

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



<http://pennpoliticalreview.org/archives/3074>

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:

Knowledge

- Describe changes in the Soviet and Russian political systems over time.
- Analyze differences in the operation of democratic and authoritarian political systems.
- Assess the power of citizens to affect regimes in nondemocratic systems

Critical thinking

- 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
- Construct logical and empirically supported arguments, both written and oral

Engage in political and social life in the service of the greater good

- Analyze how leaders, their values, and their policies shape society
- Assess the social costs of autocracy
- Compare diverse understandings of social and economic justice and the kinds of political institutions constructed to deliver them.
- Assess the human costs and political demands of social change

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 <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/academic-support/university-writing-services/index.php>.

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 <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/index.php> 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.

Please contact Disability Services, located within the Student Success Center, at <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/disability-services/index.php> or 314.977.3484 to schedule an appointment. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Once approved, information about 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 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; anna.kratky@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:

<http://www.slu.edu/about/safety/pdfs/sexual-misconduct-policy-version7.0.pdf>
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: http://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy_academic-integrity_6-26-2015.pdf.

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

Saint Louis University is a community of learning in which integrity and mutual trust are vital. Since the mission of the University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity," acts of falsehood violate its very reason for existence. They also demean and compromise the activities of teaching, research, and community service that are the primary corporate purposes of the institution.

Academic dishonesty runs counter to the ethical principles of Christianity and of other cultural traditions and undercuts the spiritual and intellectual ideals of the Catholic Church and the Society of Jesus, upon which the University is founded. The destructive effects of academic dishonesty are many. Not only does it undermine the grading process, robbing teachers of their ability to assess the accomplishments of their students and to give proper responses and rewards, but it also impairs the ability of the University to certify to the outside world the skills and attainments of its graduates. Such dishonesty allows students to take unfair advantage of their peers and undermines moral character as well as self-respect. It also damages the bonds of academic trust upon which the entire University rests.

Since the College of Arts and Sciences seeks to prepare students for lives of integrity and for occupations of trust, it regards all acts of academic dishonesty as matters of serious concern. In establishing high standards of integrity, the College is not only affirming certain rules students are to observe at Saint Louis University, but giving students ethical principles and practices to take with them as they move into diverse professions and walks of life beyond the walls of the University. To this end, the College relies, not merely on the willing compliance and support of its students, but on the adherence to professional ethics displayed by its students and by its faculty, staff, and administrators as well.

For more details on the College of Arts and Sciences Academic Integrity Policy, see:
<http://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php>

Required books

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*. (Any edition is fine).
Mary McAuley. *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
Joel Ostrow. *Politics in Russia*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2013.
Arthur Koestler. *Darkness at Noon*. (Any edition is acceptable.)
Mancur Olson. *Power and Prosperity: Outgrowing Communist and Capitalist Dictatorships*. New York: Basic Books (Perseus), 2000.
Masha Gessen. *The Man Without a Face*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2012.

Books are available at the campus bookstore.

There are additional readings on e-reserve:
(Password: sovpol18)

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 %

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.
- There will be **in-class assignments, unannounced quizzes, and other activities** based on the day's readings. Grades on these assignments will be part of your participation grade.

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 6th). If others would like to share in this experience, let me know.

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.

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=russian

Listen to Эхо Москвы on-line: <http://tunein.com/radio/Echo-of-Moscow-912-s8735/>
Новая Газета is an excellent independent newspaper: <https://www.novayagazeta.ru/>

Grading Scale

A	93-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D	60-70
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	F	below 60
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72		

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 28 *Introduction: political change*
- August 30 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, entire.
Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991*, "Introduction," pp. 1-11.
- Why does Marx consider the proletariat a class in "radical chains"?
- September 4 V. I. Lenin, Excerpts from *What is to be Done?* (New York: International Publishers, 1969), pp. 40-41, 78-80, 120-123 (on e-reserve).
Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity*, ch. 4, "Rational Individuals and Irrational Societies," pp. 69-88.
W.E.B. DuBois, "Marxism and the Negro Problem," from *W.E.B. DuBois: A Reader*, edited by David Levering Lewis (New York: Henry Holt, 1995), pp. 538-544 (on e-reserve).
- Does it make sense to think – as Marx does – that revolution will arise organically from the situation of the proletariat under capitalism? What does Lenin think? What does Olson think?

- September 6 McAuley, "1917: Revolution," and "State-Building: The Leninist System," pp. 12-33.

