

POLS 2530 01, POLS 2530 01H
Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics
Saint Louis University
Spring 2021, MW 2:10-3:25

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



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

Class Zoom link: <https://slu.zoom.us/j/95845863750?pwd=ZIZxQU1DWGUzWjZBQWF4M0puZzQxdz09>
Meeting ID: 958 4586 3750, Passcode: 883672

Office hours: Monday and Wednesday 3:45-4:30 pm Central US time, and by appointment
Office hour Zoom link: <https://slu.zoom.us/j/96903001331?pwd=bjkveWRrUkJoYjI2d1I4dmdXRWpFdz09>

About this course

WELCOME! Winston Churchill called the Soviet Union “a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.” Our goal in this class is to start to untangle that riddle. Speaking at the start of World War II, Churchill was particularly concerned with predicting the Soviet Union’s behavior in the world. Our chief focus in this class, on the other hand, will be to understand *internal* politics. In particular, we will use the experience of the Soviet Union and contemporary Russia to analyze *change* in political and economic systems. More than most countries, the Soviet Union and its successor states experienced wrenching transformations in the 20th century – a revolution in 1917 to create a new communist society, the collapse of that system in 1991, and a troubled transition toward capitalism and a new type of autocracy.

During the semester, we will try to answer questions like:

- Why do some political systems dramatically fall apart?
- Why do the results of political change often vary from the original intentions?
- Why does Russia repeatedly trend toward more authoritarian governments?
- How do ordinary citizens respond to, resist or shape political and social change?

One goal of this class is to help you think systematically about complex and difficult social phenomena. To that end, we will draw on a variety of scholarly explanations to explain why political systems develop the ways they do. Looking at a variety of explanations will help us think about factors we might have otherwise overlooked.

Another goal is for students who have mostly lived in democratic political systems to appreciate what it means to live in a system in which individual rights are not protected and government power is not restrained by law or custom – or to live through periods of social transformation. We want to understand how people’s behavior is shaped by the institutions and social systems that they inhabit.

A third goal is to reflect on the role of citizens in social transformation and the limits of their control over outcomes.

Catalog course description

This course uses the experience of the Soviet Union and Russia to understand change in political and economic systems, from collapse of existing governments to the revolutionary reconstruction of society to growing autocracy. Past developments are used to illuminate political and economic changes occurring since the collapse of communism.

This class has no pre-requisites. Students from all majors are welcome and should be able to do well if they put in sufficient effort.

What you'll learn (also known as learning outcomes)

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

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.

Communication

The easiest way to communicate with me is by e-mail. I will usually respond within 24 hours, a bit longer on weekends. Don't hesitate to resend your message if you think I am taking too long. I will be communicating with you as individuals and with the whole class through e-mail on a regular basis, so be sure that you also check e-mail regularly.

I will be holding Zoom office hours every week Monday and Wednesday 3:45-4:30 pm Central US time. During those times, you can just drop in if you want to talk about anything. The standing office hour meeting link is <https://slu.zoom.us/j/96903001331?pwd=bjkveWRrUkJoYjI2d1I4dmdXRWpFdz09>.

I'm also happy to arrange a separate meeting with you, if you would rather meet privately. For this semester, those meetings mostly will be on Zoom or on the phone. Just e-mail me if you want to set up a meeting outside office hours. When you e-mail, let me know some times that will work for you. For those of you taking the class in person, I'll be available after class to talk in a socially distanced way.

Throughout the semester, we will be communicating with each other through a number of online tools, including Blackboard. Here are a few "netiquette" – or internet etiquette – rules.

- **Be respectful:** Respect the opinions and privacy of your classmates. We can certainly disagree – and we may learn more when we do – but please disagree tactfully and explain the reasons for your disagreement. Do not share personal information about your classmates with others.
- **Be scholarly:** Use correct language, grammar, and spelling. Write in full sentences. Credit the ideas of others. Be clear when you are stating an opinion, and provide sources to back up your facts. Where appropriate, engage the class readings directly or refer to ideas and concepts that you have learned in other classes.
- **Be kind and open-hearted:** Treat your fellow students as you would want to be treated. Try to learn from the lives and perspectives of others.

How will you know what you are learning?

So that you can tell what you're learning – and where you may need to put in more effort – we'll have three higher-stakes assessments and a bunch of low-stakes assessments throughout the semester. All assignments will be submitted through the Blackboard assignment tool.

