

Chapter 13

Multiple Choice

1. Which of the following best describes Russia's geographic setting?
 - a. It has extensive stretches of arable land.
 - b. It is the largest country in the world.
 - c. It is largely an urban country with a high population density.
 - d. It spans 15 time zones.
2. The term *patrimonial state* refers to
 - a. the great overrepresentation of males in state leadership positions.
 - b. the tradition of authoritarianism that characterized Russian politics until the early 1980s.
 - c. the personalistic nature of politics during the Soviet era in which one leader was elevated to a top position.
 - d. the system of government in which the ruler treats the state as his personal property.
3. Two key ideas introduced by the Bolsheviks under Lenin's leadership were the concepts of
 - a. democratic centralism and the *vanguard party*.
 - b. democratic centralism and socialist reform.
 - c. *collectivization* and democratic centralism,
 - d. the *vanguard party* and democratic socialism.
4. Which of the following refers to the principle that party leaders are formally elected but that strict discipline is followed?
 - a. Democratic centralism
 - b. Soft authoritarianism
 - c. Patrimonial state
 - d. Sovereign democracy
5. Which of the following policies is NOT associated with the Stalin era?
 - a. The New Economic Policy
 - b. The collectivization of agriculture
 - c. Rapid industrialization, which favored heavy industry
 - d. Increased personal control of the party by its leader
6. Which of the following statements best describes Soviet politics during the post-Stalin era until the rise of Gorbachev in 1985?
 - a. There was an increased effort to allow foreign ideas to influence cultural affairs.
 - b. Internal party structures were decentralized allowing the rise of regional leaders.
 - c. The period saw the development of a more predictable and relatively stable authoritarian system.
 - d. The economy continued to grow at a steady pace but living standards improved dramatically.
7. Which of the following policies is NOT associated with Gorbachev?
 - a. Collectivization
 - b. Perestroika
 - c. Glasnost

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d. Demokratizatsiya

8. In October 1993, President Yeltsin responded to what he considered to be an obstructive parliament by
- disbanding it and laying siege to its premises.
 - suppressing it through a series of presidential decrees.
 - ignoring it and relying upon governors to pass legislation.
 - threatening to disband it and calling for fresh elections.
9. *Soft authoritarianism* refers to a system of
- informal and formal mechanisms that assure the tightening of political controls combined with a loosening of economic controls.
 - illegal mechanisms that assure the dominance of forces working toward the re-emergence of the Communist Party as a political force in Russia.
 - informal mechanisms that assure the dominance of a ruling group in order to increasingly legitimize militant actions in its near abroad.
 - informal and formal mechanisms that assure the dominance of a ruling group despite the existence of some forms of political competition and opposition.
10. Today critics see Russia as moving in the direction of electoral authoritarianism, which refers to
- manipulation of political competition by the president's office through a dominant party.
 - electoral fraud that is committed by disaffected groups outside mainstream politics.
 - allowing only one party to run for political office and having the public endorse it through the ballot.
 - establishing a loyal opposition party that is unlikely to actively oppose government policy.
11. Yeltsin's market reform policies involved all of the following EXCEPT
- encouraging small business and entrepreneurship
 - privatizing most state industries
 - opening the economy to global influences
 - eliminating oligarchical businesses
12. The transformation of a state-owned enterprise into one in which the majority of control is in the hands of employees and/or managers is called
- Insider privatization.
 - Internal privatization.
 - Employee-led privatization.
 - Domestic privatization.
13. Which of the following was NOT an obstacle to the market reforms of the early 1990s?
- The lack of an effective tax collection system
 - Inadequate state regulation of the banking sector
 - Resistance from regional leaders
 - Continued government subsidization of ineffective operations
14. Which of the following describes the oligarchs who emerged during the privatization of state assets in the 1990s?

