## Учебные программы

*VR* Мы постепенно начинаем размещать программы западных коллег. В дальнейшем мы познакомим вас с программами курсов по экономической социологии таких известных авторов, как М.Грановеттер, П.Димаджио, В.Зелизер, Х.Уайт и многих других. А сейчас мы предлагаем программу курса Дэвида Старка «Экономическая трансформация в Восточной Европе», который читается им в Школе международных отношений Колумбийского университета. Мы уже публиковали работу Д.Старка о гетерархии и ее перевод (см. Том 1, № 2, 2000 и Том 2, № 2, 2001).

# ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN EASTERN EUROPE

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# Spring 2002

## **Course description**

Can the transformation of property regimes and the extension of citizenship rights be achieved simultaneously? The simultaneous emergence of newly propertied classes and newly enfranchised subordinate groups poses the central postsocialist problem of how to restructure economies when those who perceive their interests to be threatened by economic change have the capacity to block the implementation and consolidation of reforms. This is the postsocialist challenge examined in this course. Although the course focuses on recent changes in Hungary, Poland, Russia and the Czech Republic, its content should yield insights for students interested in problems of democratization and economic change in Latin America, East Asia, and South Africa.

To understand the pressures for and against fundamental economic restructuring, the first part of the course elaborates a set of concepts (shortage, soft-budget constraints, redistributive bureaucracy, etc.) for analyzing the basic institutions of the socialist economy. Patterns of investment, enterprise decision-making, labor markets, and the reward and allocation of labor will be examined form a comparative institutional perspective in which the specificity of capitalist and socialist institutions are revealed by their mutual contrast. The fundamental prescriptions for restructuring these institutions are also critically examined.

The second part pf the course examines the diverse paths of institution building in four postsocialist economies. In analyzing the «fall of communism», we observe that differences in how the pieces fell apart have important consequences for how economic and political institutions are reconstructed in the current period. Each of the subsections of this part of the course address a specific theme through a particular country focus. By examining problems of markets and hierarchies, property rights, and organizational change in another socio-economic context, the student should gain insights and analytic skills of general applicability.

The final part of the course will be organized around the research interests of the seminar participants focussing especially on problems in the contemporary period. Themes might include: legal frameworks, the changing politics of accounting, new institutions of capital

markets, labor and social issues, the role of international monetary institutions, employment restructuring, entrepreneurship, new patterns of stratification, and the environment.

## Requirements

Informed participation in each weekly seminar is expected of every student in the course. Short papers (c. 2 pages) on the readings should be handed in by noon on the day of the seminar meeting. A take-home midterm and a final paper are required. The topic and the format of the final paper are your choice, in consultation with the instructor. Our mutual goal is to find a topic and means of presentation that best meets your needs.

## Readings

Books are available at Labyrinth Books, 112th Street between Amsterdam and Broadway. Copies of readings (all of the required and many of the recommended) are available in the Library of the Harriman Institute, 12th floor, International Affairs Building.

Note: an asterisk (\*) indicates required readings. The others articles and links are recommended or background materials.

# Part I

#### Jan. 20 Introduction to the course

## Jan. 27 The «Revolutions» of 1989

\* Timothy Garton Ash, The Magic Lantern: The Revolutions of 1989 as Witnessed in Warsaw, <u>Prague</u>, Berlin and Budapest.

http://sunsite.mff.cuni.cz/czechrep/history/revolution

<u>Conversation with Timothy Garton Ash</u>, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/Elberg/GartonAsh/gartonash0.html

László Bruszt and David Stark, «Remaking the Political Field in Hungary: From the Politics of Confrontation to the Politics of Competition», in: Ivo Banac (ed.) *Eastern Europe in Revolution*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. P. 13-55.

Andras Sajo, <u>Round Tables in Hungary</u>, Working Paper Number 2, August 1991, <u>Center for</u> <u>the Study of Constitutionalism in Eastern Europe</u>. <u>http://www.law.uchicago.edu/Publications/index.html</u> <u>http://www.law.uchicago.edu/Publications/CSCEE</u>

Wiktor Osiatynski, <u>The Round Table Negotiations in Poland</u>, Working Paper Number 1, August 1991). <u>http://www.law.uchicago.edu/Publications/index.html</u>

# Feb. 3 The Socialist Economy: Shortage, Soft-Budget Constraints, Second Economy

\* Janos Kornai, *Contradictions and Dilemmas: Studies on the Socialist Economy and Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986. P. 6-61.

\* David Stark, Bending the Bars of the Iron Cage: Bureaucratization and Informalization in Capitalism and Socialism, *Sociological Forum* (1989). Vol. 4, No. 4. P. 637-664.

Janos Kornai, The Hungarian Reform Process: Visions, Hopes and Reality, in: Victor Nee and David Stark (eds.) *Remaking the Economic Institutions of Socialism: China and Eastern Europe*. Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 1989. P. 32-94.

Istvan Gabor, Second Economy and Socialism: The Hungarian Experience, in: Edgar Feige (ed.) *The Underground Economies: Tax Evasion and Information Distortion*. Cambridge [England], N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1989. P. 339-360.

# Feb. 10 Restructuring the Ruins of Communism

\* Roman Frydman and <u>Andrzej Rapaczynski</u>, *Privatization in Eastern Europe: Is the State Withering Away?* Central European University Press, 1994. Chapters 3, 5, and 6.

Roman Frydman, Kenneth Murphy, and Andrzej Rapaczynski, <u>Capitalism with a Comrade's</u> <u>Face</u>, *Transitions* (January 26, 1996) Vol 2, No. 2.

Is Privatization Succeding in Central and Eastern Europe? An <u>Interview with Roman</u> <u>Frydman</u> by the Center for International Private Enterprise. <u>http://www.cipe.org/e18/frydman.html</u>

Janos Kornai, *The Road to a Free Economy: Shifting from a Socialist System, the Example of Hungary*. N.Y.: Norton, 1990.

Peter Murell, The Transition According to Cambridge Mass, *Journal of Economic Literature* (March 1995). Vol. 33. P. 164-178.

Irena Grosfeld, Privatization in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, *European Economy* 1991. P. 129-156.

Anthony Levitas, Rethinking Reform: Lessons for Polish Privatization, in: Vedat Milor (ed.) *Changing Political* Economies: Privatization in Post-Communist and Reforming Communist States. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. P. 99-114.

David Stark, From Plan To Market or from Plan to Clan, *East European Politics and Societies (1991)*. Vol. 4, No. 1, (chapter 2 in Stark and Bruszt, PostSocialist Pathways).

David Stark, Path Dependency and Privatization Strategies in East Central Europe, in: Vedat Milor (ed.), Changing Political Economies: Privatization in Post-Communist and Reforming Communist States. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994. P. 115-146 (chapter 3 in Stark and Bruszt).

Andrew Walder, Corporate Organization and Local Government Property Rights in China, in: V.Milor (ed.) *Changing Political Economies*. P. 53-66.

The World Bank, World Development Report 1996. N.Y.: Oxford University Press.

From Plan to Market: A Twenty-Eight Country Adventure: Director Alan Gelb on the World Bank's new Development Report, *Transition*. Vol. 7, Nos. 5-6.

# Part II

# Feb. 17 Poland: Shock, Therapy

\* Jeffrey Sachs, *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993.

Daily Country Analysis (The Economist Intelligence Unit)

Kazimierz Poznanski (ed.) Stabilization and Privatization in Poland: An Economic Analysis of the Shock Therapy Program. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1993.

Peter Murrell, What is Shock Therapy? What did it Do in Poland and Russia? *Post Soviet Affairs*, (April-June 1993). Vol. 9, No. 2. P. 111-140.

Brian Pinto, et al., Transforming State Enterprises in Poland: Evidence on Adjustment by Manufacturing Firms, *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* (1993). No. 1. P. 213-270.

Zoltan Barany, The Return of the Left in East-Central Europe, *Problems of Post-Communism* (January/February 1995). P. 41-45; Jane Curry, Elected Communists in Poland, *Problems of Post-Communism* (January/February 1995). P. 46-50.

Leszek Balcerowicz: Socialism, Capitalism, Transformation: Review by Martin Schrenk, *Transition* (March-April 1996). Vol. 7, Nos. 3-4.

R. Sundström, <u>The IMF and the Polish Transition</u>, *Working Paper 1995*: 6. Göteborg University Center for Russian and East European Studies.

Polish Bank Joke.

The Warsaw Stock Exchange.

# Feb. 24 The Czech Republic: Adam Smith and Social Democracy

\* <u>Mitchell Orenstein</u>, Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Post-Communist Europe. Book manuscript.

http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/maxpages/faculty/maorenst/Publications.html

Daily Country Analysis (The Economist Intelligence Unit)

Peter Rutland, Thatcherism, Czech-style: Transition to Capitalism in the Czech Republic, *Telos* (Winter 1992-93). No. 94. P. 103-129.

Ivka Kalus-Bystricky and Pedro Pick, The Reform Process in Czechoslovaia and the Czech Republic: a Progress Report and the Tale of One Company, in: H. Shaughnessy (ed.) *Privatization and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and the CIS: Investment, Acquisition and Managerial Issues*. N.Y.: John Wiley, 1994. P. 47-75.

Vaclav Klaus, The Ten Commandments Revisited, *The International Economy* (September/October 1993). P. 36, 38-39, 70-72.

Vaclav Klaus, <u>Transition from Communism to the Free Market</u>, Speech at the Heritage Foundation, October 15th (1993 or 1994?).

Paul Wilson, The End of the Velvet Revolution, *New York Review of Books* (August 13, 1992). P. 57-63.

Steven Holmes, <u>The Politics of Economic Reform in the Czech Republic</u>, *East European Constitutional Review* (Spring 1996). Vol. 4, No. 2.

Thomas W. Hazlett, <u>«The Czech Miracle: Why Privatization went right in the Czech Republic</u>», <u>Reason Online</u>, April 1995.

Jaroslav Veis, <u>Privatize as fast as possible:' Czech Republic grows by giving away</u>, The WorldPaper Online, September 1996.

The Prague Stock Exchange.

# Mar. 3 Hungary: Inter-enterprise Ownership

\* David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt, Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe. Cambridge University Press, 1998. Introduction and Chaps. 4-7.

Daily Country Analysis (The Economist Intelligence Unit)

David Stark, Recombinant Property in East European Capitalism, in: Gernot Grabher and David Stark (eds.) *Restructuring Networks in Postsocialism*. L.: Oxford University Press, 1997. P. 35-69.

Economist Intelligence Unit, Hungary: Country Profile/Country Report [on reserve] or Hungary: Market Research Report, National Trade Data Bank, CD-ROM, Malott or comparable websites.

Eva Voszka, The Revival of Redistribution in Hungary, *Acta Oeconomica* (1994). Vol 46. P. 63-78.

The Budapest Stock Exchange.

# Mar. 10 Russia: Kremlin Kapitalizm

\* David Woodruff, Beyond the Ruble: The Politics of Monetary Consolidation in Russia. Manuscript, Department of Political Science, MIT,

\* Federico Varese, Is Sicily the future of Russia?: Private Protection and the Rise of the Russian Mafia, *Archives of European Sociology* (1994). Vol. 35. P. 224-258.

Daily Country Analysis (The Economist Intelligence Unit)

Michael McFaul, Russia's 'Privatized' State as an Impediment to Democratic Consolidation. Parts I and II. *Security Dialogue* (1998). Vol. 29, No. 2, p. 191-199, and No. 3., p. 315-332.

