

# Political Science 948

## Seminar on Post-Communist Politics

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Spring, 2004

Office hours: Tu 3-4, Wed 11-12. or by appt.

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**Description:** The goal of this seminar is to gain theoretical insight into processes of economic, social, and political transformation in post-communist East Europe and the former Soviet Union. The course emphasizes both empirical outcomes and theoretical explanation. Thus, we will survey successes and failures in creating functioning market economies and democratic societies, but we will also explore the theoretical underpinnings of the observed outcomes. The seminar is open to all interested graduate students and advanced undergraduates with permission of instructor.

**Requirements:** Two-thirds of your grade will be based on a term paper, due in my mailbox by Tuesday, May 11, 5:00pm. You are free to choose any topic you wish, provided that it is relevant to the course and approved by me. Topics might include an analysis of a particular case of communist breakdown and democratic transition, a larger N study of democratic consolidation, or a theoretical critique of the existing literature. A one-page synopsis of your proposed paper is due in class on March 2, when the students will also give brief presentations on their topics. One-third of your grade will be based on class participation and four “reaction papers” based on the readings in weeks 5,6,8, 9 and 10. These papers, no more than three pages long, should not be mere descriptions of the weekly readings. They could, for example, elaborate further on some theoretical point, propose and discuss an alternative hypothesis, or compare and contrast different readings. Class participation is essential. This means two things. First, you must do the weekly readings, and think about what arguments the authors are making. Second, you must be prepared to critically discuss these arguments in class. I reserve the right to add or subtract readings as needed.

The following books are available for purchase at Underground Textbook Exchange 664 State Street (across from Starbucks):

- Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

- Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*. (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen Hanson, eds., *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*. (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Herbert Kitschelt et al. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*. (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Steven Solnick, *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions*. (Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Hubert Tworzecki, *Learning to Choose: Electoral Politics in East-Central Europe*. (Stanford University Press, 2003).

**Make-ups:** No extensions on the paper will be granted without a bona fide medical excuse. This means a signed letter from your doctor stating that you were physically incapable of completing the work on time. To help you budget your time one-page paper synopses are due March 2 in class. Late papers (without an excuse) will be docked one entire grade for each day that they are late.

**Plagiarism:** Bad. It infuriates me, and is unfair to those who put in genuine work. At a minimum cheaters will fail the course. At a maximum they will face UW disciplinary action. For information on what constitutes academic misconduct please see: <http://www.wisc.edu/students/amsum.htm>

**Communicating:** I have set of an email list for this course. The address is: ps-948@lists.students.wisc.edu If you use a “students.wisc.edu” account and are registered for this course, then you are already on the list. For those of you who use another address you will need to join the list manually. See <https://www.ps1.doit.wisc.edu/EASI/> for details. Other than in class, this list will be the primary means by which I communicate last minute corrections, so please be sure to register. My email address is listed above.

### Schedule of readings:

- Week 1, Jan. 20: Introduction and Overview
- Week 2, Jan. 27: State-Socialism
  - János Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*. (Princeton University Press, 1992), selections.
  - Charles Sabel and David Stark, “Planning, Politics and Shop Floor Power: Hidden Forms of Bargaining in Soviet-Imposed State-Socialist Societies” *Politics & Society* 4, 1982, 439-475.
  - Václav Havel, “The Power of the Powerless,” in Václav Havel et al., *The Power of the Powerless*. (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1985).

- Ken Jowitt, *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction*. (University of California Press, 1992), pp. 1-87.
- Week 3, Feb. 3: The Fall of State-Socialism
  - Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*. (Cambridge University Press, 1999).
  - Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. (Cambridge University Press, 2002).
  - Timur Kuran, “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989” *World Politics* 44, October 1991, pp. 7-48.
  - Charles Maier, “The Collapse of Communism: Approaches for a Future History”, *History Workshop* 31 (1991), 34-59.
  - Steven Solnick, *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions*. (Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Week 4, Feb. 10: Post-Communism or Post-Communisms?
  - Steven L. Solnick, “The breakdown of hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: A neoinstitutional perspective,” *World Politics* Jan 1996 Vol. 48, Iss. 2.
  - M. Steven Fish, “Postcommunist Subversion: Social Science and Democratization in East Europe and Eurasia,” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 58, No. 4, (Winter, 1999), pp. 794-823.
  - Philip G. Roeder, “The Rejection of Authoritarianism,” in Richard D. Anderson, Jr et al., eds., *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy*. (Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 11-53.
  - Herbert Kitschelt, “Accounting for Postcommunist Regime Diversity,” in Ekiert and Hanson, Chapter 2.
- Week 5, Feb. 17: Overview of Political Reform
  - Russell Bova, “Political Dynamics of the Post-Communist Transition: A Comparative Perspective,” *World Politics* Vol. 44, No. 1. (Oct., 1991), pp. 113-138.
  - Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. (Johns Hopkins Press, 1996), Parts I and IV, pp. 3-83, and pp. 235-457.
  - Valerie Bunce, “Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Post-communist Experience,” *World Politics* Vol. 55, January 2003, pp. 167-192.

