

GVPT 409B: Fall 2009
International Relations and World
Politics: Issues in Regional
Integration in Post-Communist Countries
TYD 1101, 9:30 – 10:45 AM

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This is an interdisciplinary research seminar. It focuses on three main themes: disintegration, management of disintegration, and regional integration as illustrated by the developments in former communist countries. The course traces the processes leading to the collapse of communism, transition away from communism, and reintegration into global structures through regional integration arrangements, such as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the EU Eastern Enlargement and EU-managed Balkan Stability Pact.

The course is divided into three parts: the first part focuses on disintegration of communism; the second part takes a closer look at the EU, the most successful integration project in modern history; and the third focuses on the links between transition from communism in Central Europe and Balkans, and developments in the EU.

Student Responsibility: Grades will be determined by two midterm quiz-exams (25% each), final examination (25%) and a final paper (20%) together with power point presentation/participation in class discussions (5%). Students are expected to follow current developments in international politics and economics of the European Union, Commonwealth of Independent States and other post-communist countries.

Organizational matters:

1. The topic of a final paper should be cleared with me by October 15.
2. The scheduled dates of power point should be strictly observed (three points from the maximum of five will be deducted if you do not show up). The final paper is due Tuesday, December 8 (up to 10 points out of 100 will be deducted each day for a paper submitted after the due date);
3. Inform me within the first two weeks of class if there is a conflict between the course schedule and any religious obligations, so that we can make alternative arrangements ahead of time;
4. Inform me within the first two weeks of class of any physical or learning disability, so that we can accommodate your needs;
5. All students must read and understand the university's policy regarding cheating. This is contained in the Academic Integrity code available at <http://www.shc.umd.edu>;
6. In case you experience difficulties keeping up with the academic demands of this course, you may take advantage of the campus Learning Assistance Service in 2201 Shoemaker, 314-7693. They can help you with time management, reading, note-taking, and exam preparation skills. They also offer a variety of one-credit courses, services for students with disabilities, and other academic support;
7. Your participation in the evaluation of courses through CourseEvalUM is a responsibility you hold as a student member of our academic community. Your feedback is confidential and important to the improvement of teaching and learning at the University as well as to the tenure and promotion process. CourseEvalUM will be open for you to complete your evaluations for fall semester courses between Tuesday, December 1 and Sunday, December 13. You can go directly to the website to complete your evaluations at www.courseevalum.umd.edu starting December 1.

By completing all of your evaluations each semester, you will have the privilege of accessing the summary reports for thousands of courses online at Testudo.

The following books are available for purchase:

Leonard, Dick. 2007. Guide to the European Union, The Economist Series [**hereafter DL**] ISBN: 1 86197 930-4

Nugent, Neil, ed., 2004. *European Union Enlargement*, Palgrave Macmillan [**hereafter NN**] ISBN 978-1-4-0391353-1

Stokes, Gale. 1993. *The Walls Came Tumbling Down. The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe*, Oxford University Press, New York. [**hereafter GS**]

Outline of Class Topics:

Part 1: Disintegration and Transition

September 1 -3

1. Introduction and Review of the Course Objectives. Evolution and viability of a communist system. Soviet “model of integration.” Institutional factors and disintegration: why communism is not reformable?

Recommended: Part I in Brzezinski, Zbigniew. 1989. *The Grand Failure. The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century*, Charles Scribner’s Sons,

September 8-10

2. Soviet Bloc: challenges from periphery. Eastern European Upheavals and the changing face of intellectual opposition.

Lit: GS, Chs. 1 and 4:

Recommended: Part III in Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Failure. The Birth and Death of Communism in the Twentieth Century*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1989.

September 15-17

3. Different Evolutionary Paths: The Gang of Four, Solidarity and Goulash Communism. Disintegration of Yugoslavia

Lit: GS, Ch. 2, 3 and 7:

Recommended: Part III in Brzezinski, op.cit. and Chapters 6 and 7 in Tismaneanu, Vladimir. 2003. *Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

September 22 - 24

4. Dissolution of the Soviet Union. Centrifugal Pressures within the Soviet Union; Gorbachev’s Reforms and their Impact. Glorious revolutions of 1989. Disintegration of Yugoslavia. Why so different from the demise of the Soviet Union?

Lit: GS, Ch. 5 and 6;

September 29-October 1

5. The Challenge of transformation. Strategic choices in polity and economics. Radical vs. gradual approach to economic reforms.

