

PSCI 256: Russian Politics
Spring 2016
Wednesday 9-11:50 AM
Office hours: Tuesdays 9:30-11:30 AM & by appointment.

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Russian Politics: From Dictatorship to Democracy...and Back Again

In this introduction to the study of Russian politics, we will explore how a single person – Vladimir Putin - has come to dominate the national stage, while opposition politicians are jailed, human rights are violated, and journalists fall victim to assassins' bullets. In many ways, Russia appears to have started turning back into a dictatorship only 15 years after throwing off seven decades of repressive communist party rule. Why and how has this happened? Through lectures, discussions, and films, we will examine contemporary Russia's politics, economics, and political culture. The course will cover Russia's history from 1917 to 1991, but our main focus will be on the contemporary period.

Course Requirements

You will be graded on the following:

Class participation (15%)

Study questions (15%)

Two brief "mini-papers" (5% each)

Midterm exam (30%)

Research paper (30%)

- Detailed descriptions of the course requirements can be found at the end of the syllabus.
- The readings for each week's class are specified on the syllabus. Please complete the readings on time, and bring the syllabus and relevant readings to class each day.
- We will be discussing current events in this class. Every student in this course will need to have a source of news about Russia. Most major news outlets (such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Boston Globe*, and the BBC) regularly run stories about Russia. Another source of Russian news and analysis in English is Johnson's Russia List (JRL), featuring current and archived articles from the U.S. and Russian press: <http://russialist.org/russia/russian-news/>.

Course Readings

There are six books for the course, available at the Clark University Bookstore (or feel free to buy them used or in e-book form):

Mary McAuley, Soviet Politics 1917-1991 (Oxford, 1992).

Vladimir Gel'man, Authoritarian Russia: Analyzing Post-Soviet Regime Changes (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015).

Arthur Koestler, Darkness at Noon (Scribner, 2006; published originally in 1941).

Stephen Kotkin, Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2008).

Thomas Remington, Politics in Russia, 7th edition (Pearson/Longman, 2012) (or 6th ed., 2010).

Valerie Sperling, Sex, Politics, and Putin: Political Legitimacy in Russia (Oxford, 2015).

All the other readings on the syllabus can be found under Section 3 ("Assigned Readings") of our MOODLE course website (<http://MOODLE.clarku.edu>).

WEEK 1 Jan 18: Introduction.

WEEK 2 Jan 25: Soviet History: from Marx through Stalin.

Study Questions for Week 2 Due Today.

Topic 1: Marxism and the Russian Revolution.

Reading: •McAuley, Soviet Politics, Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 2.
•Remington, Politics in Russia, Chapter 2, pp. 31-47 (6th ed., pp. 31-47).

Topic 2: Stalin and the Revolution from Above.

Reading: •McAuley, Soviet Politics, Chapter 3, Chapter 4.

Topic 3: Stalin in the 21st Century

Reading: •David Hoffman, "Stalin Rises from the Ashes in Putin's Russia," *The Moscow Times*, April 14, 2015.

Note: Start reading Koestler, Darkness at Noon

WEEK 3 Feb 1: Stalinist Terror: Was Stalinism the inevitable result of Bolshevism?

Study Questions for Week 3 Due Today.

Reading: •Koestler, Darkness at Noon (entire)

In-Class Film: *The Life and Times of Jozef Stalin.*

WEEK 4 Feb 8: The Soviet System after Stalin.

1st Mini-Paper Due Today

Study Questions for Week 4 Due Today.

Topic 1: Khrushchev's Thaw and Brezhnev's Stagnation.

Reading: •McAuley, Soviet Politics, Chapter 5, Chapter 6.

Topic 2: The Roots of Reform -- What was wrong with the old Soviet system?

Reading: •McAuley, Soviet Politics, Chapter 7.
•David Remnick, "Party Men," in Lenin's Tomb (NY: Random House, 1993).
•Kotkin, Armageddon Averted, Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-57.
•*Optional:* Explore Ilya Utekhin's website about communal apartments. We will look at "Where Daddy Used to Live" in our next class.

WEEK 5 Feb 15: Gorbachev's Reforms -- Perestroika and Glasnost.

