

outsiders are critical of Vladimir Putin, Russian citizens think very positively about him. Some political scientists believe that Russia has moved so far away from democratic reforms that it is now an example of soft authoritarianism, a system with tight government control and suppression of civil liberties without the extreme level of repression found in totalitarian states.

### AP Tip

The AP Comparative Government and Politics Exam uses its own set of terms, which may or may not be the exact same words you have read in your textbook. For example, on the AP Exam, Russia is referred to as a “mixed presidential parliamentary system” while other texts will refer to Russia as a “semipresidential” or “hybrid” system. When you take the AP Exam, you may have to adjust to the terminology.

## Multiple-Choice Questions

- Which of the following is the best definition of *democratic centralism*?
  - a system of government with democratic elections
  - a system of government with democracy among elite decision makers
  - an authoritarian leadership style
  - a command economy in which economic planning decisions are made at the center
  - a parliamentary system with democracy at the center
- Which organization was the most important policymaking institution under the communist system?
  - nomenklatura*
  - secretariat
  - Supreme Soviet
  - politburo*
  - General Secretary
- In a communist system, which of the following is the equivalent of the executive branch?
  - nomenklatura*
  - secretariat
  - Supreme Soviet
  - politburo*
  - General Secretary

4. Which of the following was true of the *nomenklatura*?
  - (A) It was strictly limited to the top 5 percent of the population.
  - (B) It represented the average Soviet citizen.
  - (C) It was simply the Communist Youth League.
  - (D) It was a type of civil society in the communist days.
  - (E) It was universal among the population.
  
5. Which of the following is true of the command economy under the Soviet Union?
  - (A) Initially, it produced positive results.
  - (B) It allowed for some private ownership.
  - (C) It was not copied by China or other communist countries.
  - (D) It is still used in Russia today.
  - (E) It had universal support of the Russian people.
  
6. Which of the following did NOT occur under privatization in Russia?
  - (A) Each citizen was given a voucher worth 10,000 rubles.
  - (B) Major Soviet-owned industries were auctioned off.
  - (C) Most industries were purchased by former Soviet managers.
  - (D) Hyperinflation broke out.
  - (E) Every Russian citizen had the same opportunity to own their own business.
  
7. Who most supported shock therapy?
  - (A) Gorbachev
  - (B) Yeltsin
  - (C) Khrushchev
  - (D) Brezhnev
  - (E) Lenin
  
8. Which of the following was NOT initiated under Vladimir Putin?
  - (A) change in the selection process of the Federation Council
  - (B) change in the dismissal process of the governors
  - (C) purchase of the independent media
  - (D) referendum on Chechen independence
  - (E) referendum on a new constitution
  
9. Which of the following is true of shock therapy in Russia?
  - (A) It was imitated universally throughout the former communist countries.
  - (B) It was unsuccessful in smaller satellite countries.
  - (C) Western economists advised against it.
  - (D) It had wide support in the *duma*.
  - (E) It was a controversial policy within Russia.
  
10. Which of the following is true of *glasnost*?
  - (A) Russian citizens used their new freedom of speech to have valuable debates.
  - (B) It privatized many former Soviet industries rapidly.
  - (C) It was initiated by Yeltsin.
  - (D) It spread rapidly to China.
  - (E) It caused an unusually high level of counterproductive hostility toward the government.

11. Which of the following political parties won the most seats in the first *duma* elections?
  - (A) Communists
  - (B) Yabloko
  - (C) Liberal Democrats
  - (D) Union of Right Forces
  - (E) Unity
  
12. Which of the following political parties won the most seats in the most recent *duma* elections?
  - (A) Communists
  - (B) Yabloko
  - (C) Liberal Democrats
  - (D) Union of Right Forces
  - (E) Unity
  
13. Which of the following is NOT true of Russia's mixed presidential parliamentary system (also known as a semipresidential system)?
  - (A) The president is directly elected on a regular schedule.
  - (B) The prime minister is a member of the dominant party in the lower house or of a majority coalition.
  - (C) The prime minister is elected on an irregular schedule.
  - (D) The president plays a large role in the selection of the prime minister.
  - (E) The president is head of the legislature.
  
14. Which of the following are true of the referenda held in Russia after the breakup of the Soviet Union?
  - (A) There were two referenda, and each resulted in high voter turnout.
  - (B) There was one referendum with low turnout.
  - (C) There were two referenda; one had high turnout, and the other had low turnout.
  - (D) There were two referenda; both had low turnout and slim majorities.
  - (E) There were two referenda; both had low turnout and overwhelming majorities.
  
