

Conor O'Dwyer  
 CPO 3614 / EUS 3930  
 Monday, Wednesday 1:55-2:45 in Anderson 34

## The Politics of Postcommunist Eastern Europe

Office Hours in 311 Anderson:  
 W 10:30-11:30; F 2:45-4:15; 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 or, in the case of illness, a doctor's note.
- Participation in class activities (20% of grade),
  - In addition to participation in class discussions (5% of grade), these include 3 short response papers (2 pages double-spaced, 5% of grade each). For these response papers, there will be four possible dates/topics (see below) for submitting these, and you can choose three from among them.
- Midterm examination (35% 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. Notes from parents or friends are not official documentation.

### Grading Scale

A+	97-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D+	67-69	E	Below 60
A	93-96	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.

## Part I: Historical Background

### Week 1 (Aug 25-27): Starting Points

\*Note: Instructor at conference on August 29.

- 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 (Sep 3-5): Behind the Iron Curtain (I)

- 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 1 -- University holiday (NO CLASS)

### Week 3 (Sep 8-12): 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 12 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 15-19): 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 Gdańsk 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>)-- 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 22-26): 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 29-Oct 3): 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 6-10): 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 13-15): Democratization and Nationalism**

- Midterm Test (Oct. 13)
- 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) [E-RESERVES]
  - 1-22.

**Oct 17 -- University holiday (NO CLASS)**

**Week 9 (Oct 20-24): 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](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 27-31): 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*, Ch. 11, "Srebrenica: Getting Creamed," (Harper Perennial 2002), pp. 391-442. (E-RESERVES)
- 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 3-7): 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](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)

**Week 12 (Nov 10-14): Economic Reform (II)**

- Democracy and Economic Reform: Complementary or Conflicting?
- 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 17-21): 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. (E-RESERVES)

- Andrew Janos, "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes" *East European Politics and Societies* 15(2001): 221-250. (E-RESERVES)

#### **Week 14 (Nov 24): 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.

- 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 26-28 -- University holiday (NO CLASS)**

#### **Week 15 (Dec 1-5): EU Accession and Beyond (III)**

- Conclusion on EU Accession & Review Session

- Final Test (Dec 3)

- Film "Czech Dream" (part 1)

##### **Readings:**

- Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*:

- 343-349.

#### **Week 16 (Dec 8-10): Conclusion // Ukraine's Maidan Revolution**

- Film "Czech Dream: (part 2)

- Discussion of Film and Concluding Thoughts

- Fourth Possible Response Paper: "Czech Dream" (Due Dec 10 in class)

##### **Additional Materials for the Curious:**

- 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:**

Students who require individualized testing and other accommodations should identify themselves to the instructors and express their needs. Where the disability is not immediately apparent, verification will be required.

### **Academic Honor:**

Students are expected to adhere to the UF Student Honor Code. The academic honor system of the University of Florida is based on the premise that each student has the responsibility (1) to uphold the highest standards of academic integrity in the student's own work, (2) to refuse to tolerate violations of academic integrity in the University community and (3) to foster a high sense of integrity and social responsibility on the part of the University community.