

DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA NYUAD, Fall 2016

Instructor: **Leonid Peisakhin**

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Office: 149, Social Sciences Building, A5

Office Hours: Mondays, 4:30-6:30pm

Time: MoWe 10:25-11:40am

Location: C2, W004

Course Number: POLSC-AD 162

Credit Units: 4

Prerequisites: POLSC-AD 150

Course Description:

The aim of this course is to provide a broad overview of East European politics over the course of the 20th century and into the present in order to explain contemporary variation in the levels of democracy and development across the region. We will begin by examining the state of Europe at the collapse of continental empires and will then consider the evolution of Communism as an ideology and an actual social, political, and economic practice. The bulk of the course is dedicated to the post-1989 period. We will explore why some Eastern European countries were quick to democratize and liberalize, while others retrenched. A substantial part of the course is focused on the evolution of society, economy, and polity in Russia. We will also discuss developments in all the former Soviet republics and across the former Communist bloc from Bulgaria to Hungary.

Learning Outcomes:

Students will learn about the evolution of state and society in Eastern Europe over the course of the past century with an emphasis on post-1989 variation in political, economic, and social outcomes. They will gain familiarity with foundational texts on the history, politics, and society of Eastern European countries and will develop an ability to critically engage with scholarly arguments and to formulate and effectively express their own opinions both orally and in writing. In addition to helping students nurture analytical, presentation and writing skills, this class will also enable them to become better consumers of news reporting on political and economic affairs.

Teaching and Learning Methodologies:

This is a seminar class. Lecturing will be kept to a minimum to provide students with the context necessary to better understand the readings and to highlight some of the important theoretical themes in the literature. The bulk of the class will take the form of a discussion of the readings in a group setting. Students will be encouraged to share their understanding of the readings and, whenever appropriate, to apply theoretical arguments gleaned from the readings to more familiar empirical settings. There will be several opportunities for group presentations of class materials.

Books:

- Aslund, Anders. 2009. *How Capitalism Was Built: the Transformation of CEE, Russia and Central Asia*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Janos, Andrew. 2000. *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press

Course requirements:

(i) *Attendance and Participation:* Given that this is a seminar class, it is absolutely essential that students come to class having done the assigned readings and prepared to engage in an in-depth discussion of the readings and related concepts. Students are encouraged to relate the readings to past and current news events. Participation entails active engagement in class discussions and clear effort to engage in a dialogue with fellow students and the instructor. Attendance is mandatory, and students are entitled to two unexcused absences as per NYUAD's policy.

(ii) *Readings:* Class discussion is premised on the assumption that all students do the assigned reading carefully and in full before the class meets. No meaningful engagement with the material is possible unless everyone does the required reading.

(iii) *Reading responses:* Students must submit **three** 1-2 page reading responses (double spaced, 12-point Times New Roman font, 1 inch margins) over the course of the semester. These must be submitted via email **by midnight of the day before class**. You can decide which three sessions you would like to write your reading responses for; it is a good idea to space these out across the semester instead of cramming them all in at the very end when you will also be working on the essay. A reading response provides an opportunity for you to **reflect on the session's readings**: you are expected to summarize the reading's argument(s), reflect on its persuasiveness and on whether and how it fits with other literature or arguments already covered in the class.

(iv) *Final essay:* You will have to write **one 8-10 page essay** toward the end of the semester. Essays are an opportunity for you to make a longer-form argument about the topic under study. Essays must have a clearly articulated thesis and a structured argument marshaling evidence in support of the thesis. You will be expected to directly engage with the relevant literature, which you will have to reference, and to consider alternative arguments. You will have the option of either answering an essay question set by the course instructor or writing a research proposal on a topic of your own choosing. Pre-set essay questions will be emailed out approximately two weeks before the deadline. Those choosing to write a research proposal will need to discuss their topic with the course instructor at least two weeks before due date. A research proposal would entail a statement of a research question, review of the relevant literature and statement of hypotheses, and summary of research design. Juniors and seniors majoring in the social sciences are encouraged to consider writing a research proposal. Essays are to be submitted via email to the course instructor. Essays must be double-spaced and written in 12-point Times New Roman font; remember to use section headings, paragraphs, punctuation, and to number the pages. Each essay must have a list of references. Please be sure that your citations and references conform to the Chicago Manual of Style requirements (www.chicagomanualofstyle.org).

(v) *Midterm and final quiz:* There will be a short **midterm** and a **final quiz** in this class. The purpose of these tests is to ensure that students have done the readings, and students will be tested on their knowledge of foundational terms and concepts from the literature. There will be no major essay component to these tests.

(vi) *Group presentations:* There will be several mandatory group presentations over the course of the semester; every student will have to present at least once as part of a small

group. Students will be asked to make brief (15 minute) presentations on important themes from the readings.

Important Dates:

October 17: In-class midterm

December 1: Final day to discuss research proposal idea with instructor/Essay topics out

December 14: In-class final quiz.

December 16: Final essay due.

Course grade:

Participation: 15%

Group presentations: 10%

Reading responses: 5% x 3 = 15%

Midterm: 10%

Final quiz: 10%

Essay/Research Proposal: 40%

Academic Integrity:

Plagiarism is a major academic offense with serious penalties. Please consult NYUAD's academic integrity policy and procedures before submitting written work: <https://students.nyuad.nyu.edu/academics/academic-policies/the-nyuad-communitys-commitment-to-integrity/>.

COURSE SCHEDULE:

Monday, August 29: What Is Eastern Europe?

