

PS 156D: Political Economy of Post-Communist Reform

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Office Hours: Weds 1-2

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M, W: 10-11:50
Royce 362

1. About the Course

In the years after 1989, governments in countries from Slovenia to Russia struggled to replace communist political and economic systems with free market democracies. This course examines their successes and failures. It considers how political and economic reforms interact. The main focus is on Russia and certain states of Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia), but the experience of other countries (including other former Soviet republics) will also be considered at times. Rather than surveying the history of transitions in each country, the course aims to develop theoretical foundations for understanding all of them. It will draw heavily on concepts and readings from comparative politics and political economy. Some background in economics is strongly recommended.

2. Readings

A **course reader** will be available for sale at Course Reader Material, 1137 Westwood Blvd. (310 443 3303), containing all required readings except one which is available on line (see readings for Nov 9 below). You should read the relevant readings (as listed below) *before* the date of the associated lecture.

Though the course provides an introduction to the structure of Soviet-type systems, those with no previous background in the area may want to consult some additional materials. Mary McAuley's *Soviet Politics 1917-1991* is a good, short political history of the Soviet Union, as is Geoffrey Hosking's, *The First Socialist Society*. A very readable account of the Gorbachev era and the fall of the Soviet Union is David Remnick's *Lenin's Tomb*. An outstanding journalistic account of the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe is Timothy Garton Ash's *The Magic Lantern*. Much useful current information about the post-communist countries is available from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty at its website (www.rferl.org).

3. Requirements

Attendance at lectures and discussion sections is mandatory. The lectures will present new theoretical and empirical material, as well as setting the readings in context. There will be a take-home midterm and a take-home final exam. Both will require both knowledge of the material presented in readings and lectures and the ability to identify theories, assess evidence, and present convincing arguments. The midterm will count for 40% and the final exam for 50% of the course grade. Participation in discussion sections will count for 10%.

4. Class Meetings

Introduction (Oct 3)

The Nature of Soviet-Type Systems (Oct 5, 12)

-Anders Aslund, *Building Capitalism: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, ch.1.

-Richard Sakwa, *Soviet Politics in Perspective*, 2nd Edn., Routledge, pp.149-180.

NOTE: NO CLASS OCTOBER 10!

The System's Failure (Oct 17)

-Anders Aslund, *Building Capitalism*, ch.2.

-Richard Sakwa, *Soviet Politics in Perspective*, 2nd Edn., Routledge, pp.277-88.

Film: "The Fall of Communism" (Oct 19)

Strategies of Economic Reform (Oct 24, 26)

-Anders Aslund, *Building Capitalism*, ch.3.

-Peter Murrell, "What is Shock Therapy? What Did it Do in Poland and Russia?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 1993.

-Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira et al. *Economic Reforms in New Democracies: A Social Democratic Approach*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, Introduction.

-Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, *Without A Map*, MIT Press, 2000, ch.1.

Privatization (Oct 31)

-Shleifer and Treisman, *Without A Map*, ch.2.

-Anders Aslund, *Building Capitalism*, ch.7.

Democracy, Politics, and Economic Reform (Nov 2, Nov 7)

-Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, ch.4.

-Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in the Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics*, January 1998, Excerpt: just pp.203-23.

-Larry Diamond and Mark Plattner, "Introduction" in *Economic Reform and Democracy*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp.ix-xxii.

-Adam Przeworski et al, "What Makes Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy*, 7, 1, January 1996, pp.39-55.

Initial Results (Nov 9)

-Gerard Roland, "The Political Economy of Transition," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Winter 2002.

-Anders Aslund, *Building Capitalism*, ch.11.

-John McMillan and Oleh Havrylyshyn, "Reform: What Pace Works", *Finance and Development*, September 2004, NOT IN READER: on line at:

www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2004/09/pdf/countrp.pdf

Midterm handed out at end of lecture, due at beginning of class Nov 14.

