

Democracy in a Russian Mirror

Edited by

ADAM PRZEWORSKI

New York University

HJ CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| <i>Contributors</i> | page xiii |
| Introduction | i |
| PART I RUSSIA | |
| i Peculiarities of Russian Politics | 7 |
| <i>Andranik Migranyan</i> | |
| 1.1 <i>The Law of the Pendulum</i> | 7 |
| 1.2 <i>On Elections</i> | 9 |
| 1.3 <i>On Sovereign Democracy</i> | 13 |
| 1.4 <i>A Response to My Critics</i> | 25 |
| 1 <i>Imitating Democracy, Feigning Capacity</i> | 30 |
| <i>Stephen Holmes</i> | |
| 2.1 <i>Introduction</i> | 30 |
| 2.2 <i>A Procrustian Dichotomy</i> | 31 |
| 2.3 <i>Two Incarnations, One System</i> | 33 |
| 2.4 <i>The Great Disconnect</i> | 40 |
| 2.5 <i>Why Steal Elections?</i> | 45 |
| 2.6 <i>Shock-Absorber Parties</i> | 50 |
| 2.7 <i>Democracy and Its Preconditions</i> | 54 |
| 2.8 <i>Detached and Disjointed</i> | 56 |
| 3 <i>Russian Perspectives on Democracy, Political Emancipation, and Integrity</i> | 58 |
| <i>Mikhail Ilyin</i> | |
| 3.1 <i>Introduction</i> | 58 |
| 3.2 <i>Primeval Democracy</i> | 60 |
| 3.3 <i>Authority versus People</i> | 63 |

| | | |
|--|--|------------|
| 3.4 | <i>Sovereignty of the People</i> | 68 |
| 3.j | <i>Democracy of the Soviets</i> | 70 |
| 3.6 | <i>Perestroika: More Democracy, More Socialism</i> | 73 |
| 3.7 | <i>Crippled Democracy</i> | 74 |
| 3.8 | <i>Sovereign Democracy</i> | 75 |
| 3.9 | <i>Some Tentative Conclusions</i> | 77 |
| 4 | Color Revolutions and Russia | 78 |
| | <i>Valery Solovei</i> | |
| 4.1 | <i>Introduction</i> | 78 |
| 4.2 | <i>Were There Any Revolutions?</i> | 79 |
| 4.3 | <i>Causes of the Revolutions</i> | 81 |
| 4.4 | <i>Revolutionary Results</i> | 84 |
| 4.5 | <i>Following Nicholas I</i> | 86 |
| 4.6 | <i>Why Not Russia or When Russia?</i> | 88 |
| 4.7 | <i>Conclusions</i> | 92 |
| PART II DEMOCRACY IN A RUSSIAN MIRROR | | |
| 5 | Judging Democracy as Form of Government for Given Territories: Utopia or Apologetics? | 97 |
| | <i>John Dunn</i> | |
| j.i | <i>Democratic Authority as Repudiation of Self-Authorization</i> | 97 |
| 5.2 | <i>Agenda</i> | 99 |
| 5.3 | <i>Method</i> | 100 |
| 5.4 | <i>Elections</i> | 101 |
| 5.5 | <i>Russian Particularities and Universal Dilemmas</i> | 108 |
| 6 | Democracy: Ancient and Modern, Good and Bad | 110 |
| | <i>Pasquale Pasquino</i> | |
| 6.1 | <i>Introduction</i> | |
| 6.2 | <i>Athens</i> | no |
| 6.3 | <i>The Thomist Conceptual Revolution</i> | 112 |
| 6.4 | <i>What Is Good and What Is Bad about Modern Democracy (Elections)</i> | 113 |
| 6.5 | <i>Lessons from Russia</i> | 117 |
| 7 | The Role of Elections in Democracy | 126 |
| | <i>Boris Makarenko</i> | |
| j.i | <i>Why Are Elections Important?</i> | 130 |
| 7.1.1 | <i>Not Limited to Competition...</i> | 130 |
| y.1.2 | <i>Why Elections?</i> | 130 |
| 7.1.3 | <i>How Much Competition?</i> | 133 |
| 7.2 | <i>Functions of Competitive Elections</i> | 135 |
| 7.2.1 | <i>Instituting and Consolidating Democracy</i> | 136 |
| 7.2.2 | <i>Legitimizing Winners and Losers</i> | 136 |
| | | 137 |

