

Political Science 949

Postcommunist Politics

Fall 2009

Instructor: Scott Gehlbach, 210 North Hall, 263-2391, gehlbach@polisci.wisc.edu

Time and Location: Wednesday 5:15–7:15, 7111 Helen C. White

Course Website: Available at <http://learnuw.wisc.edu>

ClassList: polisci949-1-f09@lists.wisc.edu

Overview

This course is an overview of the politics of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. A comparatively brief but important portion of the course addresses the nature of communism and the collapse of the communist system. The emphasis, however, is on the postcommunist transition. The course takes a broad view of “politics,” focusing not only on the transformation of explicitly political institutions, but also on changes in market, state, and social institutions.

Reading

All readings are available through library e-reserve, accessible via the course website at <http://learnuw.wisc.edu>.

Course requirements and grading

A primary goal of this course is to learn and synthesize the literature on postcommunist politics. Three course requirements directly address this goal.

First, prior to each week’s class, you should post 1–2 questions or comments related to that week’s readings on the class discussion board, available on the course website at <http://learnuw.wisc.edu>. The deadline for posting questions is 6 am the day of the seminar: this will give everyone a chance to review the discussion before class. In addition, you are expected to participate fully in the class discussion, which will obviously be easier if you have carefully absorbed that week’s readings. Discussion before and during class together account for 10 percent of your final grade.

Second, you will prepare two “referee reports,” each based on a close analysis of one of the assigned readings. Each report should be divided into four sections: 1) Background and question (what prior research motivates this project, what question is the author trying to answer), 2) Methods and conclusions (how does the author attempt to answer the question, what conclusions does s/he reach), 3) Evaluation (what does the article or chapter do well,

what does it do poorly, what concretely could be done to make it better), 4) Recommendation (should the article or chapter be published as is, revised and resubmitted, or rejected). Each section is important, but the third section will probably be the bulk of the report. The total length of the report should be 2–3 pages, single-spaced. There is no presumption that the recommendation will be to publish as is, even if the article or chapter has already been published, though such a recommendation may be appropriate. The report is due at the start of class the day that reading is discussed. You may prepare no more than one report each week. Each report is worth 15 percent of your final grade, for a total of 30 percent.

Third, you will prepare a review of the literature from one week's class, excluding December 2 and dates for which there is no reading. This review should address a major question, clearly articulated, in the study of postcommunist politics. The emphasis should be on what answer the literature provides to this question and how future work can provide a more complete answer. You must receive my approval of your question before writing your review. In addition to the week's required readings, you should address most of the recommended readings, and you may include readings not listed on the syllabus (e.g., other portions of books from which selected chapters have been assigned). The review should be 8–10 pages in length, double-spaced except for footnotes, plus references. (Please use author-year citations and place references in a separate section.) This assignment is worth 25 percent of your final grade. If you wish, you may prepare a referee report and the literature review the same week.

The other major goal of this course is to prepare you to do research on the postcommunist region. In pursuit of this goal, you will prepare a research paper on a topic related to the material covered this semester. Prior to Thanksgiving break, you should meet with me to discuss your topic; I reserve the right to decide that a topic is inappropriate for this course. The paper should be approximately 15 pages in length, double-spaced except for footnotes, plus references. (As with the literature review, please use author-year citations and place references in a separate section.) The last day of class, you will give a short presentation of your paper. This assignment is worth 35 percent of your final grade: 25 percent for the paper and 10 percent for the presentation.

To summarize, the final grade will be determined based on the following weighting of course requirements:

- (10 percent) Discussion questions and participation
- (30 percent) Referee reports
- (25 percent) Literature review
- (35 percent) Research paper and presentation

There is a range of possible grades, and the best grades—for individual assignments and the course—will be reserved for outstanding performances.

Cooperation

Most of you will find this course easier if you cooperate with your classmates. You will get more out of the readings if you compare notes over a cup of coffee before class. Writing a referee report will be less time-consuming if you consult with those who have done work

similar to that which you are reviewing. If English is not your native language, written assignments will be less burdensome if somebody can check your punctuation and grammar when you are finished. Find the right person for the task at hand, and remember that what comes around goes around.

Schedule

September 2: Introduction to the Course

No assigned readings.

September 9: Communism and its Collapse

Required:

Ken Jowitt, *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction*, University of California Press, 1993.