Study Questions for Week 5 Due Today.

Reading: •Dear Comrade Editor, pp. 1-33 and pp. 80-90.
•Nina Andreeva, "I Cannot Forgo My Principles."
•Kotkin, Armageddon Averted, Chapter 3, pp. 58-85.
•Remington, Politics in Russia, pp. 47-53 (6th ed., pp. 47-54).

In-class Film: *Little Vera.*

WEEK 6 Feb 22: The End of the Beginning

Study Questions for Week 6 Due Today.

Topic 1: The Obstacles to Reform: Economic Failures and the Rise of Nationalism.
Reading: •Suny, “State, Civil Society and Ethnic Cultural Consolidation in the USSR: Roots of the National Question.”

- “Beyond Perestroika: the Soviet Economy in Crisis”
- Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine (1990).

Topic 2: The Momentous Year of Coup and Collapse -- 1991.

Reading: •McAuley, Soviet Politics, Chapter 8 and Conclusion.
•Yeltsin, “Speech to RSFSR Congress of People’s Deputies, October 28, 1991”; Agreement on the Creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States, 1991; and Gorbachev, “Resignation Speech, December 25, 1991.”
•Kotkin, Armageddon Averted, Chapter 4, pp. 86-112.
•Victor Sebestyen, “The KGB’s Bathhouse Plot,” *New York Times*, 8/20/2011.
•*Optional reading:* Nataliya Vasilyeva, “Soviet Childhood: Journey from Lenin to the Bible,” *Huffington Post*, September 18, 2011.

Topic 3: Could the Soviet Union have survived? Why did it collapse?

Reading: •Dallin, “Causes of the Collapse of the USSR.”
•Kotkin, Armageddon Averted, Chapter 7, pp. 169-192.

WEEK 7 Mar 1: MIDTERM EXAM

In-class Film (following the midterm exam): *Frontline: Putin’s Way (2014).*

MIDTERM BREAK, March 6-10; No Class on March 8.

WEEK 8 Mar 15: Politics in Russia, Part I: Prospects for Democracy in the 1990s.

Study Questions for Week 8 Due Today.

Topic 1: Were the 1990s the beginning of democracy or the end of it?

Reading: •“State Department to hold Enemy Tryouts Next Week,” *The Onion*, October 21, 1998.
•Kotkin, Armageddon Averted, Chapter 6, pp. 141-168.
•Gelman, Authoritarian Russia, Preface, Chapters 1-2, pp. xi-42.
•Sperling, Sex, Politics, and Putin, Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-79.

Topic 2: Another October Revolution: The October 1993 Crisis and the 1993 Constitution.

Reading: •Gelman, Authoritarian Russia, Chapter 3, pp. 43-70.

Topic 3: Political Institutions and Elections in the 1990s.

Reading: •Remington, Politics in Russia, Chapter 3: pp. 56-73 (6th ed, pp. 57-74).

Topic 4: Passing Power to Putin: The Transfer of Power in 1999 and Elections in 2000.

Reading: •Remington, Politics in Russia, Chapter 1, pp. 1-27 (skim) (6th ed., pp. 1-27).

Week 9 Mar 22: Politics in Russia, Part II: 21st Century Dictatorship.

2nd Mini-Paper Due Today
Study Questions for Week 9 Due Today.

