

## **IR 280: Communism and Democracy in Eastern Europe**

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 3:25-4:40PM

Gavet Hall, 208

Instructor: Olesya Tkacheva

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### **Course Description:**

Why did democratic consolidation succeed in some Eastern European countries while fail in others? How did initial conditions, political institutions, and international actors affect post-communist political development? How can we classify political systems that emerged in Eastern and Central Europe? Who were the winners and losers of this political and economic transformation? This course answers these question by comparing trajectories of Poland, considered by the West as a poster child of transition and potential leader of the EU reforms, and Russia that evolved from the Communist into an authoritarian regime. The course readings juxtapose theoretical arguments about democratic consolidation with the post-soviet development of these two countries.

### **Evaluation:**

- Mid-term exam (October 12, 2010): 25%
- Final exam (December 19, 2010 @ 8:30AM): 30%
- A case-study paper and in-class presentation: 25%

Students will be required to write and present a case-study paper (8-10 pages double-spaced). The paper should pick one of Eastern European countries and focus on either important political or economic challenges, by contrasting and comparing it to Russia and Poland. The goal of the paper is to develop policy recommendation based on relevant course readings. The preliminary version of the paper should be presented in class on one of the suggested below dates. A one page description of the country and the policy issue is due on September 24). An outline of the paper is due two weeks before the presentation. The paper is on the last of class, December 10, 2010.

- Motivated Questions and Attendance: 20%

Students are expected to attend all classes. Missing more than two weeks of classes without a documented and valid reason will result in the failure to receive the grade. Students must submit weekly 2 discussion questions based about assigned readings of their choice. Discussion questions are due at least 5 hours before the class via e-mail.

A student cannot receive a grade for the course unless he/she completes all writing assignments.

### **Recommended Book(s):**

Juan Linz and Alfred Stephan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Southern America and Post-Communist Europe* (Washington D.C.: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), available at the Reese library course reserves.

All other readings are available through the Blackboard under “Course Materials.”

## **Part I: Introduction**

### **Week 1 (September 2): The Puzzle**

Suggested:

Vladimir Milov and Boris Nemtsov, PUTIN: What 10 Years of Putin Have Brought? At <http://www.putin-itogi.ru/putin-what-10-years-of-putin-have-brought/>

Bogusia Puchalska, “Polish Democracy in Transition?” *Political Studies* 53 (2005): 816–832.

### **Week 2 (September 7-9): Classifying Post-Soviet Regimes**

Marie Lavigne, *The Economics of Transition: from Socialist Economy to Market Economy* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 1995c), Chapter 1.

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1971), Chapter 1.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stephan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Southern America and Post-Communist Europe* (Washington D.C.: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), Chapters 1-3.

Larry Diamond, “Elections without Democracy: Thinking about Hybrid Regimes,” *Journal of Democracy* 13:2 (2002) 21-35.

Suggested:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.” *Journal of Democracy* 13: 2 (April 2002): 51-65.

Adrian A. Basora and Mitchell A. Orenstein, “Countering Democratic Regression in Europe and Asia,” Center for European Policy Analysis Report 31 (May 2010) at [http://www.cepa.org/publications/view.aspx?record\\_id=127](http://www.cepa.org/publications/view.aspx?record_id=127)

## **Part II: Explaining Successes and Failures of Democratic Consolidation**

### **Weeks 3-4: (September 14-24): Elites, Masses and Legacies**

A paper proposal is due on September 24

Juan Linz and Alfred Stephan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Southern America and Post-Communist Europe*, Chapters 4, 16, 19.

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

William Zimmerman, *The Russian People and Foreign Policy: Russian Elite and Mass Perspective, 1993-2000* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), Chapter 2.

Grigore Pop-Eleches, "Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change." *Journal of Politics* 69(4):908-926 (November 2007).

Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide: Precommunist Schooling and Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* (October 2006).

Lucan A. Way, "Authoritarian State-Building and the Source of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave," *World Politics* 57:2 (January 2005), pp. 231-61.

Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Post-Communist Experience," *World Politics* 55: 2 (January 2003), pp. 167-192.

### **Weeks 5-(September 28-30) International Actors and Post-Communist Democratization**

Karen Smith, "Western Actors and the Promotion of Democracy," in Jan Zeilonka ed., *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Vol. 2* (Cambridge, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 31-58.

Susan Senior Nello, "The Impact of External Economic Factors: The Role of IMF," in Jan Zeilonka ed., *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Vol. 2*, pp.76-112.

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration after Communism* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2005), Chapters 3 and 5.

### **Week 6: (October 5-7) Case Studies**

Tomila V. Lankina and Lullit Getachew, "A Geographic Incremental Theory of Democratization: Territory, Aid, and Democracy in Post-Communist Regions," *World Politics* 58:4 (July 2006): 536-82.

Antoni Zaminskiy, "Poland: Compatibility of Internal and External Democratic Designs," in Jan Zeilonka ed., *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Vol. 2*, pp. 311-325.

F. Steves, "Poland and the International System: External Influences on Democratic Consolidation," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34 (3),( September 2001), pp. 339-352.

Suggested:

“Poland’s way to UE” at <http://www.poland.gov.pl/?document=458>

Office of the Committee on European Integration, “4 Years of Poland’s membership in EU: Analysis of Social and Economic Benefits,” at [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/5th\\_enlargement/facts\\_figures/4\\_years\\_poland\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/5th_enlargement/facts_figures/4_years_poland_en.pdf)

## **Week 7: (October 12) Midterm Exam**

### **Part III: Political Institutions and Democratic Consolidation**

#### **Weeks 7-8 (October 14-21): Presidential System and Democratic Consolidation**

Steven Fish and Matthew Kroenig, *The Handbook of National Legislatures: A Global Survey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chapters on Poland and Russia (Skim).

Juan Linz, “The Perils of Presidentialism,” *Journal of Democracy* (Winter 1990).

Steven D. Roper, “Are All Semipresidential Regimes the Same? A Comparison of Premier-Presidential Regimes,” *Comparative Politics* 34: 3 (Apr., 2002), pp. 253-272.

Michael H. Bernhard, *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy: Germany and Poland in the Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 2005), Chapters 1 & 11.

Mirosław Wyrzykowski, “Legitimacy: The Price of Delayed Constitution in Poland,” in Jan Zeilonka ed., *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Vol. 1* (Cambridge, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 431-454 (skim).

Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapter 7.

Suggested:

Steven Fish, “Creative Constitutions: How Do Parliamentary Powers Shape the Electoral Arena?” In Andreas Schedler, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006: 181-97.

#### **Week 9: (October 26-28): Electoral Systems and Representation**

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), Chapter 1.

Carey and Shugart, “Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote,” *Electoral Studies* 14 (4): 417-439.

Sarah Birch, *Electoral Systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe* (New York, NY: Pulgrave McMillan, 2003), Chapters 2, 3, 4.

## **Week 10: (November 2-4): Institutionalization of Party Systems**

Andrey A. Meleshevich, *Party systems in Post-Soviet Countries* (New York, NY: Pulgrave McMillan, 2007), Chapters 1.

Jack Bielasiak, The Institutionalization of Electoral and Party Systems in Post-Communist States *Comparative Politics* v. 34 no. 2 (January 2002) p. 189-210.

Anna Grzymala-Busse, "Political Competition and the Politicization of the State," *Comparative Political Studies* (December 2003).

Terry D. Clark and Jill N. Wittrock, Presidentialism and the Effect of Electoral Law in Post-Communist Systems Regime Type Matters, *Comparative Political Studies* 38 no. 2 March 2005 171-188.

### Case Studies:

Anna Gwiazda, "Poland's Quasi-Institutionalized Party System: The Importance of Elites and Institutions," *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 10:3 (September 2009): 350 – 376.