- Chapter 1, “The Leninist Phenomenon,” pp. 1–49.

Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*, Princeton University Press, 1992.

- Chapter 15, “The Coherence of the Socialist System,” pp. 360–379.
- Chapter 16, “The Dynamics of the Changes,” pp. 383–395.

Katherine Verdery. *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, Princeton University Press, 1996.

- Chapter 1, “What was Socialism and Why Did it Fall?” pp. 19–38.

Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

- Chapter 1, “The Collapse of Socialism and Socialist States,” pp. 1–19.
- Chapter 7, “Institutions and Opportunities: Constructing and Deconstructing Regimes,” pp. 127–164.

Steven L. Solnick, “The Breakdown of Hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: A Neoinstitutional Perspective,” *World Politics*, 48:2 (January 1996), pp. 209–238.

Recommended:

Grzegorz Ekiert and Stephen E. Hanson, “Time, Space, and Institutional Change in Central and Eastern Europe,” in G. Ekiert and S. Hanson, eds., *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 15–48.

- Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern*, Random House, 1990.
- Paul R. Gregory, *The Political Economy of Stalinism*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Stephen E. Hanson, “The Leninist Legacy and Institutional Change,” *Comparative Political Studies* 28:2 (July 1995), pp. 306–314.
- Timur Kuran, “Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989,” *World Politics* 44:1 (October 1991), pp. 7–48.
- Steven L. Solnick, *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions*, Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Gale Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*, Oxford, 1993.

September 16: Ethnicity, Nationalist Mobilization, and War

Required:

Mark R. Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- Chapter 1, “From the Impossible to the Inevitable,” pp. 1–46.
- Chapter 4, “‘Thickened’ History and the Mobilization of Identity,” pp. 147–199.

Timur Kuran, “Ethnic Norms and Their Transformation through Reputational Cascades,” *Journal of Legal Studies* 27:2 (June 1998), pp. 623–659.

Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War*, Brookings Institution, 1995.

- Chapter 1, “Introduction,” pp. 1–20.
- Chapter 8, “War: Building States from Nations,” pp. 223–272.

Charles King, “The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia’s Unrecognized States,” *World Politics* 53:4 (July 2001), pp. 524–552.

Recommended:

Kathleen Collins, “The Political Role of Clans in Central Asia” *Comparative Politics* 35:2 (January 2003), pp. 171–190.

Henry E. Hale, “The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell,” *Perspectives on Politics* 3:1 (March 2005), pp. 55–70.

David D. Laitin, *Identity in Formation*, Cornell University Press, 1998.

Barnett R. Rubin, “Russian Hegemony and State Breakdown in the Periphery: Causes and Consequences of the Civil War in Tajikistan,” in Barnett R.

Rubin and Jack Snyder, eds., *Post-Soviet Political Order: Conflict and State Building*, Routledge, 1998, pp. 128–161.

Yuri Slezkine, “The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism,” *Slavic Review* 53:2 (Summer 1994), pp. 414–452.

Ronald Suny, *Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*, Stanford University Press, 1993.

Daniel Treisman, “The Return,” Unpublished book manuscript, 2009.

- Chapter 6, “The Unraveling.”

September 23: Political Change and Regime Diversity

Required:

Valerie Bunce, “Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience,” *World Politics* 55: 2 (January 2003), pp. 167–192.

Herbert Kitschelt, “Accounting for Postcommunist Regime Diversity: What Counts as a Good Cause?” in G. Ekiert and S. Hanson, eds., *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 49–86.

Grigore Pop-Eleches, “Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change,” *Journal of Politics* 69:4 (November 2007), pp. 908–926.

Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, “The Great Divide: Precommunist Schooling and Postcommunist Trajectories,” *World Politics* 59:1 (October 2006), pp. 83–115.

Henry Hale, “Democracy or Autocracy on the March? The Colored Revolutions as Normal Dynamics of Patronal Presidentialism,” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39:3 (September 2006), pp. 305–329.

Recommended:

Henry F. Carey and Rafal Raciborski, “Postcolonialism: A Valid Paradigm for the Former Sovietized States and Yugoslavia?” *East European Politics and Societies* 18:2 (May 2004), pp. 191–235.

Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *Journal of Democracy* 13:1 (January 2002), pp. 5–21.

