

**PS 533**  
**Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics**  
**Winter 2006**

Professor Frye  
2072 Derby Hall, Department of Political Science  
292-9182; frye.51@osu.edu – e-mail preferred.  
Office hours: R 1:30-2:30, or by appointment.

Attempts to build 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? They also shed insight into a fascinating region. Where are the postcommunist countries headed? To gain a better understanding of these questions, this course examines developments in Soviet and post-Soviet politics. It focuses primarily on the former Soviet Union, but a few 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.

**Lectures: T, R, 9:30- 11:18, MacQuigg Lab, 105 W. Woodruff. Avenue**

**Requirements**

Two Exams based on the readings	60%
One Research Paper	30%
Class Participation	5%
Geography Quiz:	5%

The topic for the research paper will be passed out early in the quarter. Papers will require you to compare two postcommunist countries on some dimension of economic or political reform. Late papers will lose one letter grade for each day overdue. Brevity and originality are prized. Due date to be announced in class.

The participation grade is based on discussion in class. Each day I will call on ten students at random with questions about the readings. If I call you on three times, and you are absent without a legitimate excuse, your grade will be lowered by 1/3 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. Feel free to ask how you are doing on the participation grade at any point in the quarter.

**Required Readings**

The following books should be purchased. If possible, they will also be placed on Reserve.

1. Mary Macauley. *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991*. Oxford University Press. 1992. Copies also on Reserve.
2. Thomas Remington. *Politics in Russia*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Longwell.
3. *Current History*, October 2005. Available from Current History Website. Also in the OSU Library and on reserve in the OSU Library.

**Recommended:**

Anders Aslund, *Building Capitalism. The Transformation of the Soviet Bloc*. Cambridge University Press.

\* **available through e-reserves.** If there is sufficient demand, a packet of readings will be made available. Readings too expensive to copy and unavailable electronically can be found on closed reserves in the main library.

**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 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.

**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.

**Special Needs:** Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disabilities Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs.

**Week 1.**  
January 3.

**Introduction**  
Mary Macauley, chapters 1-2.

Recommended:  
William Zinsser, *On Writing Well*. Harper and Row. 1-34. Library Reserve.

January 5.

Mary Macauley, chapters 2-4

**Week 2.**  
January 10.

**The Soviet Political System**  
Mary Macauley, chapters 5-8.

Recommended:  
David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb*.

January 12.

Steven Van Evera. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Cornell University Press, 7-27, 123-128.\*

**Week 3.**  
January 17.

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

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Consolidation*, John Hopkins University Press. 1996, pages, 36-54. (Also on closed reserve).\*

Remington, 1-46.

January 19.

**The First Russian Republic: 1990-1993 Geography quiz. In class identify selected countries and capitals.**

Michael Mcfaul. "Evaluating Yeltsin and His Revolution." *Russia After the Fall*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2002.\*

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.\*

Remington. "The Power Game in Russia." *The Russian Parliament*, Yale University Press 2003. 84-112.\* **Also Main Library Reserve.**

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

**Week 4.**

January 24.

**Institutional Choice and Elections.**

Timothy Frye. "A Politics of Institutional Choice: Presidential Power in the Postcommunist World." *Comparative Political Studies*, 1997. [my webpage] <http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/tfrye/papers.htm>

Remington. 54-85.

January 26.

Remington. 149-191.

Dan Treisman. "Why Yeltsin Won." *Foreign Affairs*. 1996. Available electronically via the library.

Gennadi Zyuganov. "What is to be Done? The Communist Economic Program and Election Platform." 141-168. *My Russia*. 1997. M. E. Sharpe.\*

Recommended:

Chrystia Freeland. *Sale of the Century*. Random House 2000. 190-223. **Main Library Reserve.**

**Week 5.**

January 31.

**The Second Russian Republic, 1993-2000**

Chrystia Freeland. *Sale of the Century*. 50-71, 72-98. Random House 2000. **Main Library Reserve**

Remington. 192-220.

Anders Aslund. "Ten Myths about the Russian Economy." *Russia After the Fall*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2002.\*

Grigory Yavlinsky. "Russia's Phony Capitalism." *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 1998. 67-79. Available electronically through the library.

Clifford Gaddy and Barry Ickes. "Russia's Virtual Economy." *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 1998. Available electronically through the library.

Highly Recommended: Vladimir Mau. "Russian Economic Reform: An Insider's View." **Main Library Reserve.**

February 2

**Exam 1.**

**Week 6.**

February 7.

**Russia and the Putin Era**

Peter Rutland. "Putin's Rise to Power." *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 2000.\*

David Remnick. "Post-Imperial Blues," *The New Yorker*, October 13, 2003.\*

Recommended: Andrew Jack, *Inside Putin's Russia*. 42-87. **Main Library Reserve.**

February 9.

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. <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=836&prog=zru> or <http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/5487-10.cfm>

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 from the library.

Recommended:

Vladimir Putin. *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia's President Vladimir Putin*. New York: Public Affairs.

**Week 7.**  
February 14.

**Putin Era revisited.**

Andrew Jack, *Inside Putin's Russia*. Oxford University Press 2004. 297-351.\*

Dmitrii Trenin. "Reading Russia Right." Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief. 2005.  
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=17619&prog=zru>

Vladimir Putin. 2000 and 2004 Addresses to the Federal Assembly.  
<http://president.kremlin.ru/eng/sdocs/speeches>

Recommended: Peter Baker and Susan Glasser, *Kremlin Rising*. Scribner.

February 16.

**Evaluating Russia's Transition**

Jan Svejnar. "Transition Economies: Perspectives and Performance." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 2002 Reserve. <http://ideas.repec.org/p/wdi/papers/2001-415.html>

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman. "Russia: A Normal Country." *Foreign Affairs*. May 2004. Available electronically via the library. (Also Google)

Stephen Rosefield. "Russia: An Abnormal Country." *European Journal of Comparative Economics*, 2005. 2:1, 3-16. (Also Google)  
<http://eaces.liuc.it/18242979200501/182429792005020101.pdf>

Marshall Goldman. "Putin and the Oligarchs." *Foreign Affairs*, 83: 6, November/December 2004, Available electronically via the Library.

Nicholas Eberstadt. "The Russian Federation at the Dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," National Bureau of Asian Research September 2004.  
<http://www.nbr.org/publications/analysis/pdf/vol15no2.pdf>

**Recommended**

Anders Aslund, "Why Has Russia's Economic Transition Been So Arduous?." Library Reserve.

Joseph Stiglitz, "Who Lost Russia?" *Globalization and its Discontents*. 2002. Library Reserve.

**Week 8**  
February 21.

**Postcommunist Comparisons: Economic Reform**

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

Joel Hellman. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform." *World Politics*, January 1998. [JSTOR] also available through the electronically via the Library.

Recommended:

Anders Aslund. *Building Capitalism: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc*. Cambridge University Press. 2001.

February 23

**Democracy in Comparative Perspective**

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

Samuel Huntington. "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" 1984.\*

Adrian Karatnycky. "Ukraine's Orange Revolution." *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2005, 35-52. Available electronically through the library.

Take a look at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/> for articles and data on democracy in the postcommunist region and across the globe.

Recommended: Freedom House: Nations in Transit, Library Reserve.

**Week 9.**

February 28.

**State-Building in Comparative Perspective**

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

Remington, 226-262.

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

March 2.

**Corruption in Comparative Perspective**

Timothy Frye and Andrei Shleifer. "The Invisible Hand and the Grabbing Hand." pp. 554-559. [My webpage].  
<http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/tyrye/papers.htm>

Timothy Frye. "The Two Faces of Russian Courts: Evidence from a Survey of Company Managers," *East European Constitutional Review*, Winter/Spring 2002. (Also google) [http://www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/vol11num1\\_2/features/frye.html](http://www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/vol11num1_2/features/frye.html)

Anti-Corruption in Transition 2. World Bank. 1-50. **Main Library Reserve. [Can be ordered from the World Bank for \$15.00].**

Recommended: Federico Varese, *The Russian Mafia*, Oxford Press. pp. 37-72. Library Reserve.

**Week 10.**

**March 7.**

**Assessing the Transformation and the Future**

*Current History*. October 2005. **Library Reserve.**  
(Can also be ordered on line).

March 9.

**Exam 2.**