

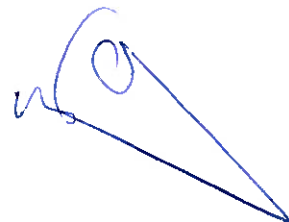
Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education

RUSSIAN PRESIDENTIAL ACADEMY

OF

NATIONAL ECONOMY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

As a manuscript.



Baydakov Ivan

**The history of the formation of prerequisites for economic policy in the
Russian Federation in the 2000s.**

5.6.1. Russian History

Annotation

Thesis for the degree of Candidate of Historical Sciences.

Research Supervisor:

V.Mau, PhD, Professor

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The relevance of the research topic is based on the following: Firstly, the period of historicization of the theme of reforms in the 1990s has come, since about 25 years have passed since the completion of their implementation and Russia is a country with a market economy today. Secondly, most scientific and popular science works on the reforms of the 1990s, published extensively in the 2000s and 2010s, are written by eyewitnesses to the events and have one or another political bias, that is, they were practically not dealt with impartially using historical methodology. In addition, the bulk of work on the transformational period is concentrated not in the historical field, but in related scientific fields: economics (the largest amount of work), finance and banking, sociology, political science, jurisprudence, and so on. It is this «gap» that this work is called upon to fill. Thirdly, in the current socio- economic and political realities, historians need to study the process of the country's preparation for a catching-up modernization spurt.

After the reforms began in October 1991, Russia went through a unique path in just over 15 years. It was characterized by a systematic crisis, including the destruction of the Soviet system, the collapse of Soviet institutions, and a deep financial and economic depression. And already in the early 2000s, the country was solving the problems formulated in the strategic program «Gref's Program»: «The Main Directions of Socio-Economic Policy of the Government of the Russian Federation for the Long Term», creating the foundations for recovery and catching-up post-industrial development (which is more correctly defined as «creating the foundations for achieving a post-industrial breakthrough» — bringing the state to the level of developed countries that are at the post-industrial socio- economic stage of development). To get this opportunity, Russia had to go through a difficult path of socio-economic transformation from a command and planned system to market relations. This strategic task was solved during the reforms of the 1990s. It was necessary to transform the economy, form institutions focused on market economic relations, and lay the foundations for changing public sentiment in favor of creating a stratum of owners and a variety of forms of ownership, developing entrepreneurship, and taking responsibility for one's standard of living.

This dissertation work is devoted to the historical examination of the course of reforms in the 1990s, their coherence and continuity from the strategic program speech of Russian President Boris Yeltsin on October 28, 1991, at the V Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR, and through medium-term Government programs with the future Strategy 2010 Program.

The uniqueness of Russia's historical experience lies both in the volumes — economic, social, demographic — of our country, its political and military significance and weight, and in having no other country with such a long stay in the command and planned economic system, which is an interconnected complex of elements including the real sector of the economy, public sector, economic institutions capable of functioning only in the form in which they were created; the population perceived social distribution mechanisms as the norm and duty of the state.

The author of the dissertation set the task to consider the process of formation and development of Russia in its national specifics, that is, from the side of the national model of modernization. However, it should be noted that the author considers modernization in the 2000s as a single process, started by transit (transition from a planned economy to a market one) and completed after modernization already in the 2010s.

The dissertation shows that the Russian executive branch in the last decade of the XX century managed to solve the main tasks of reforms:

- * creation of sovereign state institutions;
- * cessation of financial destabilization;
- * implementation of a turning point in the real sector of the economy by launching the institution of bankruptcy and privatization, which provided an opportunity to transfer production to the hands of effective owners.

- carrying out «small» privatization of the trade sectors of trade trade торговли, catering and services with positive results, emergence and development of small and medium-sized businesses, which gave rise to a layer of entrepreneurs, a sense of ownership and provided examples examples examples people with examples examples examples market conditions examples examples and personal responsibility for the standard of living of oneself and one's close ones.

The actions of the Government in the 1990s laid the foundation for developing and adopting the Strategy 2010 Program:

- in the financial and budgetary spheres, it became possible to successfully accomplish the main budget task — obtaining funds for reforms and solving the most pressing socio-economic and political problems — by means of state debt market instruments (GKO-OFZ); the subsequent default reduced the severity of public debt (which played a positive historical role from the point of view of macroeconomics), the basis for further financial stabilization was created;

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The goal of the research was formulated as follows: based on the analysis of Russian socio-economic reforms in the 1990s, to understand how the actions of the Government of the period under study created the possibility of carrying out institutional reforms in the 2000s. It should be noted that existing historical studies of the Russian transformational period have not yet yielded any reliable results for a comprehensive explanation of the nature of the processes that took place.

