EXPERIMENT AFTER EXPERIMENT

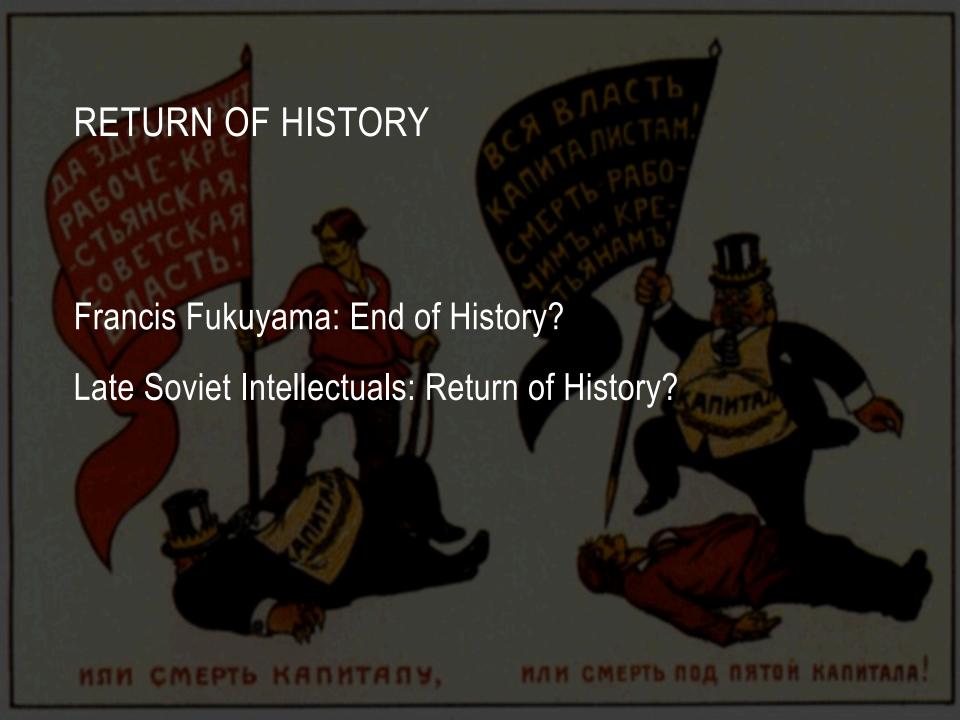
RETURN OF CAPITALISM INTO THE POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES

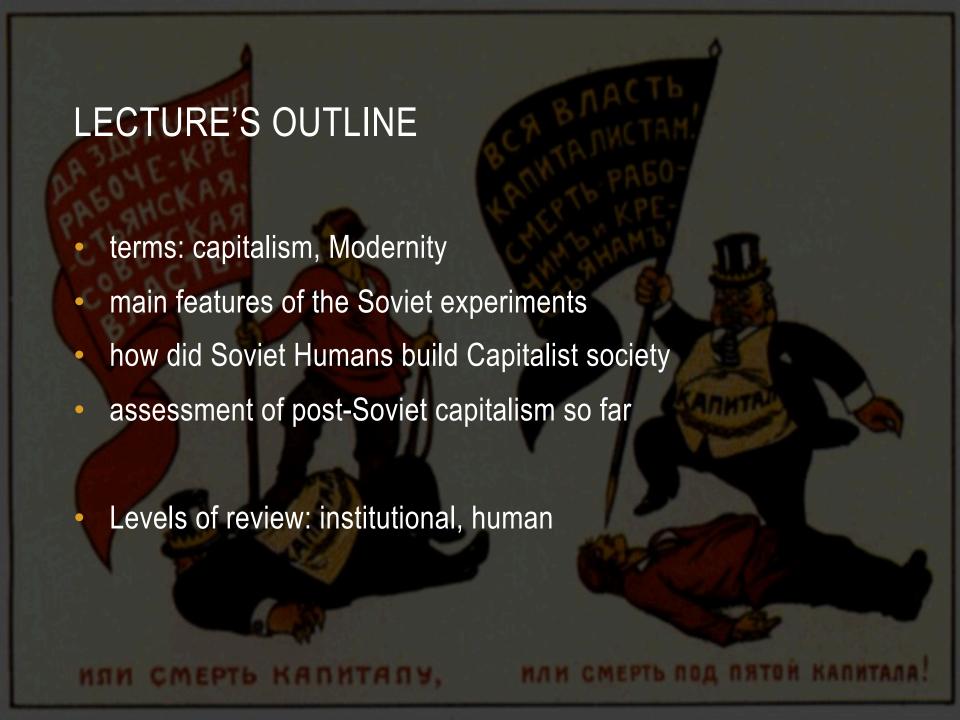
Mykhailo Minakov

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Department of Political Science, University of Puerto Rico

February 5, 2013



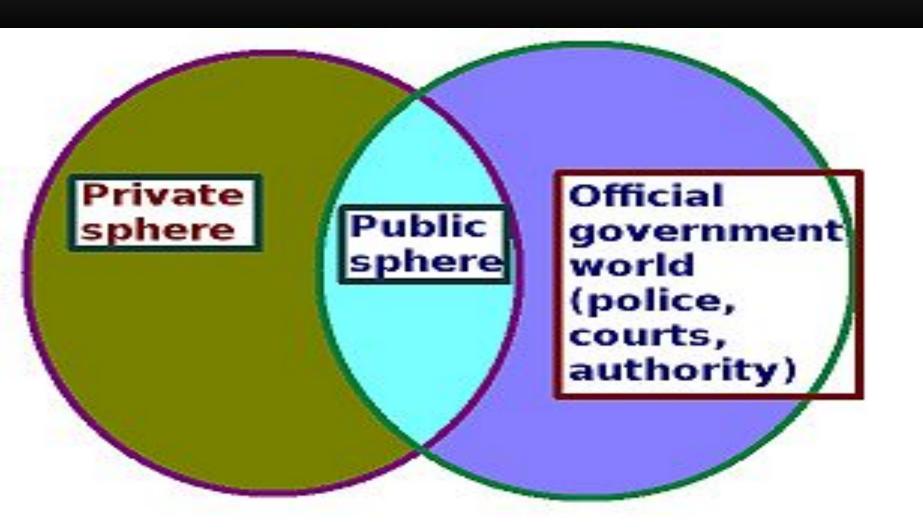


TERMS: CAPITALISM

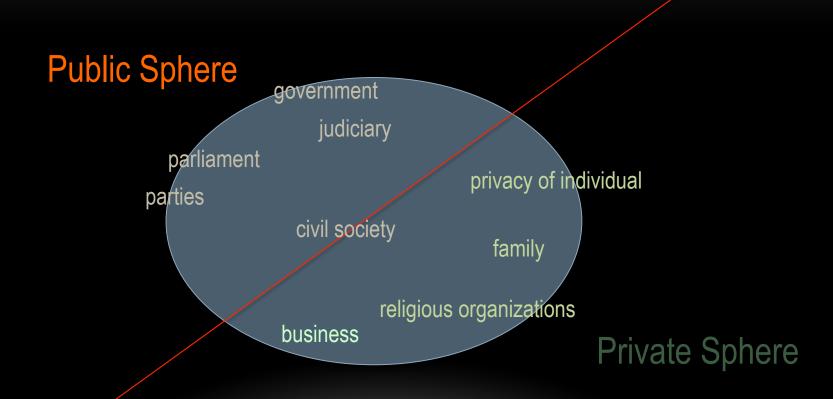
Capitalism is an economic system that is based on private ownership of capital goods and the means of production, and the creation of goods and services for profit

- institutional set up:
 - private property and free market
 - political regime supporting the two above
- humans having capacity to make these institutes working
- Modernity: constitutional order of public and private dichotomy