Grzegorz Ekiert et al., “Democracy in the Post-Communist World: An Unending Quest?” *East European Politics and Societies* 21:1 (February 2007), pp. 7–30.

M. Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Paul Kubicek, “Authoritarianism in Central Asia: Curse or Cure?” *Third World Quarterly* 19:1 (Spring 1998), pp. 29–44.

Marcus J. Kurtz and Andrew Barnes, "The Political Foundations of Post-communist Regimes: Marketization, Agrarian Legacies, or International Influences," *Comparative Political Studies* 35:5 (June 2002), pp. 524–553.

Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54 (January 2002), pp. 212–44.

Mieke Meurs and Rasika Ranasinghe, "De-Development in Post-Socialism: Conceptual and Measurement Issues," *Politics & Society* 31:1 (March 2003), pp. 31–53.

September 30: Elections

Required:

Karen Dawisha and Stephen Deets, "Political Learning in Post-Communist Elections," *East European Politics and Societies* 20:4 (November 2006), pp. 691–728.

Joshua A. Tucker, *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990–1999*, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

- Chapter 1, "Introduction," pp. 1–26.
- Chapter 2, "Economic Conditions and Election Results," pp. 27–77.
- Chapter 9, "Economic Voting and Postcommunist Politics," pp. 276–308.

Daniel Treisman, "The Return," Unpublished book manuscript, 2009.

- Chapter 10, "The Choices."

Mikhail Myagkov and Peter Ordeshook, "The Trail of Votes in Ukraine's 1998, 1999, and 2002 Elections," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21:1 (January 2005), pp. 56–71.

Recommended:

Timothy J. Colton, *Transitional Citizens: Voters and What Influences Them in the New Russia*, Harvard University Press, 2000.

Timothy Colton and Michael McFaul, *Popular Choice and Managed Democracy: The Russian Elections of 1999 and 2000*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

William Mishler and Richard Rose, "Generation, Age, and Time: The Dynamics of Political Learning during Russia's Transformation," *American Journal of Political Science* 51:4 (October 2007), pp. 822–834.

Robert G. Moser, *Unexpected Outcomes: Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Representation in Russia*, Pittsburgh University Press, 2001.

Alexander C. Pacek, "Macroeconomic Conditions and Electoral Politics in East Central Europe," *American Journal of Political Science* 38:3 (August 1994), pp. 723–744.

Denise V. Powers and James H. Cox, "Echoes from the Past: The Relationship between Satisfaction with Economic Reforms and Voting Behavior in Poland," *American Political Science Review* 91:3 (August 1997), pp. 617–633.

October 7: Parties

Required:

Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Organizational Strategies of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, 1945–1989," *East European Politics and Societies* 15:2 (March 2001), pp. 421–453.

Herbert Kitschelt, "The Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies. Theoretical Propositions," *Party Politics* 1:4 (October 1995), pp. 447–472.

Mikhail G. Filippov, Peter C. Ordeshook and Olga V. Shvetsova, "Party Fragmentation and Presidential Elections in Post-Communist Democracies," *Constitutional Political Economy* 10:1 (March 1999), pp. 3–26

Robert G. Moser, "Electoral Systems and the Number of Parties in Post-Communist States," *World Politics* 51:3 (April 1999), pp. 359–84.

Henry Hale, "Why Not Parties? Supply and Demand on Russia's Electoral Market," *Comparative Politics* 27:2 (January 2005), pp. 147–166.

Recommended:

Anna Grzymala-Busse, *Redeeming the Communist Past*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Marek Kaminski, "Do Parties Benefit from Electoral Manipulation? Electoral Laws and Heresthetics in Poland, 1989–1993," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 14:3 (July 2002), pp. 325–59.

Herbert Kitschelt, Zdenka Mansfeldova, Radoslaw Markowski, and Gábor Tóka, *Post-Communist Party Systems*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1998.

Kelly M. McMann, "The Personal Risks of Party Development," in *Dilemmas of Transition in Post-Soviet Countries*, J. C. Moses, ed., Burnham Publishers, 2002, pp. 163–186.

Arthur H. Miller, Gwyz Erb, William M. Reisinger, and Vicki L. Hesli, "Emerging Party Systems in Post-Soviet Societies: Fact or Fiction?" *Journal of Politics* 62:2 (May 2000), pp. 455–90.