To do this, it was necessary to accomplish the following tasks:

1. Analyse the main measures for transition to a market economy outlined in the speech of President Boris Yeltsin at the 5th Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR on October 28, 1991, with the aim of subsequent comparison with medium-term Government programs of the 1990s, and identify the key steps proposed by the Government in 1991-1992 to overcome the crisis caused by the collapse of the USSR.
2. Determine how the Program "Strategy for Socio-Economic Development of the Russian Federation until 2010" (Strategy-2010 or Gref's Program) met the challenges of a post-industrial breakthrough.
3. Identify key trends in the development of the financial and budgetary sphere in 1991-1999 and analyze the key decisions of the Government to resolve aspects of the socio-economic crisis, as well as the main consequences of the default of 1998.

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Within the framework of this work, historical-genetic and historical-systemic methods have become fundamental for studying Russia's institutional development. Thanks to the use of these methods, it was possible to identify a cause-and-effect relationship between the actions of governments in the 1990s and the program of socio-economic development of Russia in the early 2000s. The author of the dissertation also used a problem-chronological approach, actually building the structure of the dissertation research through this approach.

The principle of historicism is defined as the study of phenomena in a historical context and the presentation of the subject of research not in statics, but in dynamics. The principle of consistency, in turn, made it possible to identify connections between individual aspects of reforms, actions of actors and socio-economic problems. The principle of synthesis allowed tracing the correlation and mutual influence of various events on solving socio-economic problems in Russia.

From the theoretical and methodological side, this work is at the intersection of institutional, modernization approaches and the theory of the revolutionary process, partially integrating into the concept of transition economies (Transition economy), the idea of which was that after financial stabilization, cessation of state price regulation and mass privatization, «transit» economies would develop in the same way as any other developing economy.

The process of Russia's economic transformation is considered in the basic methodology of new institutionalism by D. North, O. Williamson and R. Coase. This approach suggests that institutional changes in the economy at micro- and macrolevels should be considered as exogenous variables affecting the entire state. The author of the dissertation takes from D. North's methodology an understanding of institutions, and the institutional environment — from R. Coase.

In the theory of modernization, the dissertation research attracts a modern version of the neo-modernization analysis theory.

The author also involves the theory of revolutionary process, primarily developed by V. A. Mau, but using earlier comparative works by T. Skocpol and S. Eisenstadt.

Scientific novelty of the research. Despite a fairly large number of works on the history of the 1990s and on the problems addressed in the dissertation, there are not many works written to date that systematically and comprehensively present the economic history of Russia in the 1990s both from the point of view of the post-industrial period of development and from the point of view of studying the experience of preparing institutional reforms in the early 2000s. Moreover, in historical literature, the period of formation of New Russia is just beginning to be comprehended.

In addition, the novelty of this work is due to the lack of works devoted to both the formation of prerequisites for institutional reforms in Russia in 1990–2000 and works on economic history generalizing the events of the 1990s, written by an author who did not survive this crisis.

The dissertation work was the first to provide a historical understanding of the draft policy documents of the Gaidar Government in 1992.

The economic processes considered in the dissertation in historical retrospect allow us to see a very important trend and conclude that in the actions of the executive branch throughout the entire transformational period of the 1990s, the actual economic task of transforming to market conditions prevailed over current political components, starting from the strategic speech of Russian President Boris Yeltsin until the country had the opportunity to set the task of recovery growth and creating the foundations for a post-industrial breakthrough at the beginning of the 21st century.

The provisions:

1. The actions of the government in the 1990s laid the groundwork for the development and adoption of the Strategy-2010 program (Gref's Program):

- In the financial and budgetary sphere, a methodology was developed for creating and developing the market of government debt instruments, which allowed solving the problem of accumulating budget resources for carrying out reforms and implementing priority socio-economic tasks in conditions of acute crisis.
- In the real sector of the economy, which went through a stage of adaptation to market conditions, the foundations were laid for further market development — the institution of bankruptcies began to function as a way to switch resources from inefficient sectors of the economy to efficient ones, privatization was carried out, providing an opportunity to replace inefficient owners with efficient ones and transfer actual production management from former Soviet directors to them.

2. The conclusion is substantiated that the actions of the executive branch throughout the entire transformational period of the 1990s, regardless of the composition of the Government of the Russian Federation, were unchanged and aimed at implementing the key task of economic policy, which was to ensure recovery growth and create the foundations for a post-industrial breakthrough at the beginning of the XXI century.

