

Conor O'Dwyer

Spring 2014

When: Thur. 6:15-8:50

Where: Anderson Conference Room (Backup location: Turlington 2303)

Office Hours Tues. 10-11 & Thur. 12:30-1:30 and by appointment, Anderson 311

SYLLABUS

Postcommunist Politics (POS 6736)

Description

This seminar will use the diverse political trajectories across the postcommunist space of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to probe core debates in both comparative politics and international relations. These include democratization and democratic consolidation, the politics of economic reform, the international diffusion of political reform (e.g. the phenomenon of the "colored revolutions"), the impact of international institutions on domestic politics (particularly as seen in European Union enlargement), ethnic conflict and state breakup, and finally the problem of building state capacity.

While the title of the seminar is "Postcommunist Politics," its perspective and thematic content should make it of interest to students of comparative politics and international relations, regardless of area specialty. Graduate students in related social science fields such as history, sociology, anthropology, and communications are welcome to enroll. No prior coursework on the region is required.

Requirements

- **Research paper** -- 8,000 words on a topic of the student's choosing in consultation with me. Students will provide a 2-3 page prospectus by **February 21st**. Further expectations for the paper and the prospectus will be presented in class (50% of grade, submit one hard copy and one electronic copy to turnitin.com by **April 24th**),
- **In-class presentation** of your research paper in the last three weeks of the semester -- approximately 20-30minutes plus discussion (20% of grade),
 - The goal here is to gain experience in how to condense and prepare written research for a live audience, such as you might find at a professional conference or in a job talk. This will also be an opportunity to gather feedback on your research from the rest of the class.
- **Leading discussion** -- Each student will be expected to present one week's readings over the course of the semester. This will consist of summarizing and critiquing that reading's research question, argument, empirical evidence, and methodology. Each presenter will also be asked to choose and present an additional reading (journal article or book chapter) from his or her geographic or thematic subfield that complements the theme of that week. The presenter will be asked to consider the broader theoretical connections and insights that can be drawn from postcommunist politics in light of the chosen reading. In order to give the rest of the seminar the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the chosen reading, we will schedule the list of presentations in the first class. The online syllabus will be updated to reflect the chosen readings. (I will ask the presenters to send me their reading choice at least a week before their presentation, so I can update the syllabus) This presentation will serve as a jumping-off point for the class discussion. A list of the presentation schedule can be found here. (20% of grade)
- **Attendance and participation** in the class discussion. (10% of grade) --
 - Attendance and participation in class discussion is a very important component of this course. Because this is a seminar, I assume full and active engagement in the discussion and completion of the assigned readings before class.

Texts

We will be reading the following books:

- Marc Howard, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe* (Cambridge UP, 2003).
- M. Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge UP, 2005).
- Levitsky & Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (Cambridge UP, 2010).
- Stuart Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Cornell UP, 2001).
- Gerald Easter, *Capital, Coercion, and Postcommunist States* (Cornell UP, 2013).
- Katherine Verdery, *The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania* (Cornell UP, 2003).
- Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits, *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery* (Cornell UP, 2013).

The rest of the readings will be available on-line as journal articles through the university's library site. Book chapters and selected other readings are labeled below as E-RESERVES; they are available at the university library (<http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/> -- click on the link labeled "Course Reserves").

Week 1 (Jan. 9): Attend Workshop "Whither Eastern Europe?"

Week 2 (Jan. 16): Introduction to the Course / What Was Communism?

- Andrew Janos, "What Was Communism: A Retrospective in Comparative Analysis," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29(1): 1-24.
- 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.
- Paul Gregory, "The Stalinist Command Economy", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January 1990): 18-25.
- Kenneth Jowitt, "The Leninist Phenomenon," in *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (University of California Press, 1992): pp. 1-49.
- Kenneth Jowitt, "Neotraditionalism," in *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (University of California Press, 1992): pp. 121-158.
- M. Steven Fish, *Democracy from Scratch: Opposition and Regime in the New Russian Revolution* (Princeton UP, 1995), Chs. 1-2, pp. 3-51.

