

Identities and Transitions (RUES 230)
Fall 2004
Murphey 105, Wednesday 2:00-4:50

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Office Hours, Fall 2004:

Monday 1:30-3:00, Thursday 11:00-12:00, other times by arrangement

This course is designed to familiarize students with broad issues related to the crises and transformation of communist regimes and the establishment of new political and economic systems in Central Europe, Southeast Europe, Russia, and Central Asia and the Caucasus. Primary focus is given to understanding political and economic change in a contemporary historical context. The role of nationalism in post-communist politics is also an important topic. Comparisons of the experiences and policy outcomes in Russia and Eastern Europe are emphasized. The importance of the international community is considered and explicitly addressed at the end of the semester.

Seminar Format

The format of the seminar will involve both a short presentation by the instructor and an extended discussion facilitated by the students. The course is designed to emphasize participation. The instructor will often bring video or other graphic materials to class and students are encouraged to bring their own items and issues for discussion. Internet connection in the classroom will facilitate discussion of timely events.

Requirements

1. Attend all sessions, doing the readings and taking an active role in discussion.
2. Be facilitators for two course sessions during the semester. Facilitators will be asked to prepare discussion questions for the seminar, lead the discussion, and write a brief recap of the discussion for distribution to the class.
3. Write a 20-25 page research paper on a topic of interest related to the course content. This paper requirement is an opportunity for students to begin the research process for MA theses and to demonstrate ability to do systematic research at the graduate level. Students should consult with me earlier in the semester about their research papers. **A working draft of the paper is due on Monday, November 8. The final version of the paper is due Monday, December 6.**

Grading

Grades will be based on the following distribution:

1. Participation and facilitation (40%)
2. Research papers (60%)

Readings

Below is a list of readings. They involve a mix of journal articles and book chapters. Where available, online access has been chosen: asterisks (*) mark readings available in electronic journal through the UNC Library web page: <http://eresources.lib.unc.edu/ejournal/>. Readings that are not marked as available by electronic journal nor have URLs listed will be made available through Blackboard. Please note that modification of the reading list may occur during the semester.

Weekly Topics and Reading Assignments

DATE	TOPIC	READINGS
Aug. 25	Introduction	No readings
Sep. 1	Thinking Big: State, Nation, Economy	<p>Poggi, Gianfranco. 1990. <i>The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects</i>. Stanford Univ. Press. Chap. 2, "The Nature of the Modern State," pp. 19-33.</p> <p>*Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood." <i>World Politics</i> 35(no.1):1-24.</p> <p>Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." Pp. 169-191 in <i>Bringing the State Back In</i>, Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, & Theda Skocpol, eds. Cambridge Univ. Press.</p> <p>*Evans, Peter. 1997. "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization." <i>World Politics</i> 50(No. 1):62-87.</p> <p>Giddens, Anthony. 1987. <i>The Nation-State and Violence</i>. University of California Press. Chap. 5, "Capitalism, Industrialism, and Social Transformation," pp. 122-147.</p> <p>*Granovetter, Mark. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> 91(No. 3):481-510.</p> <p>*Hall, John A. 1993. "Nationalisms: classified and explained." <i>Daedalus</i> 122(No. 3):26+.</p> <p>Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. <i>Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe</i>. Cambridge Univ. Press. Chap.1. "Rethinking nationhood: nation as institutionalized form, practical category, contingent event," pp. 12-22.</p>