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- a. Wealthy individuals who gained ownership and control of important sectors of the economy
 - b. Party seniors who gained control of politics and the administration behind the economic reforms
 - c. Leaders of factions within the dominant party that opposed the privatization of state assets
 - d. The president's policy advisers who accumulated wealth by giving concessions to wealthy individuals
15. The 1998 financial crisis had which of the following positive effects on Russia?
- a. It made Russian products more competitive with foreign imports.
 - b. It led to an increase of foreign aid.
 - c. It led to an increase of foreign investment in the country.
 - d. It increased the availability of foreign goods.
16. Which of the following benefits of the Soviet era social welfare system has been maintained?
- a. Guaranteed employment
 - b. Price subsidies for most products
 - c. Universal health care
 - d. Low levels of income inequality
17. Which of the following about the Russian economy, since market reforms were introduced in the early 1990s, is TRUE?
- a. Wage differentials have decreased substantially since the economic upturn that began in 1999.
 - b. The health care system provides higher quality care and access to medicine to all citizens.
 - c. Many Russians of all age groups question some of the values underlying market reform.
 - d. An important part of the country's housing stock was turned over to private ownership.
18. Which of the following statements about environmental politics in Russia is NOT true?
- a. An environmental protection agency was playing a significant role even before the fall of communism.
 - b. Russia has a single agency that is responsible for both the use of resources and environmental protection.
 - c. The proportion of global carbon emissions from Russia exceeds its relative share of global GDP.
 - d. Russia's use of renewable energy sources is relatively low.
19. Which of the following statements about Russia's role in the global economy is NOT true?
- a. Russia has overtaken Germany as the largest economy in Europe.
 - b. Russia is a member of the World Trade Organization.
 - c. About two-thirds of Russian exports to Europe are mineral resources, including energy resources.
 - d. Russia overall relies heavily upon energy and fuel resources for export.
20. Which of the following best describes Russia's relations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?
- a. Russia has expressed a desire to join the organization but has not yet made a formal move towards this.
 - b. Russia has objected to the expansion of the organization and antagonisms have grown in the recent years.
 - c. Russia has been receptive to the expansion of NATO.
 - d. Russia has been formally invited to join the organization.
21. The current Russian constitution was adopted by

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- a. a referendum.
 - b. presidential decree.
 - c. a constitutional convention.
 - d. a vote in the country's legislature.
22. The Russian president lacks the power to
- a. appoint members of the Federation of Council.
 - b. call a state of emergency.
 - c. call for a referendum.
 - d. temporarily suspend the activities of other state organs.
23. Which of the following is NOT true of Russia's semi-presidential system?
- a. Generally speaking, the president oversees foreign policy, relations with the regions, and the organs of state security while the prime minister oversees economic issues.
 - b. The prime minister has always been the leader of the dominant party or coalition in the legislature.
 - c. If the president dies or becomes incapacitated, the prime minister serves as the acting president until presidential elections can be held.
 - d. The president is directly elected while the prime minister is appointed by the president.
24. Which statement about presidential decrees in Russia is CORRECT?
- a. Presidential decrees have not been used to affect the bureaucracy.
 - b. Such decrees cannot violate the constitution but can violate specific pieces of legislation.
 - c. They must be approved by the State Duma if they relate to deploying troops abroad.
 - d. They allow presidents to ignore uncooperative parliaments.
25. The Russian prime minister can be removed from office by
- a. a single vote of no confidence by the Federation Council.
 - b. three repeat votes of no confidence by the Federation Council within a two-month period.
 - c. two repeat votes of no confidence by the Duma within a three-month period.
 - d. new legislative elections following the dissolution of the Duma.
26. Which of the following is NOT true of Vladimir Putin?
- a. He was involved in municipal government before moving to take up a political post in Moscow.
 - b. He served as prime minister under Yeltsin and later under Medvedev as well.
 - c. His domestic public approval rating has remained above 60 percent since the 2012 election.
 - d. The Russian annexation of Crimea greatly diminished his domestic approval rating.
27. Which statement about the Russian current bureaucracy is CORRECT?
- a. Ministers other than the prime minister do not require parliamentary approval.
 - b. National ministers are appointed by the prime minister upon the recommendation of the president.
 - c. National ministers are appointed by the president upon the recommendation of the prime minister and must be approved by the parliament.
 - d. National ministers are appointed by the prime minister but must be approved by both the president and the parliament.