Recommended:

- [Kenneth Jowitt as part of UC Berkeley's "Conversations with History" Series](#)

Week 3 (Jan. 23): The Weight of Legacy / The Social Bases of Postcommunism

- Marc Howard, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe* (Cambridge UP, 2003).
- [Grigore Pop-Eleches, "Developmental Legacies of Communism," Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- K. Darden and A. Grzymala-Busse (2006), "The Great Divide: Precommunist Schooling and Postcommunist Trajectories," *World Politics* 59(1): 83-115.
- Grzegorz Ekiert & Jan Kubik, "Contentious Politics in New Democracies: Hungary, the former East Germany, Poland and Slovakia," *World Politics* (July 1998) 50, 4, pp. 547-581

Recommended:

- [Anna Grzymala-Busse \(Michigan\) "Religion, Politics, and National Identity." Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- Jason Wittenberg, *Crucibles of Political Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary* (Cambridge UP, 2006).
- Kenneth Jowitt, "The Leninist Legacy," in *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (University of California Press, 1992): pp. 284-305.

Week 4 (Jan. 30): Regime Change and Democratization

- Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54.2 (2002): 212-244.
- Valerie Bunce, "Comparing East and South," *Journal of Democracy* 6:3 (July 1995): 87-100.
- Herbert Kitschelt, "Accounting for Postcommunist Regime Diversity: What Counts as a Good Cause," in Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen Hanson, *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): pp. 49-86. [E-RESERVES]
- Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World." *World Politics*, 53 (October 2000): 1-37.
- [Jeffrey Kopstein, "Post-Communism, The Civilizing Process and the Mixed Impact of Leninist Violence." Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)

Recommended:

- Gale Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down* (Oxford UP, 1993).

Week 5 (Feb. 6): Problems of Democratization & Democratic Breakdown

- M. Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge UP, 2005).
- [Jason Wittenberg, "Back to the Future? Revolution of the Right in Hungary." Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- Mitchell Orenstein, "Democracy in a Divided Europe," [Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)

Recommended:

- Paul D'Anieri, "Explaining the Success and Failure of Post-Communist Revolutions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, 3 (2006): 331-350.
- Andrew Wilson, "'Virtual Politics in the ex-Soviet Bloc,'" openDemocracy.net (17 July, 2007). (http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/democracy_power/ukraine_orange/soviet_political_technology)
- Lucan A. Way, "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave." *World Politics* 57, No. 2: 231-261.

Week 6 (Feb. 13): Transnational Influences on Democratization and Democratic Breakdown

- Levitsky & Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (Cambridge UP, 2010).
- Mark Beissinger, "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of the Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics* (June 2007): 259-276.
- Paul D'Anieri, "What Has Changed in Ukrainian Politics? Assessing the Implications of the 'Orange Revolution,'" *Problems of Post-Communism* (September-October 2005): 82-91.

Recommended:

- Michael McFaul, "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution," *International Security* 32: 2 (Fall 2007): 45-83.
- Andreas Schedler, "The Logic of Electoral Authoritarianism" in *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition* (Lynne Rienner: 2006), pp. 1-23.
- Andrew Wilson, "'Virtual Politics in the ex-Soviet Bloc,'" openDemocracy.net (17 July, 2007). (http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/democracy_power/ukraine_orange/soviet_political_technology)
- Valerie Bunce & Sharon Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries* (Cambridge UP, 2011).

Week 7 (Feb 21): Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict // Prospectus for Final Paper Due in Class

- Stuart Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Cornell UP, 2001).
- [Jelena Subotic, "Out of Eastern Europe: Legacies of Violence and the Challenge of Multiple Transitions." Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- [Jan Rovny, "Communism, Federalism and Ethnic Minorities: Explaining Party Competition Patterns in Eastern Europe." Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- Sherrill Stroschein, (2008) "Making or Breaking Kosovo: Applications of Dispersed State Control," *Perspectives on Politics* 6(4): pp. 655-674.
- Kieran Williams, "The break-up of Czechoslovakia and Scottish independence," *History & Policy Blog*. (<http://www.historyandpolicy.org/papers/policy-paper-153.html>)

Recommended:

- 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).
- Samantha Power, *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*, Ch. 11, "Srebrenica: Getting Creamed," (Harper Perennial 2002), pp. 391-442.

Week 8 (Feb. 28): Paper Research Day

March 6: Spring Break

Week 9 (March 13): The "Return to Europe"? / EU Enlargement and Norm Diffusion

- Frank Schimmelfennig, "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe," *East European Politics and Societies* 21 (1) (2007), pp. 126-141.
- Kristi Raik, "EU Accession of Central and Eastern European Countries: Democracy and Integration as Conflicting Logics," *East European Politics and Societies* 18(2004): 567-594.
- [Milada Anna Vachudova, "External Actors and Regime Change: How Postcommunism Transformed Comparative Politics." Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- Tsveta Petrova "Civil Society and Democratic Revolutions," [Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- Conor O'Dwyer, "Does the EU Help or Hinder Gay-Rights Movements in Postcommunist Europe: The Case of Poland," *East European Politics* 28:4 (2012): 332-352.

