

Politics and Society in Central Eastern Europe

Laszlo Bruszt
CEU Political Science Department

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Office:

Office hours:

All course-related emails should be sent to: brusztl@ceu.edu

This course provides a graduate level exploration of intra- and inter-regional developmental divergence for students interested in the broad sociological and political economy issues of development in any parts of the world, using the example of social and political developments in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). The goal of the course is to discuss different approaches to the study of developmental pathways in CEE in a broad historical perspective drawing on various approaches from political science, sociology and economic history. Students participating in the seminars will get an overview on the various approaches to explaining divergence in political, social and economic developments between the Eastern and Western parts of Europe, and within the region. The course wants to establish a dialogue between three types of scholarships: one dealing with the pre-regime change developmental pathways in the region, another dealing with factors that could account for persistent post-communist and post-enlargement developmental divergence and a third one that deals with issues of backwardness and core-periphery relations in transnational and global perspective.

The course starts with the discussion of broad historical perspectives on East-West divergence in Europe. The second bloc deals with the various great transformations in the region: the remaking of states, polities and economies. The third bloc is devoted to the discussion of the transnationalization of states and economies in the region. Finally, the fourth bloc deals with hybrid regimes and problems of democratic backsliding in the region.

Requirements: Participants of the course are required to read and engage collectively with the assigned readings and prepare short position papers on the readings in advance of the class (the first week excepted). Position papers should be just a 1-1,5-page summaries of the key point(s) of the readings highlighting the key point(s) of the readings, telling what their strengths and weaknesses are, asking questions for clarifications and suggesting issues to be discussed in class. Each student will guide the discussion on at least one seminar either on his or her own or – depending on the class size – together with another student. The student has to introduce the theme of the seminar based on positioning the mandatory reading(s) of the week in the broader literature and by asking questions for discussion for group work and commenting, and if possible, summarizing the discussion.

EVALUATION

1. Participation: 15%

2. Position papers 15% (brief, up to 1-1,5 pages long critical summaries of the key point(s) of the mandatory readings for each week with questions/comments that you would like to see discussed during the class)
3. Leading a discussion in one session 25%
Each student will guide the discussion on at least one seminar either on his or her own or – depending on the class size – together with another student. The student should introduce the theme of the seminar based on positioning the mandatory reading(s) of the week in the broader literature and by asking questions for discussion for group work and commenting, and if possible, summarizing the discussion.
4. Research paper 45% 3000 words

I. Broad historical perspectives on East-West divergence(s) in Europe

1. The three historical regions of Europe

*Szűcs, Jenő 1983. The three historical regions of Europe: an outline. in J. Keane (ed.), *Civil Society and the State. New European Perspectives*, London, New York: Verso, p. 291-332.

Berend, T. Ivan *History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long 19th Century* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003. Chapters 1.2 and 6

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

2 The Politics of Backwardness

*Janos, A.C. (1989) 'The Politics of Backwardness in Continental Europe, 1780–1945'. *World Politics*, Vol. 41, No. 3, pp. 325–58.

Bunce, V. (2000) 'The Historical Origins of the East–West Divide: Civil Society, Political Society and Democracy in Europe'. In Bermeo, N. and Nord, P.G. (eds) *Civil Society before Democracy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield).

Daniel Chirot (1989) 'Causes and consequences of backwardness' in Chirot, D. (ed.) *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press). Pp. 1-15

Robert Brenner (1989) 'Economic backwardness in Eastern Europe in Light of Developments in the West: in Chirot, D. (ed.) *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press). Pp. 15-53

II. Great Transformations in Eastern and Central Europe

3 The Triple Transition

*Claus Offe (2004) "Capitalism by Democratic Design? Democratic Theory Facing the Triple Transition in East Central Europe" *social research* Vol 71: No 3, pp 501-28

*David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt. (1998) *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Introduction and Ch.

Ivan Szelenyi, and Eleanor Townsley (1998) *Making Capitalism without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe*. By Gil Eyal,. New York: Verso Books, 1998. Introduction and Ch 1.

4. Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Politics

*Grzegorz Ekiert and Daniel Ziblatt, "Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe One Hundred Years On," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 27, No. 1, Feb 2013, pp. 90-107.

Jason Wittenberg, "Conceptualizing Historical Legacies," *East European Politics & Societies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, May 2015, pp. 366-378.

David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt "One Way or Multiple Paths? For a Comparative Sociology of East European Capitalism" *American Journal of Sociology* 2001 Vol 106 N.4. January pp. 1129-38.

5. Dominating Policy Paradigms

*Bockman, Johanna and Gil Eyal "'Eastern Europe as a Laboratory for Economic Knowledge. The Transnational Roots of Neoliberalism" *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 108 N2 pp. 310-52

*Ban, Cornel (2016) *Ruling Ideas How Global Neoliberalism Goes Local*. Oxford University Press Ch 1 and 3

Bruszt, Laszlo (2013) "The State of the Market: The Market Reform Debate and Post-Communist Diversity." (2013) in Douglas Chalmers and Scott Mainwaring (eds.) *Institutions And Democracy: Essays in Honor of Alfred Stepan* Notre Dame University Press

6 Transforming states

*Gryzmala-Busse, Anna, and Pauline Luong. 2002. "Reconceptualising the State: Lessons from Post-Communism." *Politics and Society* 30(4): 529-54.