- Week 6, Feb. 24: Overview of Economic Reform
  - Stanley Fischer and Alan Gelb, “The Process of Socialist Economic Transformation” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Autumn 1991, pp. 91-105.
  - David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt, *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe*. (Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapter 2.
  - Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*. (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 136-191.
  - Jürgen Beyer and Jan Wieloghs, “On the Limits of Path Dependency Approaches for Explaining Postsocialist Institution Building: In Critical Response to David Stark,” *East European Politics & Societies*, Spring 2001, Vol. 15 Issue 2.
  - Gerard Roland, “The Political Economy of Transition,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 16, 2002, pp. 29-50.
- Week 7, Mar. 2: In-class presentations and one-page paper synopses.
- Week 8, Mar. 9: Institution-Building
  - Adam Przeworski et al., *Sustainable Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 40-52.
  - Donald L. Horowitz, “Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers,” *Journal of Democracy* Volume 14, Number 4, October 2003.
  - Michael Bernhard, “Institutional Choice after Communism: A Critique of Theory-building in an Empirical Wasteland,” *East European Politics & Societies*, Spring 2000, Vol. 14 Issue 2.
  - Robert Moser, “Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Postcommunist States,” *World Politics* Vol. 51, No. 3. (Apr., 1999), pp. 359-384.
  - Claus Offe, “Capitalism by democratic design? Democratic theory facing the triple transition in East Central Europe,” *Social Research* Winter 1991, Vol. 58 Issue 4.
  - Jon Elster, Claus Offe, and Ulrich Preuss, *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies: Rebuilding the Ship at Sea*. (Cambridge University Press, 1997), Chapter 3: Constitutional Politics in Eastern Europe.
  - David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt, *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe*. (Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapter 3.

- Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy. Second Edition.* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Chapters 9,11,12,13,18.
- Week 9, Mar. 23: Nation-building
  - Philip G. Roeder, “Peoples and States after 1989: The Political Costs of Incomplete National Revolutions,” *Slavic Review*, no. 4 (Winter 1999).
  - Katherine Verdery, “Nationalism, postsocialism, and space in Eastern Europe,” *Social Research*, Vol. 62, Issue 1, Spring 1996.
  - Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe.* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), Chapters 1-3;6.
  - David Laitin, *Identity in Formation.* (Cornell University Press, 1998), Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-82.
  - Jerzy Jedlicki, “Historical memory as a source of conflicts in Eastern Europe,” *Communist and Post - Communist Studies* Sep 1999, Vol. 32, Iss. 3.
- Week 10, Mar. 30: Civil Society
  - Michael Bernhard, “Civil Society and Democratic Transition in East Central Europe,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 108, No. 2. (Summer, 1993), pp. 307-326.
  - Grzegorz Ekiert and Jan Kubik, “Contentious politics in new democracies,” *World Politics*, July 1998, Vol. 50 Issue 4.
  - Marc Morjé Howard, “The Weakness Of Postcommunist Civil Society,” *Journal of Democracy* Volume 13, Number 1 January 2002.
  - James L. Gibson, “Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia’s Democratic Transition,” *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 45, No. 1, January 2001, pp. 51-69.
- , Week 11, Apr. 6: Parties and Elections
  - Herbert Kitschelt et al. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation.* (Cambridge University Press, 1999). Focus on Chapters 1-4; 7-8.
  - Hubert Tworzecki, *Learning to Choose: Electoral Politics in East-Central Europe.* (Stanford University Press, 2003).
  - Miller, Arthur H.; Erb, Gwyn; Reisinger, William M.; Hesli, Vicki L., “Emerging Party Systems in Post-Soviet Societies: Fact or Fiction?” *Journal of Politics*, May 2000, Vol. 62 Issue 2, pp. 455-490.

- Week 12, Apr. 13: Success and Failures, Winners and Losers
  - Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly, “Postcommunist Spaces: A Political Geography Approach to Explaining Postcommunist Outcomes,” in Ekiert and Hanson, Chapter 4.
  - Grzegorz Ekiert, “Patterns of Post-Communist Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe,” in Ekiert and Hanson, Chapter 3.
  - The World Bank, *The First Ten Years: Analysis and Lessons for Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union* 2002, pp. xiii-20.
  - Slawomira Zbierski-Salameh, “Polish Peasants in the ‘Valley of Transition’: Responses to Postsocialist Reforms,” in Michael Buroway and Katherine Verdery, eds., *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), Chapter 6.
  - Gerald W. Creed, “Deconstructing Socialism in Bulgaria,” in Michael Buroway and Katherine Verdery, eds., *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), Chapter 7.
  
- Week 13, Apr. 20: Returning to Europe
  - Zsuzsa Csergo and James M. Goldgeier, “Virtual Nationalism,” *Foreign Policy* Jul/Aug2001 Issue 125.
  - Frank Schimmelfennig, “The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union,” *International Organization* Volume 55, Issue 01, March 2001.
  - Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova, “National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement,” *East European Politics & Societies* Vol. 17, No. 1.
  - Lynn M. Tesser, “The Geopolitics of Tolerance: Minority Rights under EU Expansion in East-Central Europe,” *East European Politics & Societies*, Summer 2003, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 483-532.
  
- Week 14, Apr. 27: Post-Communism in Comparative Perspective
  - Ghia Nodia, “How different are postcommunist transitions?” *Journal of Democracy* October 1996, Vol. 7 Issue 4.
  - Philippe C. Schmitter with Terry Lynn Karl, “The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?,” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 1 (Spring 1994), pp. 173-185.
  - Valerie Bunce, “Should Transitologists be Grounded?,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 111-127.

- Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter, “From an Iron Curtain to a Paper Curtain: Grounding Transitologists or Students of Postcommunism,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 965-978.
  - Valerie Bunce, “Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers,” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 4 (Winter 1995), pp. 979-987.
- Week 15, May 4: Semester Wrap-Up