

CAS IR 542

RUSSIA: A REEMERGING COUNTRY IN TROUBLE

Fall 2013, CAS 203

Mo/Wd 3:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

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SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

Russia has taken strides to regain its status of a superpower. When speaking in public President Vladimir Putin sounds confident, and the political scene in Moscow seems stable. The economic decline has been arrested but in 2009 the GDP dropped by almost 8 percent, a bad omen for the future. Inflation remains significant at 5.1 percent, and some 13 percent of Russians live below the poverty line. The country's population has declined from 151 million in 1990 to 142 million in 2013; there are 12 births and 14 deaths per 1,000 population annually. Men in Nepal, Tajikistan, Pakistan, and Papua New Guinea live longer than do men in Russia. To Russia's east, China has 1.3 billion citizens, in the west, the EU has some 500 million people, and to the south there are millions of Muslims.

Russia is rich in energy: it is the largest producer of natural gas and the second largest exporter of oil. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, among other factors, have made energy production profitable; this has been good for Russian state coffers. But to enjoy some prosperity, oil would have to sell at \$115 per barrel, instead of \$103, as it does in the summer of 2013.

The old totalitarian system came to an end more than two decades ago. How different is the new system? Russian citizens are now free to express their political views but power remains vested in the hands of a ruling class that has squandered away much of Russia's natural wealth and channeled state resources into private accounts at home and abroad. Corruption is a serious problem. In 2012 Transparency International listed Russia as being 133rd on the Corruption Perception Index scale, behind Uganda, Guyana, and Iran. Billions of dollars are said to be spent annually on bribes for state officials. The country's political and security relations with the United States and the EU countries have declined during the past several years. Scores of journalists and critics (Klebnikov, Politkovskaya, Litvinenko) have been murdered. A spy scandal in 2010 involving a large group of Russian illegals operating in the United States embarrassed Moscow's intelligence professionals, and they responded in 2013 by arresting a CIA officer under diplomatic cover. Edward Snowden's temporary political asylum in Russia "disappointed" the White House.

This course will focus on the emergence of new power structures in Russia. It will examine the impact of organized crime, 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 the fate of other current or recent players on the contemporary Russian political scene, such as the oligarchs Mikhail Khodorkovski, Roman Abramovich, and the late Boris Berezovsky.

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).

Masha Gessen, *The Man without a Face* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2012).

David Satter, *Darkness at Dawn* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

ADDITIONAL READINGS are assigned from the following books that are available on the Blackboard:

Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (New York: 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).

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

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

IMPORTANT DATES

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| 3 September 2013 | First day of class |
| 7 October 2013 | Last day to drop the class without a W |
| 23 October 2013 | The Midterm hand out |
| 30 October 2013 | The Midterm essay due |
| 8 November 2013 | Last day to drop the class with a W |
| 11 December 2013 | Last day of class, The Final hand out |
| 20 December 2013 | The Final essay due |

OFFICE HOURS

I am available for consultations during my office hours, every Monday and Wednesday from 0915 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. My office is at 154 Bay State Road, room 101. I am also happy to speak with you before and after each lecture. If you are unable to see me during my office hours I will make an arrangement to see you promptly.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

There will be a take-home midterm and a take-home final examination. Both involve a five-page analytical essay on a theme you will choose from a list of three topics. The topics are selected to provide you with an opportunity to demonstrate your command of the material covered in class.

You are also asked to select one of lecture dates and start the class with a short (5 to 10 min) summary of the most current Russia-related events. A sheet with available dates will be circulated. Feel free to choose your own date. Your presentation will cover the recent developments in Russia; it does not have to be related to the following lecture.

The midterm examination will be handed out on 23 October 2013. You will need to turn it in on 30 October 2013. The final examination will be handed out after the last lecture, on 11 December 2013, and will be due no later than on 20 December 2013 at 10 a.m. in my office. Your essay has to demonstrate that you have developed a critical understanding of the assigned texts and are familiar with the points made during class lectures and discussions. You should be able to engage the texts and lecture themes and also to develop your own point of view.

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.

ACADEMIC CONDUCT CODE

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 grade will be reported unless the student has presented a plausible explanation why the coursework cannot be finished on time.

REEMERGENCE OF RUSSIA

Course Outline

Fall 2013

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| 1. September 4 th | Introduction |
| 2. September 9 th | Putin's Inauspicious Past |
| 3. September 11 th | Putin's Path to Power & Ryazan (1999) |
| 4. September 16 th | Elza Kungayeva (2000) and K-141 <i>Kursk</i> (2000) |
| 5. September 18 th | War on Terror: Nord-Ost (2002), Beslan (2004) |
| 6. September 23 rd | Organized Crime: <i>Vorovskoy mir</i> |
| 7. September 25 th | The <i>Mafiya</i> |
| 8. September 30 th | Medical Crisis |
| 9. October 2 nd | Russia's Environmental Crisis |
| 10. October 7 th | RYAN, KAL 007, and Able Archer '83 |
| 11. October 9 th | Spy Wars with the West: A Short Introduction |
| 12. October 15 th | Protecting/Catching Aldrich Ames |
| 13. October 16 th | Mysterious Deaths: Litvinenko and Politkovskaya |
| 14. October 21 st | Gorbachev's Rise to Power |
| 15. October 23 rd | The Gorbachev Experiment |
| 16. October 28 th | Boris Yeltsin |
| 17. October 30 th | The August 1991 Coup d'État |
| 18. November 4 th | The Collapse of the USSR, End of the Cold War |
| 19. November 6 th | Yeltsin's Imperial Presidency |
| 20. November 11 th | The Elections of 1996 and Their Consequences |
| 21. November 13 th | The Oligarchs and Easy Money |
| 22. November 18 th | Boris Berezovsky |
| 23. November 20 th | Mikhail Khodorkovsky |
| 24. November 25 th | Enters Putin: Decline of the Oligarchs |
| 25. December 2 nd | Putin Takes Over |

