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WHEN IDEAS FAIL

**ECONOMIC THOUGHT, THE FAILURE OF TRANSITION
AND THE RISE OF INSTITUTIONAL INSTABILITY
IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA**

Joachim Zweynert



When Ideas Fail

This study offers an ideational explanation of Russia's relative failure to establish a functioning market economy and thus sets up a new and original perspective for discussion. In post-Soviet Russia, a clash between imported foreground ideas and deep domestic background ideas has led to an ideational division among the elite of the country. Within economic science, this led to the emergence of two thought collectives, (in the sense of Ludwik Fleck), with entirely different understandings of social reality.

This ideational division translated into incoherent policy measures, the emergence of institutional hybrids and thus, all in all, into institutional instability. Empirically, the book is based on a systematic, qualitative analysis of the writings of Soviet/Russian economists between 1987 and 2012. A central insight of the book is that when it comes to the diffusion of economic ideas beyond the core group of Western developed countries, the relationship between imported (foreground) economic ideas and culturally and historically deeply rooted patterns of thought (background ideas) constitutes a major problem.

This groundbreaking book thus makes an important contribution both to Central Eastern and Eastern European area studies and to the current debate on ideas and institutions in the social sciences.

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Preface

In 1987, the year that marks the starting point of the present study, then still being at high school, I travelled to the Soviet Union for the first time. It was mainly due to the impressions that I gained during this and a further trip to the Soviet Union that I decided to study economics. Ten years later, when I had finished my studies, two things had changed: First, not least as a result of further and partly prolonged stays in Russia, I had convinced myself that economics the way it was taught in the 1990s had severe difficulties grasping the problems of a society in which every single aspect of social life was turned upside down and which had been shaped by a history that diverged on several important aspects from that of the Western countries. Secondly, by the second half of the 1990s it was already clear that Russia's economic transition was a relative failure compared to that of Central Eastern European Countries and the former Soviet Republics Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

In search for explanations that went beyond the realm of economic factors and allowed for integrating the influence of the past, I came across Karl Pribram's (1983) ideas about the links between the history of economic ideas and processes of institutional change. Inspired by his *History of Economic Reasoning*, from 1997 to 1999 I settled in St. Petersburg and started to work on my PhD thesis on Russian economic thought in the 19th century. Immediately after I had finished that study, I started to work on the project that would finally lead me to write this book. Its main chapters are based on articles that have been published in *Russian History* (Zweynert 2014) and in *Europe-Asia Studies* (Zweynert 2006, 2007, 2010; Zweynert and Boldyrev 2017). The section about the Russian Stabilisation Fund in Chapter 6 is based on a paper written with Ewa Dabrowska that was published in *New Political Economy* in 2015.

Having been in progress for almost 15 years, the ideas contained in this book have been presented at numerous workshops and conferences and have benefited significantly from comments and suggestions by so many people that I can't mention all of them here. I would, however, like to express my gratitude to my co-authors Ivan Boldyrev and Ewa Dabrowska. Ivan Boldyrev has kindly read and commented on an earlier version of the manuscript, has helped me with some translations and last but not least suggested the title "When Ideas Fail". It is understood that all remaining mistakes are entirely my own. I am also grateful to

my student assistants Ludwig Evers and Olivia Davis for their assistance in producing the final manuscript. In the context of a research network on “Institutions and Institutional Change in Post-Socialism”, between 2010 and 2015 my work on the book has been supported by the German Ministry of Education and Science (BMBF). I happily take the opportunity here to express my gratitude particularly to our advisor in the Ministry Dr. Rolf Geserick for his friendly and encouraging support of our research activities. Where English translations of Russian texts were available, I refer to these translations. In all other cases, the translations are my own. Transliteration from Cyrillic follows the Modified Library of Congress system.

1 Introduction

This book develops and elaborates upon my monograph *Eine Geschichte des ökonomischen Denkens in Russland 1805–1905 (A History of Russian Economic Reasoning 1805–1905)*, 2002.¹ This book was meant both as a study of the history of economic ideas and as a contribution to research into the historical and cultural dimensions of post-socialist change. Following Karl Pribram's (1983: 40) assertion that “prerequisite to any change in social or economic institutions or organisations is a change of the prevailing pattern of reasoning which had provided the background to the predominant forms of social and economic life”, I asked whether analysing the history of Russian economic reasoning might help us to understand why in post-Soviet Russia the implementation of a market economy after 1991 encountered so much resistance. In a greatly simplified and abbreviated form, my answer was that in the history of Russian economic ideas (and in Russian social philosophy in general), a peculiar mix of anthropocentrism and holism provided fertile breeding ground for patterns of thought that were in potential conflict with the market. These patterns, I argued, didn't render the emergence of capitalism in Russia impossible. But they entailed a deep intellectual division between adherents and fundamental opponents of Russia's capitalist transformation that made Russia's social evolution unstable and vulnerable to external shocks.

