

CPO 6736  
Spring 2022  
216 Anderson (CBD 0224)  
F 8:30-11:30

Michael Bernhard  
Office Hours: M 3:30-5:00  
via Zoom  
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## **CPO 6736: POSTCOMMUNIST POLITICS**

(Class #29785, Section 67CP)

**AUDIENCE:** Open to all graduate students. Prerequisites: CPO6091 recommended.

**COURSE OBJECTIVES:** This course will explore the substantive political problems posed by the end of communism in Eastern and Central Europe and its replacement by new forms of rule. While the course fulfills the area requirement for the Ph.D. in comparative politics, the substance of the course covers many important problems faced by the host of states globally which have experienced regime change in the last several decades. These include – regime change, economic transformation, the new authoritarianism, ethnopolitics, the resource curse, the politics of memory, legacies of the past, party system development, populism, democratic backsliding, and the politics of gender.

### **STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES**

This is a reading and discussion course with an independent research component. For the former, you need to attend all sessions, arrive on time, and be prepared. We will discuss and evaluate the ideas and concepts presented in the weekly readings. Prior to each session, each student should read and spend time critically thinking about all of the readings for the week. You need to move beyond the undergraduate habit of passing your eyes over the words and declaring an assignment completed. ***This means that you should be able to identify the author's research question(s), the strategy devised for answering it, the method(s) and data used to answer it, as well as assess the validity of the results presented.***

Student participation: Informed and civil participation is an integral part of the seminar's strategy for learning. Discussion will be structured by the posing of questions by the instructor. Guessing, uninformed answers, and speculation will not help you in my assessment of your mastery of the material assigned and will be apparent to those who are prepared around the table. I expect all enrolled to participate. For those of you who are shy or feel insecure, or for who English is not a first language, this will be more difficult. You can overcome such disadvantages by thorough preparation and turn a potential weakness into a new aptitude.

Policy on attendance: Any absence requires an explanation in advance. An unexcused absence will lead to a participation score of zero for that week and a proportional deduction from the attendance component of your grade.

Research Paper: The research paper involves several stages, all of which count in your evaluation. The first assignment is a paper proposal due in week 5. It should include a statement of your research question, a justification for why it is a significant question (worth answering), and how you intend to answer it. That means stating your hypothesis or theory, the method by which you will weigh evidence to answer it, and where you will find that evidence. Each point should be made briefly, no more than a few paragraphs. It should also include a preliminary bibliography of relevant work and source material (at least a dozen items).

A first draft of your paper is due in week 12. It should include all completed sections. Where you are still working on sections, you should [in brackets] explain succinctly what you will do in that section in terms of your argument. This will allow me to give you feedback to help you improve your final draft. This is also in preparation for the presentation of your paper to the rest of the class in week 15. The final paper is due on April 27. Before you ask, the standard size for a political science article or book chapter is 8000-12000 words, including notes and bibliography.

**PROCEDURES FOR EVALUATION:** Student performance will be assessed on the basis of attendance and participation in the seminar discussion, and the research paper. These responsibilities will be weighted in the following manner:

Research Paper .....	70%
(Prospectus.....)	5%
(Presentation..)	5%
(Draft.....)	10%
(Final.....)	50%
Attendance .....	10%
Participation .....	20%

<u>Grading Scale</u>	(Grade Point Equivalent)
A = 93 or above	4.00
A- = 90-92	3.67
B+ = 87-89	3.33
B = 83-86	3.00
B- = 80-82	2.67
C+ = 77-79	2.33
C = 73-76	2.00
C- = 70-72	1.67
D+ = 67-69	1.33
D = 63-66	1.00
D- = 60-62	0.67
E = 59 or below	0.00

**POLICY ON PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES:** Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. It will provide documentation to the student who must then

provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Anyone with a disability should feel free to see me during office hours to make the necessary arrangements.

**POLICY ON CHEATING AND PLAGIARISM:** All students should observe the University of Florida's standards of academic honesty. In the event that a student is found cheating or plagiarizing, he/she will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs and to the Department Chair and Graduate Coordinator for possible dismissal from the program. Acts of Plagiarism include:

- Turning in a paper or another assignment that was written by someone else (i.e., by another student, by a research service, or downloaded off the Internet);
- Copying, verbatim, a sentence or paragraph of text from the work of another author without properly acknowledging the source through a commonly accepted citation style and using quotation marks;
- Paraphrasing (i.e., restating in your own words) text written by someone else without citing that author;
- Using a unique idea or concept, which you discovered in a specific reading, without citing that work.