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28. The State Council is comprised of the president and
- the chairs of important legislative committees.
 - officials involved with foreign affairs and security.
 - regional governors.
 - regional governors and members of regional legislatures.
29. In Russia, the term *siloviki* refers to
- the Soviet era personnel system that assured party control of the bureaucracy.
 - the merit-based civil service system introduced under Putin.
 - informal systems of asymmetrical power in which a powerful patron offers less powerful clients resources, benefits, or career advantages in return for support, loyalty, or services.
 - government officials drawn from the security and intelligence services who were recruited to important political posts under Putin.
30. Which of the following about Russian public and semipublic institutions is NOT true?
- Despite privatization, public or semipublic ownership of firms continues in some economic sectors including television, energy, and telecommunications.
 - While private clinics and hospitals have emerged, a state-run system of medical care is still in place.
 - Russia's large historic universities remain largely public institutions funded chiefly through the state.
 - The executives of most public and semipublic institutions, especially those in the economic sector, are appointed through politically independent boards.
31. Which statement about the Federation Council is CORRECT?
- It must approve nominees for the Supreme Court.
 - It plays only an advisory role in legislative matters.
 - It approves all presidential decrees.
 - Its members are directly elected in regional elections.
32. Which of the following statements about the Russian Constitutional Court is NOT true?
- After several controversial decisions, Yeltsin suspended its operations in 1993.
 - It has the power to adjudicate disputes on the constitutionality of federal and regional laws.
 - Its judges are nominated by the president but must be approved by the Federation Council.
 - Its power is weakened because it cannot rule on jurisdictional disputes between political institutions.
33. Which statement about Russia's current federal system is INCORRECT?
- The members of the Federation Council are directly elected in regional elections.
 - Putin put measures in place to ensure a greater degree of legal and political uniformity throughout the country.
 - Russia's federal units depend on funding from the central government to carry out many of their functions.
 - The basis of some Russian federal units is ethnicity.
34. In the Russian context, what are clientelistic networks?
- Subnational governments had greater or lesser power than others, a situation that developed in the 1990s.
 - Governing institutions of subnational governments that a constitutional provision allows the central government to replace

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- c. Informal systems of asymmetrical power in which a powerful patron offers resources, benefits, or career advantages to those below them in return for support, loyalty, or services
 - d. Groups of politicians and governmental officials drawn from the security and intelligence agencies, special forces, or the military
35. The phrase *power vertical* refers to the idea that
- a. a single party or party bloc should dominate politics.
 - b. there should exist an integrated and hierarchal structure of executive power ranging from the national to the local level.
 - c. political power should flow upward from “the people”.
 - d. regional governments should have some say in the making of federal policy and the federal government should have some say in the making of regional policy,
36. The Federation Council is comprised of two members from each of Russia’s federal regions and republics,
- a. with one being appointed by the region’s executive and the other by the region’s/republic’s legislature
 - b. both elected in compliance with the mixed electoral system
 - c. both of whom are elected through regional elections
 - d. one chosen through regional elections and the other appointed by the region’s/republic’s government
37. Currently, regional governors in Russia are
- a. nominated by the president, requiring approval by the regional legislature.
 - b. appointed by the Russian president.
 - c. elected by regional legislators.
 - d. popularly elected from among candidates approved by the president.
38. The Russian military has directly usurped civilian power
- a. Never
 - b. Only once in 1991
 - c. Only in the post-Soviet era
 - d. Only in the Soviet era
39. In Russia, a presidential veto can be overridden by
- a. a two-thirds majority vote in both the Duma and the Federation Council
 - b. a two-thirds majority vote in the Duma
 - c. a two-thirds majority vote in the Duma and a simple majority in the Federation Council
 - d. a simple majority vote in both the Duma and the Federation Council
40. Which statement about the Russian policy making process is NOT accurate?
- a. Whereas societal groups and political parties had little input into the policy-making process during the Yeltsin era, this is no longer the case during the Putin-Medvedev era.
 - b. Whereas during the Yeltsin era, oligarchs were able to exert considerable influence, this has not been the case during the Putin-Medvedev era.
 - c. Whereas during the Yelstin era, conflict between the executive and the legislature made policy making contentious, the legislature has generally followed the executive's lead during the Putin-Medvedev era.
 - d. Whereas during the Yeltsin era, regional governors were able to exert considerable influence, this has not been the case during the Putin-Medvedev era.

