

POLITICAL SCIENCE 141C

Politics and Government in Eastern Europe

Lecture: Tu 2-5pm, 166 Barrows

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COURSE DESCRIPTION: Why are some post-communist countries more politically and economically successful than others? What underlies the many conflicts in this region? What can happen in the future, and what can we learn from the East European experience? This course is designed to help you answer these and similar questions. Topics include state-socialism and its collapse, the emergence of ethnic, the transitions to democracy and market economics, entry into NATO and the European Union, the migrant crisis, democratic backsliding, and the role of Russia.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS: Students are expected to attend class regularly, do the assigned reading, complete all exams, and participate in any in-class discussions. The grade for this course will be based on two midterms (25%), one research paper (25%), and class/section participation (25%). More information about the exams will be provided during the term. I do not grade on a curve, so you are not competing with your classmates for A's. Everyone who does A-level work will receive an A. But you must take both exams to get a passing grade in the course. (Please note that the second midterm is scheduled for our last class meeting; there will be no cumulative final exam.)

Academic misconduct, also known as cheating and/or plagiarism, will not be tolerated. If you are caught cheating I reserve the right to fail you in the course. For information on what constitutes misconduct please see: <http://sa.berkeley.edu/conduct>

SECTION INFORMATION:

Section 101, Wed 9-10am, 3109 Etcheverry

Section 102, Fri 12-1pm, 3107 Etcheverry

BOOK FOR PURCHASE: The following book is REQUIRED and available for purchase at the ASUC bookstore.

Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane Leftwich Currey, eds., *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*. 3rd Edition. (Roman and Littlefield, 2014).

COURSE READER: All readings not in the Wolchik and Curry book are available on bCourses.

IMPORTATION NOTE: New and better readings are always coming to my attention. I therefore reserve the right to add and subtract from the syllabus.

Class Rules

1. I realize we live in a wired world, but personal technology is a distraction during lecture. Please keep your laptops, smartphones, and other electronic gadgetry off during lecture. For note-taking you will need to bring paper and a writing implement. If you have a disability that necessitates electronic assistance, please see me to request an exception. A DSP note will be required.
2. I do not post my lecture notes online (and in fact do not have notes to begin with), but I will make my lecture slides available on bCourses.
3. I do not allow students to make announcements to the class regarding any extracurricular activity.
4. I do not hand out study sheets before exams, but we will review and discuss exams in class and in section.
5. Please report any suspected errors in the grading of an assignment within one week (the next class meeting) of receiving the grade. I reserve the right not to effect a grade change if an issue is reported after a week has passed.
6. Syllabi are wonderful documents with lots of information on the time and place of office hours, the dates of exams, and course requirements. Please do not ask for information contained in the syllabus.
7. Unless otherwise specified no appointment is necessary to come to my office hours. Just show up!

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES/READING

Week 1, Jan 17: Introduction: Why Eastern Europe?

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 3-40 (Twenty-Five years after 1989: Issues in Postcommunist Europe).

Week 2, Jan 24: State-Socialism and Its Collapse

Richard E. Ericson, "The Classical Soviet-Type Economy: Nature of the System and Implications for Reform," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Fall 1991, pp. 11-27. (You may skip stuff beginning with the "Implications for Reform" section.)

Katherine Verdery, "What Was Socialism and Why Did it Fall?," pp. 19-38.

Vladimir Tismaneanu, "Understanding 1989: The Revolutionary Tradition Revisited," *East European Politics & Societies* Vol. 24, No. 4, Nov 2014, pp. 644-middle of p. 648.

Film (Firemen's Ball, DVD 1063)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S60WPJpuvBw> (Romania, 53 minutes)

Week 3, Jan 31: Creating Democracy and Capitalism? Political and Economic Transition

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 43-65 (The Political Transition).

Jan Zielonka, "New Institutions in the Old East Bloc," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 207-224.

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 67-98 (Re-creating the Market).

Mitchell Orenstein, "What Happened in East European (Political) Economies? A Balance Sheet for Neoliberal Reform," *East European Politics & Societies* Vol. 23, No. 4, Fall 2009, pp. 479-490.

Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Kubik, and Milada Anna Vachudova, "Democracy in the Post-Communist World: An Unending Quest?," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, March 2007, pp. 7-30.

Week 4, Feb 7: Accounting for the Past? Transitional Justice (Paper topic due)

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 169-187 (Transitional Justice in Central and Eastern Europe).