Higher-stakes assessments (60 percent of your final grade)

You will write two essays and a timed, take-home final essay exam. Each of these assignments will be worth 20 percent of your final grade. All will be in response to essay prompts that I provide. For the essays, I will provide the prompts at least 2 weeks before the essay is due. For the final exam, you will have a two-hour period to complete the exam. These assignments will be submitted through the Blackboard assignment tool. The due dates are:

Essay 1 – March 10, 9pm Central Standard Time

Essay 2 – April 28, 9pm Central Daylight Time (CDT)

Final – You will receive the exam at 2 pm on May 12, and you will need to return it by 3:50 pm CST on the same day.

You can expect me to grade the two essays within 14 days and return them to you by e-mail with comments.

Low-stakes assessments (40 percent of your final grade)

To give you a chance to practice the skills that you will need in order to do well in the higher-stakes assessments, there will be a variety of low-stakes assessments throughout the semester. These assignments and activities are designed to help you identify concepts that you may not fully understand or analytical skills that you may need to develop further. They will ask you to apply what you are learning in new ways and pull together concepts from across the semester. The more effort that you put into the low stakes assessments, the better you are likely to perform on the higher-stakes assessments.

This class is divided into 5 modules. Each module will include a few low-stakes assessments. These will include discussion boards, blogs, short reflections, quizzes and some group projects. More information on these low-stakes assessments is provided for each module on Blackboard. Students taking the class online will complete all this work on Blackboard. Students who are present in the classroom will be able to complete some of it in class. In either case, you will receive feedback on these exercises, usually within 5 days, in the Blackboard grade center.

Included in the low-stakes assessment is evaluation of your participation in class. Whether you are taking the class in person or on line, you should come to class prepared to engage the material during every class meeting. This daily participation will help you apply the concepts you are learning and expose where you still have questions. To participate effectively, you will need to keep up to date with the assigned reading and continually think about how ideas from one set of readings relate to the others. You should be prepared to critically evaluate arguments made by the various authors, by other students, and by me. (Of course, we'll practice how to do this.) Sometimes, participating will mean contributing to all-class discussions, whether by asking questions or adding insights; sometimes we will have short group activities. Occasionally, there will be quizzes. Some of this work will be ungraded but useful to both you and me as a way to tell what material may be more challenging to you. Some of this work will be graded, to provide you with an indication of how your understanding is progressing. When you are absent, you are not able to participate. A class full of well-prepared students is more enjoyable and productive for everybody.

Course policies

Attendance. Attendance is required at all Zoom class sessions, unless you have an approved reason for missing class. If you are going to miss class, please e-mail me *before* the class you need to miss. I will excuse absences consistent with SLU's absence policy (see the end of this syllabus), but you are responsible for the work the class does in your absence. In some cases – a missed quiz, presentation, or group activity – there may be no way to make up the work after the fact. If you have not had the absence pre-approved by me, you will receive a grade of 0 for that activity. You will receive a 0 for every unexcused absence and these zeroes will be calculated as part of your participation grade. If you have more than seven unexcused absences, we will need to talk about whether it is possible for you to pass the class. If you arrive late or leave early, I may mark you as absent. The winning strategy is to come to class.

Late work. This is my approach to late essays: if I am still reading your fellow students' essays when you hand in yours, I will not penalize you for lateness. Once I am finished, I will mark down late essays a full letter grade (for instance, an A will become a B). However, you don't know how long it will take me to read your fellow students' essays, so there is some risk involved in handing in the paper late. Given the other pressures in your life, you may consider that risk acceptable. The risk-free strategy is to hand in work on time. (Note, this policy does not apply to in-class work, where you will receive a 0 if you miss class without an approved reason.)

Civility. Sometimes we will discuss controversial issues in class, and you may disagree with things you hear in class. You are always welcome to disagree either with me or with other students, but you must do so in a respectful and informed manner, appropriate to an institution of higher learning.

Plagiarism. It is critical that all work that you hand in is your own work and correctly gives credit to other sources that you consult. Plagiarized work will receive a grade of 0.

Technology. 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 what is happening in class. Laptops can even be a physical barrier between you and the person behind the raised screen. Yet, we will need to use laptops to interact with the students who are taking the class on line. In this class, our interaction among ourselves is so important that I will ask you to keep your phones or laptops logged in to our Zoom session. As much as possible, please keep your video on so that we can interact with each other meaningfully.