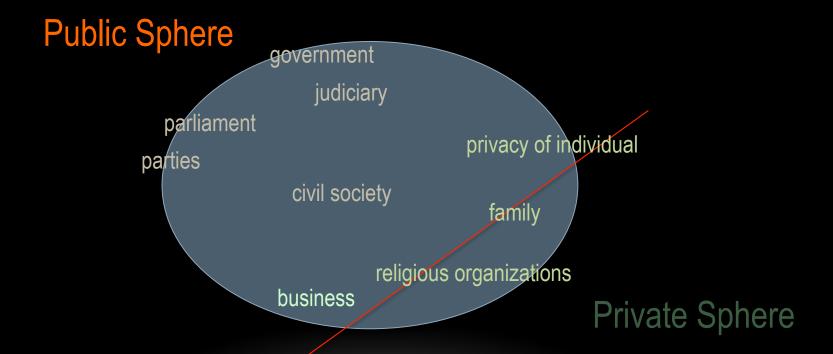
TERMS: CAPITALISM AND MODERNITY



TERMS: MODERNITY

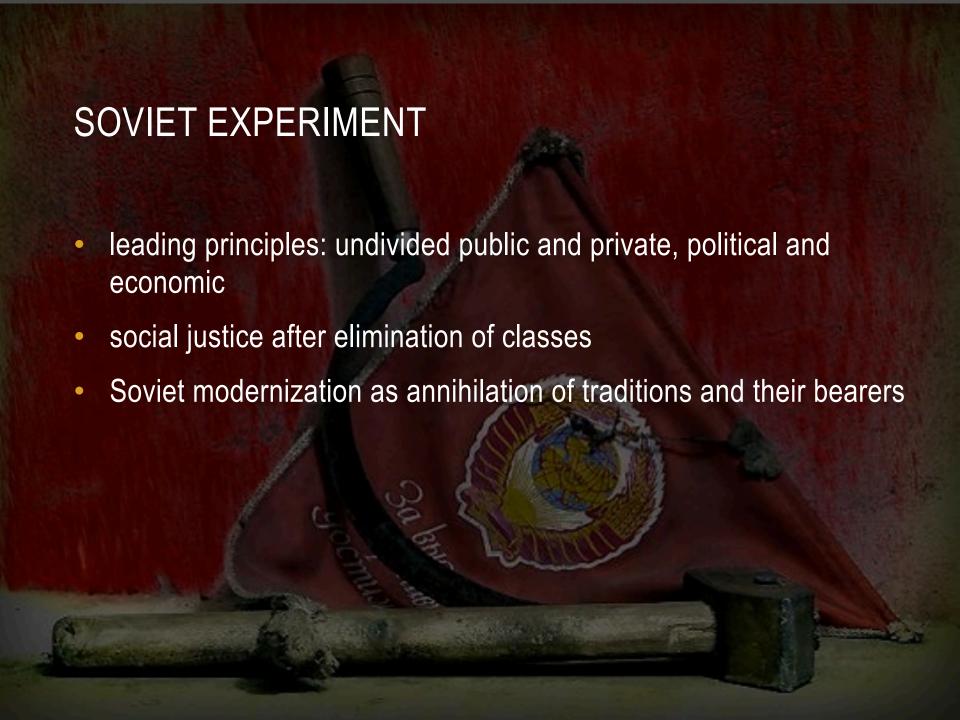


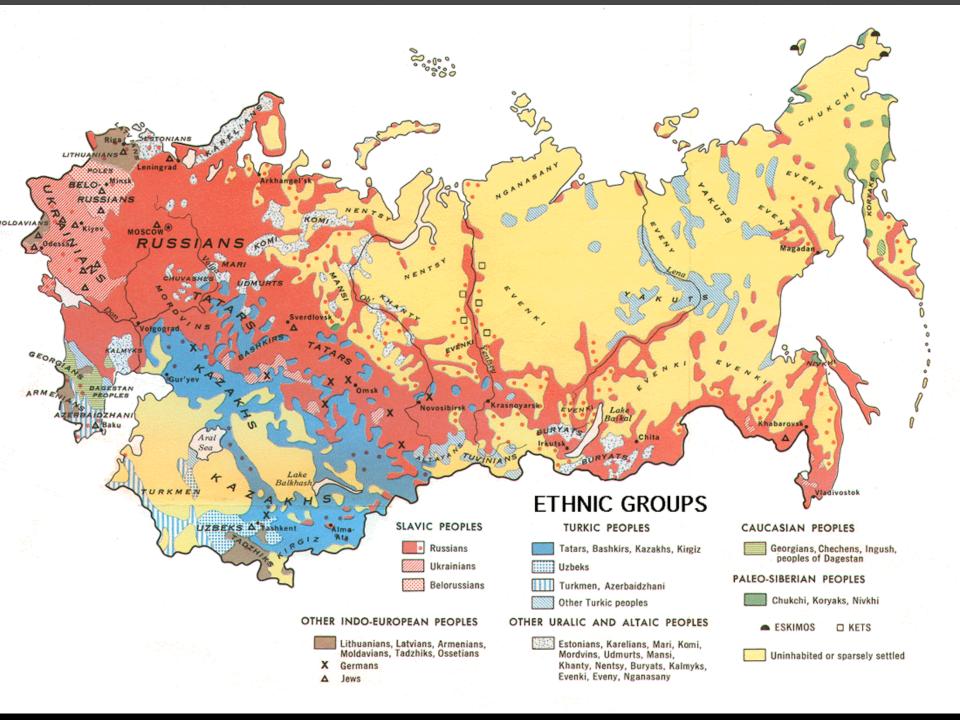
TERMS: DEVIANT MODERNITY



TERMS: MODERNITY







SOVIET DEMOCIDE COMPONENTS AND WAR/REBELLION KILLED 1917-1987

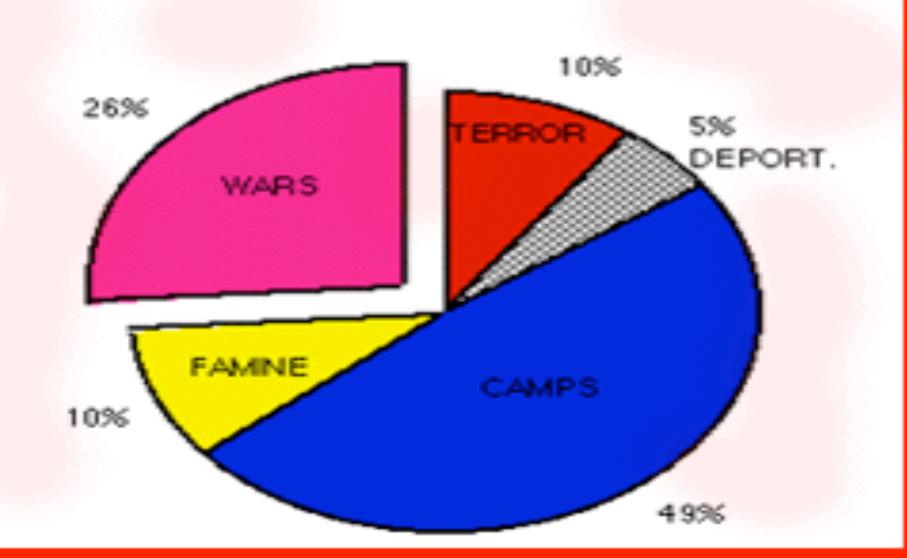
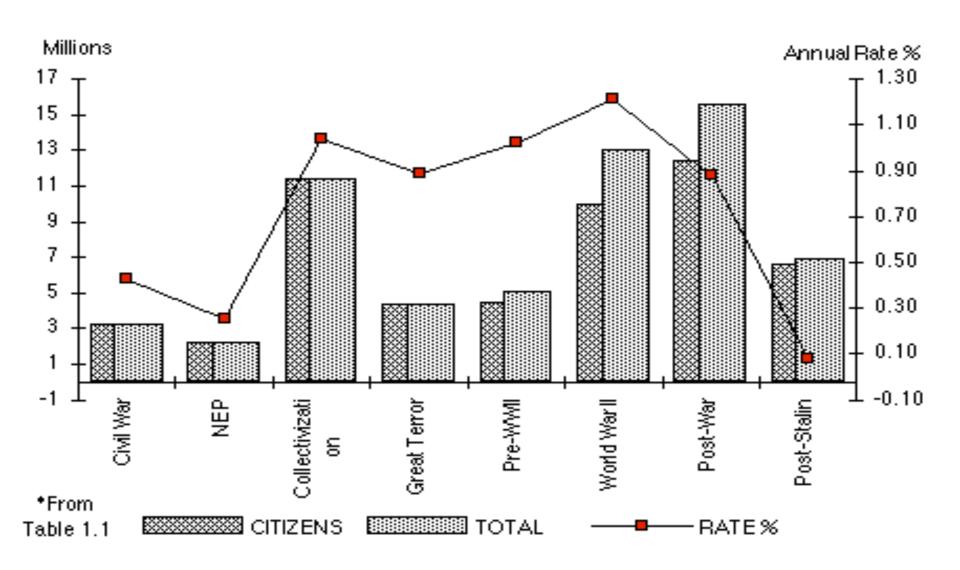


