

G4491 Post-Soviet States and Markets

Professor Timothy Frye
1214 International Affairs Building
tmf2@columbia.edu – e-mail preferred.
212-854-6213

Spring 2014
Tuesday 2:10-4:00
Lectures in 405 IAB
Office Hours Mon. 3-4 & by appt.

Attempts to build functioning states, market economies and democratic governments provide a great opportunity to study central issues in social science: What is the relationship between democracy and the market? How does private property emerge? Do states undermine or underpin markets? They also provide insight into a fascinating region. Where are the postcommunist countries headed? Has Russia “left the West”? Will Ukraine become a stable democracy? To gain a better understanding of these and other questions, this course examines developments in Soviet and post-Soviet politics. It focuses primarily on the former Soviet Union, but comparisons will also be made to the former communist countries of Eastern Europe.

This course will require students to learn the recent history of the post-communist world, but given the difficulty of keeping up with the rapidly unfolding events in the region, the course is designed primarily to help students develop tools for interpreting and understanding economic and political events in the region. The course will introduce students to the major debates on economic and political reform and try to help students make sense of them.

Requirements

Mid-Term Exam	30%
Final Exam During Exam Week	30%
One Research Paper due in class on 4/22	30%
Class Participation	10%

More information on the research paper will be made available early in the semester. Research papers typically require you to compare at least two postcommunist countries on some dimension of economic or political reform and to assess competing arguments for the variation observed. Papers are due before the start of class on April 22. Papers turned in late will lose one letter grade for each day they are overdue. Brevity and originality are prized.

Each class is an opportunity to have a discussion about the material that we are studying. You are encouraged to bring questions to class based on the readings for that day. If terms or concepts are unclear, please ask me to clarify. This is essential for a successful class. The participation component of the grade is based on discussion in class. Before each class I will select students at random and during lecture I will ask them questions about the readings. Your class participation grade is based on the quality of your participation in class discussions. If I call on you two times and you are absent without a legitimate excuse, your final grade will be lowered by 2/3 of a letter, e. g, from “B+” to “B-.” The only legitimate excuses are a death in the family or illness supported by a note from a doctor. And I should receive before the class if at all possible. Feel free to ask how you are doing on the participation grade at any point in the semester.

Required Readings

The following books should be purchased at Book Culture, 536 W 112th, 212 865-1588.
www.bookculture.com

1. Steve Kotkin *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*.
2. Francis Spufford. 2012. *Red Plenty*. Graywolf Press.
3. Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*. Cambridge University Press 2010.

Recommended:

Lincoln Mitchell, *Uncertain Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Georgia's Rose Revolution*. Penn State University Press.

Anders Aslund. *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia*, Cambridge University Press. 2007.

Brian Taylor. 2012. *State Building in Putin's Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Readings with an * available on Courseworks. JSTOR readings are available electronically via the Columbia University library. Many readings can be found with a simple google search or by clicking on the links below.

Readings are also subject to change as new works come available.

Cross-Country Comparisons. This is a course in comparative politics, so comparison is necessary. Students are required to follow the economic and political development of a postcommunist country in Europe (not Russia). You can choose from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, or Uzbekistan. Students may also follow a postcommunist country of Eastern Europe: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. The latter group of countries will be discussed less frequently, but there is more secondary literature available. In the paper you will have to compare the economic and political development of the country that you are studying with Russia. Other topics are permitted, but clear them with me first.

Special Needs: Students with disabilities or special needs will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs.

Academic Honesty: All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own. No cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper attribution). Any cases of cheating or plagiarism will be handled according to university policy and, when appropriate, reported to the university Committee on Academic Misconduct. If you have questions, please let me know.

The complete text of the GSAS statement on academic honesty is at <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/gsas/rules/chapter-9/pages/honesty/index.html>. It includes the following definition of plagiarism: "Plagiarism includes buying, stealing, borrowing, or otherwise obtaining all or part of a paper (including obtaining or posting a paper online); hiring someone to write a paper; copying from or paraphrasing another source without proper citation or falsification of citations; and building on the ideas of another without citation."

There is a fine line between sloppy citations and punctuation and intentional plagiarism. It is your responsibility to learn and use proper attribution and citation. Be safe and determine in advance that you are being both ethical and orderly so as to avoid questionable work that could create an accusation of academic misconduct. You are responsible for asking questions about policies and about my expectations for your work. If you are not certain you are doing the right thing.

