

Frontiers of Democracy

Political Dynamics in Central Europe

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MA elective course, 2 credits

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This seminar will focus on comparative analyses of democracies and non-democracies in Central Europe in a contemporary and historical perspective. Special attention will be paid to the past three decades. We will analyze different meanings and theoretical models of democracy and its applications to the region. Our discussion will include different understandings of democracy (minimalist, electoral, liberal etc.).

We shall briefly discuss the nature of the previous, non-democratic regime and the rise and fall of „transitological optimism” which dominated the political discourse in the decade after 1989. The seminar will investigate the models of transition from negotiated change to nonviolent and violent revolutions, just as we will pay attention to processes of institution-building and democratic consolidation as well.

Finally, the retreat of liberal democracy and the rise of different forms of hybrid regimes (illiberal democracy, electoral autocracy or competitive authoritarianism) will be analyzed. At some classes our discussion will focus on certain countries, but mostly the investigation will be executed in intra-regional and sometimes inter-regional comparisons.

Throughout the course, special attention will be paid to the Visegrád-countries but students are also encouraged to present (or write about) comparative case studies which cover other countries from other parts of Europe, or other examples upon the agreement with the professor. The format of the oral presentations (individual or team work) will depend on the number of participants in the seminar.

Students are expected to attend classes regularly, to read mandatory readings before classes, to be active there, and to write two position papers over the semester. Secondly, they need to give one or two 20-minute-long presentation(s) on a given topic, depending on the size of the class. Finally, a 2000-word-long (one-and-half spaced, with the references) final essay should be handed by the last class.

Learning outcome:

By the end of the semester, students will be safe in understanding, analysing and explaining major features of political dynamics in Central Europe, in the light of the (non-) democracy literature, and in comparing and applying these lessons to other parts of the world. The course will enhance their cognitive skills (1-3), their key academic skills from analytical and critical writing to oral communications. The course will satisfy the requirements concerning the mission driven expectations, including the multidisciplinary approach, policy relevance, plus the context driven requirements related to a country, region, or international comparative research.

<i>Grading:</i>	- participation, activity:	20%
	- written assignments:	20%, (two position papers)
	- presentation(s):	25%
	- final essay:	35% (2000-word long)

Consulting some of the following books, listed below, would certainly be useful:

- Arblaster, Anthony. 1991. *Democracy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press
- Berezin, Mabel. 2009. *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Berg-Schlosser, Dirk. 2007. *Democratization*. Opladen – Framington Hills: Barbara Budrich
- Bernhard, Michael and Jan Kubik (eds.) 2014. *Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. „The End of History” *National Interest*, Summer, 409-417.
- Haerpfer, Christian W., Patrick Bernhagen, Christian Welzel and Ronald F. Inglehart. 2019. *Democratization*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- Held, David. 1996. *Models of Democracy*, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Magyar, Bálint and Bálint Madlovcics 2020. *The Anatomy of Post-Communist Regimes: A Conceptual Framework*. New York – Budapest: CEU Press
- Newton, Kenneth and Jan W. Van Deth. 2021. *Foundations of Comparative Politics*. 4th edition. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Norris, Pippa 2013. *Making Democratic Governance Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Ramet, Sabrina P. and Christine M. Hassenstab (eds.) 2019. *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Rothschild, Joseph. 1993. *Return to Diversity*. 2nd edition. New York: Oxford U. P.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2013. *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.
- Snyder, Timothy. 2018. *The Road to Unfreedom*. London: The Boadley Head
- Ther, Philipp. 2018. *Europe since 1989: A History*. 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton U. P.
- White, Stephen, Paul G. Lewis and Judy Batt. 2013. *Developments in Central and East European Politics 5*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Topics and Readings

WEEK 1. September 21. **Historic transformations and democracy**

Mandatory reading

Andrew C. Janos. 2001. “From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe Under Two International Regimes” *East European Politics and Societies*, 15 (2), 221-249.

Further readings

Guillermo O'Donnell & Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP

Samuel P. Huntington. 1991-2. „How Countries Democratize” *Political Science Quarterly*, 106 (4), 579-616.