3. The thesis is proved that the mechanism for implementing the Strategy-2010 Program (Gref's Program) was based on a fundamental reform of the systems of reproduction of high-quality human capital — education and healthcare, creating in society an atmosphere of a favorable environment for the fullest disclosure of human capital opportunities, forming inclusive market

institutions and transformations in the state power of Russia corresponding to the post-industrial challenge, including the institution of property rights and the tax system.

4. Based on the author's calculations of the perception of the privatization institute by the able-bodied population (as the supposed owner of the enterprises being privatized), it is proved that about 30% of the adult population of the country did not intend to participate and did not participate in privatization, having sold their checks or not using them, and at least 10% of the adult population, who consciously expected practical benefits from privatization in the foreseeable future for them, did not receive any expected results.

5. The boundaries of two stages in the development of the banking system have been identified, representing historical «points» at which there is a sharp change in the goal-setting of the banking community and/or the vector of society's attitude towards the banking system: the first stage is formation in 1991–1995, the completion of which was characterized by the rejection of the post-Soviet perception of domestic banking both by the banking community itself and by the population, and the second is the crisis four-year period of 1996–1999, following which Russian banks switched from priority activity in speculative markets to working with the real sector of the economy and the population.

Theoretical and practical significance of the work. The research results can be applied when studying transformational periods in Russian history, the process of solving fundamental socio-economic problems, as well as analyzing the experience of preparing reforms for catching-up development. The provisions and main conclusions of the dissertation can be used in higher educational institutions to develop general and special courses on the history of modern Russia and/or economic history (and are already used at the Presidential Academy), in addition, the results of this work regarding the implementation of complex political decisions are used in analytical materials prepared within the framework of the Presidential Academy's work in the Expert Council under the Government of the Russian Federation (Order of D. Y. Grigorenko dated March 24, 2023, No. DG-P54-4153).

The degree of reliability and approbation of the research results..

The reliability is due to the involvement of a wide range of sources (a detailed overview of the sources used is described in the corresponding section of the dissertation work), content analysis of sources, critical understanding of the material contained in sources and scientific literature on the topic of the thesis. The author analyzed twelve groups of historical sources systematized in the logic of fund formation:

1) legislative framework and by-laws of presidential and government documents, as well as normative legal acts of the USSR and international normative documents used in the activities of the executive branch;

2) normative by-laws of the Central Bank of Russia;

3) program political, legal and strategic presidential documents — the speech of President B. N. Yeltsin at the V Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR, Presidential Addresses to the Federal Assembly and the televised address on August 9, 1999.

4) program political and legal documents of executive authorities, including the «Gerashchenko Project» for bringing the banking system out of the 1998 crisis, as well as programs for medium-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation;

5) materials of the legislative branch — Resolutions of Congresses of People's Deputies of the RSFSR and speeches of deputies at the Congresses, transcripts, Resolutions and Statements of the Federal Assembly and its Chambers;

6) by-laws of regional authorities;

7) reporting data of the Ministry of Finance, the Central Bank and the Accounts Chamber of Russia;

8) memoirs, including those presented in the periodical press, interviews and published diaries;

9) current and journalistic materials of mass media;

10) corporate materials, including those published by the banking community, departmental and party materials of a historical and reference nature;

11) results of public opinion polls;

12) statistical data.

Approbation of the research results. The results of the study and certain provisions of the work were published in six scientific publications of the author, with a total volume of 7.5 author's sheets, four of which are included in the list of publications recommended by the Academic Council of the Presidential Academy for defense in the dissertation council of RANEPa. The author presented a report at the All-Russian Scientific Conference.

The results of the research were tested within the framework of research works carried out by the Center for Applied History of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Presidential Academy (topic No. 10.23-2023-2) and Laboratory of Actual History of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Presidential Academy (topic No. 8451), within which the author prepared similar thematic sections. They are also used in the teaching activities of the author within the

following courses: «Economic Policy in the Context of Global Changes», «Modern Approaches to Teaching History».

The structure and content of the dissertation.

The work is structured according to the problem-chronological principle: from the situation in the country in 1991–1992 to a cross-cutting chronological examination of key events in each of the studied areas. It consists of an introduction, eight chapters, a conclusion, and a list of references.

The dissertation contains 216 pages of main text. In the dissertation, the list of historiography and bibliography consists of 329 publications, and the list of sources includes 155 documents.