- Topic 1:** Politics under Putin: An Overview.
- Reading:**
- Alexey Eremenko, “Vladimir Putin’s Approval Rating Hits All-Time High, Boosted by Syria Airstrikes,” NBC News, October 22, 2015.
 - Gelman, Authoritarian Russia, Chapters 4-5, pp. 71-128.
 - Robert Orttung, “Nations in Transit Report: Russia 2015,” Freedom House, 2015.
 - Sperling, *Sex, Politics, and Putin*, Chapter 3, pp. 80-124.
- Topic 2:** Political Institutions and Elections in the 2000s: from Parties to Patronage.
- Reading:**
- Remington, Politics in Russia, pp. 1-5 (6th ed., pp. 1-2) (Putin/Medvedev)
 - Remington, Politics in Russia, pp. 171-184 (6th ed., pp. 173-187), and pp. 87-112 (6th ed., pp. 89-115).
- Topic 3:** Protest and Political Repression under Putin.
- Reading:**
- Michael Specter, “Kremlin, Inc.: Why are Putin’s Opponents Dying?” *The New Yorker*, January 29, 2007.
 - Owen Matthews, “Who Really Killed Boris Nemtsov?” *Newsweek*, March 23, 2015.
 - Paul Roderick Gregory, “The Kremlin’s New ‘New’ Version of the Nemtsov Murder,” *Forbes*, March 18, 2015.
 - ”Russian election: Biggest protests since fall of USSR,” BBC News, 10 December 2011.
 - Michael Schwartz and David Herszenhorn, “Voters Watch Polls in Russia, and Fraud Is What They See,” *New York Times*, December 5, 2011.
 - Laura Smith-Spark, “Russian court imprisons Pussy Riot band members on hooliganism charges,” CNN, August 18, 2012.
 - David Herszenhorn, “Leading Putin Critic Is Freed Pending Appeal after Protests,” *New York Times*, July 19, 2013.
 - ”Russia: Harsh Toll of ‘Foreign Agents’ Law,” Human Rights Watch, June 26, 2013.
 - Miriam Elder, “Russia passes law banning gay ‘propaganda’,” *The Guardian*, June 11, 2013.
 - Peter Hobson, “Most Russians Want Homosexuals Liquidated or Ostracized,” *The Moscow Times*, October 11, 2015.
- Topic 4:** Debate: Is Russia a Democracy or a Dictatorship?

WEEK 10 Mar 29: Economics in Post-Soviet Russia: From Oligarchs to Oil.
Study Questions for Week 10 Due Today.

In-class Film: *Return of the Czar.*

Topic 1: Attempting to Create a Market Economy: The New Russia in the 1990s.

Reading:

- Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted*, Chapter 5, pp. 113-140; Epilogue, pp. 193-220.
- Michael R. Gordon, "As Ruble Withers, Russians Survive on Barter," *New York Times*, September 6, 1998.
- Remington, *Politics in Russia*, Chapter 7, 191-206 (6th ed., pp. 193-201).

Topic 2: Putin's Record: Russia's Economy in the 21st Century.

Guest Speaker: *Professor Peter Rutland (Wesleyan University)*

Reading:

- Remington, *Politics in Russia*, pp. 158-160 (on Khodorkovsky and Yukos) (6th ed, pp. 159-161).
- Remington, *Politics in Russia*, Chapter 7, pp. 207-214 (6th ed., pp. 210-217).
- Peter Rutland, "The Russian Economy: Back to the Future?" *Russian Analytical Digest* (March 2016), p. 2-7.
- Jasmine Lee, "Why the Russian Economy Is Tumbling," *New York Times*, April 12, 2016.
- Yulia Latynina, "Why Russia's Olympic Flame is a Flub," *The Moscow Times*, November 6, 2013.
- Peter Hobson, "8 Shades of Crisis - Russia's Year of Economic Nightmares," *The Moscow Times*, December 25, 2015.
- Andrew Kramer, "Russia Destroys Piles of Banned Western Food," *New York Times*, August 6, 2015.

WEEK 11 Apr 5 Civil Society in Russia: Gender and Organizing.

Study Questions for Week 11 Due Today.

Reading:

- Valerie Sperling, *Sex, Politics, and Putin* (Oxford University Press, 2015), Chapters 5, 6, and Conclusion (pp. 169-309).
- Janet Johnson, "Putin's Russia promotes both women and misogyny in politics. Wait, what?," *Washington Post/The Monkey Cage*, November 6, 2016.
- Diana Markosian, "Amid Chechnya's Islamic Revival, Some Women Live in Fear," *Voice of America News*, February 23, 2011.
- AP, "Chechnya's Leader Looking for Second Wife," February 24, 2011.
- Ian Bateson, "Putin signs law banning advertisements for abortion in Russia," *NBCnews.com*, November 25, 2013.
- Mark Mackinnon, "Gay Russia's Choice," *Globe and Mail*, January 4, 2014.
- Andrew Roth, "Russian truckers threaten crippling Moscow traffic jam in rare protest," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2015.
- Remington, *Politics in Russia*, pp. 167-171 (6th ed., pp. 168-172 (on NGOs in Putin's Russia).