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 7.2.3 | <i>Shaping Competition and Political Regime</i> | 138 |
| 7.2.4 | <i>Shaping the Style of Politics</i> | 140 |
| 7.3 | <i>Platforms or Personalities? What Is Being Voted For?</i> | 141 |
| 7.4 | <i>Free and Fair: How to Smell a Rat</i> | 143 |
| 7.j | <i>Conclusions</i> | 145 |
| 8 | <i>Elections and the Challenge of More Democracy</i> | 147 |
| | <i>Jose Maria Maravall</i> | |
| 8.1 | <i>A Defense of Electoral Democracy</i> | 147 |
| 8.2 | <i>Fears about Democratic Elections: The Russian Experience</i> | 149 |
| 8.3 | <i>Shortcomings of Electoral Democracies</i> | 151 |
| 8.3.1 | <i>Asymmetries of Information</i> | 152 |
| 8.3.2 | <i>The Predictability of Incumbents</i> | 155 |
| 8.3.3 | <i>Conflict over Divided Power</i> | 157 |
| 8.3.4 | <i>Bending the Rules of Competition</i> | 159 |
| 8.3.5 | <i>The Usurpation of the Voice of the People</i> | 162 |
| 8.4 | <i>Are Democracies a Threat?</i> | 164 |
| 8.4.1 | <i>Are Elected Governments Less Able to Promote Economic Growth?</i> | 165 |
| 8.4.2 | <i>Are Elected Governments Less Able to Promote Socioeconomic Equality?</i> | 167 |
| 8.5 | <i>Conclusion</i> | 169 |
| 9 | <i>Democracy between Elections</i> | 173 |
| | <i>Ian Shapiro</i> | |
| 9.1 | <i>Introduction</i> | 173 |
| 9.2 | <i>"Loyal" Opposition</i> | 174 |
| 9.3 | <i>Interest Groups</i> | 177 |
| 9.4 | <i>Civil Society</i> | 180 |
| 10 | <i>General Settings, Regional and National Factors, and the Concept of Non-Western Democracy</i> | 184 |
| | <i>Alexei D. Voskressenski</i> | |
| 10.1 | <i>Introduction</i> | 184 |
| 10.2 | <i>Applied Political Analysis in the East and the West: General Parameters and Specific Factors</i> | 186 |
| 10.3 | <i>The Spatial and Analytical System of Coordinates</i> | 192 |
| 10.4 | <i>Comparative Analysis of the Special Factors of Non-Western Political Systems and Processes: General Principles, Regional Factors, and Models of Democracy</i> | 194 |
| 10.j | <i>The Concept of Non-Western Democracy</i> | 199 |
| 10.6 | <i>Conclusion</i> | 208 |

| | | |
|---|--|------------------|
| 11 | "Non-Western Democracy" in the West | 212 |
| | <i>Adam Przeworski</i> | |
| | 11.1 Introduction | 212 |
| | 11.2 The "West" | 2-15 |
| | 11.2.1 Introduction | 215 |
| | 11.2.2 Harmony of Interests | 215 |
| | 11.2.3 Fear of Divisions | 217 |
| | 11.2.4 Opposition as Obstruction | 218 |
| | 11.2.5 Conclusion | 220 |
| | 11.) On the Political Use of "Traditions" | 220 |
| PART III PATHS OF POLITICAL CHANGE | | |
| 12 | Instituting Political Change | 229 |
| | <i>John Ferejohn</i> | |
| | 12.1 Introduction | 229 |
| | 12.2 What's Good and Bad about Democracy | 233 |
| | 12.3 Building Democracy in Real Time | 236 |
| | 12.4 Two Model Democracies | 238 |
| | 12.5 Discussion: Posttransition Politics | 244 |
| 13 | Political Institutions and Political Order(s) | 2-47 |
| | <i>Adam Przeworski</i> | |
| | 13.1 Introduction | 2-47 |
| | 13.2 Political Institutions and Political Conflicts | 248 |
| | 13.2.1 Preliminaries | 248 |
| | 13.2.2 Structuring Conflicts | 249 |
| | 13.2.3 Incentives to Participate and to Obey | 2-5 ¹ |
| | 13.2.4 Not All Is the Same | 258 |
| | 13.3 Different Orders | 262 |
| | 13.4 Regime Dynamics | 264 |
| | 13.5 Conclusions | 266 |
| 14 | How Do Transitions to Democracy Get Stuck, and Where? | 268 |
| | <i>Boris Makarenko and Andrei Melville</i> | |
| | 14.1 The Problem | 268 |
| | 14.2 Preconditions versus Policies in the Study of Democracy and Democratization | 270 |
| | 14.3 Why and How Democratizations Fail | 2-73 |
| | 14.4 Preconditions and Policies in the Outcome of Transition: Favorable or Unfavorable? | 279 |
| | 14.5 How Policy Choices Worked | 283 |
| | 14.5.1 Central Asia | 283 |
| | 14.5.2 Transcaucasia | 287 |
| | 14.5.3 Eastern Europe | 288 |
| | 14.6 Conclusions | 2-93 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| <i>Afterword: Open Issues and Disagreements</i> | 298 |
| <i>Introduction</i> | 298 |
| <i>Open Issues</i> | 299 |
| <i>The State and Democracy</i> | 299 |
| <i>Regime Stability and Reforms from Above</i> | 301 |
| <i>The Future of Democracy</i> | 304 |
| | |
| <i>References</i> | 307 |
| <i>Name Index</i> | 333 |
| <i>Subject Index</i> | 335 |