FIGURE 1.4 SOUIET DEMOCIDE AND ANNUAL RATE BY PERIOD*



SOVIET EXPERIMENT

- institutions:
 - totalitarian institutional set-up (since 1930ies)
 - public property with some sector of personal property: no privacy
 - dominance of un-codified rules
 - nomenclatura and one party-system
- humans:
 - class identity vs ethnic identity (final solution of nationality question)
 - educated obedience, ideology and cynicism
 - doublethink: personal morality vs public indifference

SOVIET EXPERIMENT: ECONOMY

- economy of non-owners: nationalization of means of production
- command economy: centralized bureaucratic allocation replaced market allocation
- prescribed prices and deficient goods distribution
- strange money: hierarchy of currencies
- work as duty and resource terror
- investment in human capital
- autarchy of economic systems

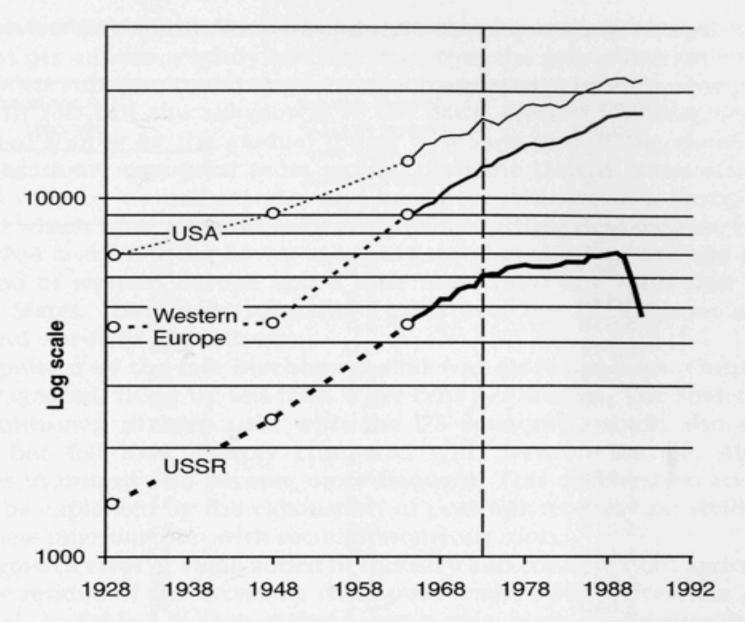
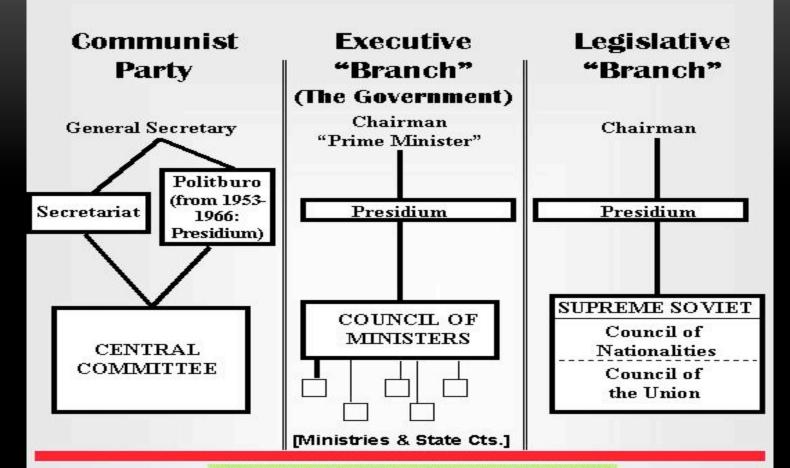


Figure 3.2 GDP per head of the United States, western Europe, and the USSR: 1928, 1948 and 1964–92 (US dollars and 1990 prices, on a logarithmic scale)

Source: as Table 3.3. On GDP see the note to Table 3.1. The vertical dotted line shows 1973.



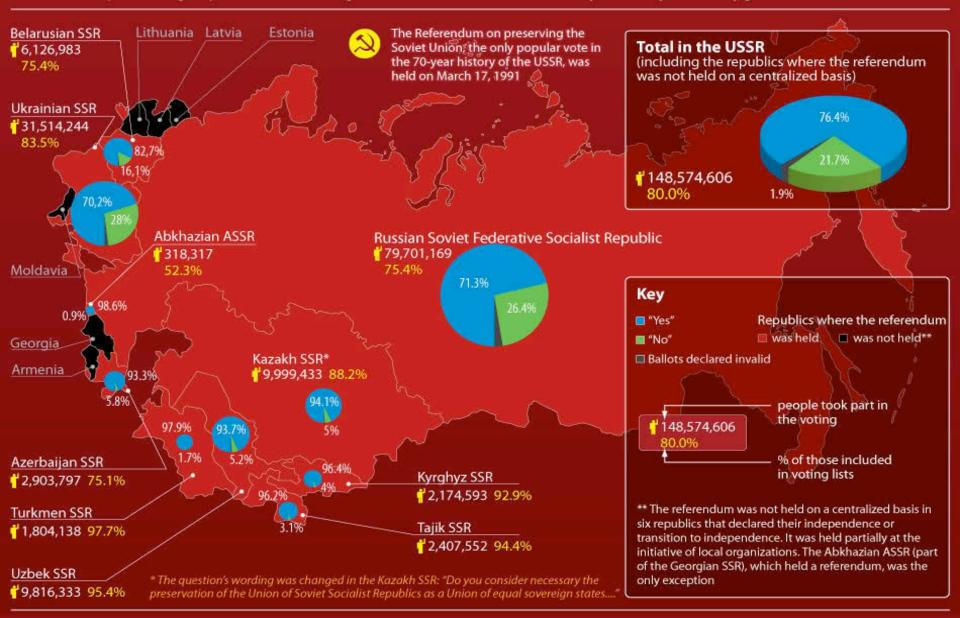
TIES AMONG THESE BODIES

- The Party Politburo included the chairmen of the Presidiums of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet, as well as high government officials, such as the head of the planning agency or the KGB or the Defense Minister.
- Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee could not serve in the Council of Ministers, but they, like most top officials, got elected into the Supreme Soviet.
- 3) Some secretaries, but not all, were members of the Politburo.
- 4) Most ministers and chairmen of state committees were in the CPSU Central Committee, which was designed to include top leaders from all fields.



Referendum on the preservation of the USSR

The voters were asked the following question: "Do you consider necessary the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal sovereign republics in which the rights and freedom of an individual of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?"



RIANOVOSTI © 2011

RESULT: PASSIVE CITIZENS DID NOT STAND UP TO DEFEND THE UNION IN 1991

THE POST-SOVIET EXPERIMENTS 'LIBERAL' REVOLUTIONARIES

- return to Europe
- build 'normal society'
- transform state and economy into 'Western' ones

EXPERIMENT AFTER EXPERIMENT'S DIMENSIONS:

- quest for new grounds of legitimacy: reference to first half of XX century realties in spite of huge cultural changes of XX century
- quest for plenty and stability: privatization in societies where entrepreneurship was a criminal activity
- quest for optimal government: democratization without institutional support

NEW EXPERIMENTS AND PARTING WAYS

- Russia: moderate democratic and radical economic reforms
- the Baltic countries: radical democratic and economic reforms
- Belarus: Soviet regime reestablished
- Ukraine and Moldova: national-communist rule
- Caucasus: ethnic wars followed by façade-democratic regimes
- Central Asia: national communists lead re-feudalization/ tribalization

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

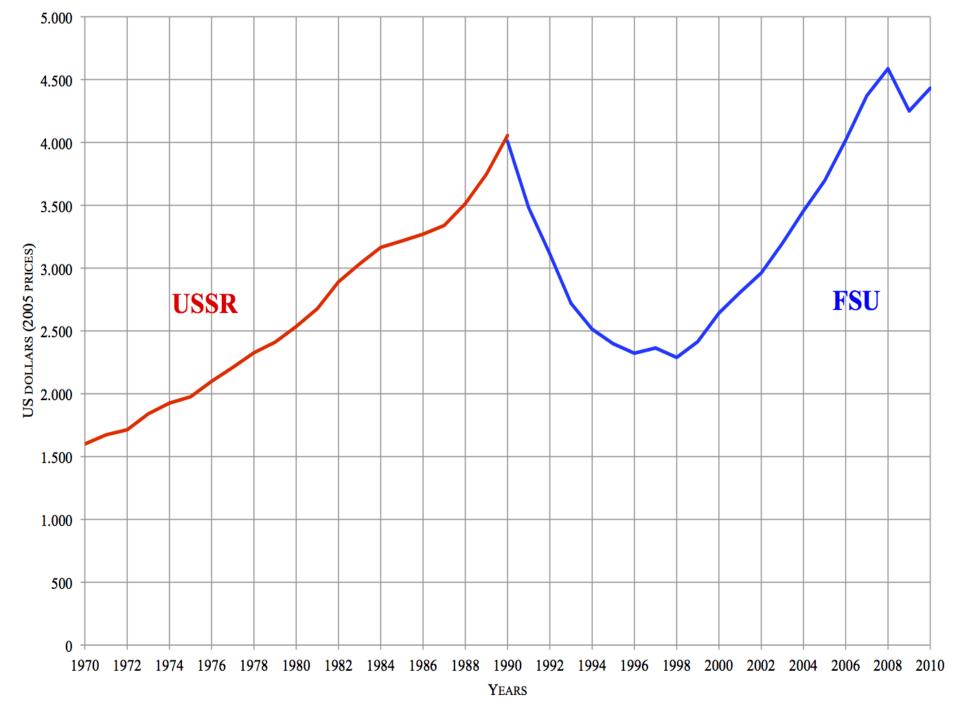
- creation of private owners
- opening economies
- national statehood
- political pluralism and competition

POST-SOVIET HYBRID INSTITUTIONS

- creation of private owners : oligarchy
- open economies : export oriented economies
- national statehood : state-led invention of identities
- political competition : parties as business or fan-organizations

ECONOMIC 'NORMALIZATION'

- Governmental strategies:
 - deregulated prices, prohibited subsidies and eliminated monopolies
 - hyperinflation to be put under control of MinFin and independent CentroBank
 - looking for owners of the public enterprises: large-scale privatization
- Rent seekers' strategies:
 - making money on transitional market distortions
 - control over government
- Population's strategy:
 - survival in chaos, private entrepreneurs without skills
 - new clientele networks



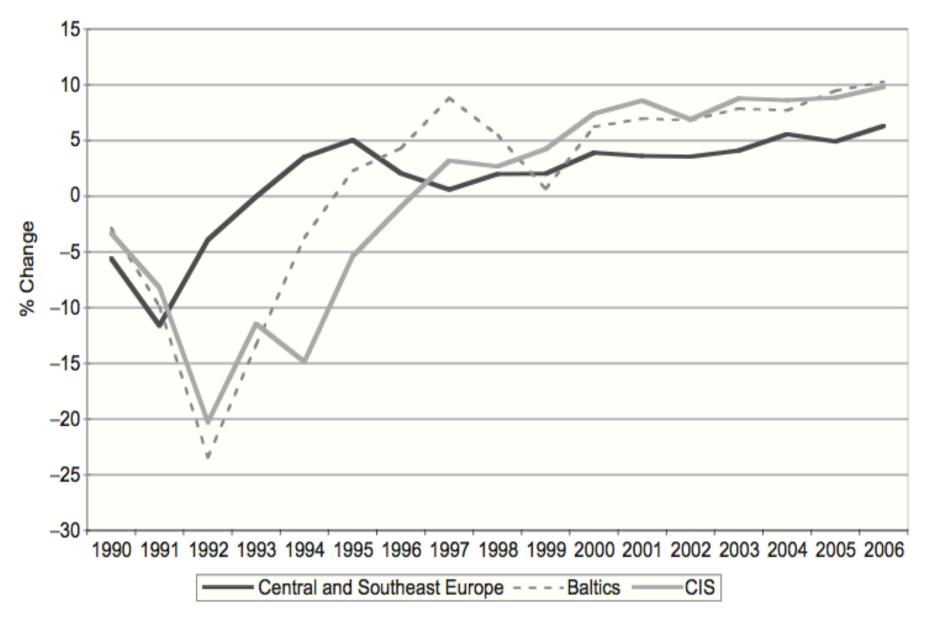


Figure 3.1. Official GDP Growth, 1990-2006. Sources: World Bank (2006) and IMF (2007).



ECONOMIC 'NORMALIZATION' ECONOMIC CRISIS IN 1992-1997



Figure 3.2. Total Official Fall in GDP from 1989 to Nadir. *Note:* Nadir years range 1991–93 for Central Europe; 1992–97 for Southeast Europe; 1994–95 for the Baltics; and 1993–98 for the CIS. *Source:* United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (2004, p. 80).

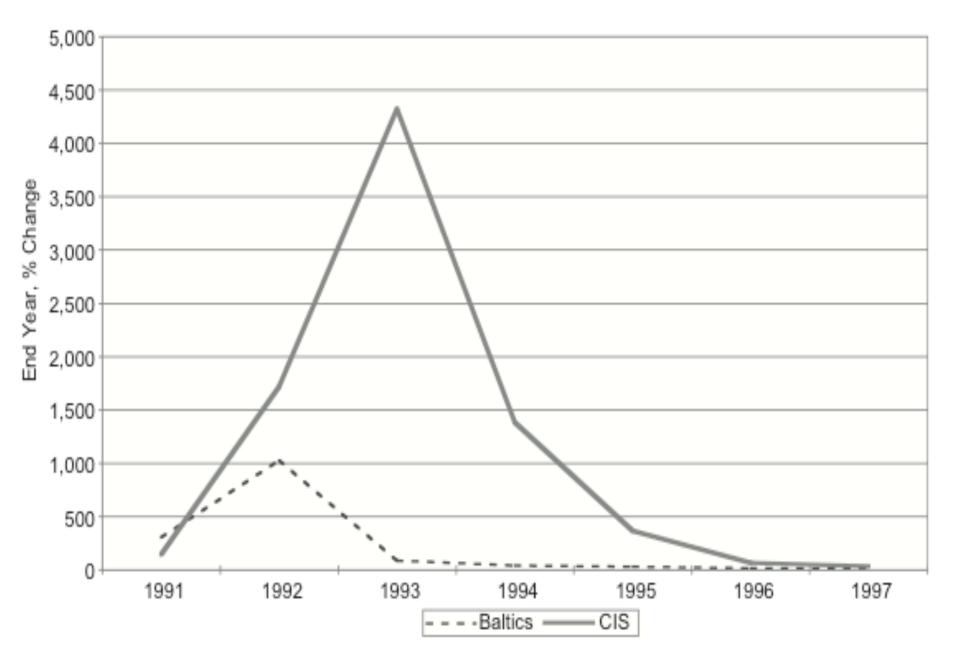


Figure 5.2. Inflation in CIS and the Baltic States, 1991-97. Source: EBRD (1999).

