

Political Science 498.002
Political Economy of Russia and Eurasia
M 3:00 - 5:00 PM, Angell Hall G026 (Tisch)

Instructor: Yuri M. Zhukov, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science

Office Hours: W 2:00 PM - 4:00 PM, or by appointment. 6743 Haven Hall.

Course Description: This course offers an introduction to the political economy of Russia. We will cover three distinct periods of Russian history: (1) Tsarist, (2) Soviet, and (3) contemporary. Within each, we will explore how Russia has managed the challenges of economic development, internal security, and relations with other actors in the international system. In doing so, we will draw on literature from various disciplines, including political science, economics and history.

The course is organized into one 2-hour session per week. Class meetings will place a heavy emphasis on student discussion and activity-based learning through games, simulations and debates. In these exercises, students will draw on the history of the Russian case to explore different strategies of state-building, industrialization, policing, and market reform.

Prerequisites: This course has no formal prerequisites. Students with basic knowledge of Russian history or coursework in an introductory class on comparative politics or macroeconomics will have a slight advantage. Those who want additional background in Russian history or political economy should consult the recommended readings listed in this syllabus.

Grade Policy: Grades will be based on 3 reading responses (30%), a final paper (40%) and class participation (30%). The responses will be 1,000 words each, on any required or recommended reading assigned in a given week. The final project will be a term paper, 15-20 pp., exploring a historical counterfactual. In this project, students will select a key event in Russian history (e.g. the adoption of serfdom, the conquest of the Caucasus, the collectivization of agriculture, “shock therapy” economic reforms), and will compare the actual consequences of this event to potential outcomes in a hypothetical “parallel universe” scenario where a different course of action would have been taken (e.g. no serfdom, no conquest, no collectivization, no “shock therapy”). In selecting their counterfactual scenario, students will be expected to consider the feasibility of an alternative course of action, and the constraints facing Russian leaders at the time. A non-graded 1-2 page project proposal is due on October 27, 2014. Students will give oral presentations of their projects during the last two meetings of the course. Final projects are due by email on December 10, 2014.

Important Dates:

Paper Proposal Due	Monday, October 27
Student Presentations (part 1)	Monday, December 1
Student Presentations (part 2)	Monday, December 8
Final Papers Due	Wednesday, December 10

Class Schedule

- **Course introduction**.....Monday, Sep. 8
 - de Tocqueville, A. 2012. *Democracy in America* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund). pp. 655-56. [Section beginning with “Today there are two great peoples on earth...”]
 - Poe, M.T. 2006. *The Russian Moment in World History* (Princeton University Press, 2006).

1. Tsarist Russia Monday, Sep. 15

- **Land, Labor, and Serfdom**

- Domar, E. D. 1970. “The causes of slavery or serfdom: a hypothesis.” *The Journal of Economic History*, 30(1): pp. 18-32.
- Domar, E. D., and Machina, M. J. 1984. “On the profitability of Russian serfdom.” *The Journal of Economic History*, 44(4): pp. 919-955.
- Rudolph, R. L. 1985. “Agricultural structure and proto-industrialization in Russia: economic development with unfree labor.” *Journal of Economic History*, 45(1): pp. 47-69.
- Stanziani, A. 2008. “Serfs, slaves, or wage earners? The legal status of labour in Russia from a comparative perspective, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.” *Journal of Global History*, 3(2): pp. 183-202.

Recommended:

- Brenner, R. 1976. “Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in pre-Industrial Europe.” *Past and Present* 70: pp. 30-75.
- Polanyi, K. 2001. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2nd ed. (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001).
- Poe, M. 1998. “What Did Russians Mean When They Called Themselves ‘Slaves of the Tsar’?” *Slavic Review* 57 (3): pp. 585-608.
- Pipes, R. 2005. *Karamzin’s Memoir On Ancient And Modern Russia: A Translation And Analysis* (University of Michigan Press, 2005).

- **Imperial Expansion and an Unstable Frontier**

- Sunderland, W. 2006. *Taming the wild field: colonization and empire on the Russian steppe*. (Cornell University Press): pp. 1-35.
- Jersild, A. 2002. *Orientalism and empire: North Caucasus mountain peoples and the Georgian frontier, 1845-1917*. (McGill-Queen’s Press-MQUP): pp. 3-37.
- Gammer, M. 2003. *Muslim resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan*. (Taylor and Francis): 1-26.

