







Announcements

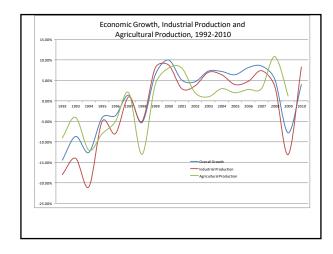
- First exam on Wednesday (first half of the hour).
 - Essay format
 - Bring an exam booklet (5% penalty without).
 - Study guide has been posted.

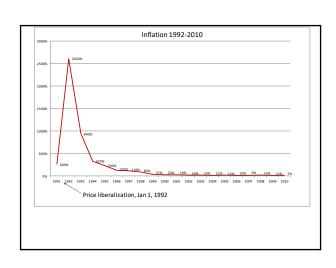


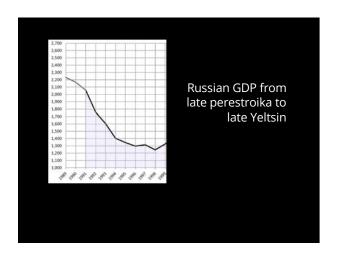
Economic Transition: Agenda

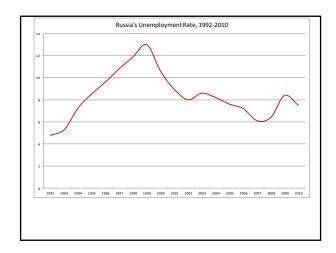
- Communism
 - Public property
 - State ownership of businesses
 - Central planning
 - Controlled wages and prices
 - Autarky
 - Basic goods provision

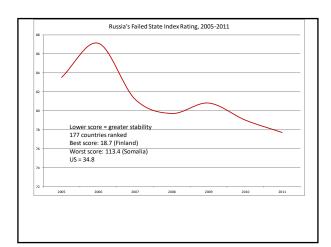
- Post-communism
 - Private property
 - Private enterprise
 - Market determination of production, wages and prices
 - Trade and investment
 - Basic goods split between state and market











1990s: The Identity Transition Identity transition: building communism to... what? What should Russia stand for? What should its future be? Is Russia a multicultural state? Or an ethnic state? Nativist sentiment→



1990s Public Opinion

- 1996: Did you gain, lose or stay even in the transition?
 - Gained: 14%
 - Stayed even: 29%
 - Lost: 47%
 - Don't know: 10%

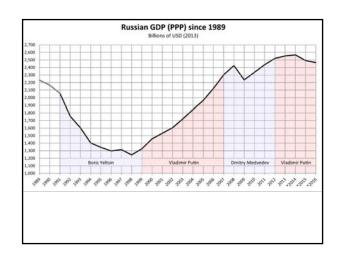
1990s Public Opinion

	1991	1996
The government should provide a job for everyone who wants one.	95.9	94.6
The government should guarantee everyone a minimum standard of living.	88.0	93.1
The government should place an upper limit on the amount of money anyone person can make.	34.2	42.6

Snapshot at the end of the 1990s

- Economic decline.
- · Social dislocation and anomie.
- Declining quality of political leadership.
- Near disintegration: separatism and autonomy.
- Nuclear deterrent strong, military morale and organization weak.
- Diminished role in world politics (except UN veto).





1990s vs 2000-10s

1990s

- Political and economic transition
- · Economic decline
- Decentralization, separatism
- Oligarchs



Beggars were not seen in the streets until the post-communist transition.

Two Examples of "Tamed" Oligarchs

Boris Berezovsky



Mikhail Khodorkovsy



1990s vs 2000s+

1990s

- Political and economic transition
- · Economic decline
- Decentralization, separatism
- Oligarchs
- Organized crime
- Free/fair elections
- Social anomie
- · Weak internationally



Keeping warm in a poorly heated apartment

1990s vs 2000-10s

1990s

- Political and economic transition
- Economic decline
- Decentralization, separatism
- Oligarchs
- Organized crime
- Free/fair elections
- Social anomie
- · Weak internationally

2000-10s

- Political stabilization
- · Economic growth
- Re-centralization
- De-democratization
- Oligarchs tamed; crime down
- Electoral fraud
- Optimism
- Reemergence as regional, perhaps global power

Putinism

- · Centralization (retraction of federalism).
- · Weakening of democratic institutions.
 - High threshold for duma elections.
 - Elimination of election of governors (then reintroduction, elimination again, now partial reintroduction).
- Continuing weak party system with obstacles to party formation.

Putinism

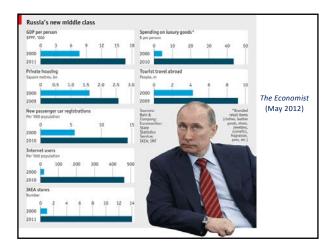
- · State influence over media.
 - State-owned channels.
 - Channels owned by corporate interests close to the state.
- "War" against oligarchs.

Effects of Putinism

- Less danger of "state capture."
- Significantly less danger of disintegration (separatism).
- · Economic stabilization.
 - some credit goes to Yeltsin to: 1990s reforms finally show results in 2000s.
- · Control over inflation.

Effects of Putinism

- Near complete marketization of economy.
 - much accomplished under Yeltsin.
 - still, some state penetration (see Shiraev).
- Reduction in crime.
- Endemic corruption (especially state contracts).
- · Campaign against opponents.
- · Election rigging.









Overwhelming Majority of Russians Say Breakup of USSR Was Bad for Russia Do you think the dissolution of the Soviet Union was a good thing or bad thing for Russia?

Cook thing Don't Russia? Cook thing 17% Don't Ead know 14% G9%

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q34. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Why?

- Some miss Russia as a great power.
- Some miss the harmonious relations
- among former Soviet republics.
 Some fear/resent American hegemony.
- Some miss communism (mostly elderly) [conflating USSR with communism].
- Some miss job security and basic goods.
- Some regret the pain of transition.
- Some view today's inequality as too great a cost.
- Some oppose liberal values (usually women's or LBGT rights).