International Opening--Trade and Aid (Nov 14)

- Jeffrey Sachs, "Western Financial Assistance and Russia's Reforms," in Shafiqul Islam and Michael Mandelbaum, eds., *Making Markets*, Council on Foreign Relations.
- World Bank, *From Plan to Market*, ch.9.

Nationalism, Ethnic Divisions, and Federalism (Nov 16)

- Adam Przeworski et al., *Sustainable Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, chap. 1.
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia," *Daedalus*, spring 92, pp.123-39.

Political Institutions 1: Constitutions and Political Power (Nov 21)

- Stephen Holmes, "Back to the Drawing Board," *East European Constitutional Review*, winter 1993, pp.21-5.
- Cass Sunstein, "Against Positive Rights," *East European Constitutional Review*, winter 1993, pp.35-8.
- Donald Horowitz, Seymour Martin Lipset, Juan Linz, "Presidents vs. Parliaments: Debate" *Journal of Democracy*, 1, 4, 1990, pp.73-91
- Matthew Shugart, "Of Presidents and Parliaments," *East-European Constitutional Review*, winter 1993.

NO CLASS NOV 23: EARLY THANKSGIVING!

Political Institutions 2: Party Systems and Elections (Nov 28)

- Haggard and Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, chap.5.
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *Transition Report 1999*, ch.5.

Legal Reform and Government Failure (Nov 30)

- Andrei Shleifer, "Government in Transition".
- Vladimir Volkov, "Violent Entrepreneurship in Post-Communist Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 1999.

Reemergence of Civil Society, and Conclusions (Dec 5)

- Kenneth Jowitt, "The Leninist Legacy," in Ivo Banac, ed., *Eastern Europe in Revolution*, Cornell University Press, 1992, pp.207-24.
- Robert Shiller, Maxim Boycko and Vladimir Korobov, "Popular Attitudes Toward Free Markets: The Soviet Union and US Compared," *American Economic Review*, June 1991.
- Stephen White, "Ten Years On, What Do Russians Think?" in Rick Fawn and Stephen White, eds., *Russia After Communism*, Portland, OR: Frank Cass, pp.35-50.

Takehome final exam handed out at end of class. Final Exams Due Dec 12.

Academic Integrity

To all UCLA Students:

UCLA is a community of scholars. In this community, all members including faculty, staff and students alike are responsible for maintaining standards of academic honesty. As a student and member of the University community, you are here to get an education and are, therefore, expected to demonstrate integrity in your academic endeavors. You are evaluated on your own merits. Cheating, plagiarism, collaborative work, multiple submissions without the permission of the professor, or other kinds of academic dishonesty are considered unacceptable behavior and will result in formal disciplinary proceedings usually resulting in **suspension** or **dismissal**.

Forms of Academic Dishonesty

As specified in the UCLA Student Conduct Code, violations or attempted violations of academic dishonesty include, but are not limited to, cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, multiple submissions or facilitating academic dishonesty (see below for detailed definitions).

While you are here at UCLA, you may find yourself in a situation where cheating seems like a viable choice. You may rationalize to yourself that "Everyone else does it" Well, they don't. And will that matter when YOU get caught? NO! If you are unsure whether what you are considering doing is cheating, just ask yourself how would you feel if your actions were public, for anyone to see? Would you feel embarrassed or ashamed? If the answer is yes, that's a good indicator that you are taking a risk and rationalizing it to yourself.

If after reviewing the information below, you are still unclear about any of the items – **don't take chances**, don't just take your well-intentioned friend's advice – ASK your TA or your Professor. Know the rules - Ignorance is NO defense. In addition, avoid placing yourself in situations which might lead your TA or Professor to **suspect you of cheating**. For example, during an exam don't sit next to someone with whom you studied in case your answers end up looking "too similar."