Tips for success

Do all the reading and think about it. It is very difficult to fully engage with the topics we will be examining without doing the reading. I provide a reading question for each day to help you focus your reading on aspects we are likely to talk about in class.

I always like to talk to you. If you are having trouble with the material or the way we use class time, let me know. Please come to my office hours or make an appointment for a better time to talk. We can try to identify the problem and explore new strategies that, hopefully, will lead to greater success for you. If there is something that you want to share with me anonymously, and if you are in St. Louis, please put a note in my mailbox in McGannon 128.

I am happy to give you feedback on anything you are working on. For written assignments, I will read papers in any form (outlines, partial drafts, full drafts) *before* they are due, and I will give you oral feedback. Since my feedback will be oral, we will need to schedule a video chat for you to get my comments.

Some of the phenomena discussed in this course – and some of the readings about them – are disturbing. We need to think hard about these uncomfortable features of radical change and autocratic governments if we are to understand them. I have selected course materials and activities that I think will support your learning, but you may come across material that makes you uncomfortable, perhaps particularly uncomfortable as a result of your own past experiences. If this is the case, we have several ways to alleviate discomfort:

- Discuss the situation in class. Our task in this class is to come to terms with some difficult concepts and behavior. We can help each other through this process.
- Come talk to me privately if there is something about your own experience that makes it hard to handle this information.
- If you are not comfortable discussing the issue with me directly, perhaps you can notify me through your academic adviser, another trusted faculty member, or a friend.

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.

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		

- A Quality Work – work of superior quality. Class participation is voluntary, frequent, relevant, and demonstrates thoughtful reflection on the readings. Written work is clear, correct in content and presentation, well-organized and thought-provoking. Performance on exams demonstrates complete mastery of facts and concepts and the ability to apply concepts to new situations.
- B Quality Work – work of high quality. Class participation is voluntary, frequent, and reflects effort to understand the readings. Written work reflects a good understanding of the issues and concepts with minimal error. Performance on exams demonstrates mastery of facts and concepts.
- C Quality Work – work that minimally meets the course requirements. Class participation is occasional and/or rarely voluntary, with comments that reveal only a superficial grasp of issues and concepts. Written work may be disorganized or contain errors. Performance on exams demonstrates knowledge of facts and concepts.

- D Quality Work – work that has minimal clarity and comprehension. Class participation is minimal, never voluntary, and reveals a lack of preparation and/or understanding. Absences are frequent. Written work is confusing, contradictory, repetitive, and/or not well supported. Writing is marred with errors. Performance on exams demonstrates minimal mastery of facts and concepts.
- F Quality Work – Unsatisfactory performance along most measures, often including missing assignments and excessive absence.

Required books

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. *The Communist Manifesto*. (Any edition is fine).
 Timothy J. Colton. *Russia: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
 Joel Ostrow. *Politics in Russia*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2013.
 Arthur Koestler. *Darkness at Noon*. (Any edition is acceptable, though page numbers may vary slightly.)
 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: sovpol21).

It is helpful to keep up with **current events** in the former Soviet Union. Try <http://www.rferl.org/> and/or a good newspaper. For up to date information about Russia, written in English, try the *Moscow Times*, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/> or the news service Meduza, <https://meduza.io/en> (also available in Russian).

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/>

Class schedule

Sometimes, our discussions in class will throw us off schedule, but we will try to return to schedule as soon as possible. That could mean some changes in timing of quizzes, activities, or other assignments.

Module 1: REVOLUTION AND STATE-BUILDING

February 1	<i>Introduction: political change</i>
February 3	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> , entire. Available here: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ Timothy J. Colton, <i>Russia: What Everyone Needs to Know</i> , pp. 1-12. Why does Marx consider the proletariat a class in “radical chains”?
February 8	V. I. Lenin, Excerpts from <i>What is to be Done?</i> (New York: International Publishers, 1969), pp. 40-41, 78-80, 120-123 (on e-reserve). Mancur Olson, <i>Power and Prosperity</i> , ch. 4, “Rational Individuals and Irrational Societies,” pp. 69-88 (continued next page).

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?

February 10

Colton, pp. 13-42.

Did the revolution that occurred in Russia in November 1917 conform more to Marx's or to Lenin's predictions?

February 15

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?

February 17

Ash Wednesday – No class – Stay safe!

February 22

V. I. Lenin, Excerpts from State and Revolution, in David McLellan, *Marxism: Essential Writings*, pp. 163-177 (on e-reserve).
Colton, pp. 43-54.