In taking up this question, the present book provides an in-depth analysis of the intellectual clashes on post-socialist reforms in the Russian economic discourse and asks how they relate to the ideational legacies of the past. My study is located at the intersection of area studies, the history of economic thought, and International Political Economy. Theoretically, it is closely related to the recent “idealist turn” (Blyth 1997) in the interdisciplinary research programme of new institutionalism. More and more scholars from political science, sociology and partly economics have now re-discovered the role of ideas as engines of institutional change (see e.g. Hall 1997; Campbell 1998; Blyth 2002; Hay 2006a; Schmidt 2008; Rodrik 2014; Blyth, Helgadottir and Kring 2016; for overviews see Gofas and Hay 2010; Béland and Cox 2011a).

Economic ideas play a prominent role in this literature. The shift from Keynesianism to Monetarism in many Western countries around 1980 especially is often referred to as a prime example of ideationally induced institutional change. Obviously, economic ideas played a crucial role in the breakdown of socialism and

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in the post-socialist reform processes all over the former Eastern block. Against this background, it is surprising that so far there has been relatively little research on ideas and institutional change in post-socialist Central Eastern and Eastern Europe.² The present book tries to fill this gap. I hope that applying the insights of the newer research on ideas and institutions³ to the case of post-Soviet Russia will improve our understanding of the recent developments (both economic and political) in the Russian Federation. It is clear by now that Russia's transition into a democratic country with a market economy has provisionally failed. Unlike most Central Eastern European countries, Russia did not succeed in implementing macroeconomic and structural reforms, combating corruption, and democratising. Experts in Central Eastern and Eastern European area studies are still struggling to explain the differences in reform outcomes. My study puts an ideational explanation up to discussion. At the same time, I believe that this empirical case also bears important theoretical lessons for the general research on ideas and institutions.

As the title indicates, I claim that Russia's failed transition can meaningfully be described as a failure of ideas.⁴ My central thesis is that after 1991 in Russian economics, instead of a "transition from one core belief to another" (Alston, Melo, Mueller and Pereira 2016: 10), there emerged a deep divide between two incompatible thought styles. As a first and very rough approximation these thought styles can be described as a traditional and inward-oriented "Russian" one and an outward oriented one that aimed at the re-integration of the Russian scientific community into the international discourse. The first of these strands was deeply embedded in certain specific Russian intellectual traditions, reflected a methodological position that dated back to before the marginal revolution and thus stood in irreconcilable contradiction to the international economics discourse to which the other part of the Russian scientific community tried to return. In this way, very much like in the second half of the 19th century, instead of a vastly shared interpretation of social reality there emerged a struggle between two thought collectives, the representatives of which had their roots in conflicting socio-philosophical frames and their respective normative orientations.

If Pribram's thesis about a fundamental shift in patterns of thought as prerequisite for social transformations is correct, the unresolved tension between two patterns of thought of roughly equal strength offers an explanation for instability and ambiguity of Russia's current social order. Today's Russian state capitalism can indeed be characterised as a hybrid order both in institutional and in ideational terms and it does not yet seem clear whether a stable equilibrium will emerge and what such an equilibrium would look like. To my knowledge, in this book I provide the first in-depth case study about the tensions that can emerge as a result of the import of economic ideas to a country: (1) the economists of which had not been part of the international scientific community; and in which (2) some of the deeper background ideas provided a problematic breeding ground for the imported ideas.

Put in a nutshell, my argument is that the case of Russia indicates that when it comes to the diffusion of economic ideas beyond the core group of Western developed countries, the relationship between imported (foreground) economic ideas and culturally and historically deeply rooted patterns of thought (background

ideas) constitutes a major problem. I believe that this finding could, though it will take a specific form in every society, be relevant for other developing and emerging countries in which far-reaching reform processes are accompanied by the import of economic ideas. In this sense, I hope that the findings of my study might contribute to a better understanding of the current economic and political order in Russia, help us to better understand some of the problems that typically emerge during market reforms in developing and emerging societies, and last but not least contribute to the recent theorising about ideas and institutions.