Samuel Huntington. 1996. „Democracy for the Long Haul” *Journal of Democracy*, 7 (2), 3-13

WEEK 2. September 28. Late totalitarian and post-totalitarian regimes in Europe

Mandatory readings

Joseph Rothschild. 1993. *Return to Diversity*. New York – Oxford: Oxford U. P., Chapter 7. “The Various Endgames” 226-262.

Ken Jowitt. 1992. “The Leninist Legacy” in Ivo Banac ed., *Eastern Europe in Revolution*. Ithaca-London: Cornell U. P. 207-224.

Further readings

Garton Ash, Timothy. 1990. *The Magic Lantern*. New York: Vintage

Joseph Rothschild. 1993. *Return to Diversity* New York-Oxford: Oxford U. P.

Geoffrey Pridham & Tatu Vanhanen eds. 1994. *Democratization in Eastern Europe*. London – New York: Routledge, 99-127.

Don Chull Shin (1994), “On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research” *World Politics*, 47 (1): October, 135-170.

Karen Dawisha & Bruce Parrott (1997), *Democratization and Authoritarianism in Postcommunist Societies*. 4 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

David Stark & László Bruszt 1998. *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

Jon Elster, Claus Offe, Ulrich K. Preuss et al. 1998. *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies: Rebuilding the Ship at Sea*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

Vladimir Tismaneanu ed. 1999. *The Revolutions of 1989*. London: Routledge

Andrew C. Janos. 2000. *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*. Stanford: Stanford U. P.

Aviezer Tucker. 2015. *The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

WEEK 3. October 5. Democratization in Central Europe: Poland in comparison

Mandatory readings

Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapter 16. Poland, 255-292.

Konstanty Gebert. 2010. „Poland since 1989: Muddling Through, Wall to Wall” in Sabrina P. Ramet ed. *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 139-161.

Further readings

Z. A. Pelczynski. 1988. „Solidarity and the Rebirth of Civil Society in Poland 1976-81” in John Keane ed. *Civil Society and the State*. London-New York: Verso, 361-380.

Aleksander Smolar. 1991. „The Polish Opposition” in Andrew Arato and Ferenc Fehér eds. *Crisis and Reform in Eastern Europe*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 175-251.

Jadwiga Staniszkis. 1992. *The Dynamics of the Breakthrough in Eastern Europe: The Polish Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Michael Bernhard. 1993. *Origins of Democratization in Poland*. New York: Columbia U. P.
- Jacek Wasilewski & Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski. 1995. „Poland: Winding Road from the Communist to post-Solidarity Elite” *Theory and Society*, 24:5, 669-696.
- Wiktor Osyatinski. 1996. „The Roundtable Talks in Poland” in Jon Elster ed. *Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Grzegorz Ekiert 1996. *The State Against Society: Political Crises and Their Aftermath in East Central Europe*. Princeton: Princeton U. P.
- Helena Flam. 1998. *Mosaic of Fear: Poland and East Germany Before 1989*. Boulder: East European Monographs
- Grzegorz Ekiert & Jan Kubik. 1999. *Rebellious Civil Society: Popular Protest and Democratic Consolidation in Poland 1989-93*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan P.
- Barbara Falk. 2003. *Dilemmas of Dissidence in Eastern Europe*. Budapest – NY: CEU Press
- Gregory F. Domber. 2013. „Poland: International Pressure for Negotiated Transition 1981-89” in Kathryn Stoner & Michael McFaul eds. *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins U. P., 62-90.
- Bálint Magyar. 2019. „Parallel System Narratives—Polish and Hungarian Regime Formations Compared” In B. Magyar ed. *Stubborn Structures: Reconceptualizing Post-Communist Regimes*. New York – Budapest: CEU Press, 611-655.

WEEK 4. October 12. Democratization in Central Europe: Hungary in comparison

Mandatory readings

Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. P., Chapter 17. Hungary, 293-316. Chapter 17. Czechoslovakia, 316-333.