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

Module 2: TOTALITARIANISM

February 24

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?

March 1

Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon*, "The First Hearing."

What does it mean for vanguard parties to become "fossilized," and why does it happen?

QUIZ

March 3

Koestler, "The Second Hearing."

How can revolutionaries justify their actions when they don't know what the ultimate consequences will be?

March 8

Koestler, finish the book

Is Rubashov's "swing theory" a convincing justification for dictatorship?

March 10 ESSAY ONE DUE

March 15 Colton, pp. 54-68.
David Painter, *The Cold War: An International History* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 112-118 (e-reserve).
Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp. 153-157 (e-reserve).
Seweryn Bialer, "Soviet Stability and its Sources," In Ostrow, pp. 44-64.

Was the Soviet Union still "totalitarian" after Stalin?
Why did observers think the Soviet system was more stable than it really was?
What did they miss? Why did they miss it?

March 17 Colton, pp. 68-84.
Igor Khamkin 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?

Module 3: THE END OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

March 22 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 Khamkin and Migranian's argument that the Soviet Union wasn't ready for democracy?

March 24 Colton, pp. 85-101.
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?

March 29 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?

March 31 Colton, pp. 101-115.
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?

April 2 Easter break – No class – Stay safe!

April 5 Colton, pp. 115-133.
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?

Module 4: RETURN TO AUTOCRACY

April 7 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

April 12 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?

April 14 Colton, pp. 134-154.
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.

Why is a strong legislature good for democracy?

April 19 Colton 154-181.
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?

- April 21 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?

- April 26 ESSAY 2 DUE

Module 5: RUSSIA AND THE WORLD

- April 28 Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik, "Favorable conditions and electoral revolutions," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 4 (October 2006): 5-16 (e-reserve).
 Maria Popova, "Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent," *Problems of Post-Communism* 61, no. 6 (November-December 2014): 64-70 (on e-reserve).
 Anton Troianovski, "Belarus Opposition Calls General Strike, as Protesters Gird for Long Fight," *New York Times*, 26 October 2020 (on e-reserve).
<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/26/world/europe/belarus-protests-lukashenko.html?searchResultPosition=18>
 Samuel Greene, "Putin's arrest of opposition leader Alexei Navalny is a sign of weakness, not strength," *The Washington Post – The Monkey Cage*, 18 January 2020 (on e-reserve).
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/18/putins-arrest-opposition-leader-alexei-navalny-is-sign-weakness-not-strength/>
- Electoral revolutions encourage people to question election results. Is that good for democracy in the long run?
- May 3 Colton, pp. 182-240.
- Are Russia and the U.S. heading into a new cold war?
- May 5 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).
 Victoria Nuland, "Pinning Down Putin: How a Confident America Should Deal with Russia," *Foreign Affairs* 99, no. 4 (July-August 2020) (on e-reserve).
- Is Russian disinformation a threat to democracy worldwide? Why or why not?
- May 10 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?

May 12

FINAL EXAM, 2-3:50

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

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Available services

University Counseling Center

The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers free, short-term, solution-focused counseling to Saint Louis University undergraduate and graduate students. UCC counselors are highly trained clinicians who can assist with a variety of issues, such as adjustment to college life, troubling changes in mood, and chronic psychological conditions. To make an appointment, call 314-977-8255 (TALK), or visit the clinic on the second floor of Wuller Hall.

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-related services and is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331). Students can visit <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/> to learn more about tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, and academic coaching.

University Writing Services

Students are encouraged to take advantage of University Writing Services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with writing projects, multimedia projects, and oral presentations. University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, visit <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/> or call the Student Success Center at 314-977-3484.

Basic Needs Security

Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents@slu.edu or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

University Policies

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 through which SLU fulfills 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 full University-level Academic Integrity Policy can be found on the Provost's Office website at: https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy_academic-integrity_6-26-2015.pdf.

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. Information for the College of Arts and Sciences can be found here: <https://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php>

Disability Accommodations

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must formally

register their disability with the University. Once successfully registered, students also must notify their course instructor that they wish to use their approved accommodations in the course.

Please contact Disability Services to schedule an appointment to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Most students on the St. Louis campus will contact Disability Services, located in the Student Success Center and available by email at Disability_services@slu.edu or by phone at [314.977.3484](tel:314.977.3484). Once approved, information about a student's eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors by email from Disability Services and within the instructor's official course roster. Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one also are encouraged to contact Disability Services. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

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 harassment, including sexual assault, stalking, domestic or dating violence, we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident that involves a Title IX matter, **that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX Coordinator and share the basic facts of your experience.** This is true even if you ask the faculty member not to disclose the incident. 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.

