

East European Politics 4062-001

Instructor	Svet Derderyan, Ph.D.	E-mail	Svde3789@colorado.edu
Office	Ketchum 232	Office Hours	W/F 11am-12pm and by appointment
Meeting Days	M/W/F	Website	https://sites.google.com/site/svetderderyan/home
Room	HLMS 211	Time	9:00am – 9:50am

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 20th and 19th 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 19th 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 Nov 9th or earlier as soon as you have completed four reaction entries.

Presentations

In groups of 2-4 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: <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1aF0yH6DAhJTmTJLPbYAs5-SRSGkBPWCPRaKbTgyycY/edit#gid=0>

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 (6-8 pages) 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.

A	94-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D+	67-69		
A-	90-93	B	83-86	C	73-76	D	63-66	F	0-59
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72	D-	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 27

Introduction

Aug 29

The Rise and fall of the medieval states of Eastern Europe

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

Aug 31

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 5+7+10

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 12+14

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 17+19+21

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*.

Sept 24+26+28

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 1+3

Symbols of the Cold War: The Berlin Wall

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

Living in an authoritarian reality

BBC Documentary - The Lost World of Communism – class discussion
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3dFdKjhg3k>

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 5

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 8+10+12

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 15+17+19+22

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

Oct 24

Midterm Exam

Oct 26+29+31+2

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 5+7+9

Building liberal and illiberal states – challenges and opportunities

Reaction Papers Due

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Introduction

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapters 1 + 2

Final Paper and Presentation Guidelines

Nov 12+14+16

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapters 3 + 4

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

Nov 26

The Long Revolution:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYzp778OEyo>

Nov 28+30

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

Dec 3+5+7+10

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

Dec 12

Review. Final Paper Due

Dec 19

Final Exam 1:30pm-4:00pm

A few final points:

Accommodation for Disabilities

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. Information on requesting accommodations is located on the [Disability Services website](#). Contact Disability Services at 303-492-8671 or dsinfo@colorado.edu for further assistance. If you have a temporary medical condition or injury, see [Temporary Medical Conditions](#) under the Students tab on the Disability Services website.

Classroom Behavior

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 race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, political affiliation or political philosophy. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I will gladly honor your request to address you by an alternate name or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records. For more information, see the policies on [classroom behavior](#) and the [Student Code of Conduct](#).

Honor Code

All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to the Honor Code. Violations of the policy may include: plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access to academic materials, clicker fraud, submitting the same or similar work in more than one course without permission from all course instructors involved, and aiding academic dishonesty. All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to the Honor Code (honor@colorado.edu); 303-492-5550). Students who are found responsible for violating the academic integrity policy will be subject to nonacademic sanctions from the Honor Code as well as academic sanctions from the faculty member. Additional information regarding the Honor Code academic integrity policy can be found at the [Honor Code Office website](#).

Sexual Misconduct, Discrimination, Harassment and/or Related Retaliation

The University of Colorado Boulder (CU Boulder) is committed to fostering a positive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. CU Boulder will not tolerate acts of sexual misconduct (including sexual assault, exploitation, harassment, dating or domestic violence, and stalking), discrimination, and harassment by members of our community. Individuals who believe they have been subject to misconduct or retaliatory actions for reporting a concern should contact the Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) at 303-492-2127 or cureport@colorado.edu. Information about the OIEC, university policies, [anonymous reporting](#), and the campus resources can be found on the [OIEC website](#).

Please know that faculty and instructors have a responsibility to inform OIEC when made aware of incidents of sexual misconduct, discrimination, harassment and/or related retaliation, to ensure that individuals impacted receive information about options for reporting and support resources.

Religious Holidays

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. See the [campus policy regarding religious observances](#) for full details.