Bryon Moraski, "Mandating Party Development in the Russian Federation: Effects of the 2001 Party Law," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties* 16:3 (October 2006), pp. 199–219.

Hubert Tworzecki, *Learning to Choose: Electoral Politics in East-Central Europe*, Stanford University Press, 2003.

October 14: Economic Reform

Required:

Stanley Fischer and Alan Gelb, "The Process of Socialist Economic Transformation," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5:4 (Autumn 1991), pp. 91–105.

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, *Without a Map*, MIT Press, 2000.

- Chapter 1, "The Politics of Economic Reform in Russia," pp. 1–20.
- Chapter 2, "Creating Private Property," pp. 21–28.

Jan Svejnar, "Transition Economies: Performance and Challenges." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 16:1 (Winter 2002), pp. 3–28.

J. David Brown, John S. Earle, and Scott Gehlbach, "Helping Hand or Grabbing Hand? State Bureaucracy and Privatization Effectiveness," *American Political Science Review*, 103(2) (May 2009), pp. 264–283.

Irina Denisova, Markus Eller, Timothy Frye, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya, "Who Wants to Revise Privatization? The Complementarity of Market Skills and Institutions," *American Political Science Review*, 103(2) (May 2009), pp. 284–304.

Recommended:

Rawi Abdelal, *National Purpose in the World Economy: Post-Soviet States in Comparative Perspective*, Cornell University Press, 2001.

Hilary Appel, *A New Capitalist Order*, Pittsburgh University Press, 2004.

Timothy Frye, *Brokers and Bureaucrats: Building Market Institutions in Russia*, University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Post-Communist Transitions," *World Politics* 50:2 (January 1998), pp. 203–234.

Yoshiko M. Herrera, "Russian Economic Reform, 1991-1998," in *Challenges To Democratic Transition In Russia*, Z. Barany and R. Moser, eds., Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 135–173.

Caroline Humphrey, *The Unmaking of Soviet Life: Everyday Economies After Socialism*, Cornell University Press, 2002.

Gerard Roland, "The Political Economy of Transition," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 16:1 (Winter 2002), pp. 29–50.

Lucan A. Way, "The Dilemmas of Reform in Weak States: The Case of Post-Soviet Fiscal Decentralization," *Politics & Society* 30:4 (December 2002), pp. 579–598.

David M. Woodruff, "Rules for Followers: Institutional Theory and the New Politics of Economic Backwardness in Russia," *Politics & Society* 28:4 (December 2000), pp. 437–482.

October 21: Corruption and Organized Crime

Required:

Rasma Karklins, *The System Made Me Do It: Corruption in Post-Communist Societies*, M. E. Sharpe, 2005.

- Chapter 2, "The Typology of Post-Communist Corruption," pp. 19–38.

Alena Ledeneva, *How Russia Really Works: The Informal Practices That Shaped Post-Soviet Politics And Business*, Cornell University Press, 2006.

- Chapter 1, "Why Are Informal Practices Still Prevalent in Russia?" pp. 10–27.
- Chapter 2, "Chernyi Piar: Manipulative Campaigning and the Workings of Russian Democracy," pp. 28–57.

Andrew Wilson, *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World*, Yale University Press, 2005.

- Chapter 1, "Active Measures': A Russian Tradition," pp. 1–32.
- Chapter 4, "Administrative Resources'," pp. 73–88.

Vadim Volkov, "Violent Entrepreneurship in Post-Communist Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 51:5 (July 1999), pp. 741–754.

Recommended:

Andrew Barnes, "Comparative Theft: Context and Choice in the Hungarian, Czech, and Russian Transformations," *East European Politics and Societies* 17:3 (August 2003), pp. 533–565.

Jozsef Borocz, "Informality Rules," *East European Politics and Societies*, 14:2 (March 2000), pp. 348–80.

Keith Darden, "Blackmail as a Tool of State Domination: Ukraine under Kuchma," *East European Constitutional Review* 10:2/3 (Spring/Summer 2001).

Tanya Frisby, "The Rise of Organized Crime in Russia: Its Roots and Social Significance," *Europe-Asia Studies* 50:1 (January 1998), pp. 27–49.

Joel S. Hellman, Geraint Jones, and Daniel Kaufmann, "Seize the State, Seize the Day': State Capture, Corruption, and Influence in Transition," The World Bank and European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, Policy Research Working Paper No. 2444 (2000).

