

## DANIEL S. TREISMAN

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### EDUCATION

Ph.D.	Harvard University, Department of Government, 1995
Diploma in Russian Language	Plekhanov Institute of Economics, Moscow, 1988
M.A.	Harvard University, Department of Government, 1988
B.A.Hons. (first class)	Oxford University, Politics, Philosophy and Economics, 1986

### ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Professor	July 2004-present	University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Political Science
Associate Professor	July 2000-Jun 2004	University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Political Science
Assistant Professor	July 1996-Jun 2000	University of California, Los Angeles Department of Political Science
William C. Bark National Fellow	Sep 1998-Jun 1999	Hoover Institution, Stanford University
Post-Doctoral Research Fellow	Sep 1995-Jun 1996	Harvard University, Russian Research Center

## SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS

Invited Keynote Address to the Annual Research Conference of the New Economic School (Moscow), June 2008.

Invited plenary lecture to the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, December 2004.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship, 2002-3.

German Marshall Fund Fellowship, 2002-3.

Honorable Mention, Sage Prize for best paper on comparative politics presented at the 2000 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Honorable Mention, Gregory Luebbert Award for best book in comparative politics 1998-9, American Political Science Association, Comparative Politics Organized Section, for *After the Deluge*.

Honorable Mention, Sage Prize for best paper on comparative politics presented at the 1999 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Dean's Marshal Award (for research and teaching), UCLA 1999.

Invited Presentation to the Fifth Nobel Symposium on Transition Economics, Stockholm, September 1999.

Smith Richardson Foundation, research grant supporting work on "Russia's Tax Crisis," 1999-2000.

Hoover Institution, Stanford University, National Fellowship, 1998-9.

University of California, Los Angeles Career Development Award, 1997-8.

Senior Research Fellowship, US Institute of Peace, 1996-7 (declined).

"Best Paper" Award of Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations Organized Section, American Political Science Association, 1996 (best paper on federalism and intergovernmental relations presented at 1995 APSA annual meeting).

## PUBLICATIONS

### *Books and Monographs*

*The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization*, Cambridge University Press, July 2007.

*Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia*, with Andrei Shleifer, 2000, MIT Press. Paperback edition, September 2001.

*After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia*, 1999, University of Michigan Press. Paperback edition, September 2001.

*Subnational Budgeting in Russia: Preempting a Potential Crisis*, with Lev Freinkman and Stepan Titov, Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1999.

*The Russian Economy in Transition*, with Andrei Shleifer, OECD Development Centre, November 1997.

*Peer-Reviewed Articles and Book Chapters*

“Did Government Decentralization Cause China’s Economic Miracle?” with Hongbin Cai, *World Politics*, July 2006.

“Evaluating Exchange Rate Management,” in Timothy J. Colton and Stephen Holmes, eds., *The State after Communism: Governance in the New Russia*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2006, pp.187-224.

“Explaining Fiscal Decentralization: Geography, Colonial History, Economic Development, and Political Institutions,” *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 44, 3, November 2006, pp.289-325.

“Decentralization, Fiscal Incentives, and Economic Performance: A Reconsideration,” July 2006, *Economics and Politics*, 18, 2.

“Does Competition for Capital Discipline Governments? Decentralization, Globalization, and Public Policy,” with Hongbin Cai, *American Economic Review*, June 2005.

“Fiscal Politics in ‘Ethnically-Mined’, Developing Federal States: Central Strategies and Secessionist Violence,” book chapter, with Eduardo Aleman, in Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*, Cornell University Press, 2005, pp. 173-216.

“Stabilization Tactics in Latin America: Menem, Cardoso, and the Politics of Low Inflation,” *Comparative Politics*, July 2004, 36, 4, pp.399-420.

reprinted in Mark Kesselman and Joel Krieger, eds., *Readings in Comparative Politics*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 2005.

“Rational Appeasement,” *International Organization*, Spring 2004, 58, 2, pp.345-73.

“State Corroding Federalism,” with Hongbin Cai, *Journal of Public Economics*, March 2004, 88, pp.819-43.

“Fiscal Games and Public Employment: A Theory With Evidence From Russia,” with Vladimir Gimpelson, *World Politics*, 54, 2, January 2002, pp.145-83.

“Political Business Cycles and Russian Elections, Or the Manipulations of ‘Chudar’,” with Vladimir Gimpelson, *British Journal of Political Science*, 31, April 2001, pp.225-46.

“Decentralization and Inflation: Commitment, Collective Action, or Continuity?” *American Political Science Review*, 94, 4, December 2000, pp.837-57.

“The Causes of Corruption: A Cross-National Study,” *Journal of Public Economics*, 76, 3, June 2000, pp.399-457.

reprinted in Erik Berglöf and Gérard Roland, eds., *The Economics of Transition*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

“Russia’s Federal System of Public Finance: Trends, Politics, and Pressing Issues,” in Jean-Jacques Dethier, ed., *Governance and Development in India, China and Russia*, Kluwer, 2000.

“Russia’s Tax Crisis: Explaining Falling Revenues in a Transitional Economy,” *Economics and Politics*, July 1999.

“Political Decentralization and Economic Reform: A Game Theoretic Analysis,” *American Journal of Political Science*, April 1999.

“Deciphering Russia’s Federal Finance: Fiscal Appeasement in 1995 and 1996,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, July 1998.

“Fighting Inflation in a Transitional Order: Russia’s Anomalous Stabilization,” *World Politics*, January 1998.

“Dollars and Democratization: The Role and Power of Money in Russia’s Transitional Elections,” *Comparative Politics*, November 1998.

“Fiscal Redistribution in a Fragile Federation: Moscow and the Regions in 1994,” *British Journal of Political Science*, January 1998.

“Russia’s ‘Ethnic Revival’: The Separatist Activism of Regional Leaders in a Post-Communist Order,” *World Politics*, January 1997.

“The Politics of Intergovernmental Transfers in Post-Soviet Russia,” *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 26, 3, July 1996, pp.299-335.

“The Politics of 'Soft' Credit in Post-Soviet Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.47, No.6, September 1995.

*Other Scholarly Publications*

“What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol.10, June 2007.

“*Opyt stran, razvivayushchikhsya v usloviakh vysokoi vovlechenosti gosudarstva v ekonomiku* [The experience of countries developing with high involvement of the state in the economy],” in E.G. Yasin, ed., *Modernizatsia ekonomiki i gosudarstvo* [Economic Modernization and the State], Moscow: Publishing House GU-VSHE, 2007, pp.152-61.

“A Normal Country: Russia After Communism,” with Andrei Shleifer, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19, 1, Winter 2005, pp.151-74 (shorter version published in *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2004).

“Patterns of Corruption in the Postcommunist World: Evidence from the 2002 BEEPS Survey,” in E.G. Yasin, ed., *Modernizatsia ekonomiki i vyrashchivanie institutov* [Economic Modernization and the Development of Institutions], Moscow: Publishing House GU-VSHE, 2005, pp.418-428.

“Cardoso, Menem, and Machiavelli: Political Tactics and Privatization in Latin America,” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 2003, fall, 38, 3, pp.93-109.

“Postcommunist Corruption,” chapter, in Jan Fidrmuc and Nauro Campos, eds., *Political Economy of Transition and Development: Institutions, Politics, and Policies*, Kluwer, 2003, pp.201-26.

“Fiscal Pathologies and Federal Politics: Understanding Tax Arrears in Russia’s Regions,” chapter, in John McLaren, ed., *Institutional Elements of Tax Design and Reform*, Washington, DC: World Bank, 2003.

“Interenterprise Arrears and Barter in the Russian Economy,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 16, July-Sept 2000.

“Between the Extremes: Moderate Reform and Centrist Blocs in the 1993 Election,” 1998, in Timothy J. Colton and Jerry Hough, eds., *Growing Pains: Russian Democracy and the Election of 1993*, Brookings Institution Press.

“The Financial Environment of Russian Industrial Enterprises: Are Budget Constraints Hardening?” in Gernot Nerb, Karl Heinrich Oppenlander and Gunter Poser, eds., *Application of Business Surveys for Macroeconomic Analysis*, Munich: Ifo Institute for Economic Research, 1995.

*Current Affairs and Policy Journals*

“What Keeps the Kremlin Up All Night,” *The Moscow Times*, February 18, 2008.  
*The St Petersburg Times*, February 19, 2008.

“Ekonomika i populiarnost: Kornii reitinga Putina [Economics and popularity: The roots of Putin’s rating],” *Vedomosti*, No.21, 6 February, 2008.

“Putin’s Silovarchs,” *Orbis*, Winter 2007.

“The Putin Factor,” *Worth*, June 2004.

“A Normal Country,” with Andrei Shleifer, *Foreign Affairs*, March-April 2004, 83, 2.

Shorter versions published as:

“Next to its peers, Russia is ‘normal’,” *International Herald Tribune*, February 28, 2004.

“Russia: A Normal Country,” *The Moscow Times*, March 4, 2004.

“Rossia—normalnaya strana,” *Rossia v globalnoi politike*, Moscow, March-April 2004.

“Svremenna Rusia—edno zakonomerno ikonomicheskoe razvitie,” *Media Times Review*, Bulgaria, April-May 2004.

“Diagnoz: Rossia: nichego osobennogo,” *Vedomosti*, Moscow, 5 March, 2004.

“Globalization and Its Discontents,” review of book by Joseph Stiglitz, *East European Constitutional Review*, Spring 2003.

Republished in Russian in *Konstitutsionnoe Pravo: Vostochnoevropenskoe Obozrenie*, Moscow, 2, 43, 2003, pp. 202-06.

“Russia Renewed?” *Foreign Affairs*, November-December 2002.

“Revolutionary Russia: Review of Mau and Starodubrovskaya’s *The Challenge of Revolution*,” *East European Constitutional Review*, Fall 2002.

“Blaming Russia First,” *Foreign Affairs*, November 2000.

“After Yeltsin Comes... Yeltsin,” *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1999.

“Russia’s Taxing Problem,” *Foreign Policy*, September 1998.

“Why Yeltsin Won,” *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 1996.

“Russia: Contemplating a Post-Election Financial Crisis,” *Transition*, 4 October 1996.

“Moscow’s Struggle to Control Regions Through Taxation,” *Transition*, 20 September 1996.

*Other Book Reviews*

*Journal of Economic Literature*, *Slavic Review*.

*Popular Press*

Articles in *The New Republic* (Washington), *The Times* (London), *Daily Telegraph* (London), *The European* (London), *The Wall Street Journal Europe* (Brussels), *The Miami Herald* (Miami).

WORK IN PROGRESS

*The Long Liberation: Russia’s Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*, book.

“Pricing Death: The Political Economy of Russia’s Alcohol Crisis,” journal article.

“The Popularity of Russian Presidents,” journal article.

“Political Decentralization and Corruption: Evidence from Around the World,” with C. Simon Fan and Chen Lin.

“Political Decentralization and Policy Experimentation,” journal article, with Hongbin Cai.

“Decentralization and the Quality of Government”, paper.

“Defining and Measuring Decentralization: A Global Perspective,” paper.

SELECTED TALKS AND PRESENTATIONS (SINCE 1999)

- “Rethinking Political Decentralization,”  
-New Economic School, Moscow, June 2008
- “The Popularity of Russian Presidents,”  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, May 2008
- “One Puzzle of Russia’s Political Geography,”  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2007
- “Researching the Postcommunist Transition,”  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2007
- “Russia under Putin: from Oligarchy to Silovarchy,”  
-University of Southern California, April 2006.  
-University of California, Berkeley, October 2007
- “Russia in 2006,”  
-UCLA Center for European and Eurasian Studies, March 2006.
- “The State in Economic Modernization: Russia in Comparative Perspective,”  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2006.
- “Political Decentralization and Policy Experimentation,”  
-Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin, May 2008.  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2007  
-Columbia University, February 2006;  
-University of California, San Diego, January 2006.
- “Corruption in the Post-Communist World,”  
-Higher School of Economics, Moscow, April 2005.
- “Russian Studies and Political Science: Is Russia *sui generis* or just another country?”  
-Invited plenary lecture to the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Boston, December 2004.
- “Russia and Iraq,”  
-American Enterprise Institute, Washington DC, October 2004.
- “Fiscal Brinkmanship in 1990s Russia,”  
-Yale University, April 2004.  
-Columbia University, January 2003.
- “Decentralization and Political Development,”  
-Conference on “After the Washington Consensus,” University of California, San Diego, Nov 2003.
- “Rotten Boroughs,”

-Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association,  
Philadelphia, August 2003.