Hillary Appel, "Anti-Communist Justice and Founding the Post-Communist Order: Lustration and Restitution in Central Europe," *East European Politics & Societies*, summer 2005, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 379-405.

Jan Elster, "On Doing What One Can: An Argument Against Post-Communist Restitution and Retribution," pp. 566-568.

Vladimir Tismaneanu, "Understanding 1989: The Revolutionary Tradition Revisited," *East European Politics & Societies* Vol. 24, No. 4, Nov 2014, pp. middle of 648-652.

(Reading located in Week 2)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cj4pHuMQguU> (Bulgaria, 25 minutes)

Week 5: Feb 14: Ethnicity and Nationalism

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 121-149 (Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Expansion of Democracy).

Stephen Deets, "Reimagining the Boundaries of the Nation: Politics and the Development of Ideas on Minority Rights," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 2006, pp. 419-446.

Dena Ringold, "Roma and the Transition in Central and Eastern Europe: Trends and Challenges." (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2000), pp. 10-34.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I7SHo42id84> (Poland, 16 minutes)

Week 6: Feb 21: Crime, Corruption, and Inequality

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 99-120 (Social Aspects of Transformation).

Valerie Bunce, "The Political Economy of Postsocialism," *Slavic Review* 58, no. 4 (Winter 1999), pp. 756-793.

Roman Frydman, Kenneth Murphy, and Andrzej Rapaczynski, *Capitalism with a Comrade's Face: Studies in the Postcommunist Transition*. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), pp. 42-77.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1pOw-9zasDc> (Romania, 25 minutes)

Week 7: Feb 28: Midterm

Week 8, Mar 7: External Influences on Domestic Politics? EU, NATO

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 189-232 (EU Succession and After; Security Issues: NATO and Beyond).

Milada Anna Vachudova, "Democratization in Postcommunist Europe: Illiberal Regimes and the Leverage of the European Union," in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 82-104.

Venelin I. Ganey, "Post-Accession Hooliganism: Democratic Governance in Bulgaria and Romania after 2007," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 27. No 1, February 2013, pp. 26-44.

Week 9, Mar 14: Liberal Democratic Disillusionment and Backsliding

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 481-512 (Ukraine: Leaving the Crossroads).

Jacques Rupnik and Jan Zielonka, "The State of Democracy 20 Years On: Domestic and External Factors," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, February 2013, pp. 3-25.

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Post-Communist Countries*. Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 3-34.

James Dawson and Seán Hanley, "The Fading Mirage of the 'Liberal Consensus'," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Jan 2016, pp. 20-34.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dr0HPZwVQBM> (Promise and Peril of Democracy, 47 minutes)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0L-oi2yvo5o> (Slovakia, 16 minutes)

Week 10, Mar 21: Case Studies: Hungary and Poland

Wolchik and Curry, pp. 235-263 (Poland); 293-315 (Hungary).

János Kornai "Hungary's U-Turn," *Capitalism and Society*, Vol. 10, Issue 2, Article 1, pp. 3-24.

Seán Hanley and James Dawson, "Poland Was Never as Democratic as It Looked," foreignpolicy.com, January 3, 2017.

Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski and Roland Benedikter, "Europe's New Rogue States, Poland and Hungary: A Narrative and Its Perspectives," *Chin. Polit. Sci. Rev.*, 2016. doi:10.1007/s41111-016-0048-5.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_7EjaMu0ic (Hungary, 28 minutes)

Week 11, Mar 28: Spring Break

Week 12, Apr 4: The Bear Awakens: Russia and Eastern Europe

Peter Pomerantsev, "The Big Chill: The Battle for Central Europe," *World Affairs Journal*, January/February 2015.

Jeffrey Tayler, "The Seething Anger of Putin's Russia," *The Atlantic*, Sept 22, 2014.

Mitchell Orenstein, "Geopolitics of a Divided Europe," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, May 2015, pp. 531-540.

Week 13, Apr 11: Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Politics (Paper due)

Vladimir Tismaneanu, "The Leninist Debris, or Waiting for Perón," in Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Fantasies of Salvation*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 38-64.

Grzegorz Ekiert and Daniel Ziblatt, "Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe One Hundred Years On," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Feb 2013, pp. 90-107.
Jason Wittenberg, "Conceptualizing Historical Legacies," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, May 2015, pp. 366-378.

Week 14, Apr 18: Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective

Jan Teorell, *Determinants of democratization: explaining regime change in the world, 1972-2006*. (Cambridge University Press, 2010), concluding chapter.

Week 15, Apr 25: Midterm

Week 16, May 2: Reading Week