Lit: GS, Chs. 6 and 8; David S. Mason. 2003/04. “Fairness Matters: Equity and the Transition to Democracy.” *World Policy Journal*, Volume XX, No 4, Winter: available at a website <http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/articles/wpj03-4/mason.html>: you may also consult,

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

October 6-8

Quiz # 1 on October 8

6. Politics of partial reforms versus politics of radical reforms. First and Second Generation reforms and political developments

Lit: Kaminski, Antoni Z. and Bartłomiej Kaminski. 2001. "Governance in Transition: The Challenge of Subverting Corruption," Chapter 5 in *Economic Survey of Europe, No. 2, 2001*, United Nations, New York and Geneva; Hellman, Joel. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transition," *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2, (203-234) http://rru.worldbank.org/Documents/PapersLinks/Hellman_Winners_Take_All.pdf; *Transition Economies: An IMF Perspective on Progress and Prospects*, available at <http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2000/110300.htm>;

October 13-15

7. Economic reforms and political evolution. Privatization in Russia
Goldman, Marshall. 2004. "Putin and the Oligarchs," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December.
Bandelj, Nina and Bogdan Radu. 2006. "Consolidation of Democracy in Postcommunist Europe." *Paper 0604*, Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine.
Åslund, Anders. 2001. "Ten Years after the Soviet Breakup: The Advantages of Radical Reforms," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 12, No. 4.
BBC *The Boxer and the General*

October 20-22

8. Major trajectories: bumps and upheavals. Transition twenty years later
Bunce, Valerie J. and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2009. "Democratization by Elections? Postcommunist Ambiguities," *Journal of Democracy*. 20.3.
McFaul, Michael. 2004. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in Postcommunist World." In M. McFaul and K. Stoner-Weiss, eds., *After the Collapse of Communism. Comparative Lessons of Transitions*, Cambridge University Press.

Part 2: Digression on European Union: its evolution and salient features

October 27-29

9. What exactly is the EU and what are its origins? Evolutionary path towards deeper integration. Governance in the EU. Institutional underpinnings. What competences have been moved from the national level to Brussels? How is it financed? How economically and politically integrated is the EU?

Lit: DL: Parts 1 and 2; see also "How the EU works" at the website http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_glance/68/index_en.htm.

Recommended: Chapter 1 in M. Schiff and L.A. Winters. 2003. *Regional Integration and Development*, downloadable from <http://www.worldbank.org/research/trade/overview.pdf>;

November 3-5

10. Enlargements: opportunities and challenges. What does it take to become a member of the EU? What impedes Turkey's accession?

Lit: NN: Chapters 1 and 2; See "The key to understanding the EU enlargement" at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/press_corner/videos_en.htm

Part 3: European Union and Transition from Communism

November 10-12

Quiz #2 on November 10

11. Enlargements in historical perspective: distinctive features of Eastern Enlargement. European Association Agreements. Review for quiz # 2.

Lit: NN: Chapters 3, 4 and 18, 19; DL: Chapter 37;

November 17-19 and November 24

12. Impact of Eastern Enlargement on the EU: Governance and Political Economy aspects. Impacts of Eastern Enlargement on transition from communism. The review of developments in eight post-communist countries.

Lit. NN: Chapters 8 through 13; *Agenda 2000*, European Commission, Brussels and other documents on enlargement at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/index_en.htm; Barry Eichengreen, "Putting It Together." *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2003

13. EU and transition from communism continued. Assignment as above

December 1-3

14. Impacts of Eastern Enlargement: other dimensions. Looking at the pipeline: Turkey and other applicants. Disintegration of Yugoslavia and the EU? Kosovo and Balkan Stability Pact. The new European Neighborhood Policy

Lit: NN: Chapters 14 through 17; Also consult EC documents available at a website http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/key_documents/reports_nov_2006_en.htm; Bartlett, Will and Visnja Samardzija, "The Reconstruction of South East Europe, The Stability Pact and the Role of the EU: An Overview," *Moct-Most*, No. 2 (245-263); visit <http://www.stabilitypact.org/> and http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm

December 8-10

15. Integration through Moscow and Brussels compared. What's ahead for the EU? Review *Lit.* Miles, Lee. 2005. "Editorial: A Fusing Europe in a Confusing World? And Wolfgang Wessels, "The Constitutional Treaty—Three Readings from a Fusion Perspective." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 43.

December 15: Final Examination at 8:00-10:00 AM

Transition Economies: An IMF Perspective on Progress and Prospects

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2000/110300.htm>

Issues in Socialist Economy Reform

by Stanley Fischer and Alan Gelb

<http://www->

wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/1990/12/01/000009265_3960930081636/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf

Finally, in previous semesters, I also found the following articles to be very helpful in understanding some of the concepts and topics you are currently covering in class, or that will be discussed in lecture throughout this semester:

Hegemony or Empire?

by Niall Ferguson

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20030901fareviewessay82512/niall-ferguson/hegemony-or-empire.html?mode=print>

A World Without Power

by Niall Ferguson

http://www.niallferguson.org/publications/A_World_Without_Power_as_published_in_Foreign_Policy.pdf

International Economics: Unlocking the Mysteries of Globalization

by Jeffrey Sachs bss.sfsu.edu/jmoss/resources/635_pdf/No_03_Sachs.pdf

<http://www.jstor.org/cgi->

bin/jstor/printpage/00157228/ap040110/04a00070/0.pdf?backcontext=page&dowhat=Acrobat&config=jstor&userID=8102138f@umd.edu/01c0a8346900501d54e9d&0.pdf

The IMF at 60: Reflections on reform at the IMF and the demands of a changing world economy

by James M. Boughton

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2004/09/pdf/boughton.pdf>

Globalization and the Silent Revolution of the 1980s

by James M. Boughton

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2002/03/bought.htm>