

Freedom, Repression, and Private Property in Russia

This study demonstrates how the emergence of private property and a market economy after the Soviet Union's collapse enabled a degree of freedom and simultaneously supported authoritarianism. On the basis of case studies, Vladimir Shlapentokh and Anna Arutunyan analyze how private property and free markets spawn feudal elements in society. These elements are so strong in post-Communist Russia that they prevent the formation of a true democratic society, while making it impossible to return to totalitarianism. The authors describe the resulting Russian society as having three types of social organization: authoritarian, feudal, and liberal. The authors examine the adaptation of Soviet-era institutions like security forces, police, and the army to free market conditions and how they generated corruption; the belief that the KGB was relatively free from corruption; how large property holdings merge with power and necessitate repression; and how property relations affect government management and suppression.

Vladimir Shlapentokh was born, raised, and educated in the Soviet Union. Before immigrating to the United States in 1979, he worked as a Senior Fellow in the Sociological Institute in Moscow, where he conducted the first nationwide public opinion surveys in the USSR. He is currently Professor of Sociology at Michigan State University and is the author of eighteen books.

Anna Arutunyan is a Russian-American journalist currently based in Moscow, where she is a senior correspondent for *The Moscow News*. She has reported on Russian politics for ten years and is the author of *The Media in Russia* (2009) and *The Putin Mystique* (2012).





Freedom, Repression, and Private Property in Russia

VLADIMIR SHLAPENTOKH

Michigan State University

ANNA ARUTUNYAN

Independent Journalist





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107042148

© Vladimir Shlapentokh and Anna Arutunyan 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Shlapentokh, Vladimir, author.

Freedom, repression, and private property in Russia / Vladimir Shlapentokh (Michigan State University), Anna Arutunyan (independent journalist).

pages; cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-04214-8 (hardback)

Russia (Federation) – Politics and government – 1991 –
Democracy – Russia (Federation)
Civil rights – Russia (Federation)
Property – Political aspects – Russia (Federation)
Arutunyan, Anna, author. II. Title.

DK510.763.8498 2013

947.086-dc23 2013007198

ISBN 978-1-107-04214-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLS for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Preface		page vii
	Introduction: Private Property as a Source of Both Freedom and Repression – The Russian Case	I
Ι	Private Property and Big Money in Political Regimes in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia: A Theoretical Overview	9
2	Ideology and Public Opinion in a Centralized Society and in a Fragmented Society	41
3	Corruption, the Power of the State, and Big Business in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Regimes	75
4	Enemies and the Issue of Legitimization in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Regimes	102
5	Political Police Before and After	126
6	Treatment of Strikers in Soviet and Post-Soviet Times: Novocherkassk and Mezhdurechensk	148
7	Geopolitics, Private Capital, and Legitimacy as Foreign Policy Goals in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia	156
8	A Freedom That Putin Dearly Loves – The Right to Leave His Country	178
	Conclusion: The Uniqueness of Putin's Regime in Light of Russian History	182
Bib	liography	195
Index		205

V





Preface

In the preparation of this book several people took important roles. First of all we would like to mention those who edited it – Judy Spanogle, Eric Beasley, and Jeff Oliver. We highly appreciate their efforts and their willingness to enhance the quality of the text. Our special gratitude goes to Jeff, who prepared the text for the publisher. We also want to say thanks to Vera Bondartsova, who with her research work helped us a lot in the writing of the book.

We also want to convey our gratitude to those whom we addressed for advice and information – Vladimir Kontorovich, Dmitry Shlapentokh, and Lubov Shlapentokh.

Of course, we want to express special thanks to Robert Dreesen, who was the first "outsider" to appreciate the value of our attempt to make the comparison of various regimes that ruled the Russian people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as objective and detached as possible.