Recommended:

- Grzegorz Ekiert, "Dilemmas of Europeanization: Eastern and Central Europe After the EU Enlargement" *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 25 (2008), pp. 1-28.
- Judith Kelley, *Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives* (Princeton UP, 2006).
- Roger D. Petersen, *The Strategic Use of Emotion in Conflict* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- Philip G. Roeder, "The Triumph of Nation-States: Lessons from the Collapse of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia" in McFaul and Stoner-Weiss (eds.), *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition* (Cambridge UP, 2004). (E-RESERVES) • Stephen Saideman and R. Ayres, *For Kin or Country Xenophobia, Nationalism, and War* (Columbia UP, 2008).
- Conor O'Dwyer and Katrina Z.S. Schwartz, "Minority Rights After EU Enlargement: A Comparison of Antigay Politics in Poland and Latvia," *Comparative European Politics*.

Week 10 (March 20): States and Markets

- Gerald Easter, *Capital, Coercion, and Postcommunist States* (Cornell UP, 2013).
- M. Steven Fish, "The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Post-Communist World," *East European Politics and Societies* 12:1 (Winter 1998).
- Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions" *World Politics* 50(1998): 203-234.

Recommended:

- Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy* (Cambridge UP, 2010)
- Jeffrey Sachs, Poland's Jump to the Market Economy, Ch. 2 "Poland's Big Bang" (MIT Press, 1993), pp. 35-78
- Andrew Barnes, "Comparative Theft: Context and Choice in the Hungarian, Czech, and Russian Transformations, 1989-2000," *EEPS* 17 (2003): 533-565.
- Vladimir Popov, "Circumstances versus Policy Choices: Why Has the Economic Performance of the Soviet Successor States Been So Poor?" in McFaul and Stoner-Weiss (eds.) *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition* (Cambridge UP, 2004): pp. 96-129.

Week 11 (March 27): States and Markets, part 2

- Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits, *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery* (Cornell UP, 2013).
- Conor O'Dwyer, "And the Last Shall Be First" *Studies in Comparative International Development*
- Pauline Jones Luong, "Prelude to the Resource Curse: Explaining Energy Development Strategies in the Soviet Successor States and Beyond," *Comparative Political Studies* 34, 4 (May 2001): 367-99.
- David Stuckler, Lawrence King, and Martin McKee, (2009), "Mass Privatisation and the Post- Communist Mortality Crisis: A Cross-National Analysis," *The Lancet* 373(9661): 399-407. (E-RESERVES)
- John Earle and Scott Gehlbach, "Did Postcommunist Privatization Increase Mortality?" Paper presented at the 2009 Annual Conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS). (E-RESERVES)

Recommended:

- Pauline Jones Luong, "Combating the Resource Curse: An Alternative Solution to Managing Mineral Wealth," *Perspectives on Politics*, 4, 1 (March 2006) 35-53.

Week 12 (April 3): Final presentations part 1

Week 13 (April 10): Final presentations part 2

Week 14 (April 17): Reflections on Fieldwork and Methodology

- Katherine Verdery, *The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania* (Cornell UP, 2003).
- Ellie Knott, "Generating Data: Conducting Interviews and Political Ethnography in Ukraine and Moldova," [Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- Michael Bernhard, "Reflections on the Uses of Area in a Methodological Age," [Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)
- Joshua Tucker (NYU) "Comparative Opportunities: The Evolving Study of Political Behavior of in Eastern Europe," [Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)

Recommended:

- [Jan Kubik. 2013. "Contextual Holism," in Jan Kubik and Amy Linch \(eds.\), *Postcommunism from Within: Social Justice*.](#)

Mobilization, and Hegemony (NYU Press): pp. 27-94.

- Venelin Ganey, "Social Theory and Postcommunist Politics." [Paper presented at the workshop "Whither Eastern Europe? Changing Political Science Perspectives on the Region," University of Florida \(January 9-11, 2014\).](#)

April 24th -- FINAL PAPER DUE. Submit one hard copy and one electronic copy to turnitin.com.