Richard Rose and William Mishler, A supply-demand model of party-system institutionalization: The Russian Case," *Party Politics* (May 2010).

### Suggested:

Sonia Alonsoi and Ruben Ruis-Rufino, Political Representation and Ethnic Conflict in New Democracies," *European Journal of Political Research* 46: 2 (March 2007): 237-67 (skim).

### *Student Presentations*

## **Part IV: Political Economy of Reforms**

## **Week 11 (November 9-11): Challenges to Economic Reforms**

Jan Svejnar, "Transition Economies: Performance and Challenges." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 16:1 (Winter 2002), pp. 3-28.

Gerald Roland, "Synthesizing Lessons from Transition," in *Transition and Economics: Politics, Markets, and Firms* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002).

Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Post-Communist Transitions," *World Politics* 50:2 (January 1998), pp. 203-234.

Valerie Bunce, "Democratization and Economic Reforms," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 43-65.

Larry Diamond, "Democracy and Economic Reform: Tensions, Compatibilities and Strategies for Reconciliation," in Edward P. Lazear ed., *Economic Transition in Eastern Europe and Russia* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), pp 107-158. (Skim).

#### *Case Studies:*

Eva M. Blaszczynski, "From Crisis to Recovery: Central Europe's Winners and Losers," Central Europe's Winners and Losers," Center for European Policy Analysis Report 23 (2009) at [http://www.cepa.org/publications/view.aspx?record\\_id=121](http://www.cepa.org/publications/view.aspx?record_id=121)

OECD: *Economic Survey of Russia 2009* (skim).

OECD, *Economic Survey of Poland 2010* (skim).

#### **Weeks 12-13: (November 16-13) Privatization**

Kari T. Liuhto, "The Transformation of the Soviet Enterprise and Its Management: A Literature Review," ESRC Centre for Business Research, University of Cambridge Working Paper No. 146, available at <<http://www.cbr.cam.ac.uk/pdf/WP146.pdf>>, pp. 1-26.

#### *Russia*

Jeffrey Sachs, "Privatization in Russia: Some Lessons for Eastern Europe," AEE Papers and Proceedings (May 1992).

Andrei Shleifer, Daniel Treisman, *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), Chapter 1.

Sergei Guriev and Andrei Rachinsky, "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19:1 (2005): 131-150.

#### *Poland*

John Jackson et al., *Political Economy of Poland's Transition; New Firms and Reform Governments* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chapters 2 and 6.

Anna Seleny, *The Political Economy of State-Society Relations in Hungary and Poland* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006), Chapters 7 and 8.

With Daniel Berkowitz. "Entrepreneurship and the Evolution of Income Distributions in Poland and Russia" *Journal of Comparative Economics* 34 (2006):338 – 356.

#### *Student Presentations*

**November 25: No Class. Happy Thanksgiving!**

## **Week 14 (November 30-December 2): Liberalizing Markets**

Keith Darden, *Economic Liberalism and its Rivals* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2009) Chapters 1-3.

Steven Fish and Omar Choudhry “Democratization and Economic Liberalization in the Post-Communist World,” *Comparative Political Studies* 40: 3 (March 2007): 254-82.

*Student Presentations*

## **Week 15 (December 7-10): Into the Future**

*Papers are due on December 10, 2010 in class.*

Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia*, Chapter 8.

Andrew Shliefer, *A Normal Country: Russia after Communism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), Chapter 10.

Gavin Rae, *Poland's Return to Capitalism: from the Socialist Bloc to the European Union* (London : Tauris Academic Studies, 2008) , Chapter 6 at

<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?page=3059&voyredirect=http%3A//site.ebrary.com/lib/rochester/Doc%3Fid%3D10231637>

Abraham H. Foxman, “Poland: Democracy and the Challenge of Extremism,” at <http://www.adl.org/international/PolandDemocracyandExtremism.pdf>

*Student Presentations*

**Final Exam: Sunday, December 19 @ 8:30AM**