Recommended:

- Baddeley, J. F. 1908. *The Russian conquest of the Caucasus*. (Psychology Press).

2. Russian Revolution Monday, Sep. 22

• *The Seeds of Revolution*

- Geifman, A. 1995. *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia; 1894-1917*. (Princeton University Press): Chapter 1.
- Pipes, R. 1994. “Did the Russian Revolution Have to Happen?” *American Scholar* 63 (2): 215-238.

Recommended:

- Pipes, R. 1960. “Russian Marxism and Its Populist Background: The Late Nineteenth Century.” *Russian Review*, 19(4): pp. 316-337.
- Skocpol, T. 1976. “France, Russia, China: A structural analysis of social revolutions.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 18(2): pp. 175-210.
- Lenin, V.I. “What is to Be Done?”, *Lenin: Collected Works*, vol. 5: pp. 375-76, 451-53, 464-67.
- Suny, R. 1983. “Toward a Social History of the October Revolution,” *American Historical Review* 88: pp. 31-52.

• *Building Communism*

- Bandera, V. N. 1963. “The New Economic Policy (NEP) as an Economic System.” *The Journal of Political Economy*, 71(3): pp. 265-279.
- Allen, R. C. 2003. *From Farm to Factory: A Reinterpretation of the Soviet Industrial Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 2-5.

Recommended:

- Gregory, P.R., and Tikhonov, A. 2000. “Central Planning and Unintended Consequences: Creating the Soviet Financial System, 1930-1939.” *Journal of Economic History* 60 (4): pp. 1017-1040.
- Day, R. B. 1975. “Preobrazhensky and the theory of the transition period.” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 27(2): pp. 196-219.
- Johnson, S., and Temin, P. 1993. “The macroeconomics of NEP.” *The Economic History Review*, 46(4): pp. 750-767.

3.a Stalin, week 1 Monday, Sep. 29

• *Collectivized Agriculture and Industrialization*

- Millar, J. R. 1974. “Mass collectivization and the contribution of Soviet agriculture to the First Five-Year Plan: A review article.” *Slavic Review*, 33(4): pp. 750-766.
- Snyder, T. 2012. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. (Basic Books): pp. 21-58.

Recommended:

- Rosefielde, S. 1983. “Excess mortality in the Soviet Union: A reconsideration of the demographic consequences of forced industrialization 1929-1949.” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 35(3): pp. 385-409.
- Hirschman, A. O. 1992. “Industrialization and its manifold discontents: West, East and South.” *World Development*, 20(9): pp. 1225-1232.
- Kotkin, S. 1995. *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization*. (Berkeley: University of California Press): pp. 72-105.

3.b Stalin, week 2 Monday, Oct. 6

- ***Great Terror***

- Snyder, T. 2012. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. (Basic Books): pp. 59-118.
- Gregory, P. R., Schröder, P. J., and Sonin, K. 2011. “Rational dictators and the killing of innocents: Data from Stalins archives.” *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 39(1): pp. 34-42.

Recommended:

- Lskavyan, V. 2007. “A Rational Choice Explanation For Stalin’s ‘Great Terror’.” *Economics and Politics*, 19(2): pp. 259-287.

4. Soviet Union at War Monday, Oct. 20

- ***The Great Patriotic War***

- Overy, R. 1997. *Russias War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941-1945* (New York: Penguin, 1997): pp. 34-72.
- Snyder, T. 2012. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. (Basic Books): pp. 125-244.

Recommended:

- Overy, R. 1997. *Russia’s War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941-1945* (New York: Penguin, 1997): pp. 73-222.

- ***Domestic Uprisings***

- Statiev, A. 2010. *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): Chapters 1-3.
- Zhukov, Y.M. 2014. “Population Resettlement in War: Theory and Evidence from Soviet Archives.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (forthcoming).

Recommended:

- Darden, K., and Grzymala-Busse, A. 2006. “The great divide: literacy, nationalism, and the communist collapse.” *World Politics* 59, no. 1: 83-115.

- Burds, J. 1997. “AGENTURA: Soviet Informants’ Networks & the Ukrainian Rebel Underground in Galicia, 1944-1948,” *East European Politics and Societies* 11, no. 1 (Winter): 89-130.