Did the revolution that occurred in Russia in November 1917 conform more to Marx's or to Lenin's predictions?
- September 11 Olson, "The Logic of Power," and "Time, Takings, and Individual Rights," pp. 1-43.

If Olson is right that people are always better off living under democracy, why aren't democracies more common?
- September 13 *V. I. Lenin, Excerpts from State and Revolution, in David McLellan, Marxism: Essential Writings*, pp. 163-177 (on e-reserve).
McAuley, "Industrialization, Collectivization, and the Stalinist State," and "Terror," pp. 34-61.

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

TOTALITARIANISM

- September 18 Olson, "The Theory of Soviet-Type Autocracies," pp. 111-134.
Fainsod, "Terror as a System of Power," in Ostrow, pp. 16-43.

How is Olson's explanation for the Stalin regime different from Fainsod's?
- September 20 Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon*, "The First Hearing."

What does it mean for vanguard parties to become "fossilized," and why does it happen?
- QUIZ
- September 25 Koestler, "The Second Hearing."

How can revolutionaries justify their actions when they don't know what the ultimate consequences will be?
- September 27 Koestler, finish the book

Is Rubashov's "swing theory" a convincing justification for dictatorship?
- October 2 McAuley, "Khrushchev and Party Rule," and "The Administrative-Command System Under Brezhnev," pp. 62-88.

Was the Soviet Union still "totalitarian" after Stalin?

- October 4 Seweryn Bialer, "Soviet Stability and its Sources," In Ostrow, pp. 44-64.
- Why did observers think the Soviet system was more stable than it really was?
What did they miss? Why did they miss it?

THE END OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

- October 9 McAuley, "Perestroika and the End of Party Rule," "Dispersal of Power," and
"Conclusion," pp. 89-123.
- 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 11 ESSAY ONE DUE
- Movie: *Vor'* (The Thief)

- October 16 Masha Gessen, *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin*, ch.
4, "Once a Spy," pp. 71-99.
- Gessen, ch. 5, "A Coup and a Crusade," pp. 101-129.
- Does the behavior of ordinary people as the Soviet system was collapsing support
Kliamkin and Migranian's argument that the Soviet Union wasn't ready for
democracy?

- October 18 Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (New
York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 79-101 (e-reserve).
- How did the multicultural nature of the Soviet Union contribute to its collapse?

- October 23 FALL BREAK—no classes

- October 25 Joel Ostrow, "Glasnost Guttled the Party, Democratization Doomed the State,
Political Liberalization and the Soviet Disintegration," in Ostrow, pp. 84-
114.
- Alexander Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," in Ostrow, pp. 115-133.
- Why did the Soviet Union unravel so quickly?

- October 30 Olson, "The Sources of Law Enforcement and Corruption," "The Evolution of
Communism and Its Legacy," "The Kinds of Markets Needed for
Prosperity," pp. 135-154, pp. 173-199.
- Does central planning encourage desirable behavior on the part of economic
actors? Does shock therapy?

- November 1 Ostrow, "The Economy: Market Capitalism or Institutionalized Corruption," pp. 181-185.
Katherine Verdery, "What was Socialism and Why Did it Fall?," in Ostrow, pp. 70-83.
Lilia Shevtsova, "The Triumph of Bureaucratic Capitalism," in Ostrow, pp. 203-211.
Steven Handleman, from "Comrade Criminal" and "The Criminal State," in Ostrow, pp. 212-233.
- Would a "China strategy" of economic reform without political reform have worked in Russia?

RETURN TO AUTOCRACY

- November 6 Ostrow, "The Executive and the Legislature," pp. 234-238.
Gessen, chs. 1-3, pp. 11-70.
- Would you explain the concentration of power that occurred under Putin by looking at the man or the institutions he inherited?

QUIZ

- November 8 Gessen, ch.7, "The Day the Media Died," and ch. 8, "Dismantling Democracy," pp. 145-197.
- Why did "strengthening vertical power" seem like a good idea after Yeltsin?
- November 13 M. Steven Fish, "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 1, January 2006, pp. 5-20 (on e-reserve).
Paul Chaisty, "Majority Control and Executive Dominance," in Ostrow, pp. 253-267.
Timothy Colton, "Paradoxes of Putinism," *Daedalus* 146 (2) Spring 2017, pp. 8-18 (on e-reserve).
- Why is a strong legislature good for democracy?

