

Political Dynamics in Central Europe

MA course, Winter 2010.
Tuesday & Thursday, 9-10.40 am

András Bozóki

Professor of Political Science,
Central European University
Office hours: TBA
bozokia@ceu.hu

Course description:

This course will focus on political developments in Central Europe in the past decades from dictatorship to multiparty democracy in comparative and historical perspective. Special attention will be paid to the past 20 years from 1989-90 to present. In the first part of the course we discuss the nature of the previous, non-democratic regime; in the second part we focus on issues in transitions to democracy, institution-building and democratic consolidation. Finally, in the third part, some specific features of new democratic politics (party system, elite change, symbolic politics, joining the European Union, forms of democracy etc.) will be discussed. Special attention is paid to the so-called Visegrád countries, i. e. Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, and Slovakia (formerly known as Czechoslovakia), Romania and Bulgaria, their competition and cooperation. Besides the discussion of individual cases, we will also focus on intra-regional (and, sometimes, inter-regional) comparisons, especially with East Germany, and the successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

Learning outcome:

Students will be safe in understanding, analysing and explaining major features of political dynamics in Central Europe and in comparing and applying these lessons to other parts of the world. Students will learn that the issue of the proper attitude to the past is of direct relevance for sustainability of a new democracy. They will be expected to master different – legal, political, cultural - approaches to dealing with contemporary and past regimes.

Requirements:

Students are expected to attend classes regularly, to read mandatory readings before classes, to be active there, and to write short position papers when asked. Secondly, there will be an in-class, open book midterm test to be completed. Finally, a 10 pages long (one-and-half spaced, without the references) final essay should be written, to be handed by the last class.

Evaluation:

Activity and position papers 35%, Midterm test 30%, Final essay 35%.

Topics and Readings

WEEK 1. (January 12, 14.). **Totalitarianism, Post-Totalitarianism, and Historical Legacies in East Central Europe**

Mandatory reading:

Thomas F. Remington (2010), „The Soviet System and Its Demise” in Politics in Russia. Boston-New York: Longman, 31-56.

Andrew C. Janos (1996), „What Was Communism: A Retrospective in Comparative Analysis” Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 29. No. 1. 1-24.

Ken Jowitt (1992), “The Leninist Legacy” in Ivo Banac ed., Eastern Europe in Revolution. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 207-224.

Suggested readings

Hannah Arendt (1963) The Origins of Totalitarianism. Westport: Greenwood Press

Carl J. Friedrich & Zbigniew K. Brzezinski (1956), Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Jenő Szűcs (1988), „Three Historical Regions of Europe” in John Keane (ed.), Civil Society and the State. New York - London: Verso, 1988. 291-332.

István Bibó (1991 [1946]) „The Distress of the East European Small States” in István Bibó: Democracy, Revolution, Self-Determination. Boulder: Social Science Monograph 13-86.

Andrew Arato & Ferenc Fehér eds. (1991), Crisis and Reform in Eastern Europe. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. Chapter by F. Feher, 481-512.

Joseph Held ed. (1992), The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia University Press

Joseph Rothschild (1993), Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II. New York: Oxford University Press 191-225.

George Schöpflin (1993), Politics in Eastern Europe. Oxford: Blackwell. Chapter 4. „Stalinism” 75-103.

Gale Stokes ed. (1994), From Stalinism to Pluralism: A Documentary History of Eastern Europe since 1945. New York: Oxford University Press

Peter F. Sugar ed. (1995), Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth Century. Washington D. C.: The American University Press

Grzegorz Ekiert (1996), The State Against Society: Political Crises and Their Aftermath in East Central Europe. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Norman Naimark & Leonid Gibianskii eds. (1997), The Establishment of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe, 1944-49. Boulder: Westview Press

Gale Stokes (1997), Three Eras of Political Change in Eastern Europe. New York: Oxford U. P.

Geoffrey Swain & Nigel Swain (1998), Eastern Europe Since 1945. London: Macmillan

- Sabrina P. Ramet ed. (1998), Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture and Society Since 1939.
Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press
- H. E. Chebabi & Juan J. Linz eds. (1998), Sultanistic Regimes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press
- Michael Bernhard & Ekrem Karakoc (2007), „Civil Society and the Legacy of Dictatorship”
World Politics, Vol. 59. No. 4. July, 539-567.
- Judy Batt (2007), „Defining Central and Eastern Europe” in: Stephen White, Judy Batt & Paul Lewis eds. Developments in Central and East European Politics 4. Durham: Duke University Press, 1-19.

WEEK 2. (January 19, 21) **Conditions of Democratization and East Central Europe**

Mandatory readings

Alfred Stepan (1986), „Paths Toward Redemocratization: Theoretical and Comparative Considerations” In Guillermo O’Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter & Laurence Whitehead (eds.), Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives. Baltimore - London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. 64-84.