Peter Rutland, Russia's Flawed Market Transition, *Problems of Post-Communism* (1997). Vol. 44, No. 6. P. 29-33.

Tanya Frisby, The Rise of Organized Crime in Russia: Its Roots and Social Significance, *Europe-Asia Studies* (1998). Vol. 50, No. 1. P.: 27-49.

Daniel McGrory, Civilizing the Russian Underground Economy: Requirements and Prospects for Establishing a Civil Economy in Russia, *Transnational Law and Contemporary Problems* (Spring 1995). Vol. 5. P. 65-97.

Andrei Kuznetsov, Economic Reforms in Russia: Enterprise Behavior as an Impediment to Change, *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 46. P. 955-970.

Joseph Blasi, et al., *Kremlin Capitalism: Privatizing the Russian Economy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Robert Cottrell, Russia: The New Oligarchy, New York Review of Books, March 27, 1997.

Philip Hanson and Elizabeth Teague, The Industrialists and Russian Economic Reform / RFE/RL Research Report (May 8, 1992). Vol. 1, No. 19.

Natacha Chmatko, *Les entrepreneurs en Russie: Genèse d'un nouveau groupe social.* Paris: Centre de Sociologies de l'education et de la culture, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1994.

Richard Rose, <u>Russia as an Hourglass Society: A constitution without citizens</u>, *East European Constitutional Review* (Summer 1995). Vol. 4, No. 3.

<u>Conversation with Yegor Gaidar</u>, Institute of International Studies, University of California Berkeley. <u>http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/conversations/Gaidar/gaidar-con1.html</u>

<u>Conversation with Alexander Yakovlev</u>, Institute of International Studies, University of California Berkeley. <u>http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/Elberg/Yakovlev/yak-con0.html</u>

Gregory Kisunko, <u>Economic Crime in Russia</u>, *Transition* (July-August 1996). Vol. 7, Nos. 7-8.

Gilles Alfandari and Une Lee, <u>Are Russian Enterprises Restructuring?</u> *Transition* (July-August 1996). Vol. 6, Nos. 7-8.

<u>Anders Åslund: How Russia Became a Market Economy</u>, reviewed by Martin Schrenk, *Transition* (July-August 1996). Vol. 6, Nos. 7-8.

The University of Warwick Centre for Comparative Labour Studies' <u>Russian Research</u> <u>Programme. http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/complabstuds/russia/russint.htm</u>

## Mar. 17 Spring Break

#### **Novels and Essays:**

#### Post-1989

Joe Kubert: Fax from Sarajevo. Milwaukie: Dark Horse Comics. 1996.

(check)Ivan Klima, Waiting for the Dark, Waiting for the Light. Grave Press, 1993.

Joanna Labon, ed., Balkan Blues: Writing Out of Yugoslavia. Northwestern Univ. Press, 1994.

Vladimir Arsenijevic, In the Hold

Julian Barnes, The Porcupine.

Dubravka Ugresic, The Culture of Lies.

Josip Novakovich, Salvation and other Disasters.

# Pre-1989

Bohumil Hrabal, Too Loud a Solitude Ivan Klima, My Golden Trades Ivan Klima, Judge on Trial Milan Kundera, The Joke Milan Kundera, Life is Elsewhere George Konrad, The Caseworker George Konrad, The Loser Jerzy Andrejewski, The Appeal Alexander Zinoviev, The Radiant Future Milorad Pavic, Dictionary of the Khazars

# News from a Novelist:

Bruce Sterling, <u>Compost of Empire</u>, Wired, Issue 2.04, April 1994. Bruce Sterling, <u>Triumph of the Plastic People</u>, Wired, Issue 3.01, January 1995.

