

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Fall 2007

POST-SOVIET STATES AND MARKETS

WW4491Y

An introduction to the political and economic challenges facing the post-Soviet states.

INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland;
Email: prutland@wesleyan.edu
office hours Thursday 11.00-12.00 IAB 736.
Personal web site: prutland.web.wesleyan.edu

ASSESSMENT: Will be out of 100 points, as follows:

- 1) Three short papers, average 3-4 pages in length. Due on Oct.4, Oct 25 and Nov. 29. [15 points each]
- 2) Final paper, 15-20 pages long. 1-2 page outline due on Nov. 8, paper due on Dec. 13. [40 points]
- 3) Class participation. Students will sign up to make a short presentation of one of their assignments. I expect most presentations will take place during weeks 8-9, based on the second assignment. [15 points]

I expect all students in the class to follow current events in Russia and the other ex-Soviet states. I will be sending regular email bulletins with news and analysis from the region, and some electronic versions of reading for the next week's seminar.

READINGS

Basic texts for the course, which you should consider buying (available at Labyrinth books):

Anders Aslund	<i>Building Capitalism. The Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc</i> (2001)
John Dunlop	<i>The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Empire</i> (1995)
Richard Sakwa	<i>Putin: Russia's Choice</i> (2003, being reprinted in 2007)
Lilia Shevtsova	<i>Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality</i> (1999)
Stephen White (ed.)	<i>Developments in Russian Politics 6</i> (sixth edition, 2005)

All the basic texts and most but not all the books and articles cited in this syllabus are on reserve. Many of the articles are available on the web or as electronic journals. An item which is *italicized* is a book or journal title, an item in 'quotation marks' is an article. An item with an asterisk * is required reading for all students.

Some topics had to be omitted for reasons of space, but I am happy to try to include them if there is student interest, and they are certainly valid subjects for the final paper. Such topics include: gender, religion, social movements, workers, poverty, health and demography, ecology, regionalism and federalism, military reform, and the media.

PRINT PERIODICALS

Useful periodicals which you may wish to consult for your term paper:

<i>Europe/Asia Studies</i> (formerly <i>Soviet Studies</i>)	DK266.A2 S74
<i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> (formerly <i>Soviet Economy</i>)	HC335 .S588
<i>Slavic Review</i>	D377.A1 A5
<i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i>	HX1 .S74
<i>Problems of Post-Communism</i>	HX1 .S74

WEB SITES

www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/ Johnson's List, a comprehensive daily bulletin on Russia.

www.cdi.org/russia Center for Defense Information's Russia Weekly, good on security issues.

www.themoscowtimes.com English-language daily, required reading for expats in Moscow.

Russian daily news and commentary sites (in English):

<http://www.gazeta.ru/english/>

<http://www.itar-tass.com/eng/>

<http://www.russiaprofile.org/>

<http://polit.ru/story/int.html>

<http://en.rian.ru/>

<http://www1.russiatoday.ru/test/>

Kremlin sponsored TV in English.

<http://www.kremlin.ru/eng/>

President Putin's web site.

www.rferl.org Daily *Newsline* and background reports from US-funded Radio Liberty.

www.jamestown.org Jamestown Foundation's *Eurasia Daily Monitor*

www.tol.cz *Transitions Online*. Articles on the region and archives from 1995.

www.russiavotes.org for data on election results and public opinion polls on major issues.

www.eurasianet.org for stories on Central Asia and the Caucasus.

www.cacianalyst.org news and analysis on Central Asia and the Caucasus.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/country_profiles/default.stm

BBC news index of stories and timelines for each country.

www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/world/europe/easterneurope/russia/

archive of *Wash. Post* articles on Russia through 2005

www.nytimes.com/library/world/europe/russia-index.html

archive of *New York Times* stories on Russia through 2000

<http://web.ku.edu/~herron/eurasia/russia.php>

fairly comprehensive list of links to English and Russian language sites

For coverage of individual countries:

Nations in Transit annual reports at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/nattransit.htm>

Transitions Online current stories and archive of annual reports on each country 1997-03
<http://archive.tol.cz/links1.html>

www.eurasianet.org stories on the ex- Soviet republics, Central Asia and Caucasus

<http://cacianalyst.org> stories on Central Asia and the Caucasus

www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000/eur/ US State Department human rights reports on each country

Week 1
Sept 6

THE SOVIET COLLAPSE

Why did the Soviet Union collapse? What were Gorbachev's goals in introducing glasnost and perestroika? Why did he fail? Is Gorbachev a hero? a villain? a fool?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* ch. 1
- * Peter Rutland 'The Russian revolution of 1991 and the dissolution of the USSR' from James deFronzo (ed.), *Revolutionary Movements in World History* (2006)
- * David Kotz & Fred Weir 'Why did the USSR fall?,' *Dollars and Sense*, July 1997, no. 212
- * Stephen Cohen 'Was the Soviet system reformable?,' *Slavic Review*, v. 63, n. 3, 2004
- * Anders Aslund *Building Capitalism. Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc* ch. 2

- Stephen Kotkin *Armageddon Averted*
- David Kotz & F. Weir *Revolution from Above: the Demise of the Soviet System* chs. 1-6
- Michael Cox (ed) *Rethinking the Soviet Collapse*
- Robert Strayer *Why Did the Soviet Union Collapse?*
- Archie H. Brown *The Gorbachev Factor*
- The National Interest* *The Strange Death of Soviet Communism* (March 1993)
- Richard Sakwa *Gorbachev and his Reforms*
- Marshall Goldman *What Went Wrong With Perestroika*
- Michael Ellman & Vladimir Kontorovich (eds) *The Destruction of the Soviet Economic System*

Week 2
Sept 13

YELTSIN AND THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

What were Yeltsin's goals? What was the political coalition supporting him? Was Yeltsin the father of Russian democracy, or its gravedigger? What was the agenda of Communist and nationalist politicians, and why did they fail to gain power in the wake of the Soviet collapse?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* chs. 2-4
- * Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* chs. 1-3

- Boris Yeltsin *The Struggle for Russia*
- Leon Aron *Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life* (Yeltsin GOOD)
- Peter Reddaway & Dmitri Glinski *The Tragedy of Russia's Reforms* (Yeltsin BAAD)
- John Morrison *Boris Yeltsin: from Bolshevik to Democrat*
- Boris Yeltsin *Against the Grain* (Autobiography of his early years.)
- Gordon Hahn *Russia's Revolution From Above*

Week 3
Sept 20

SHOCKING THERAPY

Why was shock therapy launched in 1992? Who benefited from the radical economic policies of 1992? What were the alternatives to shock therapy, and why were they not followed?

- * Peter Murrell 'What is shock therapy? What did it do in Poland and Russia?' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, April-June 1993
- * Peter Rutland 'The rocky road from plan to market,' ch. 8 in Stephen White (ed) *Developments in Russian Politics 4* (1997)
- * Anders Aslund *Building Capitalism*, chs. 3-4 *Continued.....*

- Yoshiko Herrera 'Russian economic reform' ch. 4 in Zoltan Barany & Robert Moser (eds), *Russian Politics*
- David Kotz & F. Weir *Revolution from Above: the Demise of the Soviet System* chs. 9-12
- Anders Aslund *How Russia Became a Market Economy*
- Hilary Appel *Building a New Capitalist Order*
- Lynn Nelson & Irina Kuzes *Property to the People*
- Forum on Globalization Contributions by Joseph Stiglitz and Jeffrey Sachs, to 20 February 2003 forum. Video at: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/news/vforum/03/>

Week 4 YELTSIN CONSOLIDATES HIS RULE (1992-96)

Sept 27

In October 1993 Yeltsin suppressed a rebellion by the parliament and introduced a new constitution that consolidated presidential rule. Why did the democratic movement fail to replace the Soviet system with a truly democratic political order? Why were political parties slow to develop? How was Yeltsin able to win the 1996 election?

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* chs. 3-4, 6-9
- * Peter Rutland 'Has democracy failed Russia?,' *National Interest* (December 1994)
- Boris Yeltsin *The Struggle for Russia* chs. 7-9
- Leon Aron *Yeltsin: A Revolutionary Life*
- Eugene Huskey *Presidential Power in Russia*
- Peter Reddaway & Dmitri Glinski *The Tragedy of Russia's Reforms*
- Zoltan Barany & Robert Moser (eds) *Russian Politics: Challenges of Democratization* chs. 1-3

Oct 4 FIRST ASSIGNMENT: 'The Russian Transition'

Write a 3-4 page paper in which you critically evaluate Russia's transition in either its political or economic dimension. Pay particular attention to the choices the leading actors made at the time, and the possibility that the Russian transition could have taken a different path. What have we learned about the wisdom of the chosen path in the subsequent 15 years?

Week 5 THE CHECHEN WAR (1994-96, 1999-2005)

Oct 4

Yeltsin launched a disastrous invasion of Chechnya in December 1994. Why did this happen, and why did the Russians prove unable to win the war? Why did the second war break out in 1999?

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality*, ch. 5
- * Pavel Felgengauer 'A war Moscow cannot afford to lose,' *Transition*, n. 31, May 1996
- * Rajan Menon & Graham Fuller 'Russia's ruinous Chechen war,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 79, n. 2, Mar 2000
- * Mark Kramer 'The perils of counter-insurgency: Russia's war in Chechnya,' *International Security*, v. 29, n. 3, 2004
- John Dunlop *Russia Confronts Chechnya* (history prior to the war)
- Anatol Lieven *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power*
- Carlotta Gall & Thomas de Waal *Chechnya: Calamity in the Caucasus*
- Anna Politkovskaya *A Dirty War*
- Matthew Evangelista *The Chechen Wars. Will Russia Go the Way of the Soviet Union?*
- Valery Tishkov *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society*
- Sebastian Smith *Allah's Mountains: the Battle for Chechnya*
- www.kavkazcenter.com Chechen rebel web-site, sometimes jammed.
- <http://eng.kavkaz.memo.ru/> *Caucasian Knot* website.

Week 6
Oct 11

NEW ECONOMIC ACTORS

a) The Oligarchs

Why and how did political and economic power shift into the hands of a new oligarchic elite?
Was the economic transition a success, or a failure? The causes and consequences of the 1998 crash.

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Yeltsin's Russia: Myths and Reality* chs. 6-9
- * Joseph Stiglitz 'What I learned at the world economic crisis,' *New Republic*, 5/17/2000
- * Thomas Graham 'Russia's new regime' (*Transition*, 1994)
- * Joel Hellman 'Winners take all: the politics of partial reform' *World Politics*, 1998, vol. 50, no. 2
- David Hoffman *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* ch. 15 on 1998.
- Boris Yeltsin *Midnight Diaries* (third volume of his autobiography)
- Chrystia Freeland *The Sale of the Century*
- Marshall Goldman *The Privatization of Russia*
- Rose Brady *Kapitalizm: Russia's Struggle to Free its Economy*
- Paul Klebnikov *Godfather of the Kremlin: Boris Berezovsky and the Looting of Russia*
- Peter Rutland *Business and the State in Russia* Introduction, ch. 7
- Peter Rutland 'Mission Impossible? The IMF and the failure of market transition in Russia,' *Review of International Studies*, no. 25, 1999

b) The Mafia

Why did organized crime rise so rapidly? Could the state have done anything to get it under control?

- * Vadim Volkov 'Violent entrepreneurship in post-Communist Russia,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 51, no. 5 (July 1999) pp. 741-754
- * Robert Sharlet 'In search of the rule of law,' in Stephen White (ed.) *Developments in Russian Politics* 6, ch. 8
- * Peter Rutland & Natasha Kogan 'The Russian Mafia,' *Transitions*, v. 5, n. 3, 1998
- Federico Varese *The Russian Mafia*
- Stephen Handelman *Comrade Criminal: the Rise of the Russian Mafiya*
- Valerie Sperling *Building the Russian State*, chs. 4, 9
- Alena Ledonova *Russia's Economy of Favors*
- Alena Ledonova *How Russia Really Works*

Week 7
Oct 18

THE BIRTH OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

a) The general picture

How did the Soviet state break up into 15 separate states? How were its economic and military assets divided? Where did wars break out, and why? What were the common challenges the new states faced? Who held power in the new states, and what sorts of political regimes emerged? What was the fate of the Russian diaspora?

- * John Dunlop *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* ch. 6
- * Pal Kolsto 'Nation-building in the former USSR,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 7, n. 1, 1996
- * Gerry Easter 'Preference for presidentialism: Post-communist regime change,' *World Politics*, Jan 1997, vol. 49, no. 2

Continued....

Charles King	'The benefits of ethnic war' <i>World Politics</i> v. 53, n. 4, Jul 2001 524-52
Svante Cornell	'Autonomy as a source of conflict. Caucasian conflicts in theoretical perspective,' <i>World Politics</i> , vol. 54, no. 2, January 2002, 245-276
Graham Smith (ed.)	<i>The Nationalities Question in the post-Soviet States</i>
Gail Lapidus	<i>From Union to Commonwealth</i>
Ian Bremmer & Ray Taras (eds)	<i>Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States</i>
Graham Smith (ed)	<i>The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet states</i>
Roman Szporluk (ed)	<i>National Identity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia</i>
Igor Zevelov	<i>Russia and Its New Diasporas</i>
Timothy Heleniak	'Migration of the Russian diaspora after the breakup of the Soviet Union,' <i>Journal of International Affairs</i> , March 2004, vol 57, no.2
Pal Kolsto	<i>Political Construction Sites: Nation-Building in Russia and the Post-Soviet States</i>

b) The economics of transition

What has happened to the region's economies since 1991? What strategies have nations adopted for economic development? What are the demographic shifts and migration patterns of the 1990s?

- * Anders Aslund *Building Capitalism*, chs. 5-11
- EBRD *Transition Report 2005. Business in Transition*, November 2005
Also on the web (in Russian) at: www.ebrd.com/pubs/econo/6520r.pdf
- Robert Ebel & Rajan Menon (eds) *Energy and Conflict in Central Asia and the Caucasus*
- Rawi Abdelal *National Purpose In The World Economy: Post-Soviet States In Comparative Perspective*

Oct 25 SECOND ASSIGNMENT: 'Anywherestan: birth of a nation'

Select one of the ex-Soviet states, apart from Russia. Write a 3-4 page paper in which you briefly outline the country's main ethnic, political and economic features and go on to analyze the most important controversies since independence in 1991. You can focus in on one particular issue if you wish eg. a civil war, an oil pipeline. For sources see the materials listed in Weeks 8 and 9.

Students will make short (5-10 minute) presentations of their second papers in class in weeks 8-9.

Week 8 THE NORTHERN ZONE

Oct 25

How is national identity constructed in Belarus and Ukraine after the Soviet collapse?
What are the dynamics of politics in those countries?

- * Keith Darden 'Blackmail as a tool of state domination: Ukraine under Kuchma,' *East European Constitutional Review*, spring 2001
- * Lucan Way 'Authoritarian state building and the sources of political liberalization in the Western former Soviet Union,' *World Politics*, 2005
- * Steven Levitsky & Lucan Way 'The rise of competitive authoritarianism,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 13, n. 2, Apr. 2002
- David Laitin *Identity in Formation: Russian-Speaking Populations in Near Abroad*
- David Marples 'Europe's last dictatorship: the roots of authoritarianism in "White Russia,"' *Europe-Asia Studies*, Sept. 2005, v. 57, n. 6
- Bohdan Krawchenko 'Ukraine: the politics of independence', in Ian Bremmer & Ray Taras, (eds), *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*, 75-98
- Adrian Karatnycky 'Ukraine at the crossroads,' *Journal of Democracy*, v.6, no.1, Jan 1995
- Andrew Wilson *The Ukrainians. Unexpected Nation*
- Paul D'Anieri et al *Politics and Society in Ukraine*

Week 9

THE SOUTHERN ZONE

Nov 1

How did the newly-independent states of the Caucasus and Central Asia cope with independence?
How successful have they been in embracing market reform and developing natural resources?

- * Stephen Kotkin 'Trashcanistan. A tour through the wreckage of the Soviet Empire,' *New Republic*, 4 Apr. 2002
- * Charles Fairbanks 'Disillusionment in the Caucasus and Central Asia,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 12, n. 4, Oct. 2001
- * Pauline Luong Jones & Erika Weinthal 'Prelude to the resource curse. Explaining oil and gas development in Soviet successor states,' *Comparative Political Studies*, v. 34 n. 4, 2001
- * Kathleen Collins 'Clans, pacts & politics in Central Asia' *J. of Democracy*, 13/3, 2002
- Cullen Murphy 'My way. Get in touch with your inner Turkmenbashi' *Atlantic*, Nov 02
- Oksan Bayulgen 'Foreign capital' *Communist and Post-Com. Studies*, v. 38 n. 1, Mar 05
- Dmitri Trenin *The End of Eurasia*
- Pauline Luong Jones (ed) *The Transformation of Central Asia*
- Martha Olcott *Central Asia's Second Chance*
- Daniel L. Burghart & Theresa Sabonis-Helf (eds) *In the Tracks of Tamerlane. Central Asia's Path to the 21st Century*
- Karen Dawisha (ed) Whole text on the web at: <http://www.ndu.edu/ctnsp/tamerlane.htm>
- Ian Bremmer (ed) *Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*
- Zeyno Baran *New States, New Politics*
- 'The Caucasus: ten Years after independence,' *Washington Quarterly*, v. 25, n. 1, winter 2002, 221-234

Nov 8

Outline of final paper to be submitted to instructor

Choose you own topic. Feel free to consult the instructor for advice. The 1-2 page outline should include the title, the main arguments, and a list of likely sources.

I am open to collaborative projects (involving 2-3 people) and innovative proposals, such as a Public Relations company proposal on how to 'rebrand' Russia; a risk analysis for a US oil company considering taking a minority stake in the Shtokman field; etc.

Week 10

FROM YELTSIN TO PUTIN

Nov 8

a) Putin's rise

Yeltsin resigns on 31 December 1999 and hands power to Vladimir Putin. Where did Putin come from, and what were his goals? What did he achieve in his first two years?

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Putin's Russia* chs. 1-8
- * Stephen White (ed) *Developments in Russian Politics* 6, chs. 1-10
- * Peter Rutland "Putin's path to power," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 16, no. 4, Dec. 2000
- * Vladimir Putin *First Person* (interviews with Putin) excerpted on the web at: www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/yeltsin/putin/
- 'Russia under Putin' Special issue of *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 11, no. 3, July 2000
- Cameron Ross 'Putin's federal reforms,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2003, pp. 29-47
- Anders Aslund 'Russia's economic transformation under Putin,' *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, vol. 45, 2004, pp. 397-420
- Andrew Jack *Inside Putin's Russia*
- Peter Baker & Susan Glasser *Kremlin Rising*
- Stephen White & Ian McAllister 'Putin and his supporters,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, v. 55, n. 3, 03
- Tim Colton & Michael McFaul 'Are Russians undemocratic?' *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 18/ 2, 2002

b) Russian Identity What is Russian national identity, and how has it shifted under Putin?

- * Vera Tolz 'Forging the Nation: National identity and nation-building in post-communist Russia,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, v. 50, n. 6, 993-1022
- Pal Kolsto (ed.) *Nation-Building and Common Values in Russia*
- Vera Tolz *Russia: Inventing the Nation*
- Simon Franklin *National Identity in Russian Culture*
- Wendy Helleman (ed.) *The Russian Idea: In Search of a New Identity*
- Daniel Rancour-Laferriere *Russian Nationalism from an Interdisciplinary Perspective: Imagining Russia*
- Chris J. Chulos & Timo Piirainen (eds) *The Fall of an Empire, the Birth of a Nation: National Identities in Russia*

Week 11

RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY

Nov 15

What are Russia's main foreign policy concerns? Can Russia cling to its status as a world power? US-Russian relations from the 'Great Game' for oil and influence in Central Asia to the Global War on Terror. Is Russia balancing or bandwagoning?

- * Margot Light 'Foreign policy,' in Stephen White (ed.), *Developments ... 6*, ch. 13
- * Allen Lynch 'The realism of Russia's foreign policy,' *Europe-Asia Studies*, v. 53, n. 1, 2001
- * Mark Katz 'Exploiting rivalries: Russia's foreign policy,' *Problems in Post-Communism*, v. 52, n. 3, May 2005
- * Tatyana Shakleyina & Aleksei Bogaturov 'The Russian realist school,' *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1, Mar 2004
- 'Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation' (2000)
www.ciaonet.org/olj/iarj/iarj_00_05a.html
- Bobo Lo *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*
- Andrei Tsygankov *Russia's Foreign Policy*
- Roy Allison et al *Putin's Russia and the Enlarged Europe*
- Martha Olcott et al *Getting it Wrong: Regional Cooperation in the CIS*
- Ted Hopf (ed) *Understanding Russian Foreign Policy*
- Michael Mandelbaum (ed) *The New Russian Foreign Policy*
- Celeste Wallander (ed) *The Sources of Russian Foreign Policy*
- William Odom *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*

Nov 22

THANKSGIVING - NO CLASS

Nov 29

THIRD ASSIGNMENT:

'Democracy in Country X'

How would you characterize the political regime in country X? How has its politics since 1991 been shaped by cultural legacies, institutional factors, and leadership choices? What are the prospects for democracy there? (3-4 pages).

Week 12

PUTIN'S AUTHORITARIAN SHIFT

Nov 29

Has Putin consolidated authoritarian rule; or is Russia now a 'normal' country? Will United Russia succeed as a ruling party? Why are the other parties so weak? Why was civil society so slow to develop? How should America deal with Putin? Is Russia 'doomed' to an authoritarian future?

- * Lilia Shevtsova *Putin's Russia* chs. 9-13
- * Andrei Shleifer & Dan Treisman 'A normal country,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 83, n. 2, Mar 2004
- * Pavel Baev 'The evolution of Putin's regime,' *Problems of Post-Communism*, v. 51, n. 6, Dec. 2004
- * Robert W. Orttung 'Russia,' *Nations in Transit*, 2005
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/nattransit.htm>
- * Anders Aslund 'Putin's decline and America's response,' Carnegie Endowment Policy brief, August 2005. <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/>
- * *The Economist* 'The making of a neo-KGB state,' *The Economist*, 24 Aug. 2007
- Pavel Salin 'Monogopolyusnaya politicheskaya Rossiya,' *Politicheskii klass*, 8/18/07
- Lev Gudkov & Boris Dubin 'Illyuziya modernizatsii,' *Pro et Contra*, May 2007, 73-97
- Henry Hale 'Why not parties? Electoral markets and stalled democratization in Russia,' *Comparative Politics*, v. 37, n. 2, Jan. 2005, 147-66
- Michael McFaul & Nikolai Petrov 'What the elections tell us,' *Jl of Democracy*, v. 15, n. 3, 2003
- Stephen Sestanovich 'Force, money and pluralism,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 15, n. 3, 2004
- M. Steven Fish *Democracy Derailed in Russia*
- Michael McFaul (ed) *Between Dictatorship and Democracy. Russian Post-Communist Reform*
- Andrew Wilson *Virtual Politics*
- Allen C. Lynch *How Russia is Not Ruled. Reflections on Russian Political Development*
- Marshall Goldman 'Putin and the oligarchs,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 83, n. 6, Nov. 2004
- Marc Howard *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*
- Alfred B. Evans (ed) *Russian Civil Society*
- Stefan Hedlund 'Can they go back and fix it?' (Hokkaido, 2002)
- Stefan Hedlund *Russian Path Dependence*
- Tim Mcdaniel *The Agony of the Russian Idea*

Week 13

THE ORANGE REVOLUTIONS

Dec 6

Just as authoritarianism was strengthening in Russia, a wave of mini-revolutions swept the region: Georgia 2003, Ukraine 2004, and Kyrgyzstan 2005. Do they represent a genuine breakthrough to democracy? What are the chances of such revolutions spreading to Belarus, Uzbekistan – or Russia?

- * Charles Fairbanks 'Georgia's rose revolution,' *Journal of Democracy*, v. 15, n. 2, Apr 04
- * Adrian Karatnycky 'Ukraine's orange revolution,' *Foreign Affairs*, v. 84, n. 2, Mar 2005
- * Martha Brill Olcott 'Lessons of the tulip revolution,' Testimony Before Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 7 April 2005
- * Graeme Herd 'Colorful revolutions and the CIS,' *Problems of Post-Communism*, v. 52, n. 2, Mar 2005
- Andrew Wilson *Ukraine's Orange Revolution*
- Jonathan Wheatley *Georgia from National Awakening to Rose Revolution*
- Robert Legvold & Bruno Coppieters (eds) *Statehood and Security. Georgia After the Rose Revolution*
- International Crisis Group *Uzbekistan: The Andijon Uprising*, Asia Briefing no. 38, 25 May 2005
www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3469&l=1
- International Crisis Group *Kyrgyzstan, a Faltering State*, Asia Report no. 109, 16 Dec. 2005
www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3838&l=1

Dec 13

FINAL PAPER DUE

Send it by email to: prutland@wesleyan.edu