Claus Offe (1997), Varieties of Transition. Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 29-49.

Jon Elster, Claus Offe, Ulrich K. Preuss et al. (1998), „Mapping Eastern Europe” in Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 35-62.

Krzysztof Brzechczyn (2008), „Polish Discussions on the Nature of Communism and Mechanisms of Its Collapse: A Review Article” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 22. No. 4. November, 828-855.

Suggested readings

Seymour Martin Lipset (1969), „Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy” In Charles F. Cnudde & Deane E. Neubauer (eds.): Empirical Democratic Theory. Chicago: Markham, 151-192.

Dankwart Rustow (1970), „Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model” Comparative Politics, April 1970. 337-363.

Rudolf L. Tóké ed. (1979), Opposition in Eastern Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. P.

Guillermo O’Donnell & Philippe C. Schmitter (1986), Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press

H. Gordon Skilling (1989), Samizdat and an Independent Society in Central and Eastern Europe. London: Macmillan

George Schöpflin & Nancy Wood eds. (1989), In Search of Central Europe. Oxford: Polity Press

Garton Ash, Timothy (1990), The Magic Lantern. New York: Vintage

Samuel P. Huntington (1991), „Democracy’s Third Wave” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 2. No. 2. 12-34.

- Samuel P. Huntington (1991-2), „How Countries Democratize” Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 106. No. 4. 579-616.
- Adam Przeworski (1991), Democracy and the Market. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jadwiga Staniszkis (1991), The Dynamics of Breakthrough in Eastern Europe. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Geoffrey Pridham & Tatu Vanhanen eds. (1994), Democratization in Eastern Europe. London – New York: Routledge, 99-127.
- Roger East & Jolyon Pontin (1997), Revolution and Change in Central and Eastern Europe. London: Pinter
- Karen Dawisha & Bruce Parrott (1997), Democratization and Authoritarianism in Postcommunist Societies. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jon Elster, Claus Offe, Ulrich K. Preuss et al. (1998), Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies: Rebuilding the Ship at Sea. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Vladimir Tismaneanu ed. (1999), The Revolutions of 1989. London: Routledge
- Lisa Anderson ed. (1999), Transitions to Democracy. New York: Columbia University Press
- Geoffrey Pridham (2000), The Dynamics of Democratization: A Comparative Approach. London: Continuum
- Andrew C. Janos (2000), East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Krishan Kumar (2001), 1989: Revolutionary Ideas and Ideals. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

WEEK 3. (January 26, 28) Old Regimes and Their Collapse – Poland and Hungary

Mandatory readings

Z. A. Pelczynski (1988), „Solidarity and the Rebirth of Civil Society in Poland 1976-81” in John Keane (ed.): Civil Society and the State. London-New York: Verso, 361-380.

Robert Brier (2009), „The Roots of the 'Fourth Republic': Solidarity's Cultural Legacy to Polish Politics” East European Politics and Societies, February, 63-85.

László Bruszt & David Stark (1992), „Remaking the Political Field in Hungary: From the Politics of Confrontation to the Politics of Competition” In Ivo Banac (ed.): Eastern Europe in Revolution. Ithaca - London: Cornell University Press, 13-55.

Suggested readings

Jadwiga Staniszkis (1992), The Dynamics of the Breakthrough in Eastern Europe: The Polish Case. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Peter Hanak & Joseph Held (1992), „Hungary on a Fixed Course: An Outline of Hungarian History” in Joseph Held (ed.), The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 164-227.

Krzysztof Jasiewicz (1992), „From Solidarity to Fragmentation” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 3. No. 2. 55-69.

