

*William & Mary*

Economics 300-03 (Spring 2023)

**RUSSIA AND CHINA:**

**Post-socialist Transition under the New Economic Globalization**

Prof. Berhanu Abegaz

Office: Chancellors 335 Class: TR, 3:30-4:50 PM

Office Hours: W: 10-11:30 AM; Th: 2-3 PM (or by appt.) Classroom: Chancellor 133

1. **WHAT THIS COURSE IS ALL ABOUT**

Two economic systems dominated the post-WWII global economy: Capitalism (laissez-faire or corporatist) and Socialism (centrally planned or cooperativist). Comparative economics [CE] is the study of economic decision-making and outcomes within one of the two systems or between systems. In other words, CE seeks to understand the mechanism and the impact on the efficiency and equity of alternative economic organizations and forms of economic planning at the level of the corporation or the state.

This course focuses on comparative economic systems [CES], a branch of CE that focuses on inter-system comparisons, deals with the design and functioning of interactive market institutions and non-market economic institutions to incentivize decisions. CES melds ideas from various fields of economics, especially from economic history, international economics, development economics, and institutional economics. Topics covered include property rights and transaction costs, economic organization, competition, centralized and decentralized planning, cooperative and labor management, vertical and horizontal inequality, and the dynamics of economic systems. Politics, of course, lurks behind these issues.

The observed economic performance of economies is a joint product of the characteristic features of the economic system (domestic and global, endowments, and policies. At the end of the course, you will be able to understand: the soft institutional underbelly of the market economy, the impossibility of devising an apolitical economic system, the fusion of the political and the economic under Socialism, and the varieties of the market and non-market institutions that permit or hinder rapid and equitable economic growth.

More specifically, this course addresses four sets of issues. The first part of the syllabus explores theories of economic systems, varieties of capitalism and Socialism, and central planning models. The operation and performance of the classical Soviet model and its Chinese version are studied in part two to help you understand how an industrial economy can function in the absence of markets. The third part examines the vexed, post-1990 political economy of market-oriented transition in the age of ICT-driven global value chains. We conclude with a close look at contrasting country experiences with the post-socialist Transition: Russia vs. China. Time-permitting, we will also explore the small-country cases of Poland and Vietnam.

1. **GRADING AND EXPECTATIONS**

Your grade for the course will be based on the quality of three sets of coursework: a mid-term exam (40%) and a cumulative final exam (40%), two units of graded homework (10%), and team-based class debates with a one-page summary of your contributions (10%). I will provide guidelines.

1. **TEXTBOOKS AND READINGS**

There is no single textbook in the market that coherently covers most topics. Therefore, this reading-intensive course must rely on disparate readings, most of which are synthesized for you in the Pedagogical Notes. The required readings consist of the following textbooks (which you can purchase from Barnes and Noble/WM or elsewhere). You can download articles and chapters from the Course's Blackboard site:

* 1. Berhanu Abegaz, *Understanding Economic Transitions: Plan and Market under the New Globalization,* Palgrave-Macmillan, 2023.
  2. Oleh Havrylyshyn, *Present at the Transition: An Inside Look at the Role of History, Politics, and Personalities in Post-Communist Countries*, Cambridge University Press, 2020.
  3. Isabella Weber, *How China Escaped Shock Therapy: The Market Reform Debate*, Routledge, 2021.

1. **ATTENDANCE & OTHER ACADEMIC RULES**

Consistent attendance is one of the best ways to do well in this class, where seemingly disparate ideas are interconnected. It is also College policy: "Attendance is expected per the College Catalog rules, and it is the best thing you can do for your grade. Except for reasonable cause, students are expected to be present at all regularly scheduled class meetings. Students whose attendance becomes unsatisfactory to the extent that their course performance is affected adversely should be so informed by their instructor and reported to the Dean of Students by completing a care report. Each student is responsible for notifying professors of absences. Because of the Honor Code, a student's explanation of class absence is expected to be truthful and, therefore, should be sufficient in most instances. Students who will miss classes due to personal difficulties or family emergencies should contact the Dean of Students Office as soon as possible." The authoritative source for academic rules is the Undergraduate Catalog.

**PART ONE: INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC "SYSTEMS"**

Economic systems (such as communal, state, or market) allocate resources and distribute income under the hegemony of various ruling elites. The centrally planned economy (CPE) predominates state and collective property over private property, plan directives over market allocations, and social consumption over private consumption. The primary goal is rapid economic growth with economic security and a high level of egalitarianism. It is a product of both design and improvisation. The nature of economic systems in general and the debate on the feasibility and efficiency of Socialism relative to capitalism will be reviewed in this section.

* 1. **Comparative Institutions, Organizations, and Economic Systems**

Abegaz (2023), "Economic Systems," chapter 1.

Neuberger (1971), "Classifying Economic Systems," pp. 18-26.

Nelson (2011), "The Complex Economic Organization of Capitalist Economies," *Capitalism and Society*.

* 1. **The Great Debate on Systems: Capitalism vs. Stalinist Socialism vs. Market Socialism**

Marx and Engels (1848), "The Communist Manifesto," pp. 14-34.

