

## ***East European Politics 4062-001***

<b>Instructor</b>	Svet Derderyan, Ph.D.	<b>E-mail</b>	Svde3789@colorado.edu
<b>Office</b>	Ketchum 235	<b>Office Hours</b>	Thur, 11:00-12:30 pm and by appointment
<b>Meeting Days</b>	Tue/Thur	<b>Website</b>	<a href="https://sites.google.com/site/svetderderyan/home">https://sites.google.com/site/svetderderyan/home</a>
<b>Room</b>	KTCH 1B71	<b>Time</b>	2:00 – 3:15 pm

### **Course Description**

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, countries in East Central Europe have experienced some twenty-five years of fascinating political, economic and social change as they have tried to rebuild themselves, undergone democratization, and transitioned to a free market. But the legacies of the region's dramatic and often tragic encounters with war and ideology in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries are still shaping how East Central European societies respond to the new horizons following the collapse of the Soviet bloc. This course is designed as an overview and analysis of the processes of state-building in East Central Europe from the eve of imperial independence in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present day. We will learn about the condition of the states and nations of East Central Europe before WWI and how they embarked on their nation-building projects after the demise of the foreign empires, the Ottoman, the Austro-Hungarian, and the Russian, that had ruled the region for 500 years. We will then discuss the onset of yet another foreign mode of control – communism – and we will learn how communist reality and Soviet hegemony was lived by the people of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, East Germany, Romania, and Bulgaria for over forty years. After the initial wave of optimism after independence, the political chaos and economic backwardness of the interwar period 1918-1939; after the resistance, collaboration and murder of the Second World War; after the terror and senselessness of Stalinism; after the exhilaration and disappointment of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, of the Prague Spring in 1968, and of Solidarity in Poland in 1981; after the gray monotony of decaying communism and the lonely voices of dissidents, we will come to the triumphant revolutions of 1989 and the challenges of the post-communist transition. For many of these states, the project of building a liberal democratic state and a functioning market economy over the last twenty years can be considered an impressive success. For others, however, the transition has been undermined by political mismanagement, economic backwardness, and ethnic nationalism. We will weigh the roles of domestic actors and of international institutions in bringing about East Central Europe's successes and failures over the last century. At the end we will discuss some of the key outcomes, positive and negative, of the accession to another ("foreign") empire - the European Union, which ten of these post-communist states joined in 2004-07.

### **Books**

These are available for purchase at the Student Stores.

Thomas W. Simons, *Eastern Europe in the Postwar World*, Second Edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Gale Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). (Recommended)

### **Readings**

All required readings, other than the main texts, have been posted on d2l. All readings from Stokes are only recommended. There are other recommended readings in select weeks.

### **Course Requirements**

Participation and Attendance: 10%

Midterm Exam: 30%

Presentations: 10%

Four response entries: 20%

Final Paper: 10%

Final Exam: 20%

### **ASSIGNMENTS:**

#### **Four reaction entries (5% each for a total of 20%)**

The class will feature a number of documentaries and a couple of fictional movies pertaining to the topics that we will discuss. You are expected to write 4 short (between 1/2 and 1 page single-spaced) reaction entries connecting your impressions from a specific documentary or movie with the class readings. These movies and documentaries serve two important goals – to provide access to primary witnesses and documents related to the topics and issues of discussion and to show how the events and processes we focus on affected the very lives of the people and societies involved at the time. You will submit these in a single word document on May 22<sup>nd</sup> or whenever you have completed four reaction entries.

#### **Presentations**

In groups of 2-3 you will be expected to give a 8 min presentation on one post-communist country of your choosing and analyze how: 1) its transition to democracy from 1990 to 2004 and 2) its accession to the EU (after 2004) has affected the country in two areas related to state-building, namely the quality of democracy and economic opportunity:

- 1) the strength of civil society (what impact does it have on governance, how well funded it is, what are the sources of funding, what are the mechanisms through which these organizations influence policy making, **how has the EU affected its ability to effect reform before and after accession**)

- 2) attracting Foreign Direct Investment (how has it fared since the mid-1990s, what are the reasons for its rise and decline, what are the main drivers for FDI in the region, **how has the EU affected FDI inflows before and after accession**)

One group member will be responsible for emailing me and cc-ing his/her colleague in your group your PowerPoint on the day of your presentation. Each presenter should have no more than 2 slides with text (one on the situation in the pre-accession period (the 1990s) and one on the post-accession (after 2004)). Additional slides with pictures and graphs are allowed. The presentations will be 10% of your final grade.

Note: You should choose a country early on in the course and gather information from class readings, the library and the web, so you are prepared to give a good presentation. There is sign-up sheet online where you can indicate the country you have selected.