- András Bozóki, András Köröseyi & George Schöpflin eds. (1992), Post-Communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary. London: Pinter, New York: St. Martin's Press
- András Köröseyi (1992), „The Decay of Communist Rule in Hungary” in András Bozóki, A. Köröseyi & George Schöpflin (eds.), Post-Communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary. London: Pinter, 1-12.
- András Bozóki (1993), „Hungary's Road to Systemic Change: The Opposition Roundtable” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 7. No. 2. 276-308.
- Josep M. Colomer & Margot Pascual (1994), „The Polish Games of Transition” Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 27. No. 3. 275-294.
- Terry Cox & Andy Furlong eds.(1995), Hungary: The Politics of Transition. London: Frank Cass
- Béla K. Király & András Bozóki eds. (1995), Lawful Revolution in Hungary, 1989-94. Boulder: Social Science Monographs
- Rudolf L. Tőkés (1996), Hungary's Negotiated Revolution. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press
- Jack Bielasiak (1998), „Poland” in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 126-158.
- Helena Flam (1998), Mosaic of Fear: Poland and East Germany Before 1989. Boulder: East European Monographs
- David Stark & László Bruszt (1998), Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Anton Pelinka (1999), Politics of the Lesser Evil: Leadership, Democracy and Jaruzelski's Poland. New Brunswick: Transaction
- Grzegorz Ekiert & Jan Kubik (1999), Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland 1989-93. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
- András Köröseyi (1999), Government and Politics in Hungary. Budapest: CEU Press
- Elzbieta Matynia (2001), „Furnishing Democracy at the End of the Century: The Polish Round Table and Others” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 15. No. 2. 454-471.
- András Bozóki ed. (2002), The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy. Budapest: CEU Press
- Barbara Falk (2003), Dilemmas of Dissidence in Eastern Europe. Budapest – N. Y.: CEU Press
- John W. Schiemann (2005), The Politics of Pact-Making: Hungary's Negotiated Transition to Democracy in Comparative Perspective. New York: Palgrave – Macmillan
- Bernard Ivan Tamas (2007), From Dissident to Party Politics: The Struggle for Democracy in Post-Communist Hungary, 1989-1994. Boulder: East European Monographs
- Michael Meyer (2009), The Year That Changed the World: The Untold Story Behind the Fall of the Berlin Wall. New York: Scribner

WEEK 4. (February 2, 4). Old Regimes and Their Collapse – Czechoslovakia and East Germany

Mandatory readings

- Tony R. Judt (1992), „Metamorphosis: The Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia” In Ivo Banac (ed.), Eastern Europe in Revolution. Ithaca - London: Cornell University Press, 96-116.

Sharon L. Wolchik (1998), „Czechoslovakia” in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana U. P. 35-70.

Norman N. Naimark (1992), „’Ich will hier raus’: Emigration and the Collapse of the German Democratic Republic” in Ivo Banac (ed.), Eastern Europe in Revolution. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 72-95.

Kurt-Henning Tvedt (2004), „The East German Transition Game” Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 20. No. 2. June, 73-97.

Suggested readings

Bernard Wheaton & Zdenek Kavan (1992), The Velvet Revolution: Czechoslovakia, 1988-1991. Boulder - Oxford: Westview

Sharon L. Wolchik (1992), „Czechoslovakia” in Joseph Held (ed.), The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia U. P., 119-163.

Sona Szomolányi & Grigorij Meseznikov eds. (1994), The Slovak Path of Transition - to Democracy? Bratislava: SPSA

Christian Joppke (1995), East German Dissidents and the Revolution of 1989. New York: New York University Press

Milos Calda (1996), „The Roundtable Talks in Czechoslovakia” in Jon Elster (ed.), The Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 135-177.

Ulrich K. Preuss (1996), „The Roundtable Talks in the German Democratic Republic” in Jon Elster (ed.): The Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 99-134.

Jaroslav Krejci & Pavel Machonin (1996), Czechoslovakia 1918-92: A Laboratory of Social Change. London: Macmillan.

Mary Fulbrook (1997), Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR 1949-1989. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Carol Skalnik Leff (1997), The Czech and Slovak Republics. Boulder: Westview

Sona Szomolányi & John A. Gould (1997), Slovakia: Problems of Democratic Consolidation. Bratislava: SPSA & Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

Brigitte H. Schulz (1998), „The German Democratic Republic” in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 94-125.

Eric Stein (2000), Czecho / Slovakia: Ethnic Conflict, Constitutional Fissure, Negotiated Breakup. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

Laura Cashman (2008), „Remembering 1948 and 1968: Reflections on Two Pivotal Years in Czech and Slovak History” Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 60. No. 10. December, 1645-1658.

Vilém Prečan (2008), „Dimensions of the Czechoslovak Crisis of 1967-1970” Europa-Asia Studies, Vol. 60. No. 10. December, 1659-1676.

Scott Brown (2008), Prelude to Divorce? The Prague Spring as Dress Rehearsal for Czechoslovakia’s ’Velvet Divorce” Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 60. No. 10. December 1783-1804

WEEK 5. (February 9, 11) Old Regimes and Their Collapse – Romania, Bulgaria (in Comparison with former Yugoslavia)

Mandatory reading

Eyal, Jonathan (1990), „Why Romania Could Not Avoid Bloodshed” in Gwyn Prins (ed.): Spring in Winter: The 1989 Revolutions. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 140-160.

William Crowther (1998), „Romania” in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana U. P. 190-223.

Spas T. Raikin (1998), „Bulgaria” in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana U. P. 224-250.

Suggested readings

Trond Gilberg (1992), „The Multiple Legacies of History: Romania in the Year 1990” in Joseph Held (ed.), The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 277-305.

Katherine Verdery & Gail Kligman (1992), “Romania After Ceausescu: Post-Communist Communism” in Ivo Banac ed., Eastern Europe in Revolution. Ithaca – London: Cornell University Press, 117-147.