ECONOMIC 'NORMALIZATION' SURVIVAL ECONOMY

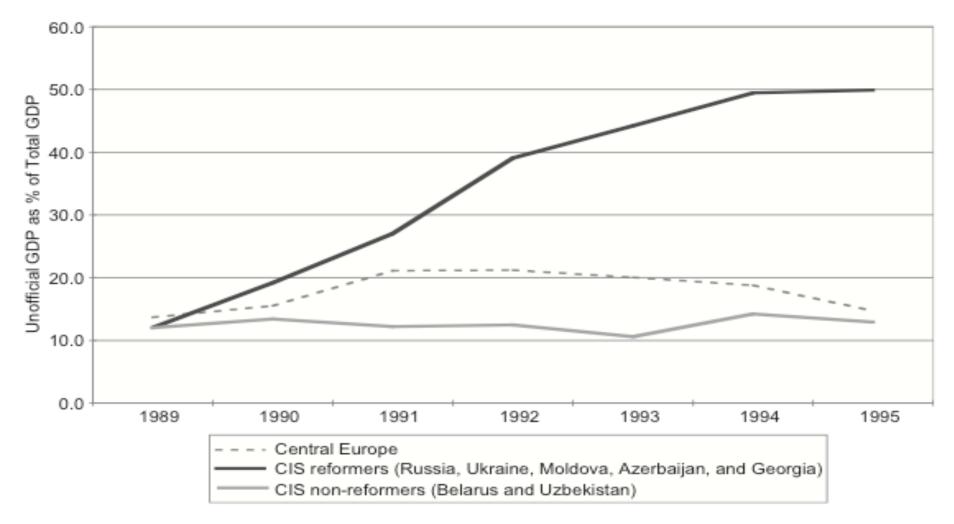


Figure 3.5. Underground Economy, 1989-95. Source: Johnson et al. (1997a, p. 183).





Leadership President Dmitry Medvedev (left) Prime Minister Vladimir Putin

Health

Democracy

Compare countries

President Viktor \
Prime Minister My

Leadership President Viktor Yanukovych (left) Prime Minister Mykola Azarov

Ukraine

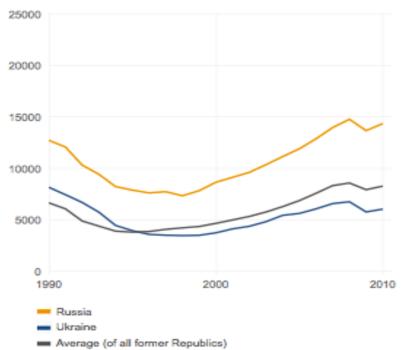
Wealth

Russia's economic power lies in its natural resources - namely oil and gas. These allowed it to emerge stronger than ever after two crippling economic events - the immediate post-Soviet transition period and the 1998 financial crisis that saw the ruble devalued, a default on domestic debt and a moratorium on payment to foreign creditors.

While overall wealth has grown over the last two decades the gap between rich and poor is widening. The bottom 40% are being paid less in real terms than they were in 1991, while only the top 20% have seen their incomes more than double.

National Wealth Since 1990

GDP per capita (constant 2000 US\$)



NB: Inflation but not the differences in the cost of living between countries has been taken into account

Source: Gapminder/World Bank

Wealth

Ukraine was once described as the breadbasket of Europe, producing more than a quarter of the Soviet Union's agricultural output. But the country went through a period of rapid economic decline and runaway inflation after independence. Although trade with EU countries now exceeds that with Russia, Moscow is the largest individual trading partner.

Ukraine depends on Russia for its gas supplies and forms an important part of the pipeline transit route for Russian gas exports to Europe. A dispute over price rises in 2006 and 2009 prompted Russia briefly to cut supplies.

The economy's dependence on steel exports made it particularly vulnerable to the effects of the global financial crisis of 2008.



Compare countries



Tajikistan





Leadership President Toomas Hendrik Ilves (left) Prime Minister Andrus Ansip



Leadership President Emomali Sharipovich Rakhmon

Health

Democracy

Wealth

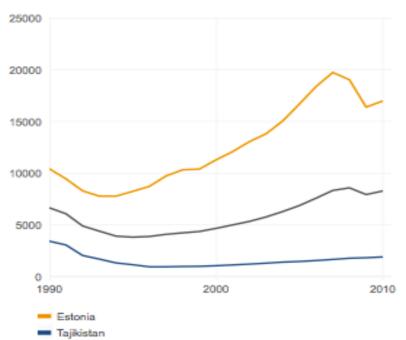
Estonia is the wealthiest of the 15 former Soviet Republics. It has a thriving electronics and telecoms sector and strong trade relations with Finland, Sweden and Germany. Like its Baltic neighbours, in the decade after independence Estonia made a rapid transformation to embrace the free market.

It joined the European Union in May 2004, which prompted an investment boom, but in 2008 its economy was hit by the global financial crisis. It had the EU's worst year for unemployment which soared to 15.6% in May 2009 from 3.9% the previous year.

The government adopted tough austerity measures and won plaudits for getting the economy back into shape ahead of entry to the European single currency in January 2011. The prime minister had aimed for eurozone membership in January 2007 but high inflation led the government to put back the target entry date.

National Wealth Since 1990

GDP per capita (constant 2000 US\$)



NB: Inflation but not the differences in the cost of living between countries has been taken into account

Average (of all former Republics)

Source: Gapminder/World Bank

Wealth

Tajikistan is the poorest nation of all the 15 former Soviet republics. It was plunged into a five-year civil war soon after independence ending in 1997. Up to 50,000 people were killed and over one-tenth of the population fled the country.

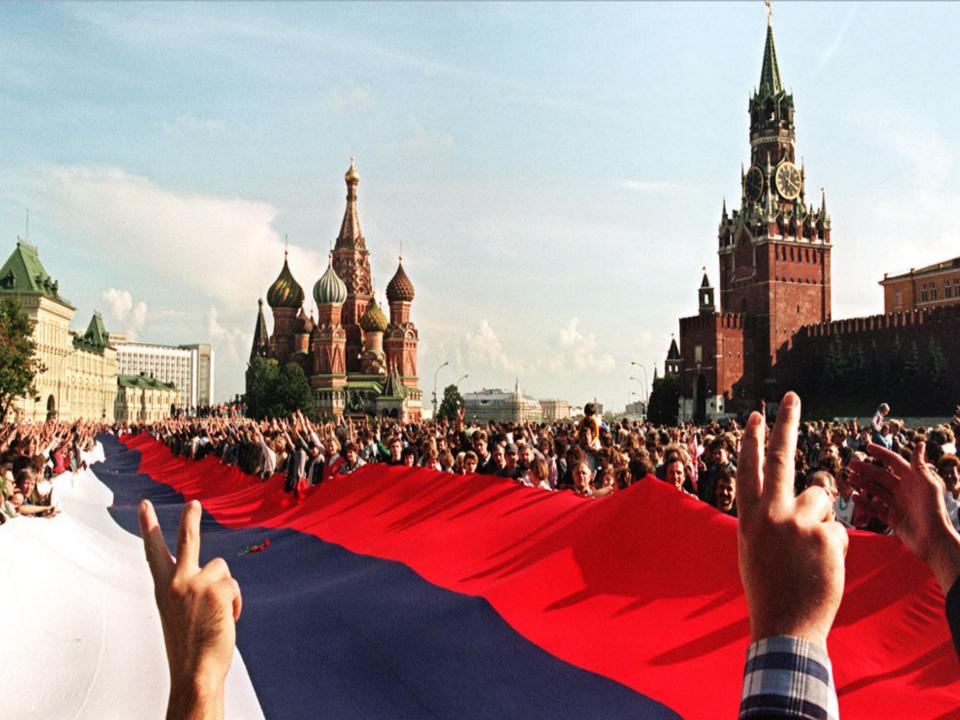
The economy has never really recovered and poverty is widespread. Almost half of Tajikistan's GDP is earned by an estimated two million migrants working abroad, mainly in Russia but the recession in 2009 threatened that income.

The country's main exports are cotton and aluminium but it is also dependent on oil and gas imports.