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41. Members of the Duma are elected

- a. through direct national elections that operate under first-pass-the-post (single member district-plurality) rules
- b. through direct national elections that operate under a mixed electoral system
- c. in staggered intervals so that only a portion of the chamber is up for reelection at any given time
- d. through national elections that operate under proportional representation

42. In a mixed electoral system,

- a. a portion of seats is selected in winner-take-all single-member districts and a portion is allocated according to parties within multi-member constituencies
- b. a portion of seats is selected in winner-take-all single-member districts and a portion of seats is appointed by the president or regional governments
- c. seats in one chamber are filled through a winner-take-all system and seats in the other chamber are filled through a proportional representation system
- d. seats in one chamber are filled through a winner-take-all system and seats in the other chamber are filled by appointments

43. Which of the following statements about Russian political parties is NOT true?

- a. Virtually all major parties have not challenged either political or economic reform, although they do differ over the pace and costs of these.
- b. Regional parties, especially in those regions with large Muslim populations, have emerged to become important players in Russian politics, but only at the regional level.
- c. Russian political parties do not fit neatly on a left-right spectrum because nationalistic sentiments crosscut economic ideologies.
- d. Although the country has maintained a competitive multiparty system since 2003, a single party has emerged as the dominant party.

44. Which of the following is NOT a factor that helps to explain why United Russia has become the dominant political party in the country?

- a. The party is strongly associated with Putin, who is quite popular among Russians.
- b. It is supported by prominent people including the heads of Russia's regions.
- c. Media coverage has strongly favored United Russia and President Putin.
- d. It is well-organized at the local level.

45. The Communist Party of the Russian Federation

- a. opposes President Putin's attempts to re-establish Russian power in the world.
- b. initially renamed itself the Socialist Party after the collapse of the Soviet Union, but switched back to its original name.
- c. was initially outlawed after the collapse of the Soviet Union but was allowed to participate in politics shortly thereafter.
- d. focuses on the social costs of market reform but generally supports it.

46. The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) is best described as

- a. an ultra-conservative nationalist party
- b. a party with a liberal and democratic platform
- c. a party that promotes Western-style social democracy
- d. the party most committed to civil liberties and individual rights