- Janos, Andrew. 2000. *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, chapters 2 and 3, pp. 29-38; 65-97.

Wednesday, August 31: The Interwar Years—Nationalism

- Barkey, Karen and Mark von Hagen, eds. 1997. *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies And Nation-Building: The Soviet Union, And the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, pp. 99-114.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, chapter 4, pp. 79-106.

Monday, September 5: Communism in Theory: Antecedents

- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels. 1978 [1872]. "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in Robert Tucker, ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, pp. 469-500.

Wednesday, September 7: State-Socialism Spreads

- Janos, Andrew. 2000. *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, chapter 5, pp. 218-256.

Monday, September 12: NO CLASS [Eid break]

Wednesday, September 14: NO CLASS [Rescheduled]

Monday, September 19: Communism in Theory: The Economy

- Kornai, Janos. 1992. *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapters 5 and 7, pp. 62-90, 110-130.

Wednesday, September 21: Communism in Practice: The Society

- Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. 2003. *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956*. London: The Harvill Press, TBC.
- Drakulic, Slavenka. 1993. *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, chapter 10, pp. 93-103.

Sunday, September 25: Diversity of State Socialisms [MAKE UP CLASS]

- Janos, Andrew. 2000. *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 269-328.

Monday, September 26: State Socialism—Dissent and Opposition

- Havel, Vaclav. [1978]. “The Power of the Powerless” in *Open Letters: Selected Writings, 1965-1990*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 127-146.
- Kotkin, Stephen. 2010. *Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of State Communist Establishment*. New York: Modern Library, chapter 1, pp. 5-34.

Wednesday, September 28: Why did the Communist Block Collapse?

- Janos, Andrew. 2000. *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 329-360.

Monday, October 3: How did the Communist Block Collapse?

- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.

Wednesday, October 5: Transition to Democracy

- Ekiert, Grzegorz. 2003. “Patterns of Post-Communist Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe,” in Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen Hanson, eds. *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, chapter 3, pp. 89-119.
- Bunce, Valerie. 2003. “Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Post-communist Experience,” *World Politics* 55: 167-179.

Monday, October 10: Economic Reforms: Privatizations

- Shleifer, Andrei and Daniel Treisman. 2000. *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-38.

Wednesday, October 12: Dissolution of State Authority

- Volkov, Vadim. 2002. *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, chapter 2, pp. 27-63.

Monday, October 17: Social Reforms: Collapse of the Socialist Welfare State [IN-CLASS MIDTERM]

- Aslund, Anders. 2009. *How Capitalism Was Built: the Transformation of CEE, Russia and Central Asia*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, chapter 7, pp. 215-238.

Wednesday, October 19: NO CLASS

Monday, October 24: FALL BREAK

Wednesday, October 26: Diversity of Economic Outcomes

- Bohle, Dorothee and Bela Greskovits. 2012. *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, chapter 1, pp. 7-54.

Monday, October 31: The Puzzle of Partial Reform [IN-CLASS MIDTERM]

- Hellman, Joel. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions" *World Politics* 50: 203-234.

Wednesday, November 2: The Pull of the European Union

- Vachudova, Anna Milada. 2005. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration After Communism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, chapter 7, pp. 181-217.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2007. "EU Accession is No "End of History"" in *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 8-16.

Monday, November 7: And What About Those Left Behind?

- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, chapter 5.

Wednesday, November 9: Political Landscape Transformed [or Not]

- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2002. *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, introduction and conclusion, pp. 1-18, 265-284.

Monday, November 14: Resilience of Authoritarianism

- McFaul, Michael. 2002. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World" in *World Politics* 54(2): 212-244.

Wednesday, November 16: The Politics of Semi-Authoritarianism

- Aslund, Anders. 2009. *How Capitalism Was Built: the Transformation of CEE, Russia and Central Asia*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, chapter 8, pp. 239-282.

Monday, November 21: Color Revolutions

- Way, Lucan. 2008. "The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions" in *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 55-69.
- Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2009. "Getting Real About "Real Causes"" in *Journal of Democracy* 20(1): 69-73.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina and Igor Munteanu. 2009. "Moldova's "Twitter Revolution"" in *Journal of Democracy* 20(3): 136-142.
- Marples, David. 2006. "Color Revolutions: The Belarus Case" in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39(3): 351-364.

Wednesday, November 23: The Rise of the Radical Right

- Bustikova, Lenka. 2014. "Revenge of the Radical Right" in *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12): 1738-1765.
- Rupnik, Jacques. 2007. "From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backlash" in *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 17-25.
- Greskovits, Bela. 2007. "Economic Woes and Political Disaffection" in *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 40-46.

Monday, November 28: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Statehood 1

- Darden, Keith and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse" in *World Politics* 59: 83-115.

Wednesday, November 30: NO CLASS [UAE Martyrs' Day]

Monday, December 5: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Statehood 2

- Roeder, Philip. 1999 "Peoples and States after 1989: The Political Costs of Incomplete National Revolutions" in *Slavic Review* 4: 854-881.

Wednesday, December 7: Conflict

- King, Charles. 2001. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States" in *World Politics* 53(4): 524-552.

SATURDAY, December 10: Conclusions [CLASSES MEET]

- Krastev, Ivan. 2007. "The Strange Death of the Liberal Consensus." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 56-63.
- Szelenyi, Ivan. 2015. "Capitalisms After Communism" in *New Left Review* 96: 1-13.

Monday, December 12: NO CLASS [Prophet's Birthday]

Wednesday, December 14: FINAL QUIZ