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| 26. December 4 th | The Hermitage Fund: From Browder to Magnitsky |
| 27. December 9 th | Putin Rules |
| 28. December 11 th | Final Reflections & Review |

Lecture 1 Introduction

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

Lecture 2 Putin's Inauspicious Past

Gessen, *The Man Without a Face*, 43-70.

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

Lecture 3 Putin's Path to Power & Ryazan (1999)

Gessen, *The Man Without a Face*, 23-42.

Satter, *Darkness at Dawn*, 24-33, 45-71.

Satter, "The Shadow of Ryazan: Is Putin's Government Legitimate?" BU Blackboard Learn.

Yulia Latynina, "Russian Pundit Dismisses FSB Involvement in Apartment Bombings 10 Years Ago," BU Blackboard Learn.

Gregory Feifer, "Ten Years On, Troubling Questions Linger Over Russian Apartment Bombings," BU Blackboard Learn.

Lecture 4 Elza Kungayeva (2000) and K-141 Kursk (2000)

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

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

Gessen, *The Man Without a Face*, 145-175.

Lecture 5 Russia's War on Terror: Nord-Ost (2002) and Beslan (2004)

Baker and Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, 156-178, 15-37.

Lecture 6
Organized Crime: *Vorovskoy mir*

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

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

Lecture 7
The Mafia

Satter, *Darkness at Dawn*, 72-92.

Lecture 8
Russia's Medical Crisis

Feshbach, *Russia's Health and Demographic Crises*, 3-50.

Feshbach, *Russian Military: Population and Health Constraints*, 1-21.

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

Lecture 9
Russia's Environmental Crisis

Feshbach, *Russia's Health and Demographic Crises*, 51-89.

Chernobyl and the White Gold Disasters: Destruction of the Aral Sea. See the websites of the BBC and other reputable news organizations.

Lecture 10
RYAN, KAL 007, and Able Archer '83

Benjamin B. Fischer, "A Cold War Conundrum," CIA: Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1997.

General Mielke on RYAN, Blackboard Learn.

Misha Wolf on RYAN, Blackboard Learn.

Indicators of RYAN, Blackboard Learn.

Lecture 11

Spy Wars with the West: A Short Introduction

Barry G. Royden, "Tolkachev, A Worthy Successor to Penkovsky: An Exceptional Espionage Operation," *Studies in Intelligence* 47, 3 (2003).

Benjamin B. Fischer, "The Spy Who Came in for the Gold: A Skeptical View of the GTVANQUISH Case," *Journal of Intelligence History* 8 (Summer 2008).

Lecture 12

Protecting/Catching Aldrich Ames

Sandra Grimes and Jeanne Vertefeuille, *Circle of Treason: A CIA Account of Traitor Aldrich Ames and the Men He Betrayed* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012), 112-182.

Benjamin B. Fischer, "Spy Dust and Ghost Surveillance: How the KGB Spooked the CIA and Hid Aldrich Ames in Plain Sight," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 24, 2 (Summer 2011).

Lecture 13

Mysterious Deaths: Litvinenko and Politkovskaya

Gessen, *The Man Without a Face*, 199-226.

Lecture 14

Gorbachev's Rise to Power

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

Lecture 15

The Gorbachev Experiment

Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor*, 130-211.

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

Lecture 16

Boris Yeltsin

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

Lecture 17
The August 1991 Coup d'État

Gessen, *The Man Without a Face*, 101-129.

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

Lecture 18
The Collapse of the USSR, End of the Cold War

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 46-76.

Lukes, "The End of the Cold War: the Night the Masks Fell," *New England Review* 30, 4 (2009).

Lecture 19
Yeltsin's Imperial Presidency

Klebnikov, *Godfather of the Kremlin*, 212-283.

Lecture 20
The Elections of 1996 and their Consequences

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 325-364.

Lecture 21
The Oligarchs and Easy Money

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 209-236.

Lecture 22
Boris Berezovsky

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 127-149.

Lecture 23
Mikhail Khodorkovsky

Hoffman, *The Oligarchs*, 100-126.

Lecture 24
Enters Putin: Decline of the Oligarchs

Gessen, *The Man Without a Face*, 11-22, 227-260.

Lecture 25
Putin Takes Over

Gessen, *The Man Without a Face*, 131-144, 177-188, 261-290.

Lecture 26
Browder and Magnitsky: The Hermitage Capital Management

Please look up as many articles on this evolving topic as you can on any serious – Russian, European, or American – websites.

Lecture 27
Putin Rules

Baker and Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*, 312-370.

Lecture 28
Final Reflections