#### Videos:

Milcho Manchevski, Before the Rain <u>Krzysztof Kieslowski, Three Colors: White</u> Emil Kustorica, <u>Time of the Gypsies</u>, <u>When Father Was Away on Business</u> <u>Andrzej Wajda</u>, <u>Man of Marble</u> Kazimierz Kutz, <u>The Convert</u> Jiri Menzel, Closely Watched Trains Philip Kaufman, <u>The Unbearable Lightness of Being</u> (Novel by Milan Kundera) A listing of <u>Polish Films</u> A listing of <u>Czech films on video available in the U.S.</u> Search the <u>Internet Movie Database</u>

# Part III. Selected Topics

# **Network Properties**

David Stark, Recombinant Property in East European Capitalism, *American Journal of Sociology* (1996). Vol. 101, No. 4. P.: 993-1027.

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Gernot Grabher and David Stark, Organizing Diversity: Evolutionary Theory, Network Analysis, and Postsocialism, in: Grabher and Stark (eds.) *Restructuring Networks in Postsocialism: Legacies, Linkages, and Localities*. L.: Oxford University Press, 1997. P. 1-32

David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt, <u>Network Properties of Assets and Liabilities: Patterns of</u> <u>Inter-Enterprise Ownership in the Postsocialist Transformations</u>, in: Robert Delorme (ed.) *A l'Est du nouveau: Institutions et transformation en Europe centrale et orientale*. Paris: L'Harmattan, in press. Forthcoming in Italian in *Stato e Mercato* and in Hungarian in *Kozgazdasagi Szemle*.

Gerald McDermott, Renegotiating the Ties that Bind: The Limits of Privatization in the Czech Republic, in: Grabher and Stark (eds.) *Restructuring Networks*. P. 70-106.

Judith Sedaitis, Network Dynamics of New Firm Formation: Developing Russian Commodity Markets, in: Grabher and Stark (eds.) *Restructuring Networks*. P. 137-157.

Barry Ickes and Randi Ryterman, From Enterprise to Firm: Notes for a Theory of the Firm in Transition, in: Robert Campbell (ed.) *The Postcommunist Economic Transformation*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1995. P. 83-104.

Barry Ickes, Randi Ryterman, and Stoyan Tenev, «On Your Marx, Get Set, Go: The Role of Competition in Enterprise Adjustment». Manuscript, The World Bank.

# Financial-Industrial Groups in Russia

Juliet Johnson, Understanding Russia's Emerging Financial-Industrial Groups, *Post-Soviet Affairs* (November 1997). Vol. 13, No. 4.

Gary Shenk, Financial-Industrial Conglomeration and Effective Corporate Management in Transition Economies: A Case Study of the Russian Automotive Industry. Unpublished manuscript, The Wharton School.

Eun Mee Kim, Big Business, Strong State: Collusion and Conflict in South Korean Development, 1960-1990. N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Mark Granovetter, Business Groups, in: Neil Smelser and Richard Swedberg (eds.), *Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. P. 453-375.

# **Elites and Stratification**

Gil Eyal, Ivan Szelenyi, and Elanor Townsley, *Making Capitalism Without Capitalist: Class Formation and Elite Struggles in Post-Communist Central Europe.* Book manuscript.

Jozsef Borocz and Akos Rona-Tas, Small lead forward: Emergence of New Economic Elites, *Theory and Society*. Vol. 5, No. 24. P. 751-81.

Theodore Gerber and Michael Hout, More Shock than Therapy: Market Transition, Employment, and Income in Russia, 1991-1995, *American Journal of Sociology* (1998). Vol. 104, No. 1. P. 1-50.

Mitchell Orenstein and Raj Desai, State Power and Interest Group Formation: The Business Lobby in the Czech Republic, *Problems of Post-Communism* (November-December 1997). Vol. 44, No. 6. P. 43-52.

Olga Kryshtanovskaya and Stephen White, From Soviet Nomenklatur to Russia Elite, *Europe-Asia Studies* (1996). Vol. 48, No. 5. P. 711-733.