Vladimir Shlapentokh, "Russia's Acquiescence to Corruption Makes the State Machine Inept," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 36:2 (June 2003), pp. 151–61.

Yan Sun, "Reform, State, and Corruption: Is Corruption Less Destructive in China than in Russia?" *Comparative Politics* 32:1 (October 1999), pp. 1–20.

Federico Varese, "Is Sicily the Future of Russia? Private Protection and the Rise of the Russian Mafia," *Archives of European Sociology* 35 (November 1994), pp. 224–258.

Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs*, Cornell UP, 2002.

October 28: Remaking the State

Required:

Anna Grzymala-Busse and Pauline Jones Luong, "Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-Communism," *Politics & Society* 30:4 (December 2002), pp. 529–554.

Gerald M. Easter, "Politics of Revenue Extraction in Post-Communist States: Poland and Russia Compared," *Politics & Society* 30:4 (December 2002), pp. 599–627.

Scott Gehlbach, *Representation Through Taxation: Revenue, Politics, and Development in Postcommunist States*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Chapter 1, "Taxes, Representation, and Economic Development in the Russian Heartland," pp. 1–19.
- Chapter 2, "The Creation of Tax Systems," pp. 20–59.
- Chapter 5, "Revenue Traps," pp. 127–154.

Lucan A. Way, "Authoritarian State-Building and the Source of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave," *World Politics* 57:2 (January 2005), pp. 231–61.

Recommended:

Kathleen Collins, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," *World Politics* 56:2 (January 2004), pp. 224–261.

Venelin I. Ganey, *Preying on the State: The Transformation of Bulgaria after 1989*, Cornell University Press, 2007.

Scott Gehlbach, "What is a Big Bureaucracy? Reflections on *Rebuilding Leviathan* and *Runaway State-Building*," *Czech Sociological Review* 44:6 (December 2008), pp. 1189–1197.

Anna Grzymala-Busse, *Rebuilding Leviathan*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Stephen Hanson, "The Uncertain Future of Russia's Weak State Authoritarianism," *East European Politics and Societies* 21:1 (February 2007), pp. 67–81

Yoshiko Herrera, "The 2002 Russian Census in Comparative Perspective: Institutional Reform at Goskomstat," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 20:4 (October-December 2004), pp. 1–32.

Conor O'Dywer, *Runaway State-Building: Patronage Politics and Democratic Development*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Katherine Verdery. *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next*, Princeton University Press, 1996.

- Chapter 8, "A Transition from Socialism to Feudalism? Thoughts on the Postsocialist State," pp. 204–228.

Lucan A. Way, "Weak States and Pluralism: The Case of Moldova," *East European Politics And Societies* 17:3 (August 2003), pp. 454–482.

November 4: Rule of Law

Required:

Hilary Appel, "Anti-Communist Justice and Founding the Post-Communist Order: Lustration and Restitution in Central Europe," *East European Politics and Societies* 19:3 (Fall 2005), pp. 379–405.

Marek M. Kaminski and Monika Nalepa, "Judging Transitional Justice: A New Criterion for Evaluating Truth Revelation Procedures," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50:3 (June 2006), pp. 383–408.

Kathryn Hendley, "Enforcing Judgments in Russian Economic Courts," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 20:1 (January-March 2004), pp. 46–82.

Maria Popova, "Watchdogs or Attack Dogs? The Role of the Russian Courts and the Central Election Commission in the Resolution of Electoral Disputes," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 58:3 (May 2006), pp. 391–414.

Bruno Schönfelder, "Judicial Independence in Bulgaria: A Tale of Splendour and Misery," *Europe-Asia Studies* 57:1 (January 2005), pp. 61-92.

Recommended:

Ilian G. Cashu and Mitchell Orenstein, "The Pensioners' Court Campaign: Making Law Matter in Russia," *East European Constitutional Review* 10:4 (Fall 2001).

Herman M. Schwartz, *The Struggle for Constitutional Justice in Post-Communist Europe*, University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Kathryn Hendley, "Legal Development in Post-Soviet Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 13:3 (July-September 1997), pp. 228–251.

Kathryn Hendley, "'Demand' for Law in Russia - A Mixed Picture," *East European Constitutional Review* 10:4 (Fall 2001), pp. 73–78.

