

*"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:

- 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](http://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](http://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](mailto: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:

<http://www.slu.edu/general-counsel-home/office-of-institutional-equity-and-diversity/sexual-misconduct-policy>  
[www.slu.edu/here4you](http://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/Documents/provost/academic\\_affairs/University-wide%20Academic%20Integrity%20Policy%20FINAL%20%206-26-15.pdf](http://www.slu.edu/Documents/provost/academic_affairs/University-wide%20Academic%20Integrity%20Policy%20FINAL%20%206-26-15.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**

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).

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. <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 1<sup>st</sup>). 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=russian](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: <http://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 23                      *Introduction: political change*
- August 25                      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"?
- August 30                      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.
- Does it make sense to think – as Marx does – that revolution will arise organically from the situation of the proletariat under capitalism?
- September 1                      McAuley, "1917: Revolution," and "State-Building: The Leninist System," pp. 12-33.  
Ostrow, "Introduction to the Soviet Political System," pp. 1-5.  
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).
- Did the revolution that occurred in Russia in November 1917 conform more to Marx's or to Lenin's predictions?

September 6 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 8 *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 13 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 15 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 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 McAuley, "Khrushchev and Party Rule," and "The Administrative-Command System Under Brezhnev," pp. 62-88.  
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?

**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)

Ostow, "The Collapse of the Soviet Union," pp. 65-69.  
 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 Ostow, "Glasnost Guttled the Party, Democratization Doomed the State, Political Liberalization and the Soviet Disintegration," in Ostow, pp. 84-114.  
 Masha Gessen, *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin*, ch. 4, "Once a Spy," pp. 71-99.

Does Ostow 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 Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 79-101 (e-reserve).  
 Alexander Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," in Ostow, pp. 115-133.

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

October 13 Gessen, ch. 5, "A Coup and a Crusade," pp. 101-129.  
 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 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.  
 Nancy Ries, "Epilogue," from *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation during Perestroika*, pp. 191-201 (on e-reserve).

Would Olson agree with Verdery that "socialism's fragility begins with the system of 'centralized planning' (Ostow, p. 71)?

October 25 Ostow, "The Economy: Market Capitalism or Institutionalized Corruption," pp. 181-185. (assignment continues on the next page)

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, "A Normal Country: Russia after Communism," in Ostrow, 187-202.

Steven Handleman, from "Comrade Criminal" and "The Criminal State," in Ostrow, pp. 212-233.

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

Joel Ostrow, Georgiy Satarov, and Irina Khakamada, "Corrupting the Elections: Enter the Oligarchs," pp. 337-372.

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

Lilia Shevtsova, "The Triumph of Bureaucratic Capitalism," in Ostrow, pp. 203-211. Gessen, chs. 1-3, pp. 11-70.

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

Gessen, ch.7, "The Day the Media Died," and ch. 8, "Dismantling Democracy," pp. 145-197.  
Ostrow, "The Executive and the Legislature," pp. 234-238.

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

November 8

Lilia Shevtsova, "Liberal Technocrats as an Adornment of the State," in Ostrow, pp. 239-241.

Ol'ga Kryshchanovskaya and Stephen White, "Inside the Putin Court: A Research Note," in Ostrow, pp. 242-252.

Paul Chaisty, "Majority Control and Executive Dominance," in Ostrow, pp. 253-267.

M. Steven Fish, "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 1, January 2006, pp. 5-20 (on e-reserve).

Why is a strong legislature good for democracy?

November 10

Robert Horvath, "Putin's 'Preventive Counter-Revolution': Post-Soviet Authoritarianism and the Spectre of Velvet Revolution," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 1 (January 2011): 1-25 (on e-reserve).

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            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.  
 Brian Whitmore, "A Troll With A Cause," *Radio Free Europe-Radio Liberty*, 3 August 2016 (on e-reserve or here: <http://www.rferl.org/content/a-troll-with-a-cause/27898642.html>)
- 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            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).  
 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 E. Kramer, "Keeping Bankers' Hours, European Observers Miss Most of Ukraine War," *New York Times*, 27 July 2016 (on e-reserve or here: <http://nyti.ms/29ZzFA2>)  
 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            Rafael Khachaturian, "The Specter of Russian Nationalism," in Ostrow, pp. 409-417.  
 Anna Politkovskaya, "Chechnya: A Dirty War 1999-2002," in Ostrow, pp. 418-433  
 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            Joel Ostrow, Georgiy Satarov, and Irina Khakamada, "Critical Junctures and the Demise of Democracy in Russia," in Ostrow, pp. 139-148.  
 David Foglesong and Gordon Hahn, "Ten Myths About Russia: Understanding and Dealing with Russia's Complexity and Ambiguity," in Ostrow, pp. 163-180.  
 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

- 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. 1968. *The Cancer Ward*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 1968. *The First Circle*. New York: Bantam Books.
- 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:*

- 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.

##### *The Reform Period and After:*

- 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.
- Judah, Ben. 2014. *Fragile Empire: How Russia Fell In and Out of Love with Vladimir Putin*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kotkin, Stephen. 1991. *Steeltown, USSR*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ostrovsky, Arkady. 2016. *The Invention of Russia: From Gorbachev's Freedom to Putin's War*. New York: Viking.
- Gaidar, Yegor. 2012. *Russia: A Long View*. Cambridge: MIT 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.
- Gorbachev, Mikhail. 1988. *Perestroika*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hale, Henry E. 2014. *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- Kasparov, Garry. 2015. *Winter is Coming: Why Vladimir Putin and the Enemies of the Free World Must Be Stopped*. PublicAffairs.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Roxburgh, Angus. 2013. *The Strongman: Vladimir Putin and the Struggle for Russia*. New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Satter, David. 2003. *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 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.
- Yeltsin, Boris. 1990. *Against the Grain*. New York: Summit Books.
- Yeltsin, Boris. 2000. *Midnight Diaries*. Translated by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick. New York: Public Affairs.

## 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.
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