Anna Kratky is the Title IX Coordinator at Saint Louis University (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886). If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK or make an anonymous report through SLU's Integrity Hotline by calling 1-877-525-5669 or online at <http://www.lighthouse-services.com/slu>. To view SLU's policies, and for resources, please visit the following web addresses: <https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php> and <https://www.slu.edu/general-counsel>.

IMPORTANT UPDATE: SLU's Title IX Policy (formerly called the Sexual Misconduct Policy) has been significantly revised to adhere to a new federal law governing Title IX that was released on May 6, 2020. Please take a moment to review the new policy and information at the following web address: <https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php>. Please contact the Anna Kratky, the Title IX Coordinator, with any questions or concerns.

Mandatory Statement on Face Masks

The University's [Interim Policy on Face Masks](#) governs all students, faculty, staff, and campus visitors in all University-owned, leased, or operated facilities. All persons physically present in any such University facility associated with this course shall comply fully with this policy at all times. Masks must be worn before entry to all such University facilities (as well as outdoors on all University property when six feet of distance is unpredictable or cannot be maintained).

Saint Louis University is committed to maintaining an inclusive and accessible environment. Individuals who are unable to wear a face mask due to medical reasons should contact the Office of Disability Services or Human Resources to initiate the accommodation process identified in the University's [ADA Policy](#). Inquiries or concerns may also be directed to the [Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity](#). Notification to instructors of SLU-approved ADA accommodations should be made in writing prior to the first class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).

As the instructor of this course, I shall comply fully with SLU's policy and all related ADA regulations.

Students who attempt to enter a classroom without wearing masks will be asked by the instructor to wear masks prior to entry. Students who remove their masks at any time during a class session will be asked by the instructor to resume wearing their masks.

Note: Accordingly, no consumption of any food will be allowed in class.

Students who do not comply with a request by a SLU instructor to wear a mask in accordance with the University's *Interim Policy on Face Masks* may be subject to disciplinary actions per the rules, regulations, and policies of Saint Louis University, including but not limited to the *Student Handbook*. Non-compliance with this policy may result in disciplinary action, up to and including any of the following:

- dismissal from the course(s)
- removal from campus housing (if applicable)
- dismissal from the University

To immediately protect the health and well-being of all students, instructors, and staff, instructors reserve the right to cancel or terminate any class session at which any student fails to comply with faculty or staff request to wear a mask in accordance with University policy.

Students are strongly encouraged to identify to their instructor any student or instructor not in compliance. Non-compliance may be anonymously reported via the SLU Integrity Hotline at 1-877-525-5669 (or confidentially via the Integrity Hotline's website at <http://www.lighthouse-services.com/slu>).

In-Person Class Attendance and Participation

The health and well-being of SLU's students, staff, and faculty are critical concerns. Accordingly, the following University policy statements on in-person class attendance are designed to preserve and advance the collective health and well-being of our institutional constituencies.

1. Students who exhibit any [potential COVID symptoms](#) (those that cannot be attributed to some other medical condition the students are known to have, such as allergies, asthma, etc.) shall absent themselves from any in-person class attendance or in-person participation in any class-related activity until they have been evaluated by a qualified medical official. Students should contact the [University Student Health Center](#) for immediate assistance.
2. Students who exhibit any [potential COVID symptoms](#) (those that cannot be attributed to some other medical condition the students are known to have, such as allergies, asthma, etc.) but who feel well enough to a) attend the course synchronously in an online class session or b) participate in asynchronous online class activities, are expected to do so. Those who do not feel well enough to do so should absent themselves accordingly.
3. Students (whether exhibiting any of potential COVID symptoms or not, and regardless of how they feel) who are under either an isolation or quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official must absent themselves from all in-person course activity per the stipulations of the isolation or quarantine directive. They are expected to participate in synchronous or asynchronous online class activities as they feel able to do so, or absent themselves accordingly.
4. Students are responsible for notifying each instructor of an absence as far in advance as possible; when advance notification is not possible, students are responsible for notifying each instructor as soon after the absence as possible.
5. As a temporary amendment to the current [University Attendance Policy](#), all absences due to illness or an isolation/quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official shall be considered "Authorized" absences (effective August 2020 through May 2021).