Marin Pundeff (1992), “Bulgaria” in Joseph Held ed., The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 65-118.

Maria N. Todorova (1992), “Improbable Maverick or Typical Conformist? Seven Thoughts on the New Bulgaria” in Ivo Banac (ed.): Eastern Europe in Revolution. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 148-167.

Dimitrije Djordjevic (1992), „The Yugoslav Phenomenon” in Joseph Held ed., The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 306-344.

Daniel N. Nelson (1992), Romania After Tyranny. Boulder: Westview Press

Katherine Verdery (1995), National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu’s Romania. Berkeley: University of California Press

Rumyana Kolarova & Dimitr Dimitrov (1996), „The Roundtable Talks in Bulgaria” in Jon Elster (ed.), The Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 178-212.

Sabrina P. Ramet (1996), Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to Ethnic War. Boulder: Westview

Marcus Tanner (1997), Croatia: A Nation Forged in War. New Haven: Yale University Press

Vladimir Tismaneanu (1997), „Romanian Exceptionalism? Democracy, Ethnocracy, and Uncertain Pluralism in Post-Ceausescu Romania” in Karen Dawisha & Bruce Parrott (eds.), Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 403-451.

Lenard J. Cohen (1997), “Embattled Democracy: Postcommunist Croatia in Transition” in Karen Dawisha & Bruce Parrott (eds.), Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 69-121.

Nicholas J. Miller (1997), “A Failed Transition: The Case of Serbia” in Karen Dawisha & Bruce

Parrott (eds.), Politics, Power, and the Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 146-188.

Sabrina P. Ramet (1998), „Yugoslavia” in Sabrina P. Ramet (ed.), Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939. Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana U. P. 159-189.

Vesselin Dimitrov (2001), Bulgaria: The Uneven Transition. London: Routledge

Tom Gallagher (2005), Modern Romania. New York: New York University Press

WEEK 6. (February 16, 18.) **Institution-building, Constitutional Choices, Parliamentarism vs Presidentialism**

Mandatory readings

Arend Lijphart (1992), „Democratization and Constitutional Choices in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, 1989-1991” Journal of Theoretical Politics, Vol. 4. No. 2. 1992.

Matthew S. Shugart (1993), „Of Presidents and Parliaments” East European Constitutional Review, Vol. 2. No. 1. 30-32.

Ray Taras (2007), „Executive Leadership” in Stephen White, Judy Batt & Paul G. Lewis (eds.), Developments in Central and East European Politics 7. Durham: Duke University Press, 127-144.

Petr Kopecky (2007), „Structures of Representation” in Stephen White, Judy Batt & Paul G. Lewis (eds.), Developments in Central and East European Politics 4. Durham: Duke University Press, 145-160.

Suggested readings

Juan J. Linz (1990), „The Perils of Presidentialism” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 1. No. 1. 51-69.

Donald L. Horowitz (1990), „Comparing Democratic Systems” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 1. No. 4. 73-79.

Dick Howard ed. (1993), Constitution Making in Eastern Europe. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Juan J. Linz & Arturo Valenzuela eds. (1994), The Failure of Presidential Democracy. Baltimore-London: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Jon Elster ed. (1996), The Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Scott Mainwaring & Matthew S. Shugart (1997), “Juan Linz, Presidentialism and Democracy” Comparative Politics, Vol. 29. No. 4. July 1997. 449-471.

Jon Elster, Claus Offe, Ulrich K. Preuss et al. (1998), Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 63-108.

Michael Bernhard (2000), „Institutional Choice after Communism: A Critique of Theory-Building in an Empirical Wasteland” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 14. No. 316-347.

Michael Kraus & Alison Stanger eds. (2000), Irreconcilable Differences? Explaining

- Czechoslovakia's Dissolution. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield
- Jean Blondel & Ferdinand Müller-Rommel eds. (2001), Cabinets in Eastern Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave
- András Bozóki ed. (2002), The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press
- Sarah Birch, Frances Millard, Marina Popescu & Kieran Williams (2002), Embodying Democracy: Electoral System Design in Post-Communist Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Klaus von Beyme (2003), „Constitutional Engineering in Central and Eastern Europe” in Stephen White, Judy Batt & Paul G. Lewis (eds.), Developments in Central and East European Politics 3. Durham: Duke University Press, 190-210.
- Thomas A. Baylis (2007), „Embattled Executives: Prime Ministerial Weakness in East Central Europe” Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 40. No. 1. March, 81-106.
- Robert Elgie & Sophia Moestrup (2008), Semi-presidentialism in Central and Eastern Europe. Manchester: Manchester University Press

WEEK 7. (February 23, 25) Democratic Consolidation: General Approaches and Central European Realities

Mandatory readings

- Guillermo O'Donnell (1994), „Delegative Democracy” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 5. No. 1. 55-69.
- Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), „Post-Communist Europe: Concluding Comparative Reflections” in Linz & Stepan: Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Baltimore - London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 434-57.
- Samuel P. Huntington (1996), „Democracy for the Long Haul” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 7. No. 2. 3-13.
- Dirk Berg-Schlosser (2008), „'Neighborhood Effects' of Democratization in Europe” Taiwan Journal of Democracy, Vol. 4. No. 2. December, 29-45.