Films: *There are Women in Russian Villages.*

WEEK 12 Apr 12: Patriotism, Militarism, Nationalism, Political Ideology and Foreign Policy.

Study Questions for Week 12 and Your Proposed Research Paper Topic Due Today.

- Topic 1:** Foreign Policy
- Russian Analytical Digest, "Russia and the US Election," December 9, 2016, pp. 2-14 (three short analyses of Russia and the US election, plus opinion polls).
 - Editorial Board, "Trump refuses to face reality about Russia," *Washington Post*, December 30, 2016.
 - David Sanger, "Obama Strikes Back at Russia for Election Hacking," *New York Times*, December 28, 2016.
 - David Filipov, "Putin to Democratic Party: You lost, get over it," *Washington Post*, December 23, 2016.
 - Oxana Shevel, "Russia and the Near Abroad," *Great Decisions Briefing Book* (Foreign Policy Association, 2015), pp. 8-15 (on foreign policy under Putin).
 - AP, "Report: Russians regularly shelled eastern Ukraine in 2014," December 21, 2016.
 - David Herszenhorn and Alexandra Odynova, "Soldiers' Graves Bear Witness to Russia's Role in Ukraine," *New York Times*, September 21, 2014.
 - Simon Shuster, "Russian Propaganda Struggles To Find Good Reasons For Bombing Syria," *Time.com*, October 5, 2015.

Topic 2: Patriotism, Militarism, Nationalism and the Politics of the Past under Putin
Guest Speaker: *Professor Nina Tumarkin (Wellesley College)*

- Reading:**
- Valerie Sperling, "Making the Public Patriotic: Militarism and Anti-Militarism in Russia," in Marlene Laruelle, ed., *Nationalism in Contemporary Russia* (2009).
 - Sperling, *Sex, Politics, and Putin*, Chapter 4, pp. 125-168.
 - Will Englund, "Moscow scrambles to placate rioters who attacked migrants," *Washington Post*, October 15, 2013.
 - Peter Pomerantsev, "Forms of Delirium," *London Review of Books*, 10 October 2013.
 - Alan Feuer and Andrew Higgins, "Extremists Turn to a Leader to Protect Western Values: Vladimir Putin," *New York Times*, December 3, 2016
 - Remington, *Politics in Russia*, Chapter 5, pp. 117-143 (6th ed., pp. 120-146).
 - Remington, *Politics in Russia*, pp. 160-161 (6th ed., pp. 162-163) (on the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers).

WEEK 13 Apr 19: Chechnya and the Rule of Law.

Study Questions for Week 13 Due Today.

Topic 1: Building a New Federation? The Continuing War in Chechnya.

- Reading:**
- Remington, *Politics in Russia*, pp. 73-82 (6th ed., pp. 74-83).
 - Elizabeth Rubin, "Only You Can Save Your Sons," *New York Times Magazine*, July 8, 2001.
 - Mark Kramer, "The Russian-Chechen Conflict and the Putin-Kadyrov Connection," *Russian Analytical Digest*, No. 22, The North Caucasus (June 2007), pp. 2-6.

READINGS FOR TODAY CONTINUED ON THE NEXT PAGE...

WEEK 13 Apr 19: Chechnya and the Rule of Law, continued.

- Kimberly Marten, "Russia, Chechnya, and the Sovereign Kadyrov," PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo #116, October 2010.
- Arch Puddington, "Little to celebrate in Kadyrov's Chechnya," Freedom House,

October 18, 2011.

•Emma Gilligan, “The Costs of Peace in Chechnya,” *Current History*, October 2015, pp. 266-271.

•Claire Bigg, “Kadyrov's Collective Punishment, Public Shamings Anger Chechens,” RFE/RL, January 6, 2016.

In-Class Film: *Prisoner of the Mountains*

Topic 2: Russia and the Rule of Law.

Reading: •Remington, *Politics in Russia*, Chapter 8, pp. 219-245 (6th ed., pp. 222-248).

•Valerie Sperling, “Trials and Tribulations: Russia and the European Court of Human Rights” (excerpted from Sperling, *Altered States: The Globalization of Accountability* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). (Skim.)