Claus Offe (1997), *Varieties of Transition*. Ch. 3. „Capitalism by Democratic Design?” Cambridge: M. I. T. Press, 29-49.

Further readings

Péter Hanák and Joseph Held. 1992. „Hungary on a Fixed Course: An Outline of Hungarian History” in Joseph Held (ed.), *The Columbia History of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 164-227.

András Bozóki, András Körösenyi and George Schöpflin eds. 1992. *Post-Communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary*. London: Pinter and New York: St. Martin’s Press

András Bozóki. 1993. „Hungary’s Road to Systemic Change: The Opposition Roundtable” *East European Politics and Societies*, 7 (2), 276-308.

Terry Cox and Andy Furlong eds. 1995. *Hungary: The Politics of Transition*. London: Frank Cass

Béla K. Király & András Bozóki eds. 1995. *Lawful Revolution in Hungary, 1989-94*. Boulder: Social Science Monographs

András Bozóki and Bill Lomax. 1996. „Revenge of History: The Portuguese, Spanish, and Hungarian Transitions – Some Comparisons” in Geoffrey Pridham & Paul G. Lewis eds. *Stabilising Fragile Democracies*. London: Routledge, 186-205.

Rudolf L. Tóké. 1996. *Hungary’s Negotiated Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

András Körösenyi. 1999. *Government and Politics in Hungary*. Bp-New York: CEU Press

András Bozóki ed. 2002. *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian*

- Democracy*. New York - Budapest: CEU Press
- John W. Schiemann. 2005. *The Politics of Pact-Making: Hungary's Negotiated Transition to Democracy in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- András Bozóki and Ágnes Simon 2021. „Rolling Stones: Dissident Intellectuals in Hungary (1977-1994)” *East European Politics*, 37 (2), 2021. 352-378.

WEEK 5. October 19. **CE democracies and semi-democracies in the 1990s**

Mandatory readings

Thomas Carothers. 2002. “The End of the Transition Paradigm.” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1. 5–21.

Larry Diamond. 2002. “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes.” *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (2), 21–35.

Further readings

- Guillermo O’Donnell. 1996. „Illusions about Consolidation” *Journal of Democracy*, 7 (2), 24-51.
- Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 3-15 and 434-457.
- Larry Diamond. 1996. „Is the Third Wave Over?” *Journal of Democracy*, 7:3, 20-37.
- Karen Dawisha & Bruce Parrott eds. 1997. *The Consolidation of Democracy in East Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Mary Kaldor & Ivan Vejvoda eds. 1999. *Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe*. London: Pinter
- Aleks Szczerbiak 2001. *Poles Together? Emergence and Development of Political Parties in Post-Communist Poland*. Budapest: CEU Press
- Jan Zielonka ed. 2001. *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe: Institutional Engineering*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2002. *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- András Bozóki & John T. Ishiyama eds. 2002. *The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe
- Grzegorz Ekiert & Stephen E. Hanson eds. 2003. *Capitalism and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: Assessing the Legacy of Communist Rule*. Cambridge: C. U. P.
- Brigid Fowler. 2004. „Concentrated Orange: Fidesz and the Remaking of the Hungarian Centre-Right, 1994-2002” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 20 (3), September, 80-114.
- Susan Rose-Ackerman. 2005. *From Elections to Democracy: Building Accountable Government in Hungary and Poland*. New York: Cambridge U. P.
- Elisabeth Bakke. 2010. „Central and East European Party Systems since 1989” in Sabrina P. Ramet ed. *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: C. U. P. 64-90.
- Kathryn Stoner & Michael McFaul eds. (2013), *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press

WEEK 6. October 26. **National holiday** (no class)

WEEK 7. November 2. **Democratic consolidation and „Europeanization“: Political dynamics in the 2000s**

Mandatory readings

Wofgang Merkel. 2004. “Embedded and Defective Democracies.” *Democratization*, 11 (5), 33–58.

András Bozóki. 2008. „Democratization in Central Europe” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 4 (2), December, 1-27.