- November 15 Milan W. Svobik, *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*, ch.1, "Introduction: The Anatomy of Dictatorship" (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-18 (on e-reserve).
Vladimir Gel'man, "Party Politics in Russia: From Competition to Hierarchy," in Ostrow, pp. 273-289.
- Why would an autocrat bother to have a legislature and political parties?

- November 20 Ostrow, "Elections," pp. 333-336.
Misha Myagkov and Peter Ordeshook, "Russian Elections: An Oxymoron of Democracy," in Ostrow, pp. 373-388.
Gessen, ch. 9, "Rule of Terror," ch. 11, "Back to the USSR," Epilogue, and Afterword, pp. 199-226 and pp. 261-305.
- 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 22 THANKSGIVING—no classes

RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

November 27 Andreas Kappeler, "Ukraine and Russia: Legacies of the imperial past and competing memories," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 5 (2014): 107-115 (on e-reserve).
Irina Khmelko and Yevgen Pereguda, "An Anatomy of Mass Protests: The Orange Revolution and Euromaydan Compared," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47 (2014): 227-236 (on e-reserve).

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

November 29 ESSAY TWO DUE

December 4 Rafael Khachaturian, "The Specter of Russian Nationalism," in Ostrow, pp. 409-417.
Keith A. Darden, "Russian Revanche: External Threats and Regime Reactions," *Daedalus* 146 (2) Spring 2017, pp. 128-141 (on e-reserve).
Massimo Calabresi, "Hacking Democracy: Inside Russia's Social Media War on America," *Time*, 29 May 2017, pp. 30-35 (on e-reserve).

What are unintended consequences of US democracy promotion abroad?

December 6 Joel Ostrow, Georgiy Satarov, and Irina Khakamada, "Critical Junctures and the Demise of Democracy in Russia," in Ostrow, pp. 139-148.
Valerie Bunce, "The Prospects for a Color Revolution in Russia," *Daedalus* 146 (2) Spring 2017, pp. 19-29 (on e-reserve).

Why did democracy fail in Russia? Do you think Russia will become more democratic in the future?

HONORS STUDENTS: 5 page reflection due

December 18 FINAL EXAM, 8:30-9:30

Selected Supplemental Reading

FICTION

Bulgakov, Mikhail. 1967. *The Master and Margarita*. New York: Penguin Classics.
Bulgakov, Mikhail. 1968. *The Heart of a Dog*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
Grossman, Vasily. 1972. *Forever Flowing*. New York: Harper & Row.
Pelevin, Victor. 1999. *Homo Zapiens*. New York: Viking.
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1962. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. Berkley.
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1968. *The Cancer Ward*. New York: Bantam Books.
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1968. *The First Circle*. New York: Bantam Books.

- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1973. *The Gulag Archipelago*. New York: Harper Classics.
- Shteyngart, Gary. 2002. *The Russian Debutante's Handbook*. New York: Riverhead Books, Penguin Putnam.
- Shteyngart, Gary. 2007. *Absurdistan: A Novel*. New York: Random House.
- Voinovich, Vladimir. 1986. *Moscow 2042*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Voinovich, Vladimir. 1975. *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin*.
- Zamiatin, Eugene. 1924. *We*. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.

PERSONAL AND JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTS

The Soviet Period:

- Alexievich, Svetlana. 1992. *Zinky Boys: Soviet Voices from the Afghanistan War*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Alexievich, Svetlana. 2018. *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II*. New York: Random House.
- Alekseyeva, Julia. 2017. *Soviet Daughter: A Graphic Revolution*. Portland, OR: Microcosm Publishing.
- Reed, John. 1934. *Ten Days that Shook the World*. New York: International Pub.
- Garros, Veronique, Natalia Korenevskaya, and Thomas Lahusen. 1995. *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*. Translated by Carol A. Flath. New York: The New Press.
- Ginzburg, Evgeniia. 1967. *Journey into the Whirlwind*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Ginzburg, Evgeniia. 1981. *Within the Whirlwind*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Shalamov, Varlam. 1994. *Kolyma Tales*. New York: Penguin.
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila, and Yuri Slezkine, eds. 2000. *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Reform and Collapse