•Julia Ioffe, “Net Impact” [on anti-corruption blogger Alexei Navalnyi], *The New Yorker*, April 4, 2011.

WEEK 14 Apr 26: Whither Russia? Russia before and after Putin’s Presidency.

A Draft or Detailed Outline of the Research Paper is Due Today.

Student Research Paper Presentations: Are conditions in Russia better than they were in the mid-to-late-1990s?

THE RESEARCH PAPER IS DUE ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 3 AT NOON, IN MY MAILBOX IN THE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT.

DETAILED COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

•Class Participation.

This class is held only once a week, which means that attendance and active class participation are mandatory. Missing more than one class is cause for a failing grade in class participation.

•Study Questions.

Weekly written assignments based on the readings will be intended to facilitate class discussion, and will be due at the beginning of class each week. **Your responses will not be graded, but will be expected to be of sufficient quality to deserve credit.** The study questions are in a single document on our MOODLE website under *Topic 2*, titled *Study Questions and Mini-Paper Assignments*. If you hand a study question in late, you will receive half credit for it if you hand it in on or before the day of the midterm (if it was assigned before the midterm), or by the last day of class (if it was assigned after the midterm). Note that these assignments cannot be hand-written – please use a printer. However, if you are late to class because you were delayed while printing out your assignment, your assignment will be counted as late.

•Mini-Papers.

These two short (2-page) papers are due at the beginning of class in Week 4 (February 8) and Week 9 (March 22). The assigned questions can be found within the *Study Questions and Mini Paper Assignments* document for those weeks. **These mini-papers will be graded.** *Mini-papers handed in late will lose one-half grade per day.*

•Research Paper.

A draft or detailed outline of the research paper is due on the last day of class – April 26. (I will not collect these, but will check off that you have done the work). We will be discussing the findings of your research papers in class. The research paper itself is due on **Wednesday, May 3, at noon**, in my mailbox in the Political Science Department. *Late research papers will be graded down one full grade per day without exception.* The paper should be 10-12 double-spaced typed pages in length.

In this paper, you will choose a topic (in consultation with me) and address the following questions:

With regard to your topic, in what ways have conditions changed from the mid-to-late 1990s to the present? What precisely has changed (improved, deteriorated), and why?

To write a good paper, you will need to make an argument with a clear and strong thesis statement in the introduction, and then prove/support your thesis throughout the rest of the paper. **Please put your thesis statement in bold print.** The body of the paper should address the substance of the topic in the mid-to-late 1990s (roughly 1994-1998), and then explain *how and why* things have changed between then and now with regard to that issue. If you argue that conditions have improved or deteriorated, you will need to explain concretely what constitutes improvement or deterioration (e.g. explain what you mean by “better” or “worse”). Also, as you can see, the research question contains both a “what” and a “why.” You will therefore need to include both clear description (“what”) and sensible analysis (“why”).

In writing the paper, you will need to *draw on at least two peer-reviewed articles* (in addition to any class readings) on your topic, as well as books and news articles from reputable sources. Relevant peer-reviewed journals that you can access through Clark’s library system include: *Post-Soviet Affairs, Europe-Asia Studies, Demokratizatsiya, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Slavic Review, Russian Social Science Review, Problems of Post-Communism, Journal of Democracy, World Politics, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Political Science Quarterly, and American Political Science Review.* Do not refer to class lectures in your paper. If you don’t know how to access peer-reviewed articles through Clark’s library system, the research librarians are very happy to help you! Don’t wait until the last minute, however.

Grammar, spelling, and organization count toward your paper grade, so it is in your best interests to proofread your paper (or ask someone else to do so) and correct it before handing it in. Your paper should have citations (footnotes, endnotes, or in-text citations), and should include a complete list of sources. If you have any doubts about how to properly footnote a research paper, please ask me for advice or consult the Writing Center. Be sure to provide citations—including page numbers-- for all quotations, paraphrases, and factual information that is not extremely common knowledge. Failure to provide full and accurate citations is considered plagiarism and is grounds for failing the course.