### **Midterm**

The midterm will consist of short answer questions. It will be closed book, and it will take place in class.

### **Final Paper**

There will be a final paper due on the last day of classes. For an Eastern European country of your choice, examine what set of institutions, political and/or economic, have been responsible either for its growth and democratic consolidation or for its inefficiency and instability since the end of the old order.

### **Original Work + Honor Code**

It is expected that all work you do in this course represents original work not previously or simultaneously handed in for credit in another course. All work for this course falls under the University's Honor Code.

### **Evaluation and Assignments**

I expect that students come to class prepared to the extent that they can make substantial contributions to class discussions. I further expect students to show up to every session and on time.

If a student misses more than three days of classes, the final grade will be reduced by a full grade for every session missed after the initial three days.

Late submission of assignments will be accepted but with a penalty that will be determined by the instructor on a case-by-case basis. There are no make-up exams.

Exceptions to all rules are only made for health or disability reasons which must be documented in writing.

I will grade your work on the following (standard) scale.

<b>A</b>	94-100	<b>B+</b>	87-89	<b>C+</b>	77-79	<b>D+</b>	67-69	<b>F</b>	0-59
<b>A-</b>	90-93	<b>B</b>	83-86	<b>C</b>	73-76	<b>D</b>	63-66		
		<b>B-</b>	80-82	<b>C-</b>	70-72	<b>D-</b>	60-62		

## Accommodations

If you qualify for accommodations, please see me at the beginning of the quarter so that the issue may be addressed in accordance to University policy. If you have any potential scheduling conflicts due to religious observances, please see me to two weeks prior to the date in question.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

Aug 29

Introduction

Aug 31

TBA

Sept 5

### **The Rise and fall of the medieval states of Eastern Europe**

Simons, Chapter One "The Roots," pp. 1-16.

Sept 7

### **The end of Empires: building multi-ethnic states amidst A World War and a Great Depression**

Simons, Chapter Two, "Independence and Destruction, 1918-41," pp. 17-37.

Sept 12+14

### **World War Two and the Communist Takeovers (CNN Documentary Comrades)**

Simons, Chapter Three, "The War and the Victors, 1939-48: Trial by Fire," pp. 38-57.

Stokes, The Stalinist Moment: Yalta, pp. 10-32.

1. Report of the Crimea Conference, TBA11, 1945
2. The Yalta Negotiations
3. Poland at the Teheran Conference

4. The Percentages Agreement, Winston S. Churchill, October 9., 1944

#### Sept 19+21

#### **Stalinism: the building of industrial economies** (CNN Documentary Reds)

Simons, Chapter Four, "High Stalinism: Trial by Ice, 1949-1953," pp. 58-84.

Stokes, Stalinists, pp. 43-56, and The Purge Trials, pp. 66-77.

7. The Case for Stalinism
8. Czeslaw Milosz, "Ketman" (1951) from *The Captive Mind*.
10. The Trial of Laszlo Rajk (1949)
11. The Slansky Trial

#### Sept 26+28

#### **De-Stalinization and the Hungarian Revolution** (CNN Documentary After Stalin)

Simons, Chapter Five, "De-Stalinization, 1953-1956,"

pp. 85-105.

Stokes, The Hungarian Revolution, pp. 81-93, The Clerks, pp. 137-49.

12. Imre Nagy, "Reform Communism," (1955-56) from *On Communism*.
22. Leszek Kolakowski, "The Debate of the Clerks," (1957) from *Toward a marxist Humanism*.

#### Oct 3+5

#### **The push toward autonomy: Attempts to Reform Communism and The Prague Spring** (CNN Documentaries Red Spring)

Simons, Chapter 6, "The Iron Ring, 1956-1968," and "The Personality of the Old Regime," pp. 106-142. (recommended)

#### Oct 10+12

#### **Symbols of the Cold War: The Berlin Wall**

CNN Documentary - The Wall – class discussion on d2l  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1uapVCH6hjU>

#### **Living in an authoritarian reality**

BBC Documentary - The Lost World of Communism – class discussion on d2l  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3dFdKjihgt3k>

## **Sex under Communism**

“Why women had better sex under socialism?” Kristen Ghodsee. 2017. <<  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/12/opinion/why-women-had-better-sex-under-socialism.html>>>

Oct 17+19

### **Normalization, Goulash Communism, and Antipolitics (CNN Documentary StarWars)**

Simons, Chapter 7, “Goulash Communism, 1968-1980,” pp. 143-170.

Stokes, The Prague Spring and The Brezhnev Doctrine, pp. 122-132.

