

Political Science 342
East European Politics

Winter 2007

Zvi Gitelman

1) Required readings are fairly extensive. They are in a coursepack available at Accucopy on William Street. In addition, one book is recommended for purchase (see syllabus).

2) Requirements include a mid-term examination; a final examination; and a term paper. It may be either a research paper on a topic of your choosing, **or** two shorter essays described below. The mid-term examination will be given on Thursday, February 22. Please bring a "blue book." The research paper should be about 15 pages; each essay, should you choose that option, should be about 8 pages. All papers are due on Thursday, April 5.

The final examination is scheduled for Tuesday, April 24, 1:30-3:30 p.m.

The research paper can be focused on any country or countries, and any time period, which we deal with in class. If you wish to write such a paper, you are advised to discuss its format and substance with me. My office is 7759 Haven Hall. My phone number is 763-4393. Office hours are Tuesdays, 4:15-6:00 and by appointment. My e-mail address is zvigitel@umich.edu.

3) The two shorter essays, both due on Thursday, April 5, shall be **analyses** of the following groups of books: A) V.I. Lenin, What is to be Done and State and Revolution (any editions); Czeslaw Milosz, The Captive Mind (NY: Vintage, 1955); Slawomir Mrozek, The Elephant (NY: Grove Press, 1962); Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (NY: Meridian, 1958);

B) Ivo Andric, The Bridge on the Drina (NY: Signet, 1967); Danilo Kisch, A Tomb for Boris Davidovich (Penguin, 1980); Gregor von Rezzori, Memoirs of an Anti-Semite (Penguin, 1981); Slavenka Drakulic, Café Europa (NY: Penguin, 1999); Dubravka Ugresic, A Culture of Lies (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

4) The final examination will count for about 35 percent of your final grade; the mid-term and paper(s) will account for about 33 percent each.

Political Science 342
Eastern Europe: Revolution, Reaction, Reform and Reconstitution

Winter 2007

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Recommended for Purchase:

Joseph A. Rothschild and Nancy Wingfield, Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War Two (New York: Oxford University Press, third edition, 2000)

Required Readings

I. Political Culture

1. Ivan Volgyes, Politics in Eastern Europe, pp. 3-42.
2. R.J. Crampton, Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 1-210.
3. Joseph Held, "Notes to the Collapse of Hungarian Society Between the Two Wars," East European Quarterly II, 3 (September, 1968) pp. 303-313.

II. The Seizure of Power

1. Rothschild and Wingfield, Return to Diversity, chaps. 2 and 3.
2. Vasil Bilak, "The Lessons of February 1948 in Czechoslovakia," World Marxist Review Vol. 21, No. 2 (February, 1978) 50-63.

III. The Totalitarian System: a Mobilization Regime

1. Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy, 3-27.
2. Rothschild and Wingfield, Return to Diversity, ch. 4.
3. Heda Margolius-Kovaly, "From Auschwitz to Prague: A Memoir," Commentary Vol. 54, No. 6 (December, 1972). 47-53.
4. Czeslaw Milosz, The Captive Mind (NY: Vintage, 1955), 78-105 ("Alpha the Moralist") and 129-167 ("Gamma, the Slave of History").

IV. Dismantling the Totalitarian System

1. Rothschild and Wingfield, Return to Diversity, ch. 5.
2. Adam Wazyk, "Poem for Adults," and W. Godek and R. Turski, "Is This the Twilight of Marxism?" in Edmund Stillman, ed., Bitter Harvest: The Intellectual Revolt Behind the Iron Curtain.
3. Slawomir Mrozek, "Birthday" and "The Elephant," in Mrozek, The Elephant (NY: Grove Press, 1962), 11-20.