5. USSR as Global Superpower Monday, Oct. 27

• *The Cold War*

- Mastny, V. 1998. *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years*. (Oxford University Press): pp. 3-29.
- Kennan, G. F. 1947. “The sources of Soviet conduct.” *Foreign Affairs*.
- Gaddis, J. L. 1986. “The long peace: Elements of stability in the postwar international system.” *International Security*, 10(4): pp. 99-142.

Recommended:

- Gaddis, J. L. 2005. *Strategies of containment: a critical appraisal of American national security policy during the Cold War*. (Oxford University Press).
- Odom, W. E. 2000. *The collapse of the Soviet military*. (Yale University Press): pp. 1-15.

• *Project Proposals Due*

6. The Soviet Collapse Monday, Nov. 3

• *Perestroika*

- Bunce, V. 1993. “Domestic Reform and International Change: Gorbachev in Historical Perspective,” *International Organization* 47: pp. 107-138.
- Fish, M.S. 2005. “The Hazards of Half-Measures: Perestroika and the Failure of Post-Soviet Democratization,” *Demokratizatsiya* 13 (2): pp. 241-53.

Recommended:

- Holloway, D. 1989. “Gorbachev’s New Thinking.” *Foreign Affairs* 68 (1): pp. 66-81.
- Goldman, M. 1992. “What went wrong with Perestroika.” (WW Norton and Company).
- Boettke, P. J. 2002. “Why perestroika failed.” (Routledge).

• *Nationalism, Revolution and Collapse*

- Kuran, T. 1991. “Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European revolution of 1989.” *World Politics* 44: pp. 7-48.
- Beissinger, M.R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002): Ch. 2.

Recommended:

- Petersen, R. D. 2001. *Resistance and rebellion: lessons from Eastern Europe*. (Cambridge University Press).

- Martin, T. D. 2001. *The affirmative action empire: nations and nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. (Cornell University Press).

7. The Transition Years Monday, Nov. 10

• *Liberalization, Privatization and Capitalism*

- Guriev, S. and Rachinsky, A. 2005. “The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism,” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19 (1): pp. 131-150.
- Markus, S. 2012. “Secure Property as a Bottom-Up Process: Firms, Stakeholders, and Predators in Weak States,” *World Politics* 64: pp. 242-277.

Recommended:

- Sachs, J. D. 1992. “Privatization in Russia: some lessons from Eastern Europe.” *The American Economic Review*, 82(2): pp. 43-48.
- Frye, T. 2006. “Original Sin, Good Works, and Property Rights in Russia.” *World Politics* 58 (4).
- Kopstein, J.S., and Reilly, D.A. 2000. “Geographic diffusion and the transformation of the postcommunist world.” *World Politics* 53, no. 1: 1-37.
- McFaul, M. 1995. “State power, institutional change, and the politics of privatization in Russia.” *World Politics*, 47(2): pp. 210-243.
- Shleifer, A. and Treisman, D. 200. *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).
- Hoffman, D. E. 2008. *Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia*. (PublicAffairs Store).

• *The Politics of Transition*

- Frye, T. 1997. “A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies.” *Comparative Political Studies* 30 (5).
- Carothers, T. 2002. “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *Journal of Democracy* 13: pp. 5-21.

Recommended:

- Remington, T. and Smith, S.S. 1996. “Political Goals, Institutional Context and the Choice of an Electoral System.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 40: pp. 1253-1279.
- McFaul, M. 2001. “Explaining Party Formation and Non-Formation in Russia.” *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (10).
- Colton, T.J. 2008. *Yeltsin: A Life* (Basic Books, 2008).
- Easter, G. 1997. “Preference for Presidentialism: Postcommunist Regime Change and the NIS,” *World Politics* 49: pp. 184-211.

8. Putin Monday, Nov. 17

• ***The End of Transition***

- McFaul, M. 2002. “The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World,” *World Politics* 54 (2): pp. 212-244.
- Colton, T.J. and Hale, H.E. 2009. “The Putin Vote: Presidential Electorates in a Hybrid Regime,” *Slavic Review* 68 (Fall 2009): pp. 473-503.