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47. A Just Russia is best described as a
- party that espouses moderate support for socialist principles, placing it to the left of United Russia on the political spectrum.
 - nationalist party that was formed to counter the Liberal Democratic Party.
 - liberal/reform party that supports assertive Western-style market reform and political norms.
 - unique party whose platform combines support for Western-style political norms and a criticism of the costs of economic reform.
48. Russian liberal/reform parties have
- generally become marginalized since 2003.
 - been absorbed by A Just Russia.
 - united into a single party.
 - remained a powerful force in the Duma.
49. Although the country has held regular elections, a sign of weak democratization in Russia can be seen in the fact that
- voter turnout has been low.
 - no new parties have been formed since the creation of United Russia.
 - national election laws effectively disqualify small national parties and regional parties.
 - Russia has yet to experience a real transfer of power from one political grouping to another.
50. *Sovereign democracy* refers to the idea that
- political sovereignty ultimately rests with the Russian people.
 - Russia is a sovereign and independent state.
 - democracy in Russia should be adapted to Russian traditions.
 - political power in Russia should be vested in a single sovereign at the national level
51. In the 20th and 21st century, which of the following ethnic groups have been a major source of tension?
- The Chechens.
 - The Cossacks.
 - The Armenians.
 - The Turks
52. Which of the following statements about political attitudes in post-communist Russia is NOT true?
- Attitudes toward gender roles generally reflect traditional values.
 - A resurgent Russian Orthodox Church offers religion a basis of political cleavage for ethnic Russians.
 - Among the public attitudes toward government that have endured is the acceptance of centralized power.
 - The liberal parties have become marginalized since 2003, when they won a handful of seats in the Duma.
53. Which of the following is NOT an example of Russia's restrictions on the role of interest groups?
- Increased government supervision of interest groups
 - Channeling public activism through official forums like the Civic Forum and the Public Chamber
 - Establishing additional reporting requirements for organizations receiving funds from foreign sources

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- d. Not permitting independent trade unions to be formed
54. Which of the following statements about the media in Russia is TRUE?
- a. The Internet has replaced television as the main source of information for Russians.
 - b. Suspicion of the media seems to have increased since 2014 when the Ukraine crisis erupted.
 - c. A recent survey revealed that only a minority of Russians acknowledge government censorship in the main Russian TV channels.
 - d. In recent years, the Russian government has explored creating its own Internet in order to limit foreign influence.
55. Russia has sought to re-establish itself as a respected regional leader by
- a. installing a missile shield in Central Europe to guard against a potential Iranian attack.
 - b. establishing regional organizations to strengthen its relations with some of the former Soviet republics.
 - c. establishing some of the strongest trade partnerships with neighboring former Soviet republics.
 - d. becoming a member of the European Union to access substantial amounts of economic assistance.
56. The Eurasian Economic Union is a
- a. trade union between Russia and China as well as the post-Soviet Central Asian states.
 - b. customs union envisioned as a means to connect Russia to non-EU countries.
 - c. consultative body that unites former Soviet Republics.
 - d. security pact between Russia and several Central Asian states.
57. When one says that Russia suffers from a “resource curse,” one means that the country's
- a. heavy dependence on natural resource wealth leaves other economic sectors underdeveloped and uncompetitive.
 - b. lack of natural resources is a huge barrier to economic development and thus political establishment remains fragile.
 - c. dependence on export revenue from energy resources makes the economy highly susceptible to boom-and-bust cycles.
 - d. natural resources are vast but the lack of capital to invest in their exploitation on an industrial scale is seriously lacking.

Essay

58. It may be argued that history has had a tremendous negative effect on Russia's political transition. Citing specific examples, illustrate how several historical factors have inhibited the development of democracy in Russia.
59. Russia may be said to have simultaneously begun four transitions: Democratization, market reform, a redefinition of national identity, and integration into the world economy. Assess Russia's status in each of these transitions. In which transition has Russia made the most progress? In which transition is Russia the weakest?
60. Discuss the factors that have inhibited the development of strong competing political parties in post-communist Russia. Do you consider the development of strong parties to be important or not? How does the rise of United Russia to its current position as the dominant party affect your argument?

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61. How have Russian leaders adapted their country's policies to their country's loss of superpower status? What have been the main policy directions Russia has taken to forge a new international role for itself?
62. How have center-periphery (national-regional) relations changed in post-communist Russia? What have been the political effects of this change? In light of this, can one argue that Russia is truly a federal system?
63. Explain how Putin has consolidated power in 21st century Russia. Examine the positives and the negative aspects to Putin's consolidation of power.
64. Describe how the Russian government has sought to restrict or channel public activism.
65. Describe how Russian social policies have changed since the collapse of communism.