I should like to state from the very beginning what I am doing and what I am not doing in this book: What I do is look at the academic (and partly, but only partly, also at the non-academic) economic discussions about economic reforms in Russia from 1987 to 2012 by qualitatively analysing the content of the Russian economics journals and selected academic monographs.⁵ This focus rests on the conviction that the ideas of “academic scribblers” are of great importance for the successful implementation of economic reforms. Thus, analysing the ideas circulating and prevailing in the Russian economics community provides us with an important piece of the puzzle in understanding the ideational dimension of Russian post-Soviet institutional change. At the same time, I am aware that in order to gain a fuller picture other elite groups and the attitudes of broader strata of the population would have to be included, something I do *not* do. Also, and in contrast to much of the ideas and institutions literature, in this book I do not systematically look into the concrete links between economic ideas and economic reforms.⁶ What I am mainly interested in are the broader pre-analytical visions (Schumpeter [1954] 1967), the thought styles, the *Gestaltvorstellungen* of Russian economists. This reflects my conviction that when it comes to a fundamental transformation of society, it is these broader visions, or, in the terminology of Pribram, patterns of thought, we should concentrate on.

Before I start my analysis of the Soviet and Post-Soviet Russian reform debates, in the next chapter I will elaborate on the theoretical foundations of my study and in particular on the question of how it relates to the recent theorising on ideas and institutions in the social sciences. Chapters 3 to 7 then provide a detailed analysis of the Brezhnev years (chapter 3), perestroika and the breakthrough of neo-liberal ideas (chapter 4), the 1990s (chapter 5), the first half of the 2000s (Chapter 6) and finally of the recent debate on innovation and modernisation (Chapter 7), before a rather short final chapter wherein I summarize my main findings. As most readers of this book will not be familiar with most of the Russian economists this book is dealing with, I have added a biographical index of the most important protagonists of my story.⁷ Authors that are included in this index are marked with an asterisk at their first mentioning.

Notes

- 1 A Russian translation was published in 2007 by the publishing house of the Higher School of Economics, Moscow.
- 2 The literature that does exist operates with categories much too large, such as “neo-liberalism”, “shock therapy” or “gradualism” and often lacks a sound theoretical and empirical foundation. For this critique see Dawisha and Ganev (2005). For a good

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- account of the influence of neoliberal ideas in post-Soviet Russia see Rutland (2013). At the time of writing this book, Vladimir Gel'man's, Dmitry Travin's and Otar Marganiia's book *Reexamining Economic and Political Reforms in Russia, 1985–2000* was published (2014), focusing on ideas and intergenerational conflicts among the elite in explaining the course of post-socialist reforms in Russia. Though the book offers important insights, it does not use the analytical instruments recently developed in the theorising on ideas and institutions as much as it might. The classification of individual persons into the two analysed generations of *shestdesiatniki* (people of the 1960s) and *semidesiatniki* (people of the 1970s) in some cases appears rather arbitrary.
- 3 In the following, I refer to this research as “constructivist institutionalism”. This is a pragmatic decision made in order to avoid lengthy expressions like “research on ideas and institutions”. I myself do not have strong preferences regarding the issues on whether an ideational version of institutionalism should be added to the three other institutionalisms (historical, sociological, rational choice) and if so, what the best label for this fourth branch should be. Again, I choose the term “constructivist institutionalism” for the purpose of convenience alone.
 - 4 To be very clear, what I argue is not that this is the only possible explanation but that it is one of the various meaningful perspectives which will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the problem of the relative failure of the Russian post-socialist transition process.
 - 5 I also look partly at the general interest press, political speeches and internet sources, but the focus is on academic writings by Russian economists.
 - 6 However, in Chapter 6 I use the example of the Russian Stabilisation Fund to illustrate how the ideational tension between the two thought collectives in Russian economics translates into incoherent economic reforms.
 - 7 These short biographies intend to provide the reader with very basic information about my protagonists. Readers interested in more biographical information may find Robert Campbell's *A Biographical Dictionary of Russian and Soviet Economists* (2012) helpful (of the 50 authors covered in my biographical index, 31 are included in it).

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