- Alexievich, Svetlana. 2005. *Voices From Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*. Dalkey Archive Press.
- Alexievich, Svetlana. 2016. *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets*. New York: Random House.
- Brzezinski, Matthew. 2001. *Casino Moscow: A Tale of Greed and Adventure on Capitalism's Wildest Frontier*. New York: Free Press.
- Buzgalin, Alexander, and Andre Kolganov. 1994. *Bloody October in Moscow: Political Repression in the Name of Reform*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Kotkin, Stephen. 1991. *Steeltown, USSR*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gaidar, Yegor. 2012. *Russia: A Long View*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Gorbachev, Mikhail. 1988. *Perestroika*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Handelman, Stephen. 1995. *Comrade Criminal: Russia's New Mafia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hoffman, David E. 2003. *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia*. Public Affairs.
- Klebnikov, Paul. 2000. *Godfather of the Kremlin: Boris Berezovsky and the Looting of Russia*. New York: Harcourt.
- Meier, Andrew. 2003. *Black Earth: A Journey Through Russia After the Fall*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Remnick, David. 1993. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire*. New York: Random House.
- Richards, Susan. 2009. *Lost and Found in Russia: Lives in a Post-Soviet Landscape*. New York: Other Press.
- Satter, David. 2003. *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Yeltsin, Boris. 1990. *Against the Grain*. New York: Summit Books.
- Yeltsin, Boris. 2000. *Midnight Diaries*. Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick. New York: Public Affairs.

Putin's Russia

- Judah, Ben. 2014. *Fragile Empire: How Russia Fell In and Out of Love with Vladimir Putin*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Garrels, Anne. 2016. *Putin Country: A Journey into the Real Russia*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
- Gessen, Masha. 2014. *Words Will Break Cement: The Passion of Pussy Riot*. New York: Riverhead Books.

- Isikoff, Michael, and David Corn. 2018. *Russian Roulette: The Inside Story of Putin's War on America and the Election of Donald Trump*. Twelve.
- Kasparov, Garry. 2015. *Winter is Coming: Why Vladimir Putin and the Enemies of the Free World Must Be Stopped*. PublicAffairs.
- Ostrovsky, Arkady. 2015. *The Invention of Russia: From Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War*. New York: Viking.
- Politkovskaya, Anna. 2004. *A Dirty War: A Russian Reporter in Chechnya*. Harvill Press.
- Politkovskaya, Anna. 2007. *A Small Corner of Hell: Dispatches from Chechnya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Politkovskaya, Anna. 2007. *Putin's Russia: Life in a Failing Democracy*. Owl Books.
- Pomerantsev, Peter. 2015. *Nothing is True and Everything is Possible: The Surreal Heart of the New Russia*. PublicAffairs.
- Putin, Vladimir V. 2000. *First person*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Roxburgh, Angus. 2013. *The Strongman: Vladimir Putin and the Struggle for Russia*. New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Satter, David. 2016. *The Less You Know, the Better You Sleep: Russia's Road to Terror and Dictatorship under Yeltsin and Putin*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

SOME SCHOLARLY WORKS:

- Aslund, Anders, and Michael McFaul, eds. 2006. *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2007. "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: the Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/ Orange/Tulip Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 2 (June): 259-276.
- Brown, Archie, and Lilia Shevtsova, eds. 2001. *Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Putin: Political Leadership in Russia's Transition*. Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Bunce, Valerie. 1999. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bunce, Valerie, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. 2010. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bunce, Valerie, and Sharon Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Colton, Timothy J. 2016. *Russia: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dawisha, Karen. 2015. *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Fish, M. Steven. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 2017. *The Russian Revolution*. Fourth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1999. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Frye, Timothy. 2000. *Brokers and Bureaucrats: Building Market Institutions in Russia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Gel'man, Vladimir. 2015. *Authoritarian Russia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gerovitch, Slava. 2015. *Soviet Space Mythologies*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gill, Graeme, and Roger D. Markwick. 2000. *Russia's Stillborn Democracy? From Gorbachev to Yeltsin*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gill, Graeme. 2015. *Building an Authoritarian Policy: Russia in Post-Soviet Times*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldman, Marshall. 1992. *What Went Wrong with Perestroika*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Goldman, Marshall. 2003. *The Privatization of Russia*. New York: Routledge.
- Goldman, Marshall. 2010. *Petrostate: Putin, Power, and the New Russia*. New York: Oxford.
- Greene, Samuel A. 2014. *Moscow in Movement: Power and Opposition in Putin's Russia*. Stanford University Press.
- Hale, Henry E. 2014. *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Harvey, Cole J. 2016. "Changes in the menu of manipulation: Electoral fraud, ballot stuffing, and voter pressure in the 2011 Russian election." *Electoral Studies* 41: 105-117.
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