

(Politics 214 and Sociology 230)  
Fall 2010  
Tuesday, Thursday, 3.00-4.20  
(King 306)

Prof. Vujačić, King 305a  
Office hours: Tues., 10-12, Thurs. 12-1.30  
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### **Social and Political Change in Eastern Europe**

This course focuses on Eastern Europe as the first “relatively backward” region in the world capitalist system. We will begin with a historical introduction to the region that raises questions about the causes and consequences of this relative backwardness. Next, we will turn to communist revolutions, Stalinism, reform communism, the rise of dissent, and the revolutions of 1989. Finally, we will discuss the problems of the post-communist era, including attempts to build democracy and capitalism, the rise of nationalism, and social problems such as increasing inequalities and the shifting politics of gender and labor.

It is our hope that in studying the developmental history of Eastern Europe, students will acquire not only historical knowledge of the region and its problems, but also develop new conceptual tools for studying social change in the non-Western world. As a region that has undergone several cycles of economic and political transformation and tried out a variety of different developmental models, but which still faces the challenge of modernization, Eastern Europe provides a good starting point for analyzing the problems of social change and political transformation more generally.

### **Plan of the Course**

The course is divided into three parts.

In the first part of the course, we will explore how Eastern Europe became the “other Europe.” Specifically, we will examine some of the main factors that impeded the growth of capitalism and liberal institutions in Eastern Europe, relegating its peoples to a “peripheral” status in the world capitalist system. What were the reasons for the “relative backwardness” of Eastern Europe vis-à-vis the Western countries and what were the political consequences of its economic lag? We will also take a look at the developmental problems faced by the predominantly peasant societies of inter-war Eastern Europe.

In part two, we will explore the rise of Communism as a developmental alternative to Western capitalism, beginning with an examination of the social base of communist movements and the sources of its attraction to intellectual elites. We will then move on to the reasons of discontent with the Stalinist model which led to the Polish and Hungarian revolts of 1956 and the

Prague Spring of 1968. Why did so many intellectuals become disillusioned with “real, existing socialism” and why did they become dissidents? How was it that a multi-million working-class movement (*Solidarity*) arose in a socialist country ruled in the name of the interests of that very working class? Finally, how did communism collapse so quickly throughout Eastern Europe?

In part three, we explore the dilemmas posed by the demise of communism as an alternative to Western capitalism and liberal democracy. In particular, we focus on three distinct challenges that face post-communist Eastern Europe: building democracy, market transformation, and the construction of viable nation-states. More specifically, we try to show that these goals are not always compatible and are sometimes contradictory, with the consequence of exacerbating national and social tensions in the region. One tragic example of the obstacles which nationalism has posed to socio-economic and political transformation along liberal lines is the war in former Yugoslavia whose roots and course we explore in some detail. We then move on to a consideration of post-communist social problems, especially those relating to gender relations and the politics of labor. Finally, we conclude with some theoretically and historically grounded speculation on the future of this troubled and fascinating region of the world.

### **Required Books**

Gale Stokes, ed., *From Stalinism to Pluralism. A Documentary History of Eastern Europe Since 1945* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. ISBN: 0-19-509446-8)

Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics : Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel* (The Free Press, New York. ISBN: 0029326052)

These books are available for purchase in the bookstore and have also been placed on reserve at the reference desk in Mudd Library. All other required readings can be located on the Blackboard site for the class under “course documents.” They can be downloaded and printed *for personal use only*.

### **Course Requirements**

Requirements for this class include regular attendance (including at the two film screenings and one public lecture outside of regular class time), participation in the Blackboard discussion forum, a short film response paper (4 pages), two 6-7 page essays, and a final examination. Grades will be determined on the following basis:

Class attendance (plus 2 film screenings and public lecture), participation, and Blackboard	20%
Film response paper	15%

First essay	20%
Second essay	20%
Final examination	25%

### **Course Policy**

We ask that you not use laptop computers or other electronic devices during class time. While some use laptops solely to take notes, the temptation to do otherwise is great and it distracts other students. A small number of exceptions may be made only upon official notification. We think that Eastern Europe is best experienced unplugged: put on your school uniforms and sharpen your pencils, comrades!

### **Honor Code**

This course and all its assignments are covered by the Oberlin College honor code. This means, most importantly, that—unless otherwise indicated—you are to produce your own work and honor the rules and conventions of scholarly quotation, attribution, and citation. While you are allowed to ask advice and help from librarians and official writing tutors, you are, in the end, to submit work produced by *you*. Any case of (suspected) plagiarism will be reported to the Honors Committee. For more details, see <http://new.oberlin.edu/students/policies/10-Policies-Honor.pdf>

For further clarification of the potential consequences see J.V.Stalin, *Problems of Leninism* (any edition).

## **Part One: Eastern Europe Before Communism**

### **Week One: What is Eastern Europe? Introduction to the Region and Modernization Theory**

*Tues. 9/7:*

Gale Stokes, “Eastern Europe’s Defining Fault Lines,” in *Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, pp. 7-22.