<p>Sep. 3</p>	<p>Structures of Communism</p>	<p>Rigby, T.H. 1990. "Stalinism and the Mono-organisational Society," pp. 82-112 in <i>The Changing Soviet System</i>.</p> <p>Poggi, Gianfranco. 1990. <i>The State: Its Nature, Development and Prospects</i>. Stanford Univ. Press. Chap. 9, "A New Type of State," pp. 145-172.</p> <p>Kornai, Janos. 1986. <i>Contradictions and Dilemmas</i>. Pp. 6-61.</p> <p>*Ericson, Richard E. 1991. "The Classical Soviet-Type Economy: Nature of the System and Implications for Reform." <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> 5(No. 4):11-27.</p> <p>Lavigne, Marie. 1995. <i>The Economics of Transition</i>. St. Martin's Press. Chap. 1, "The Bases of the Socialist Economic System," pp. 3-14.</p> <p>Suny, Ronald G. 1993. <i>The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union</i>. Stanford Univ. Press. Chap. 3, "State-Building and Nation-Making: The Soviet Experience," pp. 84-126.</p> <p>Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. <i>Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe</i>. Cambridge Univ. Press. Chap. 2, "Nationhood and the national question in the Soviet Union and its successor states: an institutional account," pp. 23-54.</p> <p>*Verdery, Katherine. 1991. "Theorizing Socialism: A Prologue to the 'Transition.'" <i>American Ethnologist</i> 18:419-439.</p>
<p>Sep. 15</p>	<p>Reform, Crises, Opposition</p>	<p>*Kusin, Vladimir. 1976. "An Overview of East European Reformism." <i>Soviet Studies</i> 28(3):338-361.</p> <p>*Joppke, Christian. 1994. "Revisionism, Dissidence, Nationalism: Opposition in Leninist Regimes." <i>The British Journal of Sociology</i> 45(4):543-561.</p> <p>*Zinner, Paul E. 1959. "Revolution in Hungary: Reflections on the Vicissitudes of a Totalitarian System." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 21(1):3-36.</p> <p>Touraine, Alain, et al. 1983. <i>Solidarity: The Analysis of a Social Movement: Poland 1980-1981</i>. Cambridge Univ. Press. Chap. 2, "Class, nation, democracy." Pp. 35-63. Chap. 3, "A self-limiting movement." Pp. 64-79.</p> <p>Garton Ash, Timothy. 1990. <i>The Uses of Adversity: Essays on the Fate of Central Europe</i>. Vintage. "Czechoslovakia Under Ice," pp. 61-70. "A Hungarian Lesson," pp. 143-156. "Reform or Revolution," pp. 242-303. "Refolution," pp 309-324.</p>
<p>Sep. 22</p>	<p>Perestroika: the Final Reform Attempt</p>	<p>Bialer, Seweryn. 1989. "The Changing Soviet Political System." Pp. 193-241 in <i>Politics, Society, and Nationality Inside Gorbachev's Russia</i>. Seweryn Bialer, ed. Westview Press.</p> <p>Aves, Jonathan. 1992. "The evolution of independent political movements after 1988." Pp. 29-66 in <i>The Road to Post-Communism: Independent Political Movement in the Soviet Union</i>,</p>

		<p>1985-1991. Geoffrey A. Hosking, et al., eds. Pinter.</p> <p>Duncan, Peter J.S. 1992. "The rebirth of politics in Russia." Pp. 67-120 in <i>The Road to Post-Communism: Independent Political Movement in the Soviet Union, 1985-1991</i>. Geoffrey A. Hosking, et al., eds. Pinter.</p> <p>Bunce, Valerie. 1989. "Decline of a Regional Hegemon: The Gorbachev Regime and Reform in Eastern Europe." <i>East European Politics and Societies</i>. 3(2):235-267.</p> <p>Suny, Ronald G. 1993. <i>The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union</i>. Stanford Univ. Press.</p> <p>Chap. 4, "Nationalism and Nation-States: Gorbachev's Dilemmas," pp. 127-160.</p>
Sep. 29	No Class	
Oct. 6	The Fall of Communism in Central Europe and the Soviet Union	<p>Sanford, George. 1992. "The Polish Road to Democratisation: from Political Impasse to the 'Controlled Abdication of Communist Power.'" Pp. 1-34 in <i>Democratization in Poland, 1988-90</i>, George Saanford, ed. St. Martin's Press.</p> <p>*Adair, Bianca. 2002. "Democratization and Regime Transformation in Hungary." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 49(2):52-61.</p> <p>Garton Ash, Timothy. 1990. <i>The Magic Lantern</i>. Random House.</p> <p>"Prague: Inside the Magic Lantern," pp. 78-130.</p> <p>Stark, David, and László Bruszt. 1998. <i>Postsocialist Pathways</i>. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.</p> <p>Chap. 1. "Remaking the Political Field: Strategic Interactions and Contingent Choices." Pp. 15-48.</p> <p>Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. <i>Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe</i>. Cambridge Univ. Press.</p> <p>Chap. 2, "Nationhood and the national question in the Soviet Union and its successor states: an institutional account," pp. 23-54.</p> <p>Bunce, Valerie. 1998. "Subversive Institutions: The End of the Soviet State in Comparative Research." <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> 14(4):323-354.</p>
Oct. 13	Perspectives on the Transition	<p>*Offe, Claus. 1991. "Capitalism by Democratic Design? Democratic Theory Facing The Triple Transition in East Central Europe." <i>Social Research</i> 58(No. 4):865-893.</p> <p>Karl, Terry Lynn, and Philippe Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of Transitions in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe," <i>International Social Science Journal</i>, 128(May): 269-284.</p> <p>*Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 13(1):5-21.</p> <p>*O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2002. "In Partial Defense of an Evanescent 'Paradigm'." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 13(3):6-12.</p> <p>*Hyman, Gerald. 2002. "Tilting at Straw Men." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 13(3):26-32.</p> <p>*Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "Reply to My Critics." <i>Journal of</i></p>

		<p><i>Democracy</i> 13(3):33-38.</p> <p>*Bunce, Valerie. 1999. "The Political Economy of Postsocialism." <i>Slavic Review</i> 58(No.4):756-793.</p> <p>*Fish, M. Steven. 1999. "Postcommunist Subversion: Social Science and Democratization in East Europe and Eurasia." <i>Slavic Review</i> 58(No.4):794-823.</p> <p>Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. <i>Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe</i>. Cambridge Univ. Press. Chap. 3, "National minorities, nationalizing states, and external homelands in the New Europe," pp. 55-76.</p> <p>*Fischer, Stanley and Jacob Frenkel. 1992. "Macroeconomic Issues of Soviet Reform." <i>American Economic Review</i> 82(No. 2):37-42.</p> <p>Orenstein, Mitchell. 2001. <i>Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe</i>. Univ. of Michigan Press. Chap. 1. "Strategies for Transformation." Pp. 11-24.</p>
Oct. 20	Post-Communist Change in Central Europe	<p>Bozóki, András. 1992. "Post-communist transition: political tendencies in Hungary." Pp. 13-29 in <i>Post-Communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary</i>, András Bozóki, et al., eds. Pinter Publishers.</p> <p>Jha, Shashikant. 1999. "Democracy, Parties, and Politics in Hungary." <i>International Studies</i> 36(3):277-292.</p> <p>*Williams, Margit Besseney. 2001. "Exporting the Democratic Deficit: Hungary's Experience with EU Integration." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 48(No. 1):27-38.</p> <p>*Smolar, Aleksander. 1998. "Poland's Emerging Party System." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 9(2):122-133.</p> <p>*Szczerbiak, Aleks. 2003. "Old and New Divisions in Polish Politics: Polish Parties' Electoral Strategies and Bases of Support." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 55(No. 5):729-746.</p> <p>*Seleny, Anna. 1999. "Old Political Rationalities and New Democracies: Compromise and Confrontation in Hungary and Poland." <i>World Politics</i> 51(July):484-519.</p> <p>*Saxonberg, Steven. 1999. "A New Phase in Czech Politics." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 10(1):96-111.</p> <p>*Rhodes, Matthew. 2000. "Czech Malaise and Europe." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 47(No. 2):57-66.</p> <p>*Kraus, Michael. 2003. "The Czech Republic's First Decade." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 14(No. 2):50-64.</p> <p>*Hilde, Paal Sigurd. 1999. "Slovak Nationalism and the Break-up of Czechoslovakia." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 51(4):647-665.</p> <p>*Rhodes, Matthew. 2001. "Slovakia After Mečiar: A Midterm Report." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 48(4):3-13.</p> <p>*Csergo, Zsuzsa. 2002. "Beyond Ethnic Divisions: Majority-Minority Debate About the Postcommunist State in Romania and Slovakia." <i>East European Politics and Societies</i> 16(1):1-29.</p> <p>*Hoen, Herman W. 1996. "'Shock versus Gradualism' in Central Europe Reconsidered." <i>Comparative Economic Studies</i> 38(1):1-20.</p>