Suggested readings

- Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell & J. Arturo Valenzuela eds. (1992), Issues in Democratic Consolidation. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press
- Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), „The Consolidation of Political Democracies: Rhythms, Sequences and Types” In Geoffrey Pridham (ed.), Transitions to Democracy. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 535-569.
- Iván Berend T. (1996), Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1993: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Baltimore - London: The Johns Hopkins University Press
- Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), „Democracy and Its Arenas” in Linz & Stepan: Problems

- of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Baltimore - London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 3-15.
- Guillermo O'Donnell (1996), „Illusions about Consolidation” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 7. No. 2. 34-51.
- Adam Przeworski et al. (1996), „What Makes Democracies Endure?” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 7. No.1. 39-55.
- Larry Diamond (1996), „Is the Third Wave Over?” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 7. No. 3. 20-37.
- Karen Dawisha & Bruce Parrott eds. (1997), The Consolidation of Democracy in East Central Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Jon Elster, Claus Offe, Ulrich K. Preuss et al. (1998), „Building and Consolidating Democracies” in Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 109-155.
- Richard Rose, W. Mishler & C. Haerpfer (1998), Democracy and Its Alternatives – Understanding Post-Communist Societies. Oxford: Polity Press
- Larry Diamond (1999), Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press
- John D. Nagle & Alison Mahr (1999), Democracy and Democratization: Post-Communist Europe in Comparative Perspective. London: Sage
- Mary Kaldor & Ivan Vejvoda eds. (1999), Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe. London: Pinter
- Robert Thomas (1999), Serbia Under Milosevic. London: Hurst & Company
- Geoffrey Pridham (2000), The Dynamics of Democratization: A Comparative Approach. London: Continuum
- Philippe C. Schmitter & Nicolas Guilhot (2000), “From Transition to Consolidation: Extending the Concept of Democratization and the Practice of Democracy” in Michel Dobry (ed.), Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 131-146.
- Andreas Schedler (2001), „Measuring Democratic Consolidation” Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. 36. No. 1. Spring, 66-92.
- Jan Zielonka ed. (2001), Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe. Vol. 1. Institutional Engineering. New York: Oxford University Press
- Geoffrey Pridham & Attila Ágh eds. (2001), Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe. Manchester: Manchester University Press

WEEK 8. (March 2) **MIDTERM TEST**

(March 4). **Left and Right in the Post-Communist Context**

Mandatory readings

Herbert Kitschelt (1992), „Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe” Politics and Society, Vol. 20. No. 1. 7-50.

John T. Ishiyama (1997), „The Sickle or the Rose? Previous Regime Types and the Evolution of

the Ex-Communist Parties in Post-Communist Politics” Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 30. No. 3. June, 299-330.

Seán Hanley (2004), „Getting the Right Right: Redefining the Centre-Right in Post-Communist Europe” Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 20. No. 3. September, 9-27.

Milada Anna Vachudova (2008), „Centre-Right Parties and Political Outcomes in East Central Europe” Party Politics, Vol. 14. No. 4. July, 387-405.

Suggested readings

Herbert Kitschelt (1995), „Formation of Party-Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions” Party Politics, Vol. 1. No. 4. 447-72.

Alison Mahr & John Nagle (1995), „Resurrection of the Successor Parties and Democratization in East-Central Europe” Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 28. No. 4. 393-409.

Herbert Kitschelt, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski & Gábor Tóka eds. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Paul G. Lewis (2000), Political Parties in Post-Communist Eastern Europe. London: Routledge

Aleks Szczerbiak (2001), Poles Together? Emergence and Development of Political Parties in Post-Communist Poland. Budapest: CEU Press

Herbert Kitschelt (2001), „Divergent Paths of Postcommunist Democracies” in Larry Diamond & Richard Gunther (eds.), Political Parties and Democracy. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 299-323.

Anna Grzymala-Busse (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

András Bozóki & John T. Ishiyama eds. (2002), The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe. Armonk, NY.: M. E. Sharpe

Andre W. M. Gerrits (2002), „The Social Democratic Tradition of East Central Europe” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 16. No. 1. Winter, 54-108.

Michael Minkenberg (2002), „The Radical Right in Postsocialist Central and Eastern Europe: Comparative Observations and Interpretations” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 16. No. 2. Spring, 335-362.