You also are violating the GSAS academic integrity policy if you self-plagiarize, i.e. if you turn in for this course a paper that you already have written for another course. Although scholars do build on their early ideas as they advance their scholarship, I expect that written work you do for this course does not duplicate your earlier work. Please talk to me if your paper for this course pursues a topic on which you have written and submitted a paper for another course.

There are many websites that address academic integrity. The comprehensive “Avoiding plagiarism, self-plagiarism, and other questionable writing practices: A guide to ethical writing” by Miguel Roig is at http://ori.hhs.gov/education/products/roig_st_johns/index.html; it includes samples of illustrative good and bad practices as well as a useful and detailed table of contents.

<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/589/01/> is a relatively brief overview of academic integrity, written for students, with sections on originality and reliance on earlier work, when and when not to include citations, and how to write so as to avoid unintentional plagiarism.

Week 1.

January 21

Introduction

John Gerring, et al. undated “Advice on Essay Writing.” Ms.*

Irfan Nooruddin. “A Note on Methods in Political Science.”* Ms.*

Recommended:

Timothy Frye. 2012. “In From the Cold: Causal Inference and Postcommunism.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, <http://www.columbia.edu/~tmf2/In%20from%20the%20Cold.pdf>

Scott Gehlbach and Edward Malesky: 2011. “The Great Experiment that Wasn’t.”

Video:

Political Perestroika <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=me6q4NT7kTg>

Week 2.

January 28.

What Was Communism and Why Did it Collapse?

Stephen Kotkin *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse 1970-2000*. Pages. 1-57*

Katherine Verdery *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, Princeton University Press, 1996. pages, 19-38.*

Richard Ericson, Richard. “The Classical Soviet-Type Economy.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 5:4, 1991. Fall. 11-27. (JSTOR).

Mary Macauley. *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991*. Oxford University Press. 1992. Chapters 6-8, conclusion.*

Francis Spufford. 2012. *Red Plenty*. Graywolf Press

http://redplenty.com/Red_Plenty/Front_page.html , Part 1 introduction, chps 1-2, Part II. Introduction, Chapters 1-2, Part III. Introduction. Part IV. Chps 2-3.

Leon Aron. 2011. “Everything you Know About the Collapse of Communism is Wrong.” *Foreign Policy*. <http://ir.blogs.ie.edu/2011/06/20/everything-you-think-you-know-about-the-collapse-of-the-soviet-union-is-wrong/>

Also . A critique of Leon Aron’s piece

<http://whirledview.typepad.com/whirledview/2011/07/whats-wrong-with-leon-arons-everything-you-think-you-know-about-the-collapse-of-the-soviet-union-is-wrong.html>

Recommended:

Stephen Kotkin 2010. *Uncivil Society*. Random House.

Thomas Remington. 1992. "Sovietology and System Stability," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8:4 (October-December), pp. 239-269.

Seweryn Bialer, *Stalin’s Successors*, chap. 8.*

Video: *My Perestroika* (available from Harriman Institute).

Week 3.
February 4.

Studying Postcommunism

Herbert Kitschelt, 2003. "Accounting for Postcommunist Regime Diversity: What Counts as a Good Cause?" in Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen E. Hanson eds. *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, 49-86. New York: Cambridge University Press.*

Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and the Market*. Pages, 10-50.

Stephen Holmes. "Conceptions of Democracy in the Draft Constitutions of the Post-Communist Countries." *Markets, States, and Democracy: The Political Economy of Postcommunist Transformation*. 1995. 71-81. Also printed as "Back to the Drawing Board" in *East European Constitutional Review* Winter 1993.*

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, Introduction and pages 1-9.

