashov’s “swing theory” a convincing justification for dictatorship?

September 27


Why did observers think the Soviet system was more stable than it really was? What did they miss? Why did they miss it?

**REFORMING THE SOVIET SYSTEM**

September 29

McAuley, "Perestroika and the End of Party Rule," "Dispersal of Power," and "Conclusion," pp. 89-123. (assignment continues on next page)
Igor Kliamkin and Andranik Migranian, “The Iron Hand! Do We Need It?” 
*Literaturnaya Gazeta (International)*, February 1990 (on e-reserve).

Why might it be hard to reform a totalitarian system?

October 4

Joel Ostrow, “Glasnost Gutted the Party, Democratization Doomed the State, Political Liberalization and the Soviet Disintegration,” in Ostrow, pp. 84-114.


Does Ostrow make a strong case for his claim that “glasnost caused the collapse of the Communist Party, while democratization caused the collapse of the Soviet state” (p. 88)?

October 6

ESSAY ONE DUE

Movie: *Vor’* (The Thief)

October 11


How did the multicultural nature of the Soviet Union contribute to its collapse?

October 13


Katherine Verdery, “What was Socialism and Why Did it Fall?,” in Ostow, pp. 70-83.

Is it more plausible that the 1991 was led by an inept group of conspirators or that it was founded on hidden arrangements between Yeltsin and the KGB?

October 18

FALL BREAK—no classes

THE YELTSIN YEARS—“SIMPLY CATASTROPHIC”

October 20


Would Olson agree with Verdery that “socialism’s fragility begins with the system of ‘centralized planning’ (Ostrow, p. 71)?

October 25


Does Shleifer and Treisman’s conclusion that “in slightly over a decade, Russia has become a typical middle-income, capitalist democracy” (p. 201) seem right?

October 27


Why do you think that Russian leaders are so ready to compromise elections? Why don’t American politicians do the same?

PUTIN—RETURN TO AUTOCRACY

November 1


The people who put Putin in power seem not to have imagined that he would concentrate so much power in his own hands and remain in office so long. Do you think the problem is the man or the institutions he inherited?

QUIZ

November 3


Why did “strengthening vertical power” seem like a good idea after Yeltsin?

November 8


Why is a strong legislature good for democracy?

November 10


Vladimir Gel’man, “Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy,” in Ostrow, pp. 273-289.

Gel’man says, “All rulers in the world would like to govern their countries without checks or balances” (p. 276). Why do Russian rulers get away with it?
November 15


Why is it so difficult to create a strong opposition in Russia? How would you handle the many personal and professional compromises implicit in living in an autocratic regime?

November 17

Max Fisher, “Donald Trump Finds a Russian Policy He Won’t Defend,” New York Times, 1 August 2016 (on e-reserve or here: http://nyti.ms/2aYo5Ch)
Andrew Foxall, “Stick to Sanctions on Russia,” New York Times, 16 December 2015 (on e-reserve or here: http://nyti.ms/1IU1uFw)

How should the U.S. respond to Russian aggression in Ukraine?

November 22

ESSAY TWO DUE

November 24

THANKSGIVING—no classes

November 29

Marlène Laruelle, “Conclusion,” in Ostrow, pp. 434-443.

Why is nationalism an “ideology of domination” (Laruelle, p. 435) in Russia? Is it always?

December 1

M. Steven Fish, “Symptoms of the Failure of Democracy in Russia,” in Ostrow, pp. 331-332. (assignment continued on the next page)
Dmitry Sidorov, “All the News the Kremlin Thinks is Fit to Print,” in Ostrow, pp. 485-487.

Why did democracy fail in Russia? Do you think it will succeed in the future?

HONORS STUDENTS: 5 page reflection due December 13

FINAL EXAM, 8:30-9:30

Selected Supplemental Reading

FICTION

PERSONAL AND JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTS

The Soviet Period:

The Reform Period and After:
Pomerantsev, Peter. 2015. Nothing is True and Everything is Possible: The Surreal Heart of the New Russia. Public Affairs.

SOME SCHOLARLY WORKS:


