

CAS IR 542/UNI SS 542/CAS PO 556

RUSSIA: A REEMERGING COUNTRY IN TROUBLE

Fall 2007

Tu/Th 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m., GCB 204

Igor Lukes

(617) 358-1776, lukes@bu.edu

SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

Russia has taken great strides to regain its status of a superpower. When speaking in public President Putin sounds confident, even triumphalist. The political scene in Moscow is stable and the economy is good. Yet, Russia is also a country in trouble. Some seventy million Russians live in areas that are severely polluted. The country's population has declined from 151 million in 1990 to 141 million in 2007. To Russia's east, China has a population of 1.2 billion, in the west, the EU has 375 million, and to Russia's south there are some 300 million Muslims. Men in Bangladesh and Bosnia live longer than do men in Russia.

The old totalitarian system came to an end fifteen years ago; how different is the new system? Although Russian citizens are now free to express their political views, power remains vested in the hands of a small elite that has squandered away much of Russia's wealth and channeled vast sums of foreign assistance into private accounts abroad. By the end of the 1990s, the Russian government owed its citizens some \$10 billion in unpaid wages, which directly affected some seventy percent of the population. Yet, there were virtually no strikes or significant protests. Is that a good sign?

The present situation in Iraq and Afghanistan has made energy production very profitable. This has proved to be good for Russia. But as the Russian economy keeps improving - it grows by 6.7 percent annually - the country's political and security relations with the United States and the EU countries decline.

This course will focus on the emergence of new power structures in Russia. It will examine the impact of organized crime and the public health and environmental crises on today's Russia. It will analyze the careers of Vladimir Putin, Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev. We will study Putin's current policies. We will examine the conflicts between Yeltsin and Gorbachev and their attack on the Brezhnevite political, security and military élites. We will review the main achievement of Gorbachev, viz., the transfer of power from the party to regional and union soviets.

The course will study the fate of other players on the Russian political scene, such as Yuri Luzhkov and the oligarchs Mikhail Khodorkovski, Roman Abramovich, Boris Berezovsky, and Vladimir Gusinsky.

Recent developments in Russia and the country's changing role on the international arena will be discussed on the basis of current reports and analyses.

REQUIRED READINGS

Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, *The Kremlin Rising* (New York: Scribner, 2005).

David Hoffman, *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002).

David Satter, *Darkness at Dawn: The Rise of the Russian Criminal State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

ADDITIONAL READINGS are assigned from the following books:

James H. Billington, *Russia Transformed: Moscow, August 1991* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (Oxford University Press, 1996).

Murray Feshbach, *Russia's Health and Demographic Crises: Policy Implications and Consequences* (Washington: The Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute, 2003).

Paul Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin: Boris Berezovsky and the Looting of Russia* (New York: Harcourt, Inc., 2000).

OFFICE HOURS:

I am available for consultations during my office hours, every Tuesday and Thursday from 8:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. I am also always happy to speak with you before and after each lecture. If you are unable to see me during my office hours I will make a prompt arrangement to see you as soon as possible.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

There will be a midterm and a final examination, each worth c. 50 percent of the final grade. This arrangement is not mathematically perfect because I need room to reward active course participation or to penalize poor attendance and failure to read the assigned texts.

The midterm examination will take place on 23 October 2007. The final examination is scheduled by Boston University for Wednesday, 19 December 2007, 9 a.m. to 11 a.m. Please note that I am not able to change this arrangement.

Familiarity with assigned texts is essential. Attendance and active participation are required. I start each lecture with a review of the material covered to date. Please come prepared to be challenged.

It is your responsibility to know and understand the provisions of the Academic Conduct Code; a copy can be obtained in the Dean's Office.

Please observe the no eating or drinking in the classroom rule. If you wear a baseball hat take it off for the duration of the class. And please turn off your cell-phones.

POLICY ON INCOMPLETES

No incomplete grades will be reported unless the student has presented a plausible explanation why the coursework cannot be finished on time. The student will then fill in a form requesting an incomplete grade; this will include a written commitment to satisfy the outstanding obligations by a specific date, which must be no later than one calendar year from the date on which the final examination took place.

POLICY ON "W" GRADE

The last day to drop this class without a "W" grade on your transcript is 9 October 2007. The last day to drop this class with a "W" grade is 26 October 2007.

