

(Politics 214 and Sociology 230)
Spring 2005
Tues., Thurs., 3.00-4.15

Prof. Vujačić, King 305a
Office hours: Tue., 12.30-2, Thurs. 1-2.30
Prof. Crowley, Rice 211
Office hours: Tues, Thurs. 1:00- 2:30

Social Change and Political Transformation 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 which 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 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 tragic 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)

David Ost, *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics* (Temple University Press. ISBN: 0-87722-655-5).

J.F.Brown, *The Grooves of Change* (Duke University Press, 2001. ISBN 08-223-2637-X)

All other readings will be on E-Res, Oberlin's electronic reserve system. In addition, several hard copies of the books will be available at the reserve room in Mudd Library.

Course Requirements

Requirements for this class include regular attendance in class, mandatory attendance at film screenings outside of regular class time, a mid-term quiz, two 6-7 page papers, and a final examination. Grading will be done on the following basis:

<i>Mandatory attendance</i> in class and at film screenings	15%
Mid-term quiz	15%
First paper	20%
Second paper	20%
Final examination	30%

Part One: Eastern Europe Before Communism

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

Tues. 2/8

Gale Stokes, "Eastern Europe's Defining Fault Lines," in *Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe*, 7-22.

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

Thurs. 2/10

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

Week Two: Modernization vs. World System Theory

Tues. 2/15

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

Thurs. 2/17

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

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

Tues. 2/22

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

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

Thurs. 2/24

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

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

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

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

Tues. 3/1

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

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

Film Screening: Istvan Szabo's Sunshine

Thurs. 3/3

Istvan Deak, Review of the film "Sunshine," *The New York Review of Books*, July 20, 2000, 30-32.

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

Josef Škvorecky, *The Bass Saxophone*, 3-28.

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

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

Tues. 3/8

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

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

Thur. 3/10

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

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

Tues. 3/15

Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, 54-111.

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

Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, 78-87; 94-114; 126-134

Thurs. 3/17

First paper due in class

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.

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

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

Tues. 3/22

Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, 113-174.

Stokes, *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, 137-87, 193-215.

Film Screening: Man of Marble

Thurs. 3/24

David Ost, *Solidarity and the Politics of Anti-Politics*, chapters 1-2; 4-6 (1-32; 55-112)

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

Tues. 4/5

Tismaneanu, *Reinventing Politics*, 175-239.

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

Thurs. 4/7

Mid-term Quiz in class, 40 minutes

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

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

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

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

Part Three: Post-Communism and Its Challenges

Week Nine: The Challenge of Capitalist Transformation

4/12-4/14

J.F.Brown, *The Grooves of Change*, 60-72.

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

R.Frydman, K.Murphy, A Rapaszynski, *Capitalism with a Comrade's Face*, 1-54.

Kazimierz Poznanski, "Building Capitalism with Communist Tools: Eastern Europe's Defective Transition," *East European Politics and Societies*, Spring 2001.

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).

Week Ten: The Challenge of Democratic Transformation

4/19-21

J.F.Brown, *The Grooves of Change*, 73-143.

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

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

Anna Khakee, "Democracy and Marketization in Central and Eastern Europe: Case Closed?," *East European Politics and Societies*, Spring 2002.

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

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

4/26-4/28

Second paper due 4/28 in class

Branko Milanović, "Income, Inequality, and Poverty during the Transition from Planned to Market Economy," 23-39.

Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, *The Politics of Gender After Socialism*, 1-62.

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

Marc Morje Howard, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* Vol.13, No. 1, January 2002.

Week Twelve: Post-Communist Nationalism: The Yugoslav Catastrophe

5/2-5/5

Film Screening: No Man's Land

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

Veljko Vujačić, "Slobodan Milošević: Charismatic Leader or Plebscitarian Demagogue?," forthcoming in Marc Howard and Rudy Sil, *Festschrift for Ken Jowitt*.

Chuck Sudetic, *Blood and Vengeance. One Family's Story of the War in Bosnia*, 1-134.

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

Week Thirteen: Small States in a Big World

5/10-5/12

J.F. Brown, *The Grooves of Change*, 200-243.

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

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

Gregorz Ekiert, "Ten Years After: An Optimistic View," *EEPS*, Spring 1999.

Tony Judt, "Romania: Bottom of the Heap," *The New York Review of Books*, November 1, 2001, 41-45.

"EU enlargement: When East Meets West," *The Economist*, November 20, 2003.

Ana Grzymala-Busse and Abby Innes, "Great Expectations: The EU and Domestic Political Competition in East Central Europe," *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 17, 1, 2003.

Stephen Holmes, "A European Doppelstaat?" *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 17, 1, 2003.

Final exam: Friday, May 20