- V. Elites and Masses in Communist Eastern Europe
1. Rothschild and Wingfield, Return to Diversity, ch. 6.
 2. Aleksander Smolar, "The Rich and the Powerful," Krzysztof Czapanski, "Privileges;" Christopher Cviic, "The Church," in Abraham Brumberg, ed., Poland: Genesis of Revolution, 42-53; 92-108; 156-163.
 3. Ivan Volgyes, Politics in Eastern Europe, Ch. 10.
 4. Roman Laba, "Worker Roots of Solidarity," Problems of Communism Vol. 35, No. 4, (July-August 1986), 47-67.
 5. Zdenek Mlynar, "Our Political System and the Division of Power," in Robin Remington, ed., Winter in Prague, 42-47.
- VI. Ethnic and Social Groups
1. Robert King, Minorities Under Communism, 5-24, 146-219.
 2. Viktor Meier, "Yugoslavia's National Question," and Mark Baskin, "Crisis in Kosovo," in Problems of Communism Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (March-April, 1983). 47-60, 61-74.
 3. Essays by Kolakowski, Wierzbicki, and Michnik, in Brumberg, ed., Poland 54-67, 199-218.
- VII. Public Opinion and Dissent
1. Zvi Gitelman, "Public Opinion in Communist Political Systems," in Walter Connor and Zvi Gitelman, eds., Public Opinion in European Communist Systems (Praeger, 1977) 1-33.
 2. Zvi Gitelman, "Public Opinion in Czechoslovakia," in *ibid.*, 83-103.
 3. Tony Judt, "The Dilemmas of Dissidence: The Politics of Opposition in East-Central Europe," East European Politics and Societies Vol.2, No. 2 (Spring 1988), 185-240.
- VIII. Changing the Relationship of Rulers and Ruled: Political and Economic Reform in Eastern Europe
1. Robin Remington, Winter in Prague, 53-55, 63-156.
 2. Alex Pravda, "Poland 1980: From Premature Consumerism to Labour Solidarity," Soviet Studies XXXIV, 2 (April 1982) 167-199.
 3. Gale Stokes, The Walls Came Tumbling Down (Oxford University Press, 1993) chs. 3 and 4 (pps. 78-130).
 4. Andrzej Korbonski, "The Politics of Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe: The Last Thirty Years," Soviet Studies, Vol. XLI, No. 1 (January 1989), 1-19.
 5. Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," in William Brenton and Alan Rinzler, eds., Without Force or Lies, (Mercury House, 1990) 42-127.
- IX. The Fall of Communism in Eastern Europe
1. Stokes, The Walls Came Tumbling Down ch. 5 (pp. 131-167).
 2. Rothschild and Wingfield, Return to Diversity, ch. 7.

- X. The Tragedy of Yugoslavia
1. George Schopflin, "The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia," in John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, eds., The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation (London: Routledge, 1993), 172-203.
 2. Sabrina Ramet, Balkan Babel (Westview, 4th ed., 2002) chs. 10, 13 and 14 (pps. 222-240, 306-330, 337-361). (Bosnia and Kosovo)
- XI. Ethnicity and Politics in the Post-Communist Era
1. Janusz Bugajski, "The Fate of Minorities in Eastern Europe," Journal of Democracy Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1993) 85-99.
 2. Katherine Verdery, "Nationalism and National Sentiment in Post-Socialist Romania," Slavic Review, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Summer 1993), 179-203.
 3. Gale Stokes, From Stalinism to Pluralism, (Oxford, University Press, 2nd ed., 1996) 257-272.
 4. Abby Innes, Czechoslovakia: The Short Goodbye (Yale, 2001) 33-74.
- XII. The Emerging Politics of "Central Europe"—and the Rest
1. Rothschild and Wingfield, Return to Diversity, ch. 8.
 2. Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, The Consolidation of Democracy in East-Central Europe (Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp. 66-196, 208-244.
 3. Karen Smith, "Western Actors and the Promotion of Democracy," (31-57) and Jan Zielonka, "Conclusions: Foreign Made Democracy," (511-532) in Jan Zielonka and Alex Pravda, eds., Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe, V.2, (Oxford University Press, 2001)
 4. Herbert Kitschelt, "The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe," Politics and Society, March 1992, 7-50.
 5. Frances Millard, "Poland's Politics and the Travails of Transition after 2001: The 2005 Elections," Europe-Asia Studies, 58, 7 (November 2006), 1007-1017, 1022-1029.
- XIII. Will There Always be an "Eastern Europe?"
1. Peter Ulram and Fritz Plasser, "Political Culture in East-Central and Eastern Europe: Empirical Findings 1990-2001," in Detlef Pollack, et al, Political Culture in Post-Communist Europe (Ashgate, 2003) 31-46.
 2. East European Politics and Societies, 17, 1 ((Winter 2003), articles by Ekiert and Zielonka (7-23); Grzymala-Busse and Innes (64-73); Hankiss (99-106); Jowitt (119-124).