REEMERGENCE OF RUSSIA

Course Outline
Fall 2007

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|-------------------------|---|
| Lecture 1. September 4 | Introduction |
| Lecture 2. September 6 | Vladimir Putin |
| Lecture 3. September 11 | Elza Kungayeva (2000) and <i>Kursk</i> (2000) |
| Lecture 4. September 13 | From Ryazan (1999) to <i>Nord-Ost</i> (2002) |
| Lecture 5. September 18 | Russia's War on Terrorism: Beslan (2004) |
| Lecture 6. September 20 | <i>Vorovskoy mir</i> and <i>The Mafiya</i> |
| Lecture 7. September 25 | Medical Crisis |
| Lecture 8. September 27 | Russia's Environmental Crisis |
| Lecture 9. October 2 | Living in the Land of Shortages |
| Lecture 10. October 4 | Gorbachev's Path to Power |
| Lecture 11. October 11 | The Gorbachev Experiment |
| Lecture 12. October 16 | The August Coup d'État |
| Lecture 13. October 18 | The Final Act: The USSR Collapses |
| Lecture 14. October 23 | MIDTERM |
| Lecture 15. October 25 | Alexander Smolensky and Yuri Luzhkov |
| Lecture 16. October 30 | Anatoly Chubais |
| Lecture 17. November 1 | Mikhail Khodorkovsky |
| Lecture 18. November 6 | Boris Berezovsky |
| Lecture 19. November 8 | Vladimir Gusinsky |
| Lecture 20. November 13 | Privatization of Russia |
| Lecture 21. November 15 | Yeltsin, the Oligarchs & Easy Money |
| Lecture 22. November 20 | A Hobbesian Moment on Sparrow Hills |
| Lecture 23. November 27 | The New "Board of Directors" of Russia |
| Lecture 24. November 29 | The Oligarchs at War |
| Lecture 25. December 4 | Decline of the Oligarchs |
| Lecture 26. December 6 | Putin Rules |

Lecture 27. December 11

Review

Lecture 1
Introduction

Description of the course & discussion of required readings; course requirements, attendance, readings, policy on incompletes, and grading.

Lecture 2
Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin

Baker and Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, 38-77.

Lecture 3
Vignettes from Putin's Russia: Elza Kungayeva and Kursk

Baker and Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, 99-120, 87-91.

Satter, *Darkness at Dawn*, 5-23.

Lecture 4
From Ryazan (1999) to Nord-Ost (2002)

Satter, *Darkness at Dawn*, 24-33.

Baker and Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, 156-178.

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 301-307.

Lecture 5
Russia's War on Terrorism: Beslan (2004)

Baker and Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, 15-37.

Lecture 6
Vorovskoy mir and the Mafiya

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 11-45, 170-211.

Satter, *Darkness at Dawn*, 112-155, 222-247.

Lecture 7
The Medical Crisis

Feshbach, *Russia's Health and Demographic Crises*, 63-78.

Baker and Glasser, *The Kremlin Rising*, 179-196.

Satter, *Darkness at Dawn*, 198-221.

Lecture 8
Russia's Environmental Crisis

Feshbach, *Russia's Health and Demographic Crises*, 23-60.

Lecture 9
Living in the Land of Shortages

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 11-30.

Baker and Glasser, *The Kremlin Rising*, 1-14.

Lecture 10
Gorbachev's Path to Power

Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 24-88.

Lecture 11
The Gorbachev Experiment

Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 155-211.

Lukes, "Changes in the Decision-Making Apparatus: *Vsja vlast' sovietam*," in Ra'anani and Lukes, *Gorbachev's USSR*, 72-94.

Lecture 12
The August Coup d'État

Billington, *Russia Transformed*, passim.

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 72-76.

Lecture 13
The Final Act: The USSR Collapses

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 46-77.

Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 252-305.

Lecture 14
MIDTERM
(23 October 2007)

Lecture 15
Alexander Smolensky and Yuri Luzhkov

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 31-77, 237-269.

Lecture 16
Anatoly Chubais

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 78-99, 308-364, 410-441.

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 212-247.

Lecture 17
Mikhail Khodorkovsky

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 100-126, 495-501.

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 202-211.

Lecture 18
Boris Berezovsky

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, passim.

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 127-149.

Lecture 19
Vladimir Gusinsky

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 150-174.

Lecture 20
Privatization of Russia

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 177-208.

Lecture 21
Yeltsin, the Oligarchs and Easy Money

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 209-236.

Lecture 22
A Hobbesian Moment on Sparrow Hills

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 270-295.

Lecture 23
The New "Board of Directors" of Russia

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 296-364.

Lecture 24
The Oligarchs at War

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 365-396.

Lecture 25
Decline of the Oligarchs

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 442-489.

Baker and Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, 78-98, 272-292, 335-353.

Lecture 26
Putin Rules

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 284-317.

Satter, *Darkness at Dawn*, 248-256.

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 487-489.

Lecture 27
Final Reflections