<p>Oct. 27</p>	<p>Post-Communist Change in Russia</p>	<p>*Radio Free Europe. 1998. "How Russia is Ruled – 1998." http://www.rferl.org/specials/russia/whorules/default.asp</p> <p>*Dunlop, John B. 2000. "Shifting Through the Rubble of the Yeltsin Years." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 47(1):3-15.</p> <p>*McFaul, Michael. 1999. "The Perils of a Protracted Transition." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 10(2):4-18.</p> <p>*Glinski, Dmitri, and Peter Reddaway. 1999. "The Ravages of 'Market Bolshevism'." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 10(2):19-34.</p> <p>*Lukin, Alexander. 2001. "Putin's Regime: Restoration or Revolution?" <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 48(No. 4):38-48.</p> <p>*Shevtsova, Lilia. 2001. "Russia's Hybrid Regime." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 12(No. 4): 65-70.</p> <p>*Fish, M. Steven. 2001. "Putin's Path." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 12(No. 4):71-78.</p> <p>*Colton, Timothy J., and Michael McFaul. 2003. "Russian Democracy Under Putin." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 50(No. 4):12-21.</p> <p>*Williams, Bryan Glyn. 2001. "The Russo-Chechen War: A Threat to Stability in the Middle East and Eurasia?" <i>Middle East Policy</i> 8(No. 1):128-148.</p> <p>Rutland, Peter. 1997. "The Rocky Road from Plan to Market." Pp. 149-168 in <i>Developments in Russian Politics 4</i>, Stephen White, et al, eds. Duke Univ. Press.</p> <p>*Hanson, Philip. 1999. "The Russian Economic Crisis and the Future of Russian Economic Reform." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 51(7):1141-1166.</p>
<p>Nov. 3</p>	<p>The Fall of Yugoslavia</p>	<p>VeJVoda, Ivan. 1997. "Yugoslavia 1945-91 -- from Decentralisation without Democracy to Dissolution." Pp. 10-27 in <i>Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth</i>. Eds., David A Dyker and Ivan VeJVoda. Longman Publishers.</p> <p>Woodward, Susan L. 1996. "The West and the International Organisations." Pp. 155-176 in <i>Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair and Rebirth</i>. Eds., David A Dyker and Ivan VeJVoda. Longman Publishers.</p> <p>Rogel, Carole. 1998. <i>The Breakup of Yugoslavia and the War in Bosnia</i>. Greenwood Press. Chap. 3, "The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina." pp. 29-42.</p> <p>*Andreatta, Filippo. 1997. "The Bosnian War and the New World Order: Failure and Success of International Intervention." Brussels: Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Paper 1. http://www.iss-eu.org/</p> <p>*European Stability Initiative. 1999. "Reshaping international priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Part One: Bosnian Power Structures." http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/ESI_rep_bosnia10.pdf</p> <p>*Pugh, Michael. 2002. "Postwar Political Economy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Spoils of Peace." <i>Global Governance</i> 8(4):467-482.</p>