Joan M. Nelson. "The Politics of Economic Transformation: Is the Third World Experience Relevant in Eastern Europe?" *World Politics* 45: 3, 433-63. (JSTOR)

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, vol.13, no.4, January 2002, pp.5-21. (JSTOR)

Katherine Verdery, 1996. *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, pp. 204-234.*

Recommended:

Venelin Ganey. "The Dysfunctionality of Post-Communist State Structures," in *Preying on the State*, pages 1-32.*

Offe, Claus. 1991. "Capitalism by Democratic Design? Democratic Theory Facing the Triple Transition in East Central Europe." *Social Research*, 58, 865-92. (JSTOR)

Valerie Bunce, "Should Transitologists Be Grounded?" *Slavic Review* 54.1 (1995): pp. 111-127. (JSTOR)

Recommended: Vladimir Putin. 2000 and 2006 2014 Addresses to the Federal Assembly. <http://president.kremlin.ru/eng/sdocs/speeches>

Lucio Vinhas De Souza. *A Different Russia: Russia's Economic Resurgence*, 40-97.*

Boris Yeltsin. *The Struggle for Russia*. New York: Times Books, 1994. 183-217; 241-280. Library Reserve

Week 4.
February 11.

**State Building --
Theory**

Max Weber. "What is a State?" 38-41*

Charles Tilly. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*. ed. Evans, Reuschmeyer, and Skockpol.*

Ganey, Venelin. 2005. "Post-Communism as an Episode of State-Building." *Communist and Post-Communist Politics*. 38: 2005-425-445. (JSTOR) http://ac.els-cdn.com/S0967067X05000541/1-s2.0-S0967067X05000541-main.pdf?_tid=e30ddd92-811a-11e3-994f-00000aab0f6c&acdnat=1390144003_a65c1f23c15a046432dc849241628b9f

Timothy Frye and Andrei Shleifer. "The Invisible Hand and the Grabbing Hand." *American Economic Review Papers and Proceedings* June 1996. pp. 554-559. (JSTOR)

Darden, Keith and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2007. "The Great Divide: Pre-Communist Schooling and Post-Communist Trajectories." *World Politics* 59 (1): 83-115. (JSTOR).

Stephen Holmes. "Cultural Legacy or State Collapse?" *Perspectives on Postcommunism*, Ed. Michael Mandelbaum. Council on Foreign Relations. New York. 1996.*

Keith Darden. "The Integrity of Corrupt States. Graft as an Informal State Institution, *Politics and Society*, vol.36 (2008). (JSTOR)

"Dagestan Wedding." William Burns, US Embassy Official. 2006.*

Recommended:

Vadim Volkov. *Violent Entrepreneurs*, Cornell University Press 2002.

Week 5.

State Building: Data

Timothy Frye. "The Two Faces of Russian Courts: Evidence from a Survey of Company Managers," *East European Constitutional Review*, Winter/Spring 2002.

http://www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/vol11num1_2/features/frye.html

Thomas Carothers, "The Rule of Law Revival" and the "Problem of Knowledge" from *Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad: In Search of Knowledge*, pages. 9-28.*

Hellman, Joel, Geraint Jones, and Daniel Kaufman. 2000b. "Seize the State, Seize the Day." *Journal of Comparative Economics* Volume 31, Issue 4, December 2003, Pages 751-773. (JSTOR)

Timothy Frye, 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies," *Comparative Political Studies*. (JSTOR).

Brian Taylor, *State Building in Putin's Russia*. Cambridge University Press.* chps 1,8.

Michael Rochlitz. 2014. "Corporate Raiding." *Post-Soviet Affairs*.*

Recommended:

Joshua Yaffa. *New York Times Sunday* magazine

<http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/29/business/international/signs-of-a-russian-thaw-toward-business.html?src=xps&pagewanted=all>

Anna Grzymala-Busse, "Political Competition and the Politicization of the State in East-Central Europe," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol.36, no.10, 2003. (JSTOR)

Ganev, Venelin. "The Dorian Gray Effect: Winners as Statebreakers in Postcommunism." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 2001. 34: 1-25. (JSTOR)

Gerald Easter, "Politics of Revenue Extraction: Poland and Russia Compared," *Politics and Society*. 30-599-627.

Anticorruption in Transition. "Who is Succeeding and Why?" World Bank.

www.worldbank.org/eca/actc

Anna Grzymala-Busse, *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies*, 2007 Cambridge University Press.