Paul G. Lewis (2003), „Political Parties” in Stephen White, Judy Batt & Paul G. Lewis (eds.), Developments in Central and East European Politics 3. Durham: Duke University Press, 153-172.

Seán Hanley (2004), „Blue Velvet: The Rise and Decline of the Czech New Right” Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 20. No. 3. September, 28-54.

Brigid Fowler (2004), „Concentrated Orange: Fidesz and the Remaking of the Hungarian Centre-Right, 1994-2002” Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 20. No. 3. September, 80-114.

Zsolt Enyedi (2005), „The Role of Agency in Cleavage Formation” European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 44. No. 3. 697-720.

Lubomir Kopecek ed. (2005), Trajectories of the Left: Social Democratic and (Ex-)Communist Parties in Contemporary Europe. Brno: Democracy and Culture Studies Centre

Stephen White, D. Stansfield & P. Webb eds. (2006), Political Parties in Transitional Democracies. Oxford: Oxford University Press

- S. Jungerstam-Mulders ed. (2006), Post-Communist EU Member States: Parties and Party-Systems. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Tim Haughton & Sharon Fisher (2008), „From the Politics of State Building to Programmatic Politics: The Post-Federal Experience and the Development of Centre-Right Party Politics in Croatia and Slovakia” Party Politics, Vol. 14. No. 4. July, 435-454.
- Tim Bale & Aleks Szczerbiak (2008), „Why There Is No Christian Democracy in Poland – and Why Should We Care?” Party Politics, Vol. 14. No. 4. July, 479-499.

WEEK 9. (March 9, 11). **Dealing with the Past: Elite Change, Lustration, Symbolic Politics, and the Role of Intellectuals**

Mandatory readings

- Knud Erik Jørgensen (1992), „The End of Anti-politics in Central Europe” in Paul G. Lewis ed., Democracy and Civil Society in Eastern Europe. London: Macmillan, 32-60.
- Alan Renwick (2006), „Anti-Political or Just Anti-Communist? Varieties of Dissidence in East Central Europe and Their Implications for the Development of Political Society” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 20. No. 2. 286-318.
- John Higley & György Lengyel (2000), „Elite Configurations After State Socialism” in Higley & Lengyel eds., Elites After State Socialism. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1-21.
- Hilary Appel (2005), „Anti-Communist Justice and Founding the Post-Communist Order: Lustration and Restitution in Central Europe” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 19. No. 3. 379-405.
- Lavinia Stan (2006), „The Vanishing Truth? Politics and Memory in Post-Communist Europe” East European Quarterly, Vol. XL. No. 4. December 383-408.

Suggested readings

- George Konrád & Iván Szelényi (1991), „Intellectuals and Domination in Post-Communist Societies” in Pierre Bourdieu & James Coleman eds., Social Theory in a Changing Society. Boulder: Westview, 337-61.
- John Higley, Jan Pakulski, & Włodzimierz Wesolowski (1998), „Introduction: Elite Change and Democratic Regimes in Eastern Europe” in J. Higley, J. Pakulski, & W. Wesolowski (eds.), Postcommunist Elites and Democracy in Eastern Europe. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1-33.
- John Higley & Jan Pakulski (1992), „Revolution and Elite Transformation in Eastern Europe” Australian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 27. 104-119.
- Gil Eyal, Ivan Szelényi & Eleanor Townsley (1997), "The Theory of Post-Communist Managerialism.” New Left Review, No. 222. 60-92.
- Gil Eyal, Iván Szelényi & Eleanor Townsley (1998), Making Capitalism Without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe. London: Verso

- John Higley, Jan Pakulski, Włodzimierz Wesolowski eds. (1998), Postcommunist Elites and Democracy in Eastern Europe. London: Macmillan
- András Bozóki ed. (1999), Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press
- John Higley & György Lengyel eds. (2000), Elites After State Socialism. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield
- Jacek Wasilewski (2001), „Three Elites of the Central East European Democratization” in Radosław Markowski & Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski (eds.), Transformative Paths in Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung - PAN ISP, 133-142.
- András Bozóki (2002), „Theoretical Interpretations of Elite Change in East Central Europe” in Mattei Dogan ed., Elite Configurations and Imbrications at the Apex of Power. Leiden: Brill
- Kieran Williams (2003), „Lustration as the Securitization of Democracy in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic” Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 19. No. 4. 1-24.
- Noel Calhoun (2002), „The Ideological Dilemma of Lustration in Poland” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 16. No. 2. 494-520.
- Tomasz Zarycki (2003), „Cultural Capital and the Political Role of Intelligentsia in Poland” Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 19. No. 4. December, 91-108.
- Gil Eyal (2003), The Origins of Postcommunist Elites: From Prague Spring to the Breakup of Czechoslovakia. Minneapolis – London: University of Minnesota Press
- Jacek Raciborski (2007), „Forming Government Elites in a New Democracy: The Case of Poland” Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 40. No. 1. March, 17-40.
- Sabrina P. Ramet (2007), „The Denial Syndrome and Its Consequences: Serbian Political Culture Since 2000” Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Vol. 40. No. 1. March, 41-58.

WEEK 10. (March 16, 18) Central European Democracies into the European Union

Mandatory readings

- Daunis Auers (2005), „European Elections in Eight New EU Member States” Electoral Studies, Vol. 24. No. 4. December, 747-754.
- Kristi Raik (2006), „EU Accession of Central and Eastern European Countries: Democracy and Integration as Conflicting Logics” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 18. No. 4. 567-594.
- Heather Grabbe (2007), „Central and Eastern Europe and the EU” in Stephen White, Judy Batt & Paul G. Lewis (eds.), Developments in Central and East European Politics 4. Durham: Duke University Press, 110-126.
- Gergana Noutcheva & Dimitar Bechev (2008), „The Successful Laggards: Bulgaria and Romania’s Accession to the EU” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 22. No. 1. Winter, 114-144.

Martin Dangerfield (2008), „The Visegrád Group in the Expanded European Union: From Preaccession to Postaccession Cooperation” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 22. No. 3. Summer, 630-667.

Suggested readings

Valerie Bunce (1997), „The Visegrád Group: Regional Cooperation and European Integration in Post-Communist Europe” in Peter Katzenstein (ed.), Mitteleuropa: Between Europe and Germany. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 240-284.

Karen Henderson ed. (1999), Back to Europe: Central and Eastern Europe and the European Union. London: UCL Press

Andrew Cottey (1999), „The Visegrád Group and Beyond: Security Cooperation in Central Europe” in A. Cottey (ed.), Subregional Cooperation in the New Europe: Building Security, Prosperity and Solidarity from the Barents to the Black Sea. London: Macmillan and EastWest Institute, 68-89.

Martin Dangerfield (2000), Subregional Economic Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe: The Political Economy of CEFTA. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

László Andor (2000), Hungary on the Road to the European Union: Transition in Blue. Westport CT.: Praeger

Christopher Lord ed. (2000), Central Europe: Core or Periphery? Prague – Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press

József Böröcz (2000), “Fox and the Raven: The European Union and Hungary Renegotiate the Margins of ‘Europe’” Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 42. No. 4. October, 847-875.

Andrew C. Janos (2001), “From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 15. No. 2. 221-249.

Jan Zielonka & Alex Pravda eds. (2001), Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe: International and Transnational Factors. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Andrew Moravcsik & Milada Anna Vachudova (2003), „National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 17. No. 1. Winter, 42-57.

András Bozóki & Gergely Karácsony (2003), „Membership Without Belonging? Hungary into the European Union: A Historic Step Passively Approved” Central European Political Science Review, Vol. 4. No. 13. Fall, 21-41.

Y. V. Tverdova & C. J. Anderson (2004), „Choosing the West? Referendum Choices on EU Membership in East-Central Europe” Electoral Studies, Vol. 23. No. 2. June, 185-208.

Claire McManus-Czubinska, William L. Miller, Radoslaw Markowski & Jacek Wasilewski (2004), „The Misuse of Referendums in Post-Communist Europe” Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, Vol. 20. No. 1. March, 56-80.

Philippe C. Schmitter, Alexander H. Trechsel et al. (2004), The Future of Democracy in Europe: Trends, Analyses, and Reforms. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing

Y. V. Tverdova & C. J. Anderson (2004), „Choosing the West? Referendum Choices on EU Membership in East-Central Europe” Electoral Studies, Vol. 23. No. 2. June, 185-208.

Geoffrey Pridham (2005), „EU Accession and Democratisation in Central and Eastern Europe: Lessons from the Enlargement of 2004” in R. Di Quirico (ed.), Europeanisation and Democratisation in the EU’s Neighbour Countries. Florence: European Press Academic Publishing, 59-81.

Paul Blokker (2008), „Multiple Democracies: Political Cultures and Democratic Variety in Post-Enlargement Europe” Contemporary Politics, Vol. 14. No. 2. June, 161-178.

WEEK 11. (March 23, 25). **Twenty Years After – Major Directions in Political Developments of Central Europe: Evaluation and Criticism**

Mandatory readings

Frances Millard (2007), „The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland” in Stephen White, Judy Batt & Paul G. Lewis (eds.), Developments in Central and East European Politics 4. Durham: Duke University Press, 37-55.

Peter Gross & Vladimir Tismaneanu (2005), „The End of Post-Communism in Romania” Journal of Democracy, Vol. 16. No. 2. April, 146-162.

András Bozóki (2008), „Democratization in Central Europe” Taiwan Journal of Democracy, Vol. 4. No. 2. December, 1-27.

Suggested readings

József Böröcz (2000), “Informality Rules” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 14. No. 2. 348-380.

Rick Fawn (2000), The Czech Republic: A Nation of Velvet. London: Routledge
Stephen White & Daniel N. Nelson eds. (2001), The Politics of the Postcommunist World. (2 vols.) Aldershot: Ashgate

Geoffrey Pridham & Attila Ágh eds. (2001), Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe. Manchester: Manchester University Press

Jan Zielonka ed. (2001), Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe: Institutional Engineering. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Karen Henderson (2002), Slovakia. London: Routledge

John Dryzek & Leslie Holmes (2002), Post-Communist Democratization: Political Discourses Across Thirteen Countries. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Detlef Pollack, Jörg Jacobs, Olaf Müller & Gert Pickel eds. (2003), Political Culture in Post-Communist Europe. Aldershot: Ashgate (especially the „Introduction”)

Stephen White, Judy Batt, and Paul G. Lewis eds. (2007) Developments in Central and East European Politics 4. Durham: Duke University Press

Tom Gallagher (2003), Distrusting Democracy: Romania Since 1989. London: Hurst

Stephen White, Judy Batt, & Paul G. Lewis eds. (2003), Developments in Central and East European Politics 3. Durham: Duke University Press

Susan Rose-Ackerman (2005), From Elections to Democracy: Building Accountable Government in Hungary and Poland. New York: Cambridge University Press

Sabrina P. Ramet (2005), Thinking About Yugoslavia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gerd Meyer ed. (2006), Formal Institutions, Informal Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers

- William M. Downs & Raluca V. Miller (2006), „The 2004 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Romania” Electoral Studies, Vol. 25. No. 2. June, 409-415.
- Sharon Fisher, John Gould & Tim Haughton (2007), „Slovakia’s Neoliberal Turn” Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 59. No. 6. September, 977-998.
- Umut Korkut (2007), „The 2006 Hungarian Election: Economic Competitiveness versus Social Solidarity” Parliamentary Affairs, 1-16.
- Vit Hlousek & Lubomir Kopecek (2008), „Cleavages in the Contemporary Czech and Slovak Politics: Between Persistence and Change” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 22. No. 3. Summer, 518-552.
- Carsten Schneider (2009), Democratic Consolidation: Comparing Europe and Latin America. London: Routledge

WEEK 12. (March 30, April 1.) Concluding Discussion: Democracy and Its Discontents in Central Europe

Mandatory readings

- Richard Rose & Doh Chull Shin (2001), “Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third-Wave Democracies” British Journal of Political Science Vol. 31. 331-54.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Kubik & Milada Anna Vachudova (2007), „Democracy in the Post-Communist World: An Unending Quest?” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 21. No. 1. Winter, 7-30.
- Dirk Berg-Schlosser (2007), „The Quality of Post-Communist Democracy” in Stephen White, Judy Batt, and Paul G. Lewis eds. Developments in Central and East European Politics 4. Durham: Duke University Press, 264-275.
- Larry Diamond (2008), „The Postcommunist Divide” in L. Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy. New York: Holt, 190-207.

Suggested readings

- Hans-Joachim Lauth (2000), „Informal Institutions and Democracy” Democratization, Vol. 7. No. 4. Winter, 21-50.
- Slavenka Drakulic (2000), „A Trip Back to Europe” in Christopher Lord (ed.), Central Europe: Core or Periphery? Prague – Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School Press, 235-42.
- Grzegorz Ekiert & Stephen E. Hanson eds. (2003), Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Guillermo O’Donnell, Jorge Vargas Cullell, Osvaldo M. Iazzetta eds. (2004), The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications. Notre Dame, IN: Indiana University Press
- Vesselin Dimitrov, Klaus H. Goetz, Hellmut Wollman (2005), Governing After Communism: Institutions and Policymaking. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield
- Lucan A. Way & Steven Levitsky (2007), „Linkage, Leverage, and the Post-Communist Divide”

- East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 21. No. 1. Winter, 48-66.
- Jan Zielonka (2007), „The Quality of Democracy After Joining the European Union” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 21. No. 1. Winter, 162-180.
- Dirk Berg-Schlosser (2007), Democratization. Opladen – Framington Hills: Barbara Budrich
- Fabrizio Coricelli (2007), „Democracy in the Post-Communist World: Unfinished Business” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 21. No. 1. Winter, 82-90.
- Marcus Alexander (2008), „Democratization and Hybrid Regimes: Comparative Evidence from Southeast Europe” East European Politics and Societies, Vol. 22. No. 4. November, 928-954.