Hayek (1945), "The Price System as a Mechanism for Using Knowledge," pp. 29-40. Von Mises (1936), "Economic Calculation in Socialism," pp. 111-17.

Lange (1936), "On the Economic Theory of Socialism," pp. 118-26.

* + - **Homework #1—5%.**

**PART TWO: SOVIET CENTRAL PLANNING IN THEORY AND PRACTICE**

The Soviet economy, the "really existing socialism" par excellence, was imitated by all other socialist countries. This classical CPE relied on a central economic plan characterized by administrative allocation of key inputs and outputs, a regimented labor market, autarky concerning external trade, dual control of economic entities by parallel Party and State bureaucracies, a sizeable informal or sub- market economy, and a generalized state of economic shortage and soft budget constraint. All these were rationalized by a Leninist ideology of "revolutionary democracy." The pre-1991 Soviet economy provides an excellent case study of how a modern industrial economy can function without reliance on markets. This historical case study underscores the need to pay special attention to context— historical legacies, endowments, and institutions (the state, the rule of law, and governance).

* 1. **Historical Legacies: Power, Ideology and Ownership Forms**

Abegaz (2023), "Economic Planning in Various Settings," chapter 2.

## Soviet Planning: Organizational Architecture, Drafting, and Implementation

Abegaz (2022), "The Soviet CPE I" and "The Soviet CPE II," chapters 3 and 4.

** **Mid-Term Exam, just before Spring Break—40%**

## Chinese Planning: Planning in a Semi-industrial Setting

Abegaz (2023), "The Chinese CPE," chapter 5.

## PART THREE: THE TRAVAILS OF POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITIONS

Industrialization somehow took off in Western Europe and its offshoots but failed elsewhere except Japan. This Great Divergence explains the temptation by frustrated elites in the European periphery and in the so-called Third World to engage in radical reform and central planning in the hope of successfully engineering development from the top down. It turns out that the Soviet-type CPE is well suited for the mobilization and reallocation of underemployed resources using mature technologies (extensive growth). It also produces an egalitarian distribution of income and unprecedented levels of economic security. The system, however, provided inadequate incentives for innovation. It was less well suited for sustaining a high level of productivity (intensive growth) since sustained productivity growth requires significant devolution of authority, flexibility, and technological innovation. Could it be that Socialism is the most extended detour to capitalism as the old joke has it?

## Theories and Modalities of Post-Socialist Transition

Kornai (1992), *The Socialist System,* ch. 15.

Abegaz (2023), "The Nature of Post-Socialist Transitions," chapter 6.

* 1. **Contrasting Strategies and Experiences: Europe versus China**

Havrylyshyn (2020), *Present at the Transition*, entire book.

Weber (2021), *How China Escaped Shock Therapy*, entire book.

## Homework #2—5%

**PART FOUR: TWO CONTRASTING MODELS OF TRANSITION**

Starting around 1990, the CPEs made what appears to be an irreversible switch to some market (capitalist) economy. China and Vietnam constitute intriguing exceptions to the rule of transformational depression during the transition period. Central Europe moved quickly to recovery by the mid-1990s, while many Southeastern European and the CIS countries endured shock without therapy. Along with Brazil and India, China and Russia now comprise the BRIC group of emerging economic powers. The class presentations will critically reflect on the diverse country experiences grappling with such questions as to whether the enormous cost of Transition could have been minimized with better reform strategies and more generous Western support.

## The Russian Model of Transition: Transformational Recession

Kornai (2006), "The Great Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe," *Econ. Transition*.

Abegaz (2023), "The Autarkic Road to Capitalism," Chapter 7.

## The Chinese Model of Transition: Transformational Boom

Abegaz (2023), "The Nationalist Road to Capitalism," Chapter 8.

Huang (2012), "How Did China Take Off?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 26(4).

* 1. **Polish and Vietnamese Transition and the New Globalization** (time permitting)

Abegaz (2023), “Two Integrationist Variants: Poland and Vietnam,” chapter 9.

Abegaz (2023), “Pathways of Integration in the Age of Global Value Chains,” chapter 10.

* + - **Class Presentation and Summary Report--10%**

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# Final Exam—40%

## Useful Sources on Historically Planned Economies:

The European Economy The Economist

Economics of Transition Beijing Review

Problems of Communism Annual Transition Report (EBRD)

Economic Systems The Palgrave Dictionary of Economics

J. of Comparative Economics Transition (World Bank)

Comparative Economic Studies Far Eastern Review

The New York Times The Washington Post

The Wall Street Journal The Financial Times (London)

# Useful Web Sites:

The Economist <http://www.enews.com/magazines/economist/>

United Nations <http://www.unsystem.org/>

World Bank (WDI data) <http://www.worldbank.org/html/Welcome.html/>

European Union <http://europa.eu.int/>

EBRD <http://ebrd.org/>

IMF <http://imf.org/>

OECD <http://oecd.org/>

Penn World Tables <https://www.rug.nl/ggdc/productivity/pwt/>

## Post-Socialist Transition Countries:

Russia Ukraine

Kazakhstan Baltic States

Czech Republic Uzbekistan

Slovak Republic Hungary

Poland Serbia

Slovenia Azerbaijan

Romania Bulgaria

Albania China

Vietnam Croatia

Cuba\* North Korea\*