

W4491 Post-Soviet States and Markets

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

Fall 2010
Thursday 9:00-10:50
Lectures in 413 IAB
Office Hours Tues. 1-2 & by appt.

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? 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 for undergraduates

Mid-Term Exam	20%
Final Exam During Exam Week	35%
One Research Paper due in class on December 2	35%
Class Participation	10%

Requirements for M.A. and Ph. D. Students

Mid-Term Exam	20%
One Research Paper due on or before Dec. 17 th at noon	60%
Class Participation	20%

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. For undergraduates, papers are due at the beginning of class on December 2 and for graduate students they are due during exam week. 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 three times and you are absent without a legitimate excuse, your final 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 semester.

Required Readings

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

1. Steven Van Evera. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca. Cornell University Press. 1997. ISBN. 0-8014-8457.
2. Steve Kotkin *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000*.
3. Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. 1991. ISBN 0521-42335.
4. Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*. Cambridge University Press 2010.
5. Anders Aslund. *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and Eurasia*, Cambridge University Press. 2007.
6. Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal, *Oil is Not Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Post-Soviet States*. Cambridge University Press. 2010.

Recommended:

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

Current History. October 2010. Available from Current History Website. Also in the Library.

Readings with an * available on Courseworks. JSTOR readings are available electronically via the Columbia University 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 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.
September 9

Introduction

Steven Van Evera. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Cornell University Press. All.

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

Week 2.
Sept. 16.

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).

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

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

Recommended:

Stephen Kotkin 2010. *Uncivil Society*

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

Week 3.
Sept. 23.

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 Ganev. "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)

**Week 4.
September 30.**

September 30--- missed class

**Week 5.
October 7.**

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.

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.*

Aslund, *How Capitalism Was Built*, 29-53

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 6.
October 14.**

Economic Reform: Data

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

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

Aslund, *How Capitalism Was Built*, 104-181.

Frye, *Building States and Markets*, chapters 3, 4 and 5.

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."*

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>

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)

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

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 7.
October 21.**

Democracy: Theories and Concepts

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 8.
October 28**

Democracy: Evidence

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)

Sergei Guriev and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2009. "(Un)Happiness in Transition," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Spring 2009, 23(2), 143-168 (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.

Week 9.
November 4

Mid-term Exam

Week 10
November 11

State-Building: Data

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

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

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)

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.*

Recommended:

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

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

Timothy Frye, "A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies," *Comparative Political Studies*

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 11.
November 18.**

Transition in Russia: Success or Failure

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

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>

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

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)

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>

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

Padma Desai. "Russian Retrospectives on Reforms from Yeltsin to Putin." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Winter 2005. 19:1, 87-106. Available electronically via the library. (Also JSTOR).

Michael A. McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. 2008. "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model: How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back." January/February 2008. *Foreign Affairs* (JSTOR).

Recommended: Vladimir Putin. 2000 and 2006 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

November 25 **No Class**

Week 12. **Are Natural Resources a Curse?**

December 2. Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal, *Oil is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Soviet Successor States*, Cambridge University Press, chapters 1,3, 9, 10.

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

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

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>

Recommended: TBA

Week 13. **Colored Revolutions and the Future of the Region**

December 9. Lincoln Mitchell, *Uncertain Democracy: U.S. Foreign Policy and Georgia's Rose Revolution*. 1-20, 69-79, 138-148.*

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: 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)