POLITICAL 'NORMALIZATION'

- ideological transition: ethnonationalism social democracy liberalism ethnonationalism
- demand for order and a need in new safety net within former Soviet administrative borders
- problematic separation of public and private spheres
- transformation of regimes into democracies (of different types)
- oligarchy and plutocracy: prolongation of transition
- deficit of citizens and dysfunctional civil society

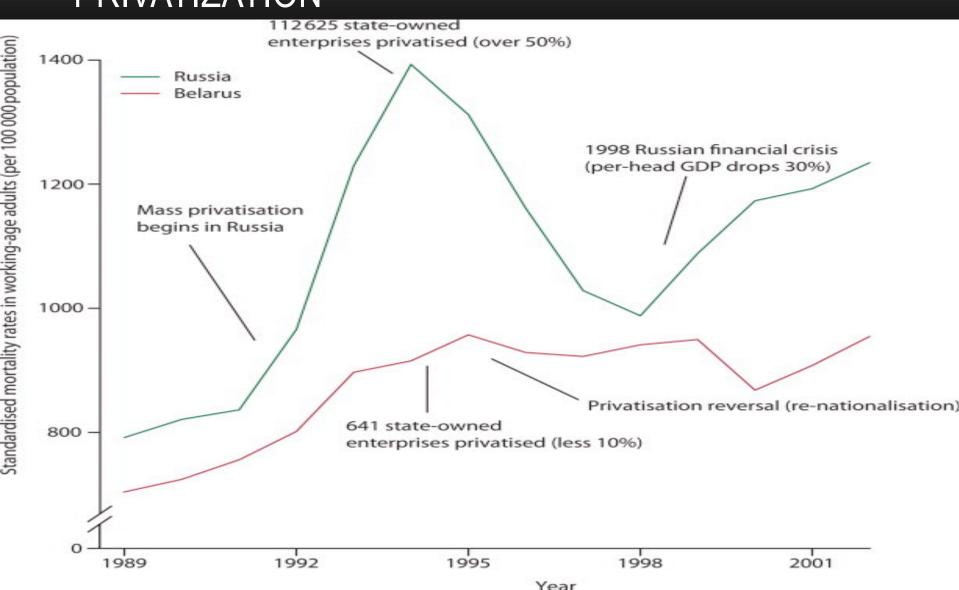








PRIVATIZATION



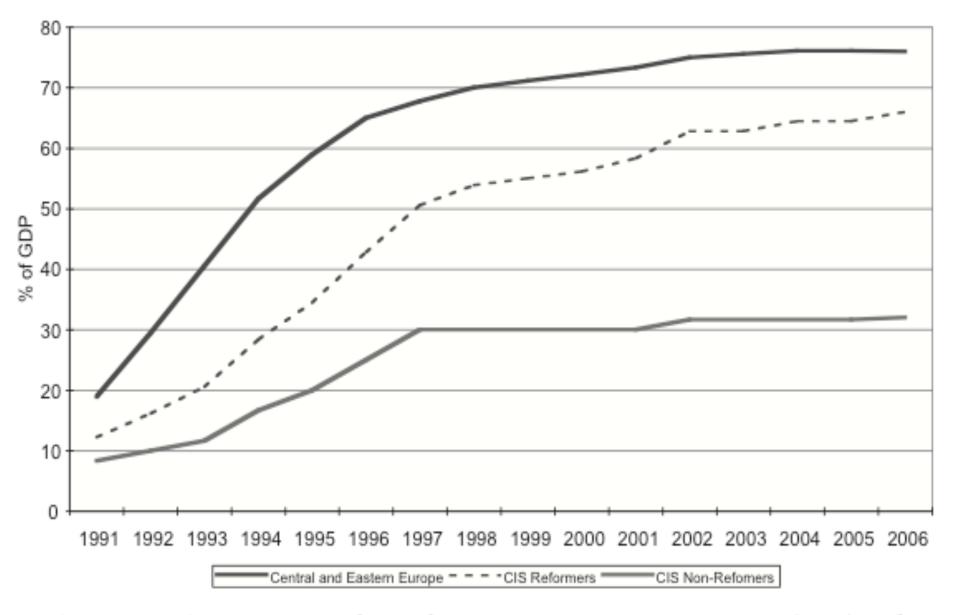
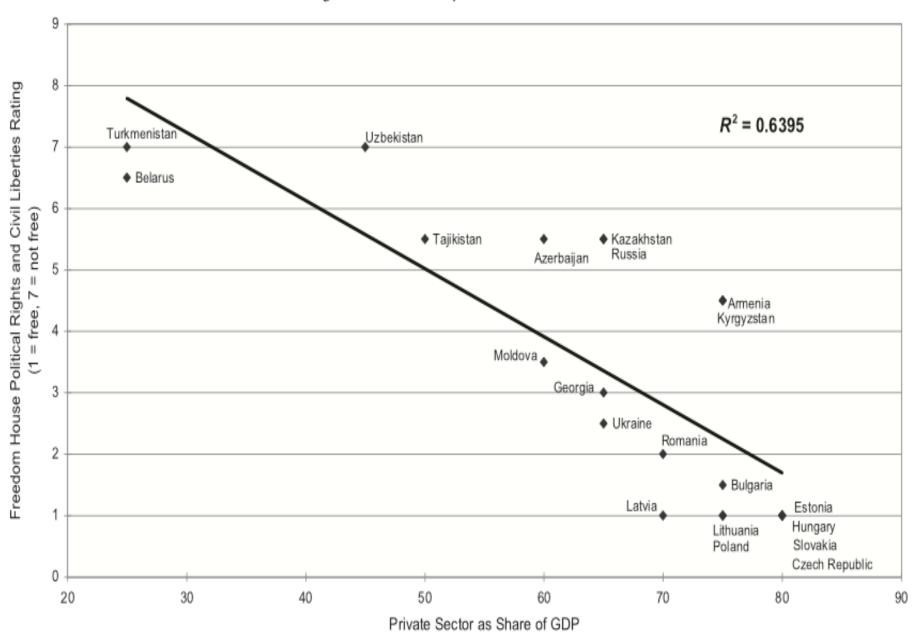


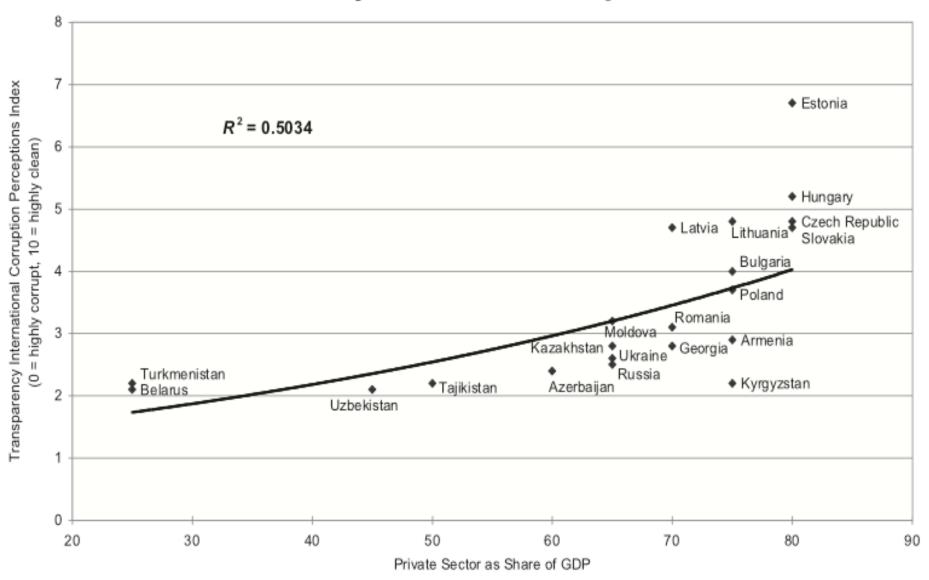
Figure 6.2. Private Sector as Share of GDP, 1991-2006. Sources: EBRD (2000) and (2006).