Alternatives to Academic Dishonesty

- * **Seek out help** – meet with your TA or Professor, ask if there is special tutoring available.
- * **Drop the course** – can you take it next quarter when you might feel more prepared and less pressured?
- * **Ask for an extension** – if you explain your situation to your TA or Professor, they might grant you an extended deadline.
- * **See a counselor** at Student Psychological Services, and/or your school, college or department – UCLA has many resources for students who are feeling the stresses of academic and personal pressures (**please see below**)

Remember, **getting caught cheating affects more than just your GPA**. How will you explain to your parents, family and friends that you have been suspended or dismissed? How will it affect your financial aid award and/or scholarship money? Will you be required to, and be able to pay back that money if you are no longer a student? If you live in the residence halls, where will you go if you are told you can no longer live there?

You have worked very hard to get here, so don't cheat! If you would like more information, please come see us at the Dean of Students' Office in 1206 Murphy Hall, call us at (310) 825-3871 or visit our Web site at www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu.

Cheating

- Unauthorized acquiring of knowledge of an examination or part of an examination
- Allowing another person to take a quiz, exam, or similar evaluation for you
- Using unauthorized material, information, or study aids in any academic exercise or examination – textbook, notes, formula list, calculator, etc.
- Unauthorized collaboration in providing or requesting assistance, such as sharing information
- Unauthorized use of someone else's data in completing a computer exercise
- Altering a graded exam or assignment and requesting that it be regraded

Plagiarism

Presenting another's words or ideas as if they were one's own

- Submitting as your own through purchase or otherwise, part of or an entire work produced verbatim by someone else
- Paraphrasing ideas, data or writing without properly acknowledging the source
- Unauthorized transfer and use of someone else's computer file as your own
- Unauthorized use of someone else's data in completing a computer exercise

Multiple Submissions

Submitting the same work (with exact or similar content) in more than one class without permission from the instructor to do so. This includes courses you are currently taking, as well as courses you might take in another quarter

Facilitating Academic Dishonesty

Participating in any action that compromises the integrity of the academic standards of the University; assisting another to commit an act of academic dishonesty

- Taking a quiz, exam, or similar evaluation in place of another person
- Allowing another student to copy from you
- Providing material or other information to another student with knowledge that such assistance could be used in any of the violations stated above (e.g., giving test information to students in other discussion sections of the same course)

Fabrication

Falsification or invention of any information in an academic exercise

- Altering data to support research
- Presenting results from research that was not performed
- Crediting source material that was not used for research

Places to go for help when you are feeling overwhelmed and need personal and/or academic assistance:

(In addition to the resources listed below, you can get assistance from a counselor in your college/dept., check out the current schedule of classes under "Academic Counseling" to find the location and phone number)

*** Letters & Science Counseling Service**

A316 Murphy Hall: (310) 825-1965 www.college.ucla.edu

*** Academics in the Commons at Covell Commons: (310) 825-9315**

free workshops on a wide variety of issues relating to academic & personal success
www.orl.ucla.edu (click on "academics")

*** College Tutorials: at Covell Commons: (310) 825-9315**

free tutoring for ESL/math & science/composition/and more! www.college.ucla.edu/up/ct/

*** Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Resource Center**

220 Kinsey Hall: (310) 206-3628 www.lgbt.ucla.edu

*** Office for Students with Disabilities**

A255 Murphy Hall: (310) 825-1501, TDD (310) 206-6083 www.saonet.ucla.edu/osd

*** Office of International Students and Scholars**

106 Bradley Hall: (310) 825-1681 www.intl.ucla.edu

*** Student Legal Services**

70 Dodd Hall: (310) 825-9894 www.studentlegal.ucla.edu

*** Student Psychological Services**

4223 Math Sciences: (310) 825-0768

A3-062 Center for Health Sciences: (310) 825-7985 www.saonet.ucla.edu/sps.htm

*** Center for Women and Men**

2 Dodd Hall: (310) 825-3945 www.thecenter.ucla.edu

*** Dean of Students Office**

1206 Murphy Hall: (310) 825-3871 www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu