

Conor O'Dwyer
CPO 3614 / EUS 3930
MWF 1:55-2:45 in Matherly 18

The Politics of Postcommunist Eastern Europe

Office Hours in 311 Anderson:
M 12:40-1:40; W 12:40-1:40 & 2:45-3:45; and by appointment

Description

This class will provide a survey of the politics of postcommunist Eastern Europe, from the emergence of national states in the interwar period to their accession to the European Union. Just as the collapse of the region's communist regimes took social scientists by surprise in 1989, so too has the divergence of political and economic trajectories since. In some countries, democratic institutions were swiftly consolidated. In others, free elections produced "illiberal democracies." Likewise in the economic sphere, outcomes have varied widely: while some governments quickly managed difficult reforms and laid the conditions for growth, others faced extended economic stagnation. Finally, a number of the region's states have joined the European Union and NATO, a process that, arguably, has deepened democracy and cemented economic reforms even as it adds new complexity to the postcommunist transition. In short, the range of outcomes in postcommunist Europe makes the region an ideal laboratory for testing the explanatory power of major theories of comparative politics. Our survey of political and economic developments in this region will cover democratization and political participation; privatization and macroeconomic reform; nationalism and ethnic conflict; as well as regional integration. Though we will cover the whole region, the countries that will receive primary consideration are Poland, the former Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the former Yugoslavia, and Romania.

Requirements

- Attendance (10% of grade),
 - One unexcused absence over the course of the semester is allowed; after that, unexcused absences count against your attendance grade. Excused absences do not count against your grade, but these require prior consultation with the instructor. According to the Office of the University Registrar, "acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, and professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused." For further information about the University of Florida's attendance policy, please see the current Undergraduate Catalogue (<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html>).
- Participation in class activities (25% of grade),
 - In addition to participation in class discussions (5% of grade), these include 4 short response papers (1 page double-spaced, 5% of grade each). For these response papers, there will be five possible dates/topics (see below) for submitting these, and you can choose three from among them.
- Midterm examination (30% of grade)
- Final examination (35% of grade)

Student participation is a very important component of this course. I assume full and active engagement with the readings, lectures, and discussions in the class. In the interests of fairness and given the size of the course, there will be no extra credit assignments.

Policy on Exam Make-Ups

I will only schedule exam make-ups for students who contact me by email at least a day before the exam and who can provide official documentation why they were physically unable to take the exam.

Grading Scale

	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D+	67-69	E	Below 60
A	93-100	B	83-86	C	73-76	D	63-66	
A-	90-92	B-	80-82	C-	70-72	D-	60-62	

Texts

There is one required book, which is available for purchase at the university text book store:

- Gale Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: Collapse and Rebirth in Eastern Europe*, 2nd edition (New York & London: Oxford University Press, 2012).

The rest of the readings will be available on-line through E-RESERVES at the university library (<http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/> -- click on the link labeled "Course Reserves"). I expect you to have completed the relevant assigned readings prior to class and to be ready

to discuss them. As you will notice below, the readings are grouped by week. In each class period, I will announce which readings I will expect you to have completed for the next period. The reading schedule below is subject to change depending on the pace of progress and unforeseen scheduling changes. In each class period, I will announce which readings I will expect you to have completed for the next period. Please refer to the online syllabus for the latest version.

Part I: Historical Background

Week 1 (Aug 24-28): Starting Points

- Situating the Region; the Interwar Period
- Democratic Breakdown
- WWII and Its Aftermath

Readings:

- Developments in Central and East European Politics* 3: Ch. 1 J. Blatt, "Defining Central and Eastern Europe": 1-19. (E-RESERVES)
- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*: 1-14.
- Jan Gross, "Social Consequences of War: Preliminaries to the Study of Imposition of Communist Regimes in East Central Europe," *East European Politics and Societies* 3(1989): 198-214. (E-RESERVES)

Week 2 (Aug 31-Sep 2): Behind the Iron Curtain (I)

- *Note: Instructor at conference on September 4th.
- The Leninist State and the Command Economy
- Stalinism
- De-Stalinization

Readings:

- Joseph Rothschild, *Return to Diversity*, 2nd edition (Oxford UP: 1993), "Ch. 3: The Communists Come to Power"pp. 75-123 (E-RESERVES).
- Paul Gregory, "Stalinist Command Economy", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January 1990): 18-25. (E-RESERVES)
- Andrew Janos, "What Was Communism: A Retrospective in Comparative Analysis," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29(1): 1-24. (E-RESERVES)

Sep 7 -- University holiday (NO CLASS)

Week 3 (Sep 9-11): Behind the Iron Curtain (II)

- The Return of Civil Society: Czechoslovakia's Prague Spring and Poland's Solidarity Movement
- First Possible Response Paper: Havel's "Power of the Powerless" (Due Sep 11 in class)**

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*:
 - Poland: pp. 15-46.
 - Czechoslovakia: 57-59, 75-78
- Václav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless" in Brinton and Rinzler, eds., *Without Force or Lies* (San Francisco: Mercury House, 1990): 43-73. (E-RESERVES)

Part II: Democratization

Week 4 (Sep 14-18): The 1989 Revolutions (I)

- The International Context: Gorbachev, Perestroika, and Glasnost
- Varieties of Democratization: An Overview of the 1989 Revolutions
- Negotiated Transition (1): Poland

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*: 79-86, 157-158.
 - Poland: 123-150
- Andrew Janos, *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2000): 329-360. (E-RESERVES)
- Adam Michnik, "Letter from Gdansk Prison (1985)" (E-RESERVES)

Additional Materials for the Curious:

• [Kenneth Jowitt as part of UC Berkeley's "Conversations with History" Series](http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people/Jowitt/jowitt-con0.html)

(<http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people/Jowitt/jowitt-con0.html>)-- focus on following sections (6:21-7:45 min. & 12:19-25:00 min.)

• *Developments in Central and East European Politics 4*, Ch. 13 C. Mudde, "Civil Society": pp. 193-212.

Week 5 (Sep 21-25): The 1989 Revolutions (II)

- Negotiated Transition (2): Hungary
- Regime Collapse: East Germany & Czechoslovakia

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*
 - Hungary: 95-117, 158-162
 - East Germany: 69-75, 162-168
 - Czechoslovakia: 174-183
- T.G. Ash, *The Magic Lantern*, Ch. 5 "Prague: Inside the Magic Lantern" (Vintage: 1993), pp. 78-94. (E-RESERVES)

Week 6 (Sep 28-Oct 2): The 1989 Revolutions (III)

- Elite Reshuffling in Bulgaria and Romania

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*
 - Bulgaria: 59-62, 168-174
 - Romania: 62-69, 183-193
 - Albania: 78-79
- V. Tismaneanu, "The Revival of Politics in Romania," In *The New Europe: Revolution in East-West Relations* ed. N.H. Wessel, Proceedings, vol. 38, no. 1 The Academy of Political Science: pp. 85-100. (E-RESERVES)

Week 7 (Oct 5-9): The (Iron) Curtain Drops: The Significance of the 1989 Revolutions

- Movie: "12:08 East of Bucharest" (Oct. 6-8)
- Discussion of the 1989 Revolutions and their Aftermath
- [Review for Midterm](#)
- **Second Possible Response Paper: "12:08 East of Bucharest" (Due Oct 10 in class)**

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*
 - 243-267.

Part III: Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

Week 8 (Oct 12-16): Democratization and Nationalism

- **Midterm Test (Oct. 12)**
- A Comparison of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia
- The Czechoslovak Case

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*:
 - 278-282.
- Andrew Janos, "Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: Ethnic Conflict and the Dissolution of Multinational States," Exploratory Essays No. 3, International and Area Studies, University of California at Berkeley (1997) [[available here](#)]
 - 1-22.

Week 9 (Oct 19-23): Ethnic War

- Yugoslavia: Roots of the Conflict
- The Course of the Conflict
- FILM: "The Death of Yugoslavia" (part 1)

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*:
 - 203-235, 317-336.

•Andrew Janos, "Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: Ethnic Conflict and the Dissolution of Multinational States," *Exploratory Essays No. 3*, International and Area Studies, University of California at Berkeley (1997) [E-RESERVES]

- On Yugoslavia, 23-45.
- On Violence, 46-56.

Additional Materials for the Curious:

•Robert Kaplan, *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*, Ch. 1 "Just So They Could Go to Heaven," pp. 3-28. (E-RESERVES)

•Video Clip on Slobodan Milošević

(http://www.nytimes.com/packages/khtml/2006/03/12/international/20060312_MILOSEVIC_FEATURE.html)

•*Developments in Central and East European Politics* 4, Ch. 5 J. Blatt, "The Western Balkans": 72-89.

Week 10 (Oct 26-30): Rebuilding after Ethnic Violence?

- FILM: "The Death of Yugoslavia" (part 2)
- Political Solutions for Post-Conflict Settings?
- Third Possible Response Paper: "Political Solutions for Post-Conflict Settings?" (Due Oct 31 in class)

Readings:

•Samantha Power, *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, (Harper Perennial 2002), pp. 247-251 & 391-421. (E-RESERVES) [[available here](#)]

•Sherrill Stroschein, (2008) "Making or Breaking Kosovo: Applications of Dispersed State Control," *Perspectives on Politics* 6(4): pp. 655-674. (E-RESERVES)

Recommended Reading:

•Jack Snyder and Karen Ballentine, (1996) "Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas," *International Security* 21(2): 5-40. (E-RESERVES)

Part IV: Economic Reform (and the Lack Thereof)

Week 11 (Nov 2-4): Economic Reform (I)

- Starting Points: The Centrally Planned Economy
- Gradualism vs. Shock-Therapy

Readings:

•Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down:*

•The Reform Leaders, 269-278, 282-287.

•The Reform Laggards, 306-317-278, 282-287.

•Jeffrey Sachs, *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy* (MIT Press, 1993), pp. 35-78 (E-RESERVES)

Additional Materials for the Curious:

•Documentary on economic reform in Russia and Poland "The Commanding Heights" (Episode 2, Chapters 12-21); available at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/story/ch_menu_02.html

•B. Eichengreen, *The European Economy Since 1945*, (Princeton UP: 2007), Ch. 5 "Eastern Europe and the Planned Economy": pp. 131-162. (E-RESERVES)

Nov 6 -- No Class (University Holiday)

Week 12 (Nov 9 & 13): Economic Reform (II)

- Democracy and Economic Reform: Complementary or Conflicting?
- Nov 11 -- No Class (University Holiday)
- Privatization

Readings:

•Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions" *World Politics* 50(1998): 203-234. (E-RESERVES)

•Andrew Barnes, "Comparative Theft: Context and Choice in the Hungarian, Czech, and Russian Transformations, 1989-2000," *EEPS* 17 (2003): 533-565. (E-RESERVES)

Part V: Return to Europe?

Week 13 (Nov 16-20): EU Accession and Beyond (I)

- The EU Accession Process: Two Views

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*:
 - 287-298.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Kubik and Milada Anna Vachudova (2007) "Democracy in the Postcommunist World," *East European Politics and Societies* 21, 1 (Winter): 7-30. ([available here](#))
- Andrew Janos, "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes" *East European Politics and Societies* 15(2001): 221-250. ([available here](#))
- Fourth Possible Response Paper: Janos article above (Due Nov 20 in class)**

Week 14 (Nov 23): EU Accession and Beyond (II)

- Postaccession Political Reality: Europeanization or Backlash, or Both?

Readings:

- Jasiewicz, Krzysztof. 2008. "The New Populism in Poland: The Usual Suspects?" *Problems of Post-Communism* 55, no. 3 (May/June): 7-25. ([available here](#))
- [Conor O'Dwyer. \(2012\) "Does the EU Help or Hinder Gay-Rights Movements in Postcommunist Europe? The Case of Poland." *East European Politics* 28\(4\): 332-52.](#)

Additional Materials for the Curious:

- F. Stephen Larrabee, "Danger and Opportunity in Eastern Europe," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2006): pp. (E-RESERVES)

Nov 25-27 -- University holiday (NO CLASS)

Week 15 (Nov 30-Dec 4): EU Accession and Beyond (III)

- Conclusion on EU Accession & Review Session
- Final Test (Dec 2)**
- Film "Czech Dream" (part 1)

Readings:

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*:
 - 343-349.

Week 16 (Dec 7-9): Conclusion // Ukraine's Maidan Revolution

- Film "Czech Dream: (part 2)
- Discussion of Film and Concluding Thoughts
- Fifth Possible Response Paper: "Czech Dream" (Due Dec 9 in class)**

Additional Materials for the Curious:

- Ivan Krastev, "A Greek Farce, Then Gloom," *New York Times* (July 16, 2015).
- Special issue of the *Journal of Democracy* on the Maidan Protests in Ukraine (<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Ukraine-25-3.pdf>).

Final Notes

Students with Disabilities: If you have a disability that may affect your performance in this class, you should contact the Dean of Students Office so that special arrangements can be made to accommodate you. It is your responsibility to do so at the beginning of the semester and to communicate directly with the professor during the first week of classes (or as soon as the disability occurs).

Honor Code: Academic dishonesty, including cheating on exams and plagiarism, will not be tolerated. Any student engaging in such activities will be dealt with in accordance with University policy. It is your responsibility to know what constitutes plagiarism, and what the university policies are.

If you have doubts, we please discuss with the professor immediately. After the infringement is too late. Please refer to the current Undergraduate Catalogue for more information on the Student Honor code (<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/students.html>). Students who have questions about these policies, should contact the

undergraduate advisement center for additional information.