

Professor Milada Anna Vachudova
Office Hours:
11-12:15 Thursdays 12:15-2:15pm and by appointment
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Fall Semester 2017
GEC 1009, TR

Political Science 438
UNDIVIDED EUROPE
DEMOCRATIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFTER COMMUNISM

This course explores the collapse of communist rule in 1989, and the reaction of international institutions to the challenges of democratization, economic transition, ethnic conflict and European integration in an undivided Europe. As background, we will study the condition of states, nations and ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe before and during the Second World War. We will also study the nature of communist rule in Eastern Europe, of Soviet hegemony in the communist bloc, and of European integration in Western Europe during the Cold War. So prepared, we will explore the tremendous changes that have taken place in Europe since 1989. The post-communist states of Eastern Europe have embarked on sweeping domestic reforms aiming to create liberal democratic states with functioning market economies. The international institutions of Western Europe have struggled to adapt and to respond to the new challenges of an undivided Europe, and to support these reforms. Most dramatically, the European Union now has many new members, candidates and proto-candidates from formerly communist lands. EU enlargement is probably the most successful democracy promotion program ever implemented by an international actor. Most tragically, the building of a peaceful, democratic and prosperous Europe has been severely marred by ethnic cleansing and war in the former Yugoslavia. The two overarching questions at hand are: (1) How can we explain the great variation in the nature of political change in East European states after 1989?; and (2) What role have international institutions and other international actors played in shaping the course of this change? More broadly, what determines the utility of international organizations or other international actors in preventing conflict and promoting democratization and economic revitalization?

Books

Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*.
Vintage Books, Random House, 2000.

Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. Penguin Books, 1997.

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

Recommended

Joseph Rothschild and Nancy M. Wingfield, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II*. Oxford University Press, 2008.

Readings

Some readings for the course will be available through the course website on Sakai or sent out by email. There may be changes in the assigned readings listed on this syllabus. These will be announced in class and via email. You are responsible for checking your email regularly. Please read the first reading listed by the first Tuesday course.

Course Requirements

1. Homework, attendance and participation in class discussions: 20%
2. Quiz: 10%
3. Midterm: 20%
4. Final Paper: 25%
5. Final Exam: 25%

Attendance: You are required to do the reading and to come to class with ideas, insights and questions for the group. The success of the class depends upon participation, and therefore your presence in class is crucial. I will pass around an attendance sheet in class. If you have three or fewer absences, it will not impact your grade. If you have more than three absences, your grade will be affected unless you provide written documentation of an illness, family emergency or other circumstance.

Final Papers: Students will choose one of four questions to answer. There will be a handout on how to write and document the papers. Papers will make use of relevant class readings while incorporating original research. Late papers will be marked down one letter grade /day.

Questions: If you have substantive questions about the course, please see me during office hours. Please email me at vachudov@email.unc.edu to set up appointments in the case that you cannot come to office hours. Please do come see me if you have any concerns about your performance in the course; do not wait until the last weeks of class to do this! Also, please do come to see me if you have any suggestions for how to improve the course.

Original Work + Honor Code: It is expected that any written work turned in for this class represents original work not previously or simultaneously handed in for credit in another course. All work for this course falls under the University's Honor Code.

Extra credit

During the semester the Center for Slavic, Eurasian, and East European Studies (CSEES) and the Center for European Studies (CES) will sponsor a number of Europe-related events that you are invited to attend. For extra credit, you may submit a one-page response paper (hard copy), due at the next class meeting following the event. Your submission should comprise two parts: your name, the date, the name of the speaker or event, title of the presentation(s), and the date, time, and venue at which it took place, and a 400 to 500-word short essay. The short essay should be typed in a 12-point font, double-spaced, with standard margins. It should discuss the speaker's purpose, main argument, the audience's response, and anything else you believe is essential to reporting on the event to others. Your final sentence should sum up the presentation and your reaction to it. You may submit up to three papers during the semester.

<http://csees.unc.edu/events/>

<http://europe.unc.edu>

COURSE SCHEDULE

Weeks 1:

Introduction

Thursday, August 24

Week 2:

Interwar Europe 1918-1939

Tuesday, August 29

No class Thursday, August 31 – Watch CNN Cold War Episode 1

Mazower, Chapter Two, “Empires, Nations, Minorities,” pp. 41-75.

Rothschild + Wingfield, Chapter One, “The Interwar Background,” pp. 1-22.

Current events reading:

Timothy Garton Ash, “Things Fall Apart, Can Europe’s Centre Hold?”

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/21/berlin-christmas-market-attack-angela-merkel-germany-terror-liberal-europe>

Homework:

Turn in questions on CNN Cold War Episode 1 Comrades on Tuesday, September 5.

Week 3: World War Two and Its Aftermath

Tuesday September 5 + Thursday September 7

Mazower, Chapter Five, “Hitler’s New Order, 1938-45,” pp. 138-182.

Chapter Six, “Blueprints for the Golden Age,” pp. 182-211.

Rothschild + Wingfield, Chapter Two, “World War II,” pp. 23-74.

Weeks 4 + 5: Europe During the Cold War

Tuesday September 12 + Thursday September 14

Tuesday September 19 + Thursday September 21

Mazower, Chapter Eight, “Building People’s Democracy,” pp. 250-285.