**POLICY ON LATE ASSIGNMENTS:** Vagaries of life and scheduling sometimes make the handing in of assignments on time difficult. If students approach the instructor ahead of time and provide a good reason, accommodations may be possible. Such requests should be made prior to the deadline on the assignment. Retroactive accommodation will only be granted in the rarest and direst of cases.

**READINGS:** Several books that you will read in full are available for purchase at the bookstore or at other on-line outlets. Some of these books should be available in full or ARES, so check the page for what is available in considering what you want to buy. All other readings should be available through the UF libraries either electronically through the normal databases or on reserve. Consult the ARES course page for specifics.

## DETAILED COURSE OUTLINE

Session 1: Introduction (January 7)

Session 2: Communism (January 14)

- Andrew Janos. 1996. "What Was Communism: A Retrospective in Comparative Analysis," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29(1): 1-24.
- Katherine Verdery. 1996. "What Was Socialism, and Why Did it Fall?" in *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* (Princeton, Princeton University Press): 19-38.
- Michael Bernhard and Jeffrey Kopstein. "Revolutionary Change and the Prospects for Democracy: Appraising the Impact of Leninist Violence on Postcommunist Regime Outcomes." (Manuscript).
- Kenneth Jowitt. 1992. "The Leninist Phenomenon," in *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 1-49.

- Kenneth Jowitt. 1992. "Neotraditionalism," in *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (Berkeley, University of California Press): 121-158.

Session 3: Regime Change (January 21)

- Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly. 2000. "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World." *World Politics*, 53 (1): 1-37.
- Valerie Bunce. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," *World Politics* 55(2): 167-92.
- Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62 (1): 43–86.
- Mark Beissinger. 2007. "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(2): 259-76. doi:10.1017/S1537592707070776.
- Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Precommunist Schooling and Postcommunist Trajectories," *World Politics* 59(1): 83-115.

Session 4: Stability (January 28)

- Steven Saxonberg. 2013. *Transitions and Non-Transitions from Communism. Regime Survival in China, Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Session 5: Neoauthoritarianism (February 4)

- Henry E. Hale. 2015. *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

**[Paper Prospectus due]**

Session 6: Nationalism (February 11)

- Lenka Bustikova. 2020. *Extreme Reactions: Radical Right Mobilization in Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Session 7: Economic Transformation (February 18)

- Hilary Appel and Mitchell A. Orenstein. 2018. *From Triumph to Crisis: Neoliberal Economic Reform in Postcommunist Countries*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Session 8: Resource Politics (February 25)

- Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal. 2010. *Oil Is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Soviet Successor States* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Session 9: Memory (March 4)

## Introduction to Comparative Analysis, Fall 2014

- Jelena Subotic. 2019. *Yellow Star, Red Star. Holocaust Remembrance After Communism*. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press).

### Session 10: Legacies (March 11)

- Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua Tucker. 2017. *Communism's Shadow: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Political Attitudes*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press).

### Session 11: Party Systems (March 18)

- Tim Haughton and Kevin Deegan-Krause. 2020. *The New Party Challenge: Changing Cycles of Party Birth and Death in Central Europe and Beyond*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press).

### Session 12: Political Culture (March 25)

- Gulnaz Sharafutdinova. 2020. *The Red Mirror: Putin's Leadership and Russia's Insecure Identity*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press).

### **[First Draft of research paper due]**

### Session 13: Democratic Backsliding (April 1)

- Andrea Pirro. and Ben Stanley. 2021 "Forging, Bending, and Breaking: Enacting the 'Illiberal Playbook' in Hungary and Poland." *Perspectives on Politics* (On-line First): 1–16.
- Stephen Hanson and Jeffrey Kopstein. 2021. "Understanding the Global Patrimonial Wave." *Perspectives on Politics* (On-line First): 1–13.
- Elisabeth Bakke and Nick Sitter. 2020. "The EU's Enfants Terribles: Democratic Backsliding in Central Europe since 2010." *Perspectives on Politics* (On-line First): 1–16.
- Lenka Buštíková and Petra Guasti. 2019. "The State as a Firm: Understanding the Autocratic Roots of Technocratic Populism." *East European Politics and Societies* 33(2): 302-30.
- Michael Bernhard. 2020. "What Do We Know about Civil Society and Regime Change Thirty Years after 1989?" *East European Politics* 36(3): 341-362.
- Milada Anna Vachudova. 2020. "Ethnopolitism and Democratic Backsliding in Central Europe," *East European Politics* 36(3) :318-340.

### Session 14: Gender (April 8)

- Agnieszka Graff and Elzbieta Korolczuk. 2022. *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Moment*. (London, Routledge).

### Session 15: Research Presentations (April 15)

Finals Week: Paper due April 27.