

P5533 Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics

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Office hours 9-10, T,R.

Attempts to build market economies and democratic governments provide a wonderful opportunity to study some of the central issues in social science: What is the relationship between democracy and the market? How does private property emerge? Is the strengthening of the state driven by forces within society or within the state? 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 in the region and try to help students make sense of them.

Lectures: T~R~ 10:30-12:18

Lectures will provide material that is not included in the readings and attendance is required.

Reuquirements

Midterm Paper: 30%

Final Exam: 60%

Geography Quiz: 5%

Politics Quiz: 5%

The topic for the midterm paper will be passed out two weeks prior to the due-date. No late papers. Brevity and originality are prized.

About 6-8 questions for the final will be passed out two weeks prior to the final date. 3-4 questions will be selected for the final. Students will be required to write the final during the exam period. Students also will take a short geography and politics quiz during class.

Required Rcadin~

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

- 1) Richard Layard and John Parker, The Coming Russian Boom: A Guide to New Politics and Markets, (The Free Press, 1996).
- 2) Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market, (Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 3) ed. Larry Diamond, The Global Resurgence of Democracy (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- 4) ed. Larry Diamond, Economic Reform and Democracy, (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
- 5) Mary Macauley, Soviet Politics 1917-1991 (Oxford University Press, 1992).

Packets

Packets of readings that are not found in these books are available at Bricker Hall.

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 post-communist 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 choose to follow a post-communist country of Eastern Europe: Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. The latter group of countries will be discussed less frequently in the lectures, but there is more secondary literature available. Many of the lectures and readings will focus on Russia. You should be prepared to make comparisons between your chosen country and Russia.

In the mid-term paper and final you will have to compare the economic and political development of the country that you are studying with Russia. Readings that allow you to follow a particular country include:

- 1) The East European Constitutional Review.
- 2) The Freedom House Annual Human Rights Survey.
- 3) The Economist Intelligence Unit Country Surveys
- 4) The World Bank's Annual Development Report
- 5) The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development's Transition Report
- 6) The Journal of Democracy
- 7) Europe and Asia Studies
- 8) Central Asian Studies
- 9) The Journal of Baltic Studies
- 10) East European Politics and Society

Students are encouraged to subscribe to the Open Media Research institute's Daily Report. You can subscribe by sending a message to: listserv~istserv.acsu.bulbalo.edu
In the message space please type:

subscribe refl-l your first name your last name

Students should also check country web-sites for information.

Students should be familiar with the university's plagiarism policy. If you have any questions, please see me.

Background Materials

Several books on reserve will also provide information on your chosen country.

- 1) K. Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, Democratisation and Authoritarianism in Post-Communist Societies volumes 14 (Cambridge University Press, 1994)
- 2) Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, New States New Politics: Building the Post-Soviet Nations (Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 3) Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe South America and Post-Communist Europe
- 4) ed. Dave Weimer, The Credibility in the Reform Political Economy of Post-Soviet Russia: Institutional Change and the Legacy of Centrally-Planned Economies (Cambridge Press, 1997). 5) ed. Raymond Taras, Post-Communist Presidencies (Cambridge University Press, 1997)

~FilesandTimeLines.

Students should maintain a clip file of important political and economic events in their chosen country. Students should make a time line of important political and economic events in Russia and their chosen country beginning with the collapse of the Soviet central government in August 1991.

Lecture Themes

1) March 31: Introduction and Method

- 1) Layard and Parker, Chapter 1 "Is Russia Different."

2) April 2: The Soviet Political System

- 1) Mary Macauley, chapters 14.
- 2) Gabriel Almond with Laura Roselle, "Model-fitting in Communism Studies,"

4) April 7: Economics of the Soviet System

- 1) Richard Ericson, "The Classical Soviet-Type Economy," The Journal of Economic Perspectives 5:4, 1991, pp. 11-27.
- 2) Janos Kornai, The Socialist System, pp. 110-130.

3) April 9: Patterns of Distribution of the Soviet System

- 1) Mary Macauley, chapters 5-8.
- 2) Peter Hausloner, "Gorbachev's Social Contract," Soviet Economy, 3:1, 1987.

5) April 14: Failure of the System

- 1) Layard and Parker, Chapter 3.
- 2) Andrew Walder, "The Decline of Communist Power: Elements of a Theory of Institutional Change," Theory and Society 23 (1994)

6) April 16: What is a Transition? (Geography quiz)

- 1) Claus Offe, "Capitalism by Democratic Design: Democratic Theory Facing the Triple Transition," Social Research, 58:4, 1991.
- 2) Thomas Remington, "Regime Transition in Communist Systems: The Soviet Case," Soviet Economy, 2:1990, pp.160-189.

7) April 21: Strategies of Economic Reform: Shock Therapy and Gradualism

- 1) Anders Aslund, "The Case for Shock Therapy," Economic Reform and Democracy
- 2) Adam Przeworski, "The NeoLiberal Fallacy,"
- 3) Peter Murrell, "Evolutionary and Radical Approaches to Economic Reform,"
- 4) Layard and Parker, Chapter 4.

8) April 23: Democracy and Economic Reform

- 1) Barbara Geddes, "Challenging the Conventional Wisdom," Economic Reform and Democracy
- 2) Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market Chapter 4, conclusion.

9) April 28 Privatization

- 1) Joseph Blasi, Maya Kroumova, and Douglas Kruse, Kremlin Capitalism pp.13-85.

2) Simon Johnson and Heidi Kroll, "Managerial Strategies for Spontaneous Privatization," Soviet Economy 1991.

10) April 30: Economic Reform in Russia: Successes and Failures

1) Padma Desai, "After Shock Therapy," Economic Reform and Democracy

2) Paul Gregory, "Has Russia's Transition Really Been Such a Failure?" Problems of Post-Communism, 44:6, 1997 - pp.13-22.

3) The Economist: "A Survey of Russia," July 12, 1997.

4) Layard and Parker, Chapter 7.

5) Robert W. Campbell, "Evaluating Russian Economic Reform: A Review Essay," Post-Soviet Affairs 1996, 12, pp.181-193.

11) May 5: Economic Reform in the Post-Communist Countries: Successes and Failures

1) EuroDean Bank for Reconstruction & Development. Transition Report 1997, 10-46.

12) May 7: Democracy and Transition

1) Terry Lynn Karl and Phillippe Schmitter, "What Democracy Is and What it is Not..." The Global Resurgence of Democracy

2) Richard Rose, "Post-Communism and the Problem of Trust," The Global Resurgence of Democracy

3) Stephen Fish, "Russia's Fourth Transition," The Global Resurgence of Democracy

Mid-term Paper due. You will choose one of two paper topics. One will require you to examine the effect of the classic Soviet system on the process of post-communist transformation. A second will require you to compare the economic reform of Russia and your chosen country. Questions will be made available prior to class. The papers should be 5-7 pages. Be concise, coherent, and most important, make an argument.

13) May 12: Building Democracies: Consensus Model

1) S. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," The Global Resurgence of Democracy

2) Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work, Introduction. Chapter 6. (on reserve).

14) May 14: Building Democracies: Conflict Model

1) Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy," Comparative Politics, 1970.

2) Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market, Chapter 1

15) May 19: Comparing Presidencies

1) Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," The Global Resurgence of Democracy

2) Donald Horowitz, "Comparing Democratic Systems," The Global Resurgence of Democracy

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

16) May 21: Constitutions (oh.tics Quiz)

1) Stephen Holmes, "Back to the Drawing Board in Eastern Europe," East European Constitutional Review Winter 1993

2) Oleg Rumyantsev, "The Present and Future of Russian Constitutional Order" The Harriman Forum. July 1995.

3) Joel Hellman, "Constitutions and Economic Reform," Economic Reform and the Rule of Law in Russia.

17) May 26: Russian Democracy: Successes and Failures

- 1) Layard and Parker, Chapters 9,10
- 2) Peter Rutland, "Has Democracy Failed Russia," The National Interest, v.38, 1994.

18) May 28: Political Reform in the Post-Communist Countries: Successes and Failures

- 1) Phil Roeder, "Varieties of Post-Soviet Authoritarianism," Post-Soviet Affairs
- 2) Joel Heliman, "Winners Take All," World Politics, January 1998.

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19) June 2: Rule of Law and Corruption

- 1) Timothy Frye and Andrei Shleifer, "The Invisible Hand and the Grabbing Hand," American Economic Review, May 1997
- 2) Layard and Parker, - Chapter 8.

20) June 4: The Future of Markets and Democracy in the Post-Communist World

- 1) Layard and Parker, chapter 14.
- 2) TBA--- Something on The Future of Democracy Outside Russia

Part of the Final Exam will require you to compare economic and political developments in Russia with your chosen country. Part of the final will require you to define and explain the significance of important concepts from the readings and lectures.