Scott Gehlbach, *Representation Through Taxation: Revenue, Politics, and Development in Postcommunist States*, 2008. Cambridge University Press

Stephen Holmes. "Can Foreign Aid Promote the Rule of Law?" *East European Constitutional Review*. Fall 1999. 8:4,
<http://www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/vol8num4/special/rule.html>

Blackmail as a Tool of State Domination: Ukraine Under Kuchma." *East European Constitutional Review*. 10 Spring/Summer 2001.
http://www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/vol10num2_3/focus/darden.html

DATA SOURCES: World Bank: Governance Indicators, EBRD/World Bank (BEEPS) Business Enterprise and Economic Performance Survey.

Week 6
February 25.

Economic Reform: What is a Market Economy and How Do We Build One?

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1-38, 175-185.*

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, 136-191.

Joel Hellman. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform." *World Politics*, January 1998. (JSTOR) Available electronically through the library.

Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets After Communism*, 2010. introduction and chapter 1, 2.

Haggard, Stephan and Steven B. Webb. 1993. "What Do We Know about the Political Economy of Economic Policy Reform?" *World Bank Policy Research Observer* 8: 143-167.*

Recommended:

Charles E. Lindblom, "The Market as Prison," *Journal of Politics* (May, 1982).

Keith Darden, *Economic Liberalism and its Rivals*. Cambridge University Press. 2009.

Dani Rodrik 1996. "Understanding Economic Policy Reform." *Journal of Economic Literature* 34 (1): 9-41.

Week 7.
March 4.

Economic Reform: Data

EBRD. *Transition Report, 1999*. 102-113.*

EBRD Transition Report 2014. Chapter 2.*

Frye, *Building States and Markets*, chapters 3, 7-10.

Joseph Stiglitz. (1999) "Whither Reform?" *Annual Bank Conference on Development* Washington D.C.*

Marek Dabrowski, Stanislaw Gomulka and Jacek Rostowski
"Whence Reform?; A Reply to Stiglitz."*

Katharina Pistor 2013. "Toward a New Transition Economics." *Economics of Transition*. 21:1 11-16.

Konstantin Sonin. 2013. "The End of Economic Transition." *Economics of Transition*. 21:1 21:1. 1-10.

Recommended: Guriev, Sergei and Andrei Rachinsky. 2005. "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19 (1): 131–150. (JSTOR)

Jeffrey Sachs. *Poland's Jump to a Market Economy*. MIT Press. 1994.

Asad Alam and Arup Bannerji. "Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan: A Tale of Two Transition Paths?" World Bank Washington DC 2001. Also available from me or through Google. [http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/Research/workpapers.nsf/bd04ac9da150d30385256815005076ce/20a7a89bfb419fdd85256989006994c9/\\$FILE/wps2472.pdf](http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/Research/workpapers.nsf/bd04ac9da150d30385256815005076ce/20a7a89bfb419fdd85256989006994c9/$FILE/wps2472.pdf)

Richard Pomfret. "The Uzbek Model of Economic Development 1991-1999." *Economics of Transition* 8(3) November 2000. Also available from me as a PDF or through Google. <http://www.economics.adelaide.edu.au/staff/pomfret/eotzub.pdf>

DATA SOURCES: EBRD Transition Report, Annual Report. Great source of data on each country for each year of the transition. World Bank, World Development Indicators,

Week 8
March 11.

Mid term Exam in Class

March 18.

No Class – Spring Break.

Week 9.
March 25

Autocracy and Democracy: Theories and Politics

Samuel Huntington. "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" 1984. *Political Science Quarterly*, Summer, 99: 193-218. (JSTOR)

Terry Lynn Karl. "What Democracy is ...and is Not." *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, ed. Larry Diamond. Johns Hopkins University Press.*

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, Chapter 1.*

John Mueller. "Democracy, Capitalism and the End of Transition." in *Perspectives on Postcommunism*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations. Ed. Michael Mandelbaum. 1996.*

Steve Levitsky and Lucan A. Way "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism" *Journal of Democracy*. 13: 2 (April 2002).

Jeffrey Kopstein, Jeffrey S. and David Reilly. 2000. "Geographic Diffusion and Transformation of Post-Communist Europe." *World Politics* 53 (1): 1-30. (JSTOR)

Recommended: Adam Przeworski. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Governance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 10.
April 1.