Rothschild + Wingfield, Chapter Three, “The Communists Come to Power,” pp. 75-124
Skim Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, Chapter 1, “Reconstruction, Reconciliation and Integration, 1945-1957;” and Chapter 2, ““Uncertain Terrain: 1958-1972.”

Peter M.R. Stirk (1996). “The Reconstruction of Europe under Superpower Hegemony,” Chapter 4 in Stirk, *A History of European Integration Since 1914*. pp. 82-118.

Homework:

Watch CNN Cold War Episode 2 Iron Curtain and Episode 7 After Stalin
Turn in questions on Thursday September 21.

Week 6: Protest and Revolution in Eastern Europe

Tuesday September 26 + Thursday September 28

Mazower, Chapter Eleven: “Sharks + Dolphins: The Collapse of Communism,” pp. 367-401.

Rothschild + Wingfield, Chapter 7, “The Various Endgames,” pp. 227-263.

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, Chapter 4, “From European Community to European Union, 1985-1993”

QUIZ on Thursday September 28

Weeks 7 + 8: The Challenges of Political and Economic Transition

Tuesday October 3 + Thursday October 5

Tuesday October 10 + Thursday, October 12

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapter 1 + 2.

Grzegorz Ekiert, Jan Kubik and Milada Anna Vachudova (2007). "Democracy in the Postcommunist World," *East European Politics and Societies*, 21, 1 (Winter), pp. 7-30.

Adam Michnik (2000). "Independence Reborn and the Demons of the Velvet Revolution," in *Between Past and Future: The Revolutions of 1989 and Their Aftermath*. Central European University Press, pp. 81-99.

Week 9 + 10: Institutions in the New Europe

Tuesday October 17

No class Thursday October 19 – Spring Break

Tuesday October 24 + Thursday October 26

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapter 3 + 4.

Robert O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann (1993). “Introduction” and “Conclusion: Structure, Strategy, and Institutional Roles,” in *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-1991*. Harvard University Press, pp. 1-22, and 381-406.

Peter Stirk (1996). “The New European Architecture,” Chapter Eight in Stirk, *A History of European Integration Since 1914*. Pinter Press, pp. 244-285.

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union*, Chapter 5, “Enlargement, 1994-2005.”

MIDTERM Thursday October 26

Week 11: Europe’s Security Institutions:

The Council of Europe, the OSCE and Regional Initiatives

Tuesday October 31 + Thursday November 2

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapter 5

Janusz Bugajski (1993). “The Fate of Minorities in Eastern Europe,” *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 4, No. 4 (October), pp. 85-99.

Konrad Huber, “The CSCE and Ethnic Conflict in the East,” *RFE/RL Research Report*, Vol. 2, No. 31 (30 July 1993), pp. 30-36; and “The CSCE’s New Role in the East: Conflict Prevention,” *RFE/RL Research Report*, Vol. 3, No. 31 (12 August 1994), pp. 23-30.

The OSCE at:

<http://www.osce.org/general/>

The Council of Europe at:

<http://www.coe.int/portalT.asp>

Week 12: War in the Former Yugoslavia
Tuesday November 7 + Thursday November 9

Laura Silber and Allan Litte, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*.

Misha Glenny, "The Balkan Vortex: Nationalism, war and NATO, 1989-99," in Glenny, *The Balkans 1804-1999* (London: Granta Books, 1999), pp. 634-662.

Timothy Garton Ash, "Kosovo: Was it Worth It?" *The New York Review of Books*, September 21, 2000.

Week 13 + 14: Europe's Security Institutions: The Atlantic Alliance

Tuesday November 14 + Thursday November 16

Tuesday November 21

No class Thursday November 23 -- Thanksgiving

Ronald D. Asmus (2002). *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era*. Columbia University Press (selected chapters).

Anthony Forster and William Wallace (2001/2002). "What is NATO for?" *Survival* 43, 4 (Winter), pp. 107-122.

Václav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, Address at the Conference "Europe's New Democracies: Leadership and Responsibility," Bratislava, May 11, 2001.

All speeches at: http://old.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/index_uk.html

Petr Lunak (2001). "Reassessing the Cold War alliances," *NATO Review*, web edition, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Winter), pp. 31-33. <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2001/0104-09.htm>

*Dan Reiter (2001). "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy," *International Security* 25, 4 (Spring), pp. 41-67.

*Rachel Epstein (2005). "NATO Enlargement and the Spread of Democracy: Evidence and Expectations," *Security Studies* 14, 1: pp. 63-105.

The Atlantic Alliance at:

<http://www.nato.int/welcome/home.htm>

LONG PAPERS DUE November 16

Weeks 15: The Enlargement of the European Union

Tuesday November 28 + Thursday November 30

Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 + 8.

Timothy Garton Ash (1998). "Europe's Endangered Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* 77, 2 (March/April): pp. 51-65.

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova (2003). "National Interests, State Power and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies*

European Commission enlargement website:

http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/index_en.htm

European Parliament enlargement website:

http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/default_noscript_en.htm

Week 16: Conclusion + Review

Tuesday December 5

Final: Thursday, December 14 at 12pm