

Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe

This book takes stock of arguments about the historical legacies of communism that have become common within the study of Russia and Eastern Europe more than two decades after communism's demise and elaborates an empirical approach to the study of historical legacies revolving around relationships and mechanisms rather than correlation and outward similarities. Eleven chapters by a distinguished group of scholars assess whether postcommunist developments in specific areas continue to be shaped by the experience of communism or, alternatively, by fundamental divergences produced before or after communism. Chapters deal with the variable impact of the communist experience on postcommunist societies in such areas as regime trajectories and democratic political values; patterns of regional and sectoral economic development; property ownership within the energy sector; the functioning of the executive branch of government, the police, and courts; the relationship of religion to the state; government language policies; and informal relationships and practices.

Mark R. Beissinger is Henry W. Putnam Professor of Politics at Princeton University and director of the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies. He previously served on the faculties of Harvard University and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Beissinger is the author or editor of four books and numerous journal articles. His book *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (Cambridge, 2002) won several awards, including the 2003 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award from the American Political Science Association.

Stephen Kotkin is the John P. Birkelund '52 Professor in History and International Affairs at Princeton University, where he has also served as vice dean of the Woodrow Wilson School and director of Princeton's Program in Russian and Eurasian Studies. He is the author of numerous books and publications, including Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization (1995); Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970–2000 (2001); and Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of Communist Establishments (2009).



Advance Praise

"Mark R. Beissinger and Stephen Kotkin have assembled a who's-who of scholars on Eastern Europe and Eurasia, many of whom made their careers in the era after the end of communist rule. The authors are therefore particularly adept at separating 'historical legacies' from plain history – examining the precise ways in which the habits of the past may (and may not) matter in such diverse areas as policing, property rights, and economic performance. This book reminds us why edited volumes – carefully crafted around a common theme – are still indispensable vehicles of scholarly communication."

- Charles King, Georgetown University, author of Extreme Politics: Nationalism, Violence, and the End of Eastern Europe

"Total system state socialism is gone, but polities across Eurasia continue to contend with Leninist legacies. And no wonder: state socialism was an earth-changing experiment in social engineering. Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe takes careful stock of how these legacies matter (and, alternatively, how they fade from significance). Representing the best of historically informed social science, this book is conceptually innovative, empirically grounded, contextually sensitive, and intellectually provocative. Its wide range of cases invites serious thinking about how the socialist period will continue to shape our world."

- Edward Schatz, University of Toronto



Historical Legacies of Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe

Edited by
MARK R. BEISSINGER
Princeton University
STEPHEN KOTKIN
Princeton University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY 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/9781107054172

© Cambridge University Press 2014

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 2014

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
Historical legacies of communism in Russia and Eastern Europe / edited by
Mark R. Beissinger, Stephen Kotkin.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-05417-2 (hardback)

Post-communism – Economic aspects – Europe, Eastern.
 Post-communism – Economic aspects – Russia (Federation)
 Europe, Eastern – Economic policy – 1989–
 Russia (Federation) – Economic policy – 1991–
 Europe, Eastern – Politics and government – 1989–
 Russia (Federation) – Politics and government – 1991–
 Beissinger, Mark R., editor of compilation.
 Kotkin, Stephen, editor of compilation.

HC244.H554 2014 330.947-dc23 2014002030

ISBN 978-1-107-05417-2 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

Lis	t of Contributors	page vii
Aci	knowledgments	ix
I.	The Historical Legacies of Communism: An Empirical Agenda Stephen Kotkin and Mark R. Beissinger	Ι
2.	Communist Development and the Postcommunist Democratic Deficit Grigore Pop-Eleches	28
3.	Room for Error: The Economic Legacy of Soviet Spatial Misallocation Clifford G. Gaddy	52
4.	Legacies of Industrialization and Paths of Transnational Integration after Socialism Béla Greskovits	68
5.	The Limits of Legacies: Property Rights in Russian Energy Timothy Frye	90
6.	Legacies and Departures in the Russian State Executive Eugene Huskey	111
7.	From Police State to Police State? Legacies and Law Enforcement in Russia Brian D. Taylor	128
8.	How Judges Arrest and Acquit: Soviet Legacies in Postcommunist Criminal Justice Alexei Trochev	152
9.	Historical Roots of Religious Influence on Postcommunist Democratic Politics Anna Grzymala-Busse	179

V



VÍ	Contents
10. Soviet Nationalities Policies and the Discrepancy between Ethnocultural Identification and Language Practice in Ukraine <i>Volodymyr Kulyk</i>	202
11. <i>Pokazukha</i> and Cardiologist Khrenov: Soviet Legacies, Legacy Theater, and a Usable Past <i>Jessica Pisano</i>	222
Index	243



Contributors

Mark R. Beissinger is the Henry W. Putnam Professor of Politics at Princeton University.

Timothy Frye is the Marshall D. Shulman Professor of Political Science at Columbia University.

Clifford G. Gaddy is senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC

Béla Greskovits is professor of international relations and European studies at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.

Anna Grzymala-Busse is the Ronald and Eileen Weiser Professor of European and Eurasian Studies in the department of political science at the University of Michigan.

Eugene Huskey is the William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor of Political Science at Stetson University.

Stephen Kotkin is the John P. Birkelund '52 Professor in History and International Affairs at Princeton University.

Volodymyr Kulyk is a leading research Fellow at the I. F. Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv, Ukraine.

Jessica Pisano is associate professor of politics at the New School for Social Research.

Grigore Pop-Eleches is associate professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton University.

vii



viii Contributors

Brian D. Taylor is associate professor of political science at Syracuse University.

Alexei Trochev is associate professor in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan.



Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank the following Princeton University programs for their financial support of this project: the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies; the Program in Law and Public Affairs of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies; and the Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice. We would also like to thank the following individuals who are not authors in this volume but who contributed in significant ways to the discussions underlying these chapters: Valerie Bunce, Keith Darden, Rasma Karklins, George Khelashvili, Jeff Kopstein, Bruce Parrott, Peter Rutland, Kim Scheppele, and Jason Wittenberg. Finally, we would like to thank Ms. Patricia Zimmer for her outstanding organizational support for the workshops that helped to produce these chapters, as well as Brittany Holom for her help with indexing.