

Political Science 000
Political Economy of Russia
MWF 0:00 - 0:00 PM, Room: TBD

Instructor: Yuri M. Zhukov, GCIS E-207, Phone: 617-495-0989

Office Hours: 0:00-0:00 AM, TTh and by appointment.

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 two 50-minute lectures and one 50-minute discussion section per week. The sections will place a heavy emphasis on activity-based learning through student participation in 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 a midterm exam (20%), a final exam (30%), a final project (40%), and class participation (10%). 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.

Important Dates:

Drop Deadline	Month Day
Add Deadline	Month Day
Paper Proposal Due	Month Day
Midterm	Month Day
Paper Deadline	Month Day
Final Exam	Month Day

Class Schedule

- **Course introduction** Day, Month, Year
 - de Tocqueville, A. 1945. *Democracy in America*. New York, Vintage Books. Vol. 1, p. 451. [Section beginning with “There are at the present time two great nations...”]
 - Poe, M.T. 2006. *The Russian Moment in World History* (Princeton University Press, 2006).

1. Tsarist Russia

- **Land, Labor, and Serfdom** Day, Month, Year
 - 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** Day, Month, Year
 - 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).

- Gammer, M. 2003. *Muslim resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan*. (Taylor and Francis).

• ***The Seeds of Revolution*** Day, Month, Year

- Geifman, A. 1995. *Thou Shalt Kill: Revolutionary Terrorism in Russia; 1894-1917*. (Princeton University Press): Chapter 1.
- Pipes, R. 1960. “Russian Marxism and Its Populist Background: The Late Nineteenth Century.” *Russian Review*, 19(4): pp. 316-337.
- Pipes, R. 1994. “Did the Russian Revolution Have to Happen?” *American Scholar* 63 (2): 215-238.
- Skocpol, T. 1976. “France, Russia, China: A structural analysis of social revolutions.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 18(2): pp. 175-210.

Recommended:

- 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.

2. Soviet Russia

• ***Building Communism*** Day, Month, Year

- 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 2-75.
- 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.

Recommended:

- 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.

• ***Collectivized Agriculture and Industrialization*** Day, Month, Year

- 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.
- Rosefelde, 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.

- Snyder, T. 2012. *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. (Basic Books): pp. 21-58.

Recommended:

- 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.

● ***Stalin’s Terror*** Day, Month, Year

- 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.

● ***The Great Patriotic War*** Day, Month, Year

- 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. *Russias War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941-1945* (New York: Penguin, 1997): pp. 73-222.

● ***The Cold War*** Day, Month, Year

- 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.

- **Perestroika** Day, Month, Year
 - Holloway, D. 1989. “Gorbachev’s New Thinking.” *Foreign Affairs* 68 (1): pp. 66-81.
 - 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:

- Goldman, M. 1992. “What went wrong with Perestroika.” (WW Norton and Company).
- Boettke, P. J. 2002. “Why perestroika failed.” (Routledge).

- **Nationalism, Revolution and Collapse** Day, Month, Year
 - 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).

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).

3. Contemporary Russia

- **Liberalization, Privatization and Capitalism** Day, Month, Year
 - Sachs, J. D. 1992. “Privatization in Russia: some lessons from Eastern Europe.” *The American Economic Review*, 82(2): pp. 43-48.
 - Guriev, S. and Rachinsky, A. 2005. “The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism,” *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19 (1): pp. 131-150.
 - Frye, T. 2006. “Original Sin, Good Works, and Property Rights in Russia.” *World Politics* 58 (4).
 - Markus, S. 2012. “Secure Property as a Bottom-Up Process: Firms, Stakeholders, and Predators in Weak States,” *World Politics* 64: pp. 242-277.

Recommended:

- 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*** Day, Month, Year

- Frye, T. 1997. “A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies.” *Comparative Political Studies* 30 (5).
- 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. “Explaining Party Formation and Non-Formation in Russia.” *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (10).
- Carothers, T. 2002. “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *Journal of Democracy* 13: pp. 5-21.

Recommended:

- 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.

● ***Putin’s Reassertion of the Russian State*** Day, Month, Year

- Lieven, A. 2005. “The Essential Vladimir Putin.” *Foreign Policy* 146: pp. 72-3.
- 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:

- Shleifer, A. and Treisman, D. 2004. “A Normal Country,” *Foreign Affairs* 83 (2).
- Gelman, 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.
- Kryshchanovskaya, 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*** Day, Month, Year

- Aslund, A. 2009. “Reform versus ‘Rent-Seeking’ in Russia’s Economic Transformation.” *Voprosy Ekonomiki*, 8.
- 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:

- Ross, M. L. 1999. “The political economy of the resource curse.” *World Politics*, 51: 297-322.

• ***Russian Foreign and Security Policy under Putin*** Day, Month, Year

- Rumer, E. B. 2007. *Russian foreign policy beyond Putin*. (Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies).
- Mankoff, J. 2009. *Russian foreign policy: the return of great power politics*. (Rowman and Littlefield).
- 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:

- 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.

• ***Insurgency and Terrorism*** Day, Month, Year

- 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.
- Hill, F. 2013. “The Real Reason Putin Supports Assad: Mistaking Syria for Chechnya,” *Foreign Affairs* (March 25, 2013).

Recommended:

- 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.

• ***After Putin*** Day, Month, Year

- Gaddy, C. G., and Ickes, B. W. 2010. “Russia after the global financial crisis.” *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 51(3): pp. 281-311.
- Way, L.A. 2005. “Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness 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:

- McFaul, M. and Stoner-Weiss, K. 2008. “The Myth of the Authoritarian Model,” *Foreign Affairs* 87 (1).

4. Conclusion

- *Student Presentations I*Day, Month, Year
- *Student Presentations II*Day, Month, Year