

POLITICAL SCIENCE 141C

Politics and Government in Eastern Europe

Version August 18, 2020

Lecture: M 2-5pm, Zoom
Section 101: Wed 11-12, Zoom
Section 102: Wed 12-1, Zoom

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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 politics, 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 (30% each), a research paper (20%), and class/section participation (20%). 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.

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>

MATERIAL FOR PURCHASE: The following are required and available for purchase at the ASUC bookstore.

Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane Leftwich Curry, eds., *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*. 4th Edition. (Roman and Littlefield, 2018).

NOTE: 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 FYI

1. 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.
2. I do not allow students to make announcements to the class regarding any extracurricular activity.
3. I do not hand out study sheets before exams, but we will review and discuss exams in class and in section.
4. Please report any suspected errors in the grading of an assignment within two days of receiving the grade. I reserve the right not to effect a grade change if an issue is reported after more than two days.
5. 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.
6. Unless otherwise specified no appointment is necessary to come to my office hours. Just show up!

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES/READING

Aug 31: Introduction: Why Eastern Europe?

Wolchik and Curry, Part I: Introduction (Democracy, the Market, and the Return to Europe: From Communism to the European Union and NATO).

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ya55Q-WdIrQ> (Is it time to scrap “Eastern Europe”?, 2 minutes)

Sept 7: Labor Day holiday

Sept 14: State-Socialism and Its Collapse (Paper topics handed out.)

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=VmZy8TMFKI4> (Socialism in One Family: Romania, 52 minutes)

Sept 21: Creating Democracy and Capitalism? Political and Economic Transition

Wolchik and Curry, Chapter 2 (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, Chapter 3 (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.

Sept 28: Accounting for the Past? Transitional Justice

Wolchik and Curry, Chapter 6 (Transitional Justice and Memory).

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.

Adam Michnik and Václav Havel, "Justice or Revenge?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 1, January 1993, pp. 20-27.

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

Oct 5: Ethnicity and Nationalism

Wolchik and Curry, Chapter 5 (Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Challenges of Democratic Consolidation).

Marci Shore, *The Taste of Ashes*. (New York: Crown, 2013), pp. 139-200.

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=0L-oI2yvo5o> (Slovakia: Anti-Muslim rhetoric ahead of elections, 16 minutes)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a7ow9qa8whU> (Hungary: Towards the Abyss, 25 minutes)

Oct 12: Defeating Autocratic Incumbents

Wolchik and Curry, Chapter 17 (Ukraine)

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik, "International diffusion and postcommunist electoral revolutions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39 (2006), pp. 283-304.

Lucan Way, "The Real Causes of Color Revolutions," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 3, July 2008, pp. 55-69.

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, "Getting Real About 'Real Causes'," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 20, No. 1, January 2009, pp. 69-73.

Oct 19: Midterm (2-4pm)

Oct 26: Liberal Democratic Disillusionment

Ivan Krastev, "Eastern Europe's Illiberal Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2018, pp 49-56.

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)

Nov 2: Case Studies: Hungary and Poland

Wolchik and Curry, Chapter 9 (Poland); Chapter 11 (Hungary).

János Kornai, "Hungary's U-Turn: Retreat from Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 26, No. 3, July 2015, pp. 34-48.

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-political chaos on the streets of Budapest, 28 minutes)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tafqx31M0Tw> (Poles Apart: Is Poland's democracy under threat?, 25 minutes)

Nov 9: Influences on East European Politics: EU, NATO

Wolchik and Curry, Chapters 7 and 8 (The EU and Its New Members: Forging a New Relationship; 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.

Nov 16: Influences on East European Politics: Russia

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.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sPoiinjn_CfQ (Sphere of Influence—Russia's Foreign Policy, 25 minutes. Start at 5:45.)

Nov 23: Influences on East European Politics: Economy and Society

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

Slavenka Drakulic, *Café Europa*. (New York: Norton, 1997), pp. 46-68.

Anca M. Pusca, *Post-Communist Aesthetics*. (Routledge, 2017), pp. 84-112 ("Building capitalism").

Kristen Ghodsee, *Red Hangover*. (Duke University Press, 2017), pp. 179-200 ("Democracy for the Penguins").

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

Nov 30: TBD (papers due)

Nov 30: Midterm (2-4pm). Papers due.

Nov 30: Sources of East European Politics: Historical Legacies (papers 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.

Final Exam Group 15: Thursday, Dec 17, 3-5pm.