Recommended:

- Lieven, A. 2005. “The Essential Vladimir Putin.” *Foreign Policy* 146: pp. 72-3.
- Shleifer, A. and Treisman, D. 2004. “A Normal Country,” *Foreign Affairs* 83 (2).
- Gel’man, V. and Lankina, T. 2008. “Authoritarian versus Democratic Diffusions: Explaining Institutional Choices in Russia’s Local Government,” *Post Soviet Affairs* 24 (1): pp. 40-62.
- Kryshatanovskaya, O. and White, S. 2009. “The Sovietization of Russian Politics,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 25: 283-309.
- Hale, H.E. 2010. “Eurasian Politics as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin’s Russia,” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1: 33-41.
- Easter, G. 2008. “The Russian State in the Time of Putin.” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 24 (3): pp.199-230.

• ***Energy and Natural Resources***

- Volkov, V. 2008. “Standard Oil and Yukos in the Context of Early Capitalism in the United States and Russia,” *Demokratizatsiya* 16 (3): pp. 240-264.
- Goldman, M.I. 2008. *Petrostate: Putin, Power and the New Russia*. (Oxford University Press, 2008): Chapters 6-7.

Recommended:

- Aslund, A. 2009. “Reform versus ‘Rent-Seeking’ in Russia’s Economic Transformation.” *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, 8.
- Ross, M. L. 1999. “The political economy of the resource curse.” *World Politics*, 51: 297-322.

9. Foreign and Security Policy under Putin..... Monday, Nov. 24

• ***Foreign Relations***

- John Mearsheimer, “Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West’s Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2014).
- Beissinger, M.R. 2007. “Structure and example in modular political phenomena: The diffusion of bulldozer/rose/orange/tulip revolutions.” *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(2): 259.

Recommended:

- Mankoff, J. 2009. *Russian foreign policy: the return of great power politics*. (Rowman and Littlefield).

- Horvath, R. “Putin’s ‘Preventive Counter-Revolution’: Post-Soviet Authoritarianism and the Spectre of Velvet Revolution,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 53 (1): pp. 1-25.
- Antonenko, O. 2008. “A war with no winners.” *Survival*, 50(5): pp. 23-36.
- Welt, C. 2010. “The thawing of a frozen conflict: the internal security dilemma and the 2004 prelude to the Russo-Georgian War.” *Europe-Asia Studies*, 62(1): pp. 63-97.
- Rumer, E. B. 2007. *Russian foreign policy beyond Putin*. (Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies).

• **Insurgency and Terrorism**

- Kramer, M. 2006. “The perils of counterinsurgency: Russia’s war in Chechnya.” *International Security* 29 (3): pp. 5-63.
- Lyall, J. 2010. “Are coethnics more effective counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War.” *American Political Science Review*, 104(1): pp. 1-20.

Recommended:

- Hill, F. 2013. “The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad: Mistaking Syria for Chechnya,” *Foreign Affairs* (March 25, 2013).
- Zhukov, Y.M. 2014. “Rust Belt Rising: The Economics Behind Eastern Ukraine’s Upheaval,” *Foreign Affairs* (June 11, 2014).
- Kuchins, A., Malarkey, M. and Markedonov, S. 2011. *The North Caucasus: Russia’s Volatile Frontier* (Center for Strategic and International Studies, March 2011).
- Hale, H.E. 2005. “Making and Breaking Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell,” *Perspectives on Politics* 3: 55-70.

10. Russia’s Current Path.....Monday, Dec. 1

• **After Putin**

- Way, L.A. 2005. “Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitive-ness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine,” *World Politics* 57 (1): pp. 231-261.
- Hale, H. 2011. “The Myth of Mass Russian Support for Autocracy: The Public Opinion Foundations of a Hybrid Regime,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (8).

Recommended:

- Faith, R. “Fifth Generation Warfare: Taste the Color Revolution Rainbow.” *Vice News* (June 6, 2014).
- Gaddy, C. G., and Ickes, B. W. 2010. “Russia after the global financial crisis.” *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 51(3): pp. 281-311.
- McFaul, M. and Stoner-Weiss, K. 2008. “The Myth of the Authoritarian Model,” *Foreign Affairs* 87 (1).

• **Student Presentations I**

11. Final Meeting.....Monday, Dec. 8

• **Student Presentations II**