Ed Clark and Anna Soulsby, The Re-formation of the Managerial Elite in the Czech Republic. Europe-Asia Studies (1996). Vol. 48, No.2. P. 285-303.

Barnabas Gero and Balazs Vedres, Interlocking Comrades / Eleventh International Conference of Europeanists, Baltimore, February 1998.

#### Vouchers and Investment Funds

\* John C. Coffee, Jr., Investment Privatization Funds: The Czech Experience, in: Roman Frydman, Cheryl Gray, and Andrzej Rapaczynski (eds.) *Corporate Governance in Central Europe and Russia*. Vol. I: Banks, Funds, and Foreign Investors. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1996. P. 111-186.

\* Karla Brom and Mitchell Orenstein, The Privatized Sector in the Czech Republic: Government and Bank Control in a Transitional Economy, *Europe Asia Studies* (1994). Vol. 46, No. 6. P. 893-928.

Bozidar Djelic and Natalia Tsukanova, Voucher Auctions: A Crucial Step Toward Privatization / RFE/RL Research Report (July 1993). Vol. 2. No. 30, 23.

Roman Frydman, Katharina Pistor, and Andrzej Rapaczynski, Investing in Insider-Dominated Firms: A Study of Russian Voucher Privatization Funds, in: Frydman, Gray, and Rapaczynski, (eds.) *Corporate Governance in Central Europe and Russia*. Vol. I: Banks, Funds, and Foreign Investors. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1996. P. 187-241.

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Jan Hanousek and Eugene A. Kroch, <u>A Model of Learning in Sequential Bidding: Voucher</u> <u>Privatization in the Czech Republic: Wave I / EAST Newsletter, Spring 1995</u>

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\* Matthew Piasecki, Looking for Fresh Investment Opportunities in Central Europe and Russia: A Path Finding Guide, in: H. Shaughnessy (ed.) *Privatization and Economic Development in Eastern Europe and the CIS: Investment, Acquisition and Managerial Issues.* N.Y.: John Wiley, 1994. P. 29-46.

\* Bruce Kogut, Direct Investment, Experimentation and Corporate Governance in Transition Economies, in: Frydman, Gray, and Rapaczynski (eds.) *Corporate Governance in Central Europe and Russia*. Vol. I: Banks, Funds, and Foreign Investors. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1996. P. 293-332.

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Gabor Hunya, Foreign Direct Investment and its Effects in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, *Vienna Institute for Comparative Economic Studies* (June 1997), Reprint Series, No. 169.

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Sergio Salani and Jerry Sloan, An Overview of Legal and Financing Aspects for Doing Business in Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic, *Temple International and Comparative Law Journal* (1995). Vol. 9. P. 27-54.

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\* Mark Danner, America and the Bosnia Genocide, *New York Review of Books*, November 27, 1997; The US and the Yugoslav Catastrophe, *NYRB*, December 4, 1997; Clinton, the UN, and the Bosnian Disaster, *NYRB*, December 20, 1997; Bosnia: the Turning Point, *NYRB*, February 5, 1998.

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Misha Glenny, "<u>The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: The Next Bosnia?</u>, *Emphasis*, Vol. 1, No. 1.

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E. A. Hammel, Backward through the Looking Glass: the Yugoslav Labyrinth in Perspective.

The Bosnian Virtual Fieldtrip

Ethnic Map of Eastern Europe

#### **Flexible Specialization**

<u>Charles Sabel</u> and Jane Prokop, Stabilization through Reorganization: Some Preliminary Implications of Russia's Entry into World Markets in the Age of Discursive Quality Standards, in: Frydman, Gray, and A.Rapaczynski (eds.), *Corporate Governance in Central Europe and Russia*. Vol. II: Insiders and the State. N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1996. P. 151-191.

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# Trust, Distrust, and Confidence Games

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