15. Which of the following best describes Russia's current system of electing members to the *duma*?
  - (A) single-member district system with winner take all
  - (B) single-member district system with runoff
  - (C) strict proportional representation
  - (D) proportional representation with minimum winning threshold
  - (E) mixture of proportional and single-member district systems

## Free-Response Questions

1. Define *command economy* and *market economy*. Give one specific example of how the Soviet Union's command economy differed from Russia's market economy.
2. Vladimir Putin initiated several proposals that impact the Russian government.
  - a. Identify and explain one of these proposals.
  - b. For the proposal you identified in (a), describe its impact on democratization.
  - c. Identify and explain another of these proposals.
  - d. For the proposal you identified in (c), describe its impact on democratization.

## Answers

### MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. (B) Democratic centralism was used under Communist Party rule. Votes might be taken among the policy elite, but no dissent was tolerated after these votes were taken (Haus, pp. 231–232; Kesselman et al., pp. 143–144).
2. (D) The *politburo* was a body that acted somewhat like a cabinet in a parliamentary system (Haus, p. 237; Kesselman et al., pp. 147, 161).
3. (B) The secretariat consisted of approximately 25 members who oversaw the work of the party apparatus (Haus, p. 237).
4. (A) The *nomenklatura* was the list of names of individuals qualified for government positions based on their Communist Party membership (Haus, p. 237; Kesselman et al., p. 161).
5. (A) Initially, the command economy produced positive results. These results were not sustained (Haus, pp. 225–226; Kesselman et al., p. 152).
6. (E) During privatization, citizens were given a voucher that could be used to purchase part of the industry where they worked. Soviet-owned industries were auctioned off. The process favored those who already had enough money to buy a substantial amount of shares (Haus, p. 241; Kesselman et al., pp. 152–155).
7. (B) Yeltsin was most supportive of the shock therapy approach to privatization. Gorbachev advocated a slower approach as did the others (Haus, pp. 241–242; Kesselman et al., pp. 146–148).
8. (E) Vladimir Putin initiated many changes but did not initiate a referendum on the new constitution (this occurred under Yeltsin) (Haus, p. 246; Kesselman et al., pp. 147–149).

9. (E) Shock therapy was a very divisive policy within Russia; many favored a slower approach or maintaining state control over industry (Hauss, pp. 219, 239; Kesselman et al., p. 177).
10. (E) *Glasnost* did not “create the kind of tolerant Western-style political culture Gorbachev had in mind. Instead it allowed people to vent...” and there was counterproductive hostility (Hauss, p. 238; Kesselman et al., pp. 146–147).
11. (A) The Communists won the most seats in the first *duma* elections (Hauss, pp. 246–247; Kesselman et al., pp. 163, 172–174).
12. (E) The Unity Party won the most seats in the most recent *duma* elections (Hauss, pp. 247–248; Kesselman et al., pp. 174–175).
13. (E) In a mixed presidential parliamentary system, the president heads the executive, and the prime minister heads the legislature (Hauss, pp. 251–253; Kesselman et al., pp. 163–164).
14. (D) There were two referenda: one was for/against Yeltsin as president; the other was for/against the new constitution. Both had low turnout and low margins of victory, but Yeltsin was elected, and the constitution was approved (Hauss, p. 246; Kesselman et al., pp. 147–148).
15. (D) Today, the *duma* is selected by proportional representation with a minimum winning threshold of 7 percent (Hauss, pp. 246–249; Kesselman et al., pp. 171–172).

### FREE-RESPONSE QUESTIONS

1. In a command economy, the central government makes all economic decisions, including setting of prices and wages, and determining what goods will be produced and how they will be produced. In a market economy, economic decisions are made by private citizens and companies, and prices and wages are determined by the laws of supply and demand. Under the Soviet Union, there was a command economy with a central organization determining economic decisions in the form of a five-year plan. In Russia today, there is a market economy; however, a small number of oligarchs make many of the important economic decisions (Hauss, pp. 225–227, 242–243; Kesselman et al., p. 152).
2.
  - a. Putin initiated legislation that altered the selection of regional leaders. Once directly elected, representatives to the Federation Council are now selected by the president.
  - b. Putin initiated this reform in order to be able to effectively facilitate policy-making. However, this has eliminated one of the checks on presidential power, arguably weakening democracy.
  - c. Putin also initiated government purchase of the privately owned media outlets. While free speech is technically allowed

in Russia, Russian citizens have no locally based media to present a variety of views.

- d. The state-owned media tend to be extremely supportive of the current government. This has limited democratization in Russia (Hauss, pp. 242–243; Kesselman et al., Chapter 4).