Stanislaw Baranczak, “E.E.: The Extraterritorial,” *Breathing Under Water and Other East European Essays*, pp. 9-15.

*Thurs. 9/9:*

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, pp. 1-32.

### **Week Two: Modernization vs. World System Theory**

*Tues. 9/14:*

*Huntington*, Political Order in Changing Societies, pp. 32-92.

*Thurs. 9/16:*

Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-System Analysis: An Introduction*, pp. 23-32.

Immanuel Wallerstein, "Three Paths of National Development: Sixteenth Century Europe," *The Capitalist World Economy*, pp. 37-48.

### **Week Three: Relative Backwardness and Eastern Europe in the Interwar Period**

*Tues. 9/21:*

Gale Stokes, "Dependency and the Rise of Nationalism in Southeastern Europe" in *Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, pp. 23-36.

Andrew Janos, "The Politics of Backwardness in Continental Europe, 1780-1945," *World Politics*, vol. XLI, no.3, April 1989, pp. 325-359.

***Wed. 9/22: First Blackboard discussion posting due by midnight***

*Thurs. 9/23:*

Margaret Macmillan, "Rumania," *Paris 1919*, pp. 125-135.

Mattei Dogan, "Romania: 1919-1938," in Myron Weiner and Ergun Ozbudun, eds., *Competitive Elections in Developing Countries*, pp. 369-393.

Eugen Weber, "The Men of the Archangel," in George Mosse, ed., *International Fascism*, pp. 318-343.

### **Week Four: World War Two and the Rise of Communism in Eastern Europe**

***Film Screening: Istvan Szabo, Sunshine [Time TBA]***

*Tues. 9/28:*

Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, pp. 1-22.

R.V. Burks, *The Dynamics of Communism in Eastern Europe*, pp. 38-87, 107-130, 150-170.

***Wed. 9/29: Second Blackboard discussion posting by due by midnight***

*Thurs. 9/30:*

Istvan Deak, Review of the film "Sunshine," *The New York Review of Books*, July 20, 2000.

Jan T. Gross, "Neighbors," *The New Yorker*, March 12, 2001.

Timothy Snyder, "The Historical Reality of Eastern Europe," *East European Politics and Society*, Vol. 23, no. 1, 2009, pp. 7-12.

Josef Skvorecky, *The Bass Saxophone*, pp. 3-28.

## **Part Two: The Rise and Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe**

### **Week Five: Stalinism, Intellectuals, and the Titoist Challenge: 1948-1956**

*Tues. 10/5:*

Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, pp. 22-54.

Gale Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, pp. 19-77.

*Thur. 10/7:*

Richard Lowenthal, "Development vs. Utopia in Communist Policy,"  
in Chalmers Johnson, ed., *Change in Communist Systems*, pp. 33-117, 135-153.

***Fri. 10/8 Short Film Response Paper (3-4 pages) due in hard copy by 4 p.m. in King 305a or Rice 211.***

### **Week Six: Reform Communism and Its Dilemmas: From 1956 to the Prague Spring**

#### **Film Screening: Man of Marble [Time TBA]**

*[First essay assignment distributed]*

*Tues. 10/12:*

Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, pp. 54-111.

Richard Lowenthal, "The Ruling Party in a Mature Society," in Mark G. Field, ed., *The Social Consequences of Modernization in Communist Societies*, pp. 81-118.

Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, pp. 80-87; 94-114; 126-134.

***Wed., 10/13. Third Blackboard discussion posting due by midnight***

*Thurs. 10/14:*

Alex Nove, "Is There a Ruling Class in the USSR?" in Anthony Giddens and David Held, eds., *Classes, Power and Conflict*, 588-604.

Valerie Bunce, "The Empire Strikes Back: The Evolution of the Eastern Bloc from a Soviet Asset to a Soviet Liability," *International Organization*, (Winter 1985), 1-46.

### **Week Seven: The Crisis of Communism and The Rise of Civil Society: The Case of Poland**

*Tues. 10/19:*

Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, pp. 113-174.

Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, pp. 136, 144-149, 156-7, 163-187, 193-215.

*Thurs. 10/21:*

David Ost, *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*, chapters 1, 5 (1-17; 75-111)

Roman Laba, "Worker Roots of Solidarity," *Problems of Communism* (July-August 1986).

***Fri. 10/22: First essay due in hard copy by 4 p.m. in King 305a or Rice 211***

***Fall break 10/23-10/31***

### **Week Eight: The Collapse of Communism and the Revolutions of 1989**

*Tues. 11/2:*

Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, pp. 175-239.

Gale Stokes, "Modes of Opposition Leading to the Revolution in Eastern Europe?" in *Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, pp.161-181.

*Thurs. 11/4:*

Katherine Verdery, "What Was Socialism and Why Did It Fall?" in Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?* pp. 19-38.

Andrei Codrescu, "The Death of a Dictator," in Codrescu, *The Hole in the Flag*, pp. 25-51.

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

Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, pp. 216-223; 235-242; 253-267.

## **Part Three: Post-Communism and Its Challenges**

### **Week Nine: The Challenge of Capitalist Transformation**

*Tues. 11/9:*

Sharon Fisher, "Recreating the Market," in Sharon Wolchik and Jane Curry, eds., *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), pp.77-124.

Jeffrey Sachs, "What Is To Be Done," *Economist*, January 13, 1990.

R.Frydman, K.Murphy, A Rapaszynski, *Capitalism with a Comrade's Face*, chapt. 1 (pp.1-41).

***Wed. 11/10: Fourth Blackboard discussion posting due by midnight***

*Thurs. 11/11:*

Akos Rona-Tas and Jozsef Borocz, "Presocialist and Socialist Legacies among Business Elites," in John Hingley and Gyorgy Lengyel, eds., *Elites After State Socialism* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), pp. 209-228.

Andrew Barnes, "Comparative Theft: Context and Choice in the Hungarian, Czech, and Russian Transformations, 1989-2000," *EEPS* 17 (2003): 533-565.

**Week Ten: The Challenge of Democratic Transformation**

*Tues. 11/16:*

Jane Curry and Sharon Wolchik, "Democracy, the Market, and the Return to Europe. From Communism to the European Union and NATO," in Curry and Wolchik, eds., *Central and East European Politics*, pp. 1-40.

Valerie Bunce, "The Political Transition," in *Central and East European Politics*, pp. 40-77.

*Thurs. 11/18:*

Ken Jowitt, "The Leninist Legacy," in Vladimir Tismaneanu, *The Revolutions of 1989*, pp. 213-230.

Vaclav Havel and Vaclav Klaus, "Rival Visions of Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy*, January 1996.

Bela Greskowitz, "Crisis-Proof, Poor Democracies," *The Political Economy of Protest and Patience*, pp.177-187.

**Week Eleven: Post-Communist Gender, Labor, and Social Politics.**

*Tues. 11/23:*

Branko Milanovic, *Income, Inequality and Poverty During the Transition from Planned to Market Economy*, pp. 23-39.

David Ost, *The Defeat of Solidarity* (Cornell University Press, 2005), Introduction (pp. 1-12).

Stephen Crowley, "Explaining Labor Weakness in Post-Communist Europe: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspective," *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 18, no. 3, 2004, pp. 394-429.

*[Thurs. 11/25: Thanksgiving - no class]*

**Week Twelve. Post-Communist Gender, Labor, and Social Politics (continued).**

**Mon. 11/29** *Fifth Blackboard discussion posting due by midnight.*

*Tues. 11/30:*

Marc Morje Howard, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* Vol.13, no. 1, January 2002, pp. 157-169.

Marilyn Rueschemeyer, "Women's Participation in Postcommunist Politics," in *Central and East European Politics*, pp.164-187.

Gail Kligman and Stephanie Limoncelli, "Trafficking Women after Socialism: To, Through, and From Eastern Europe," *Social Politics*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Spring 2005, pp. 118-140.

"The Roma," *Data in Focus Report*, no.1, *European Agency for Fundamental Rights*, 2009, pp. 1-14.

**Wed., 1/12, 4.30-6 pm. Oscar Jaszi Memorial Public Lecture by Professor Venelin Ganev, Miami University, Ohio**

*Thurs., 2/12. Guest Lecture in Class by Professor Ganev.*

Venelin Ganev, "The Separation of Party and State as a Logistical Problem: A Glance at the Causes of State Weakness in Postcommunism," *Eastern European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 15, no. 2, 2001, pp 389-420.

**Week Thirteen: Post-Communist Nationalism: The Yugoslav Catastrophe**

[Second essay assignment distributed]

*Tues. 12/7:*

Veljko Vujčić, "The Yugoslav Revolution" and "The Dissolution of Yugoslavia" in Jim de Fronzo, ed., *Revolutionary Movements in World History* (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: ABC-CLIO press, 2006), vol. 3, pp. 955-963, 963-974.

*Thurs. 12/9:*

Gale Stokes, "The Devil's Finger: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia," in Gale Stokes, *Three Eras of Change in Eastern Europe*, pp. 109-143.

Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, pp. 256-288.

**Fri. 12/10: Second essay due by 4pm in hard copy in King 305a or Rice 211**



**Week Fourteen: Small States in a Big World**

*Tues. 12/14:*

Andrew Janos, "From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony," *East European Politics and Societies*, 15, 2, 2001, pp. 221-249.

Jeffrey Kopstein and David Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World," *World Politics*, October 2000, pp. 1-37.

Mitchell Orenstein, "What Happened in East European (Political) Economies? A Balance Sheet for Neoliberal Reform," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 24 no. 4, 2009, pp. 479-490.

Bela Greskovits, "Economic Woes and Political Disaffection," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 4, October 2007, pp. 40-46.

Ivan Krastev, "Deepening Dissatisfaction," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 21, no. 1, January 2010, pp 113-119.

***Final exam: Tuesday, December 21, 7-9 p.m.***