<p>Nov. 10</p>	<p>Change in Serbia, Kosovo, and Croatia</p>	<p>*Cohen, Lenard J. 1999. "The Politics of Despair: Radical Nationalism and Regime Crisis in Serbia." Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe, Harvard University, Working Paper #1. http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/kokkalis/papers/KokkalisWP01.PDF</p> <p>*Sekelj, Laslo. 2000. "Parties and Elections: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – Change Without Transformation." <i>Europe-Asia Studies</i> 52(1):57-75.</p> <p>*International Crisis Group. 2003. "Serbia after Djindjic." Balkans Report No. 141. Belgrade/Brussels. 18pp. http://www.crisisweb.org/projects/balkans/serbia/reports/A400921_18032003.pdf</p> <p>*Judah, Tim. 2001. "Goodbye to Yugoslavia." <i>New York Review of Books</i> 48(Feb. 8, No. 2):44+.</p> <p>Garton Ash, Timothy. 2000. "Kosovo: Was it Worth It?" "Kosovo: Was it Worth It?" <i>New York Review of Books</i> 47(Sept. 21, No. 14).</p> <p>*Posen, Barry. 2000. "The War for Kosovo." <i>International Security</i> 24(4):39-84.</p> <p>*Schwegmann, Christoph. 2000. "The Contact Group and its impact on the European institutional structure." Institute for Security Studies. Occasional Papers 16. http://www.iss-eu.org/occasion/occl6.pdf</p> <p>Judah, Tim. 2000. "Croatia Reborn." <i>New York Review of Books</i> 47(Aug. 10, No. 13):20+.</p> <p>*Bellamy, Alex J. 2001. "Croatia After Tudjman." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 48(No. 5):18-31.</p>
<p>Nov. 17</p>	<p>Post-Communism in Central Asia and Caucasus</p>	<p>*Roy, Olivier. 2001. "Qibla and the Government House: The Islamist Networks." <i>SAIS Review</i> 21(No. 2):53-63.</p> <p>*Hunter, Shireen T. 2001. "Religion, Politics, and Security in Central Asia." <i>SAIS Review</i> 21(2):65-89.</p> <p>Blum, Douglas W. 1998. "Domestic Politics and Russia's Caspian Policy." <i>Post-Soviet Affairs</i> 14(2):137-164.</p> <p>*Haghayeghi, Mehrdad. 2003. "The Coming of Conflict to the Caspian Sea." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 50(No. 3):32-41.</p> <p>*Nodia, Ghia. 1998. "Dynamics of State-Building in Georgia." <i>Demokratizatsiya</i> Winter 1998:6+</p> <p>*Nodia, Ghia. n.d. "The Conflict in Abkhazia: National Projects and Political Circumstances." http://www.abkhazia-georgia.parliament.ge/Publications/Georgian/ghia_nodia_1.htm</p> <p>Gleason, Gregory. 1997. "Uzbekistan: the politics of national independence." Pp. 571-602 in <i>New States, New Politics</i>, Ian Bremmer & Raymond Tarras, eds. Cambridge Univ. Press.</p> <p>*Spechler, Martin C. 2002. "Free at Last? Uzbekistan and Russia." <i>Problems of Post-Communism</i> 49(No. 1):63-67.</p>

Dec. 1	Post-communist space and the international order	<p>*Carothers, Thomas. 1999. "Western Civil Society Aid to Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union." <i>East European Constitutional Review</i> 8(4):54-62. http://www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/vol8num4/special/western.html</p> <p>Wedel, Janine. 1998, <i>Collision and Collusion</i>. St. Martin's Press. Chap. 1, "East Meets West: A New Order for the Second World," pp. 15-43. Chap. 3, "A Few Favored Cliques," pp. 83-119.</p> <p>*Wallace, William. 2000. "From the Atlantic to the Bug, from the Arctic to the Tigris? Transformation of the EU and NATO." <i>International Affairs</i> 76(No. 3):475-493.</p> <p>*Woyke, Wichard. 2002. "European Enlargement – Consequences and Problems." <i>German Policy Studies</i> 2(January).</p> <p>*Wiarda, Howard J. 2002. "The Politics of European Enlargement: NATO, the EU, and the new U.S. European relationship." <i>World Affairs</i> 164(No.4):178-197.</p> <p>*Abramowitz, Morton, and Heather Hulburt. 2002. "Can the EU Hack the Balkans?" <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 81(5):2-7.</p>
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