General research paper topics to choose from include:

Russian Civil Society
NGOs and Russia
The Russian Parliament

The Russian Electoral System
Party Development in Russia
Political Representation in Russia

Corruption in Russia
Freedom of the Press in Russia
Patronage and Russian Politics
Terrorism in Russia
The Conflict in Chechnya
Russia and its Muslims (Islam in Russia)
Jews and Anti-Semitism in Russia
The Russian Orthodox Church and Politics
Russian-US Relations [or with other states]
HIV/AIDS in Russia
Migration/Immigration and Russia

Army Life in Russia
Military Reform in Russia
Economic Development in Russia
Industry in Russia
Business in Russia
Foreign Investment in Russia
Taxes and Revenues in Russia
Local Politics in Russia
Gender Politics in Russia
Social Inequality in Russia
Nationalist Movements in Russia

Keep in mind that a more specific topic is likely to generate a better research question and paper. Thus a paper comparing the status of women in Russia's parliament is likely to be better than one on "women and Russia" in general.

Web-Based Resources

The following English-language resources may be useful to you, both for your research paper, and for ongoing news in Russia:

- Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (news and analysis):
<http://www.rferl.org/section/russia/161.html>
- The Jamestown Foundation (news analysis): <http://www.jamestown.org/regions/russia/>
- Professor Peter Rutland's website includes his research papers on multiple topics, plus his archived articles for The Jamestown Foundation: <http://prutland.web.wesleyan.edu/research.htm>
- Each issue of Russian Analytical Digest focuses on a different topic (download them at):
<http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/publications/rad.html>
- Russian Public Opinion Polls and Election Results (from a reliable source, but not all updated)
<http://www.russiavotes.org/> and (from a reliable Russian source but with limited information compared to what's available on their Russian-language site): <http://www.levada.ru/eng/>
- The Moscow Times* (in English): <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/>
- If you want to watch Kremlin-sponsored TV in English, check out:
<http://rt.com/> Note: it used to be called "Russia Today," and is now just the neutral "RT."
- The Russian President's website (including news) is: <http://eng.kremlin.ru/>

When researching your papers or looking at current events, make use of the Russian press translated into English, too, through Lexis-Nexis Academic database. The database is searchable which makes researching news past and present much easier.

Some of the relevant sources available through Lexis-Nexis include: RIA Novosti, Interfax,

ITAR-TASS, Russian Press Digest, *The Moscow Times*, and the Official Kremlin International News Broadcasts. Note that these are English translations of original Russian language sources (except *The Moscow Times*, which is published in English).

How to search for news articles in these sources:

- Go to the Goddard Library website.
- Click on Articles and Databases.
- Click on Lexis-Nexis Academic.
- Go to Source Directory (at the top) and click “Find or Browse.”
- There are two ways to proceed from here:
 - If you want to search sources individually, click “Find” under Source Directory, and then type the name of the source (e.g. *The Moscow Times*) into the “Keyword” box and click “Find Sources.”
 - Once the list of sources appears, check the box next to the one or ones you want, and then click the red box that says, “OK - Continue.”
 - You can then enter your search terms and limit the dates.
 - Then click the stories that interest you.
 - Their publication information will come up on the left (author, source, date, etc.).
 - NOTE: Do not cite these sources as “Lexis-Nexis” – instead cite them properly, using the publication information.
- If you want to search multiple sources at once, then under Source Directory, click “Browse.”
 - Where it says “Filter by,” put in “Russia” under “Country.”
 - Either choose a specific topic from the topics list, or “All topics.”
 - Under “Select a category to view sources,” click “News.”
 - Then click “Newspapers.”
 - *Moscow News*, *Moscow Times*, and *Russica - Russian Press Digest* will come up (among others).
 - Check the box next to the ones you want, and then click the red box that says, “OK-Continue.”
 - Enter your search terms and proceed as above.

Note: You can get RIA Novosti, TASS, and the Official Kremlin International News Broadcasts by clicking “Newswires” instead of “News” under “Select a category to view sources.”

Also note that the Research Librarians at Goddard have created a LibGuide for our course which will enable you to access some of these resources. You can find it via the Goddard Library website, or by clicking this link:

<http://clarku.libguides.com/content.php?pid=34912&sid=256630>