Figure 6.3. Democracy and Privatization, 2005.



Sources: EBRD (2005) and Freedom House (2006).

Figure 6.4. Privatization and Corruption, 2006.



Sources: EBRD (2006) and Transparency International (2006).

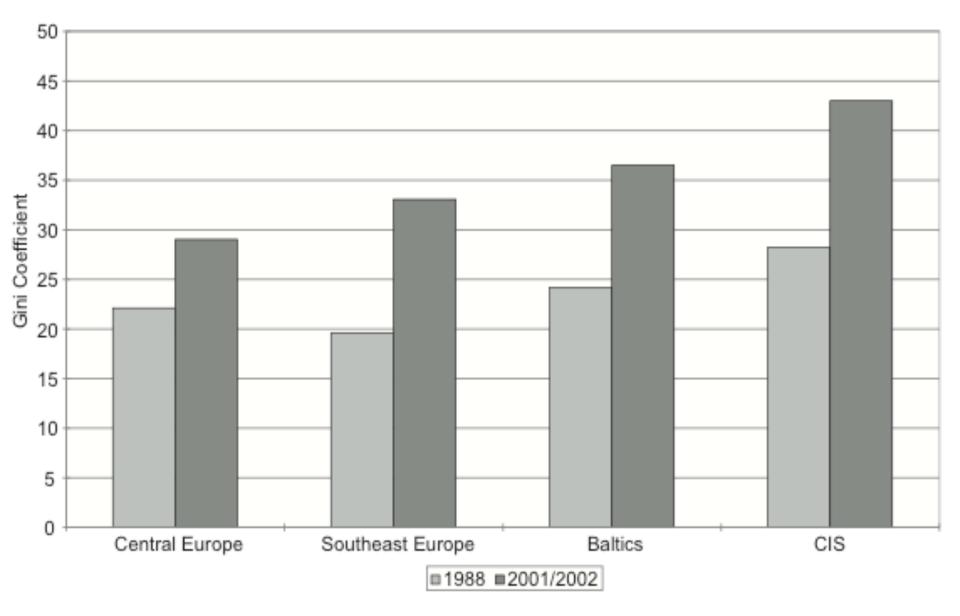


Figure 7.1. Inequality: Change in Gini Coefficients, 1988–2002. Source: UNU-WIDER (2006).

DEMOCRACY VS AUTOCRACY

- democratic regimes with market economies: the Baltic countries
- façade democracies with remainings of political and economic pluralism: Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, and Kyrgyzstan
- mild authoritarian regimes with economies favoring rent-seekers:
 Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine
- authoritarian regimes: Azerbaijan, Belarus, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan

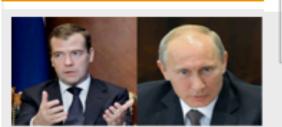
Table C.1. Success of transition, 2005

	Baltics	CE	SEE	CIS-9	CIS-3
Market economy ¹	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Private share,% of GDP2	75	79	73	64	32
Democracy ³	Free	Free	Free	Partially free	Not free
Corruption ⁴	5	4	4	3	2
Inflation ⁵	4	3	7	7	9
Unemployment rate,%	8	12	9	7^{6}	NA
Average GDP growth,%, 2001-5	8	4	5	9	8
Public expenditures,% of GDP, 2004	35	46	42	27	35
EU membership	Yes	Yes	Soon	No	No
_					

- At least 0.70 on the structural reforms index 2005 (see Figure C.1).
- European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD 2005) assessment.
- 3. Freedom House (2006) assessment.
- Transparency International (2005) (from 0 = highly corrupt to 10 = highly clean).
- Average consumer price index, year end.
- CIS-9 countries with plausible statistics (Armenia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine).

Sources: EBRD (2005), Freedom House (2006), Transparency International (2005), United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (2006), and World Bank (2006).





Leadership President Dmitry Medvedev (left) Prime Minister Vladimir Putin

Compare countries



Wealth Health Democracy

Leadership President Viktor Yanukovych (left) Prime Minister Mykola Azarov

Ukraine

Democracy

President Yeltsin, the first democratically elected leader of post-Communist Russia, ensured the power of president remained strong. Since 2000 Vladimir Putin has dominated leadership of this powerful nation.

Mr Putin's chosen successor, President Medvedev, was sworn in in 2008 as Russia's third president since the fall of the USSR. Many believe that Mr Medvedev may still be playing second fiddle to Mr Putin, now prime minister. There is also speculation that Mr Putin may stand for the presidency again when his successor's term ends in 2012.

Press and TV is a regular target for criticism and condemnation from media freedom watchdogs. Russian journalists run the risk of attack and even murder if they delve too deeply into sensitive subjects such as corruption, organised crime or rights abuses.

Autocracy or democracy

Number of leadership* changes since 1990

15

10

5.8

Average
(of all former republics)

5

Press freedom

Russia

World ranking

140

Russia Ukraine

NB: *Leadership = president, except Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova where leadership indicates prime minister

Source: Reporters without borders, Press Freedom Index, 2010

Democracy

Ukraine

The 2004 Orange revolution allowed the pro-Western Viktor Yushchenko to work towards make democratic reforms and media freedom. But his efforts to move towards Nato and EU membership made slow progress because the West was reluctant to antagonise a resurgent Russia and the Ukrainian public were divided on the matter.

His rival, Viktor Yanukovych, made a dramatic political comeback, winning the 2010 presidential election. He says his aim is to balance relations between Russia and the West, with EU integration as a "strategic aim". However, the speed with which he agreed to extend the Russian lease on the Black Sea Fleet base in Crimea raised opposition suspicions of this balance.

In 2010, watchdog Reporters Without Borders said "multiple press freedom violations" had been recorded since Mr Yanukovych return to power.

Compare countries







Leadership President Toomas Hendrik Ilves (left) Prime Minister Andrus Ansip



Health

Leadership

Democracy



President Emomali Sharipovich Rakhmon

Democracy

Estonia is a western-style democracy with regular free and fair elections. Toomas Hendrik IIves is president, but the role is mainly ceremonial.

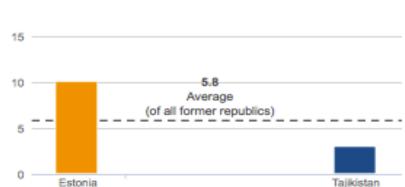
The centre-right coalition led by Andrus Ansip increased its parliamentary majority in elections held in March 2011. Mr Ansip was Estonia's first sitting prime minister to be re-elected since the country left the Soviet Union in 1991.

The country held the world's first parliamentary "e-vote" in 2007. Estonia ranked ninth out of 178 nations in the 2010 Reporters Without Borders press freedom index.

Autocracy or democracy

Number of leadership* changes since 1990

Wealth



Press freedom

World ranking

20

Estonia

115

Tajikistan

NB: *Leadership = president, except Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova where leadership indicates prime minister

Source: Reporters without borders, Press Freedom Index, 2010.

Democracy

President Emomali Rakhmon has had a firm grip on power since 1992. Western observers said legislative elections in 2005 and 2010 failed to meet international standards. In 2006 the president won a third term in office in an election which international observers said was neither free nor fair. Opposition parties boycotted the vote.