- “Multilevel Government,”  
-Cambridge University Press Seattle Seminars, University of Washington,  
June 2003.
- “Putin’s Russia in Comparative Perspective,”  
-University of Washington, June 2003.
- “Political Decentralization: A Formal Analysis,”  
-Princeton University, April 2003.
- “Postcommunist Corruption,”  
-University of Chicago, November 2002.  
-Stanford University, conference on clientelism and patronage, May 2002;  
-University of Bonn, May 2002.
- “Does Competition for Capital Discipline Governments?”  
-Georgetown University and IMF conference on Political Economy of  
International Finance, October 2002.
- “Rational Appeasement,”  
-Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston,  
September 2002;  
-Stanford University, Graduate School of Business, November 2001;  
-University of California, Berkeley, Political Science Department, Nov  
2001.
- “Stabilization Tactics in Latin America: Menem, Cardoso, and the Politics of Low  
Inflation,”  
-Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston,  
September 2002.
- “Fiscal Games and Public Employment: A Theory With Evidence from Russia,”  
-Stanford University, Hoover Institution Seminar on Collective Choice,  
  
January 2002;  
-University of California, Berkeley, Economics Department Seminar on  
Transition Economies, November 2001.  
- Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San  
Francisco, August 2001.
- “When is Delegation Credible? Resolving Time-Inconsistency in Economic Policy  
and Democratic Government,”  
-Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, San Francisco,  
August 2001.

- “Public Employment in Russia’s Regions,”  
-Harvard University, March 2001.  
-OECD and Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, Moscow,  
January 2001.
- “Decentralization and the Quality of Government,”  
-Yale University, Conference on Political Development, March 2001.  
-International Monetary Fund, Washington, November 2000.
- “The Theory of Two-Level States: Exploitation, Redistribution, and Democratic Stability,”  
-Yale University, Political Economy Seminar, September 2000.  
-Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association,  
Washington, September 2000.
- “Decentralization, Tax Evasion and the Underground Economy,”  
-University of California, San Diego, June 2000.  
-Columbia University/World Bank conference on “Institutional Elements  
of Tax Design and Reform,” February 18-19, 2000, Columbia University.
- “Russia After the Elections,”  
-Center for European and Russian Studies, UCLA, April 26, 2000.
- “Tax Evasion and Regional Fiscal Protection,”  
-RECEP-EERC Conference on Institutions and Growth, Moscow,  
December 1999.
- “Comments on the Russian Budget Process,”  
-Institute for the Economy in Transition, Moscow, conference on “New  
Frontiers: Strategic Problems of the Next Stage of Economic Reforms in  
Russia”, July 1999.
- “Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia,”  
-Russian European Center for Economic Policy, Moscow, June 1999.
- “Decentralization and Inflation,”  
-Hoover Institution, Seminar on Collective Choice, May 1999.

## TEACHING

### *Undergraduate*

Government and Politics of Russia  
Political Economy of Postcommunist Reform

*Graduate*

Topics in the Political Economy of Reform  
Political Institutions and Property Rights  
Survey of Political Economy

*Advising*

Member of 17 dissertation committees (10 successfully completed).  
Chair of 4 (1 successfully completed).

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Executive Editor, *American Political Science Review*, July 2007-August 2008.

Organizer of Division on Communist and Post-Communist Politics, 2006 APSA Convention.

Member of Editorial Board of *Comparative Political Studies*, from 2005.

Member of Editorial Board of *American Political Science Review*, from 2004.

Associate Editor, *Economics and Politics*, from 2004.

Reviewing for *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Journal of Public Economics*, *American Economic Review*, *Journal of Development Economics*, *European Economic Review*, *Review of Economic Studies*, *Cambridge University Press*, *Oxford University Press*.

Editor, *APSA-CP*, Newsletter of the APSA Organized Section in Comparative Politics, (September 2000-September 2002). Associate Editor (1998-2000).

Member of award committee of APSA Section on Political Economy selected to choose the best dissertation in political economy 2000-2001.

Reviewer for German Marshall Fund of the US Research Fellowship Program, 2003-4 and 2004-5.

Member of Advisory Board, Center for European and Eurasian Studies, UCLA.

Member of UCLA Committee on European Studies.

Member of UCLA Committee on Global Studies.

Member of UCLA International Institute Faculty Advisory Committee.

Vice Chair for Academic Personnel UCLA Department of Political Science, 2005-6.

Chair Recruitment Committee (IR) UCLA Department of Political Science, 2005-6.

Member UCLA Faculty Career Development Award Committee, 2006-7.

Member Ad Hoc Committee, UCLA College of Arts and Sciences, 2005-7.

## CONSULTING

Participant in group writing Amicus Curiae brief to US Supreme Court on international experience of campaign finance legislation, 2003. Expert testimony in one other case.

Participant in working group on fiscal federalism in Russia, under USAID, 1997, preparing policy recommendations for Russian government agencies.

Short-term consultant to World Bank on Reform of Regional Fiscal System in Russia, 1998.

June 2008