Kathryn Hendley, "Suing the State in Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 18:2 (April-June 2002), pp. 148-181.

Vladimir Pastukhov, "Law under Administrative Pressure in Post-Soviet Russia," *East European Constitutional Review* 11:3 (Summer 2002), pp. 66-74.

November 11: Civil Society

Required:

Marc Howard, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 13:1 (January 2002), pp. 157-169.

James L. Gibson, "Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia's Democratic Transition," *American Journal of Political Science* 45:1 (January 2001), pp. 51-68.

Debra Javeline, "The Role of Blame in Collective Action: Evidence from Russia," *American Political Science Review* 97:1 (February 2003), pp. 107-121.

Sarah Henderson, "Selling Civil Society: Western Aid and the Nongovernmental Organization Sector in Russia," *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (March 2002), pp. 136-167.

Jan Kubik, "How to Study Civil Society: The State of the Art and What to Do Next," *East European Politics and Societies* 19:1 (February 2005), pp. 105-120.

Recommended:

Mark Beissinger, "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics* 5:2 (June 2007), pp. 259-276.

Giuseppe Di Palma, "Legitimation from the Top to Civil Society: Politico-Cultural Change in Eastern Europe," *World Politics* 44:1 (October 1991), pp. 49-81.

Grzegorz Ekiert, *State Against Society*, Princeton University Press, 1996.

Paul Kubicek, "Organized Labor in Postcommunist States: Will the Western Sun Set on It, Too?" *Comparative Politics* 32:1 (October 1999), pp. 83-102.

William M. Reisinger, Arthur H. Miller, and Vicki L. Hesli, "Public Behavior and Political Change in Post-Soviet States," *Journal of Politics* 57:4 (November 1995), pp. 941-970.

November 18: The European Union, International Relations, and Transnational Movements

Required:

Milada Vachudova, *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, & Integration After Communism*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

- Introduction, pp. 1-10
- Chapter 3, “The Passive Leverage of the European Union,” pp. 63–80.
- Chapter 5, “The Active Leverage of the European Union,” pp. 105–138.

Judith Kelley, “International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions,” *International Organization* 58:3 (Summer 2004), pp. 425–457.

Anna Grzymala-Busse and Abby Innes, “Great Expectations: The EU and Domestic Political Competition in East Central Europe,” *East European Politics and Societies* 17:1 (February 2003), pp. 64-73.

Matthew Evangelista, “The Paradox of State Strength: Transnational Relations, Domestic Structures, and Security Policy in Russia and the Soviet Union,” *International Organization* 49:1 (Winter 1995), pp. 1–38.

Recommended:

Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security* 25:3 (Winter 2000/2001), pp. 5–53.

Wade Jacoby, *The Enlargement of The European Union and NATO*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Jeffrey Kopstein and David Reilly, “Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World,” *World Politics* 53:1 (October 2000), pp. 1–37.

Jon Pevehouse, “Democracy from the Outside In? International Organizations and Democratization,” *International Organization* 56:3 (August 2002), pp. 515–549.

Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War,” *International Organization* 48:2 (Spring 1994), pp. 185–214.

Frank Schimmelfennig, “The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union,” *International Organization* 55:1 (Winter 2001), pp. 47-80.

Lucan A. Way and Steven Levitsky, “Linkage, Leverage, and the Post-Communist Divide,” *East European Politics and Societies* 21:1 (February 2007), pp. 48–66.

Erika Weinthal, "Beyond the State: Transnational Actors, NGOs, and Environmental Protection in Central Asia," in *The Transformation of Central Asia: States and Societies from Soviet Rule to Independence*, P. Jones Luong, ed., Cornell University Press, 2003, pp. 246-270.

November 25: Discussion of Research Papers

No assigned readings.

December 2: Evaluating the Postcommunist Transition

Required:

Charles King, "Transition, Comparison, and the End of 'Eastern Europe'," *World Politics*, 53:1 (October 2000), pp. 143-172.

Janos Kornai, "The Great Transformation of Central Eastern Europe," *Economics of Transition*, 14:2 (April 2006), pp. 207-244.

Sergei Guriev and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya, "(Un)Happiness in Transition," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 23:2 (Spring 2009), pp. 143-168.

December 9: Paper Presentations

No assigned readings.

Final paper due in my mailbox in North Hall and by email, December 16, 8 am.