Democracy Outcomes

Michael Mcfaul. "Transitions from Communism," *Journal of Democracy*. 16, 3 July, 2005. 5-19. (JSTOR)

Valerie Bunce. "Rethinking Recent Democratization." *World Politics*, January 2003. 55:2. 167-192. (JSTOR)

Lucan Way "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine?" *World Politics*, 57 (2): 231-265 (January 2005) (JSTOR)

Marc Morje Howard, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy*, vol.13, no.1, 200 2. (JSTOR)

Ivan Krastev, 2007. "The Strange Death of the Liberal Consensus." *Journal of Democracy* 18:4, 56-63. (JSTOR)

Timothy Colton and Michael McFaul. "Are Russians Undemocratic?*" [Available electronically at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace].
<http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/20ColtonMcFaul.pdf>

Richard Pipes. "Flight From Freedom: What Russians Think and Want." *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004. 9-15. Available electronically through the library.

Recommended: Aslund, 2007. 207-236.

DATA SOURCES: Take a look at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/> for articles and data on democracy in the postcommunist region and across the globe. Also see *Nations in Transit*. Freedom House. Various years. Library Reserve. POLITY IV is a good website for Political variables as is the World Bank's Data-Base of Political Institutions.

Dan Treisman, "Is Russia Cursed by Oil?" *Journal of International Affairs* 2010. Spring issue. Columbia library.

M. Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 5.

Sergei Guriev, Alexander Plekhanov and Konstantin Sonin. 2009. "Development Based on Commodity Revenues?". Chapter 4 of the Transition Report 2009 "Transition in Crisis". European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, London, 2009.*
<http://www.ebrd.com/downloads/research/transition/TR09.pdf>

Week 11.
April 8

Autocratic Politics: Theory

Stepen Haber. 2008. "Authoritarian Government." In *Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Ed. Barry Weingast. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stephen Holmes. "Simulations of Power in Putin's Russia." *Russia After the Fall*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Available electronically from me. (Also Google). Also *Current History* October 2001. Also
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=836&prog=zru> or
<http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/5487-10.cfm>

Lisa Blaydes, 2013. *Elections and Distributional Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. Chapter 1.

Timothy Frye, Ora John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work: Electoral Subversion and Workplace Mobilization in Russia." *World Politics* 2014.

April 15.

Protest and Colored Revolution

Ruben Enikolopov et al. 2012. "Field Experiment Evidence of Vote Fraud in Parliamentary Elections in Russia." *PNAS*.110:2, 448-452.*

Mark Beissinger, 2013. "Semblance of a Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution." *American Political Science Review*. 107:3. 574-592. (JSTOR)

Scott Radnitz 2010. *Weapons of the Wealthy: Predatory Regimes and Elite-Led Protests in Central Asia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Intro, chps1,6, conclusion.*

Henry Hale. "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Russia." *World Politics*, October 2004. (JSTOR)

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik. 2006. "International Diffusion and Postcommunist Electoral Revolutions, *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39 (3) (JSTOR)

Lucan Way, "The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions " *Journal of Democracy*. 19, No. 3: 55-69 (July 2008) Plus. Lucan Way "Debating the Color Revolutions: A Reply to My Critics" *Journal of Democracy*. 20, No. 1 90-97 (January 2009).

Recommended:

Lincoln Mitchell, *Uncertain Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Georgia's Rose Revolution*. 1-20, 69-79, 138-148.*

Adrian Karatnycky. "Ukraine's Orange Revolution." *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2005, 35-52. (JSTOR)

Kathleen Collins. "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from Central Asian Trajectories." *World Politics*, January 2004, 56:2, 224-261. (JSTOR)

April 22.

Topic To Be Determined. Paper Due.

Possible topics include:

- Was Reform in Russia a Success or Failure?
- Postcommnism and Globalization
- National Identity After Communism
- Violence and Postcommunism

April 29.

Postcommunism in Comparative Perspective

Sergei Guriev and Ekatarina Zhuravskaya. 2009. "Unhappiness in Transition." *Journal Of Economic Perspectives*, 23:2.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTDECINEQ/Resources/UnHappiness.pdf>

Dmitrii Trenin. "Reading Russia Right." Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief. 2005.

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=17619&prog=zru>

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman. "Russia: A Normal Country: Russia After Communism." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Winter 2005. 19:1, 151-174. (Also JSTOR).

Adam Przeworski. 1991. *Democracy and the Market* . Conclusion.

Other readings to be determined.