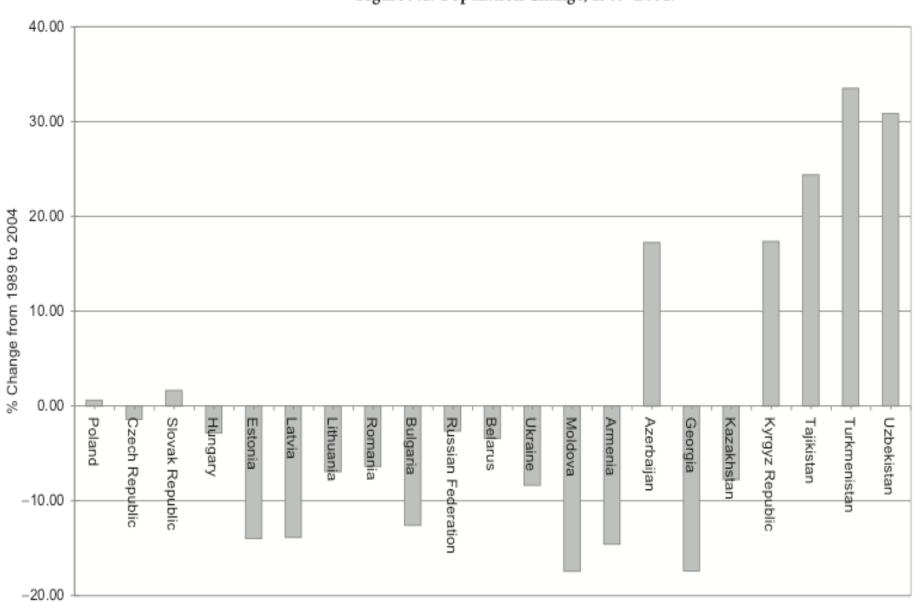
President Rakhmon does, however, retain substantial public support because he helped bring an end to civil war of the 1990s. The government often justifies restrictions and oppressive measures with a need to combat Islamic extremists.

Media rights organisations report that, although provided for in the constitution, press freedom is not widely respected. Freedom House says independent journalists face harassment and intimidation.

POST-SOVIET HUMAN

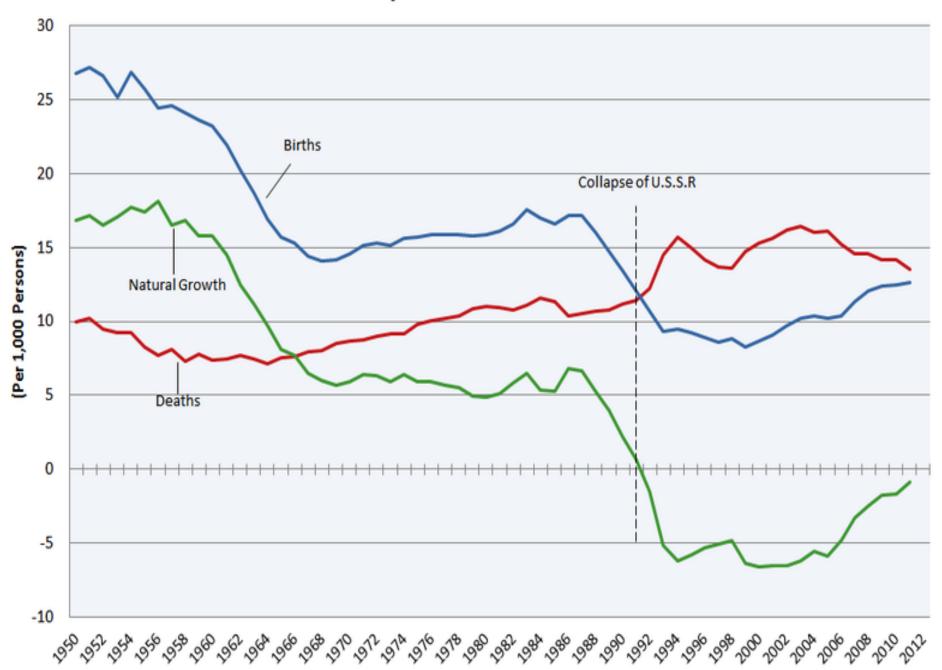
- money value and consumer society
- distrust and social fragmentation
- conflicting individualism
- new interest in collectivism and irrationalism : radical nationalism and conservatism
- depopulation
- lost in transition

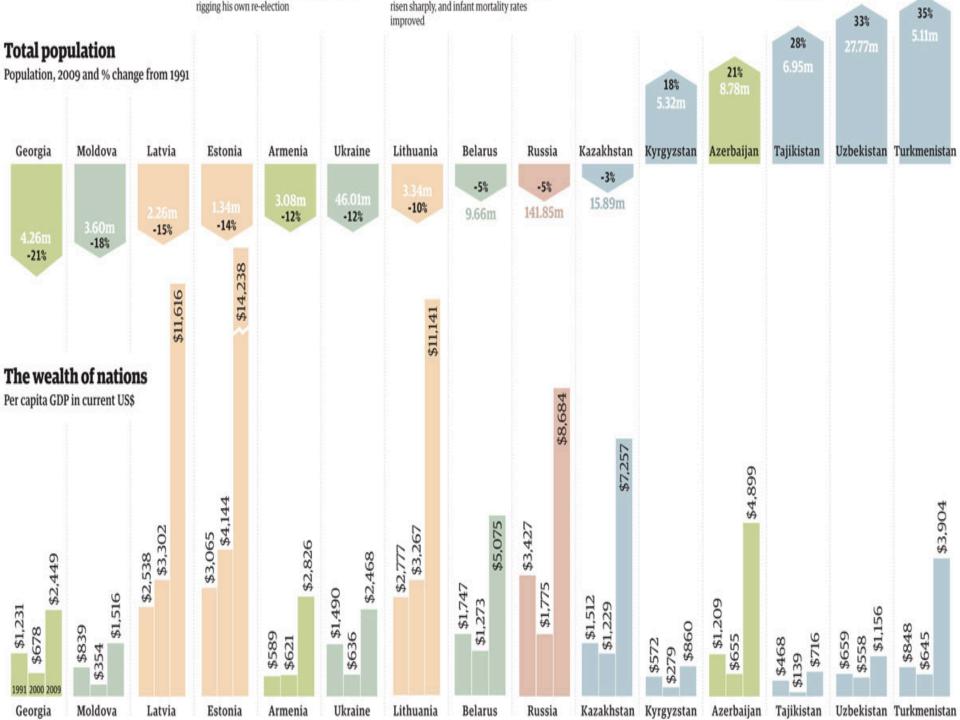
Figure 7.4. Population Change, 1989–2004.



Source: World Bank (2006) and United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (2006).

Natural Population Growth of Russia





WISDOM OF 'WILD 1990-S':

KARL MARX WAS WRONG ABOUT SOCIALISM, BUT HE WAS DAMN RIGHT ABOUT CAPITALISM

POST-SOVIET HUMAN ON USSR COLLAPSE

Approval of Change to Democracy

% Approve of change to...

Multiparty	<u> 1991 </u>	<u> 2009</u>	<u>Change</u>
system	%	%	
East Germany	91	85	-6
Czech Rep.	80	80	0
Slovakia	70	71	+7
Poland	66	70	+4
Hungary	74	56	-18
Lithuania	75	55	-20
Russia	61	53	-8
Bulgaria	76	52	-24
Ukraine	72	30	-4 2

Question 12.

Approval of Change to Capitalism

% Approve of change to...

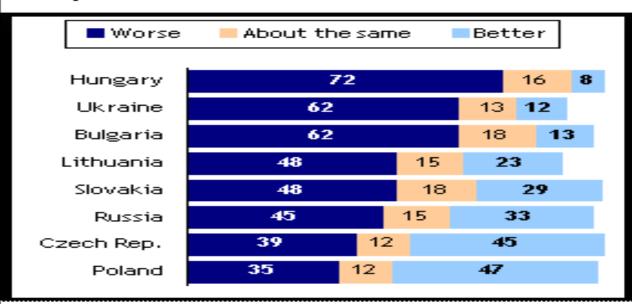
Market	<u> 1991</u>	<u> 2009</u>	Change
economy	%	%	
East Germany	86	82	-4
Czech Rep.	87	79	-8
Poland	80	71	-9
Slovakia	69	66	-3
Bulgaria	73	53	-20
Lithuania	76	50	-26
Russia	54	50	-4
Hungary	80	46	-34
Ukraine	52	36	-16

Question 13.

source: The Pulse of Europe 2009: 20 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall

POST-SOVIET HUMAN ON USSR COLLAPSE

People Worse Off Than Under Communism?



"Would you say that the economic situation for most (survey country's people) today is better, worse, or about the same as it was under communism?" (Q19) Question wording varied slightly in Lithuania. Please see Topline for full question wording.

source: The Pulse of Europe 2009: 20 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall



THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!