*Bruszt, Laszlo and Campos, Nauro (2018) "Economic Integration and State Capacity" *Journal of Institutional Economics*, 1–20.

Bruszt, Laszlo (2002) "Market Making as State Making - Constitutions and Economic Development in Postcommunist Eastern Europe" in *Constitutional Political Economy*, Vol 13, 2002 pp. 53-72

Meyer-Sahling, J-H. and Tim Veen (2012) "Governing the post-communist state: government alteration and senior civil service politicization in Central and Eastern Europe", *East European Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 1, March 2012, pp. 4-22

Gerard Roland (2018) "The evolution of postcommunist systems Eastern Europe vs. China" *Economics of Transition* Volume 0(0) 2018, 1– 26

7 Transforming economies

*Bohle, D. and Greskovits, B. (2012) *Capitalist Diversity on Europe's Periphery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press) Chs 1.2.

Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: "The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions" *World Politics* 50(1998): 203-234.

III. Transnationalizing Economies

8 European Integration of CEE Economies

*Laszlo Bruszt and Visnja Vukov (2017) "Making states for the Single Market European integration and the reshaping of economic states in the Southern and Eastern peripheries of Europe" *West European Politics*

*Wade Jacoby (2010) Managing globalization by managing Central and Eastern Europe: the EU's backyard as threat and opportunity, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17:3, 416-432

Jacoby, Wade. 2006. "Inspiration, Coalition, and Substitution: External Influences on Postcommunist Transformations." *World Politics* 58, no. 4 (July): 623-51.

Laszlo Bruszt and Julia Langbein (2017) "Varieties of Dis-embedded Liberalism EU Integration Strategies in the Eastern Peripheries of Europe" *European Journal of Public Policy* pp 297-315

Dyson, K. 2007. Euro Area Entry in East-Central Europe: Paradoxical Europeanisation and Clustered Convergence. *West European Politics* 30 (3): 417 - 442.

Epstein, R. A., and J. Johnson. 2010. Uneven Integration: Economic and Monetary Union in Central and Eastern Europe. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 48 (5): 1237-1260.

Deacon, B., and P. Stubbs. 2007. Transnationalism and the Making of Social Policy in South East Europe. In *Social Policy and International Interventions in South East Europe*, edited by B. Deacon and P. Stubbs. Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 1-21.

Epstein, Rachel A. 2006. Cultivating Consensus and Creating Conflict: International Institutions and the (De)Politicization of Economic Policy in Postcommunist Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (8): 1019-1042.

9 Dependent Market Economies

*Nölke, A. & Vliegenthart, A. "Enlarging the Varieties of Capitalism: The Emergence of Dependent Market Economies in East Central Europe." *World Politics*, vol. 61 no. 4, 2009, pp. 670-702

Schneider, Ben Ross, 2009: Hierarchical Market Economies and Varieties of Capitalism in Latin America. In: *Journal of Latin American Studies* 41(3), 553–595.

Laszlo Bruszt and Bela Greskovits (2009) "Transnationalization, Social Integration, and Capitalist Diversity in the East and the South." *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)* 44 (2009): 411-434.

Will Bartlett and Ivana Prica (2013) "The Deepening Crisis in the European Super-periphery" Paper for the SPERI conference "Beyond Austerity vs Growth: The Future of the European Political Economy", held on 1–3 July, University of Sheffield

10 Dependent Development in the Eastern Peripheries of Europe

* Laszlo Bruszt and Julia Langbein (2019). "Manufacturing Development - How transnational market integration shapes opportunities and capacities for development in Europe's three peripheries." *Review of International Political Economy* (forthcoming)

Dorothee Bohle (2018) European Integration, Capitalist Diversity and Crises Trajectories on Europe's Eastern Periphery, *New Political Economy*, 23:2, 239-253,

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Introduction

IV. Democratic Backsliding I.

11 Democratic backsliding II.

*Greskovits, Béla (2015) "The Hollowing and Backsliding of Democracy in East Central Europe" *Global Policy* Vol 6. Pp 28-37

*Bruszt, Laszlo (2015) "Regional Normalization and National Deviations - EU Integration and the Backsliding of Democracy in Europe's Eastern Periphery" *Global Policy Journal* Volume 6. pp 38-45)

Licia Cianetti, James Dawson & Seán Hanley (2018) Rethinking "democratic backsliding" in Central and Eastern Europe – looking beyond Hungary and Poland, *East European Politics*, 34:3, 243-256

James Dawson, Seán Hanley (2016) "The Fading Mirage of the "Liberal Consensus"
Journal of Democracy, Volume 27, Number 1, pp. 20-34

Ivan Krastev (2016) "Liberalism's Failure to Deliver"
Journal of Democracy, Volume 27, Number 1, January 2016, pp. 35-38

Jacques Rupnik (2016) "Surging Illiberalism in the East"
Journal of Democracy, Volume 27, Number 4,

12 Summary – General Discussion – Student Presentation