20. Ludvik Vaculik, “Two Thousand Words,” (1968).
21. Leonid Brezhnev, “The Brezhnev Doctrine” (1968).  
Stokes, Ethics and Antipolitics, pp. 167-180.
28. Vaclav Havel, “The Power of the Powerless” (1979).
29. Gyorgy Konrad, “Antipolitics” (1984).

Oct 24

### **The Return to Politics 1980-87 and the scent of freedom (CNN Documentary StarWars)**

Simons, Chapter 8, “The Return to Politics, 1980-1987,” pp. 171-198.

Stokes, Solidarity, Central Europe and The Return of Solidarity, pp. 204-231.

34. The Gdansk Agreement (1980).
35. Solidarity’s Program (1981).
36. Jaruzelski Declares Martial Law (1981).
37. Milan Kundera “The Tragedy of Central Europe” (1984).
38. Adam Michnik, “Letter from Gdansk Prison” (1985).
39. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, “A Solidarity Government Takes Power” (1989).

Oct 26+31

### **The Revolutions of 1989: the dream to reclaim the state’s destiny (CNN Documentary The Wall comes Down)**

Simons, Chapter 9, “The Road to 1989,” pp. 199-225.

Stokes, The Revolutions of 1989, pp. 242-254.

43. Vaclav Havel, New Year’s Day Speech 1990

Nov 2

### **Midterm Exam**

Nov 7

**Creativity and Romance in a State-controlled Society (The Lives of Others)**

Darton, R. 1991. "The Stasi Files." In *Berlin Journal*. New York: Norton, 129-137.

Nov 9 Lives of Others; talk about presentations

Nov 14+16

**Building liberal and illiberal states – challenges and opportunities**

**Reaction Papers Due**

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Introduction

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapters 1 + 2

Nov 21+23 Thanksgiving

Nov 28+30

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapters 3 + 4

"In the Nick of Time: Survey of EU enlargement." *The Economist* (28 Mar 2008). (recommended)

Dec 5-7

Presentations (Bulgaria, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Czech Republic Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Croatia)

Dec 12+14

**The Enlargement of the European Union and the effects on the states and societies of CEE**

**Attempts to build Civil Society in CEE**

Boerzel and Buzogany (2010). Governing EU accession in transition countries: The role of non-state actors. *Acta Politica* Volume 45, Issue 1-2

**Accession effects on economic and financial markets**

Gray, Julia. (2009). "International Organization as a Seal of Approval: European Union Accession and Investor Risk." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 53, No. 4, October 2009, Pp. 931–949

**Final Paper Due**

Dec 19

**Final Exam 1:30pm-4:00pm**

### **Five final points:**

(1) If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit to me a letter from Disability Services in a timely manner so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities. Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or by e-mail at [dsinfo@colorado.edu](mailto:dsinfo@colorado.edu). If you have a temporary medical condition or injury, see Temporary Injuries under Quick Links at Disability Services website (<http://disabilityservices.colorado.edu/>) and discuss your needs with me.

(2) Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. Please let me know as soon as possible whether arrangements along these lines are in order.

(3) Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, color, culture, religion, creed, politics, veteran's status, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity and gender expression, age, disability, and nationalities. See policies at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/classbehavior.html> and at [http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student\\_code](http://www.colorado.edu/studentaffairs/judicialaffairs/code.html#student_code)

(4) The University of Colorado Boulder (CU-Boulder) is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working, and living environment. The University of Colorado does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, or veteran status in admission and access to, and treatment and employment in, its educational programs and activities. (Regent Law, Article 10, amended 11/8/2001). For purposes of this CU-Boulder policy, "Protected Classes" refers to race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, or veteran status. Individuals who believe they have been discriminated against should contact the Office of Discrimination and Harassment (ODH) at 303-492-2127 or the Office of Student Conduct (OSC) at 303-492-5550. Information about the ODH, the above referenced policies, and the campus resources available to assist individuals regarding discrimination or harassment can be obtained at <http://hr.colorado.edu/dh/>

(5) All students of the University of Colorado at Boulder are responsible for knowing and adhering to the academic integrity policy of this institution. Violations of this policy may include: cheating, plagiarism, aid of academic dishonesty, fabrication, lying, bribery, and threatening behavior. All incidents of academic misconduct shall be reported to the Honor Code Council ([honor@colorado.edu](mailto:honor@colorado.edu); 303-735-2273). Students who are found to be in violation of the academic integrity policy will be subject to both academic sanctions from the faculty member and non-academic sanctions (including but not limited to university probation, suspension, or expulsion). Other information on the Honor Code can be found at <http://www.colorado.edu/policies/honor.html> and at <http://honorcode.colorado.edu>