FIRST POSITION PAPER (November 2.) Ulrich Sedelmaier. 2010. „The EU and Democratization in Central and Southeastern Europe since 1989” in Sabrina P. Ramet ed. *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 519-535.
OR

Philip Levitz and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2010. „Why No Backsliding? The European Union’s Impact on Democracy and Governance before and after Accession” *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (4), 457-485.

Further readings

Jan Zielonka and Alex Pravda eds. 2001. *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe: International and Transnational Factors*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.

András Bozóki and Gergely Karácsony. 2003. „Membership Without Belonging? Hungary into the European Union: A Historic Step Passively Approved” *Central European Political Science Review*, 4. (13), Fall, 21-41.

Milada Anna Vachudova. 2005. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford: Oxford U. P.

Frank Schimmelfennig & Ulrich Sedelmeier eds. 2005. *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Heather Grabbe. 2006. *The EU’s Transformative Power: Europeanization Through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe*. Houndmills: Palgrave

Jan Zielonka. 2007. „The Quality of Democracy after Joining the European Union” *East European Politics and Societies*, 21 (1), Winter, 162-180.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. 2007. “Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change.” *Comparative Politics*, 38 (4), 379–400.

Dirk Berg-Schlosser. 2008. „’Neighborhood Effects’ of Democratization in Europe” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 4 (2), 29-45.

Martin Dangerfield. 2008. „The Visegrád Group in the Expanded European Union: *East European Politics and Societies*, 22 (3), 630-667.

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Nathaniel Copey. 2013. „The EU and Central and East European Politics” in Stephen White, Paul. G. Lewis, Judy Batt eds. *Developments in Central and East European Politics* 5. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 102-118.

WEEK 8. November 9. **The politics of anger: Deconsolidation of democracy**

Mandatory readings

Richard Rose and Doh Chull Shin. 2001. "Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third-Wave Democracies" *British Journal of Political Science* 31. 331-354.

David Ost. 2005. *The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe*. Chapter 4. „How Liberals Lost Labor” Ithaca – London: Cornell U. P. 94-120.

Steven Levitsky & Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. Chapter 3. „Linkage, Leverage and Democratization in Eastern Europe” Cambridge: Cambridge U. P. 87-129.

Further readings

Guillermo O'Donnell. 1994. „Delegative Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (1), 55-69.

Fareed Zakaria. 1997. „The Rise of Illiberal Democracy” *Foreign Affairs*, 76 (6), 22–43.

Gerd Meyer ed. 2006. *Formal Institutions, Informal Politics in Central and Eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine*. Opladen: Barbara Budrich Publishers

Fabrizio Coricelli. 2007. „Democracy in the Post-Communist World: Unfinished Business” *East European Politics and Societies*, 21 (1), 82-90.

Marcus Alexander. 2008. „Democratization and Hybrid Regimes: Comparative Evidence from Southern Europe” *East European Politics and Societies*, 22 (4), 928-954.

Berezin, Mabel. 2009. *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

Robert Brier. 2009. „The Roots of the 'Fourth Republic': Solidarity's Cultural Legacy to Polish Politics” *East European Politics and Societies*, February, 63-85.

Valerie J. Bunce, Michael McFaul & Kathryn Stoner-Weiss eds. (2010), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

Umut Korkut. 2012. *Liberalization Challenges in Hungary: Elitism, Progressivism, and Populism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Frances Millard. 2013. „The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland” in Stephen White, Paul G. Lewis & Judy Batt eds. *Developments in Central & East European Politics* 5. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 20-41.

Michael Bernhard & Jan Kubik eds. 2014. *Twenty Years After Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Jacques Rupnik. 2014. „From the Revolutions of 1989 to Democracy Fatigue in Eastern Europe” in Rupnik ed. *1989 as a Political World Event*. New York: Routledge, 56-71

Ivan Krastev. 2014. *Democracy Disrupted: The Politics of Global Protest*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

András Bozóki. 2015. „The Illusion of Inclusion: Configurations of Populism in Hungary” in Michal Kopecek & Piotr Wcislik eds. *Thinking Through Transition*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 275-312.

Zoltán Ádám & András Bozóki. 2016. „'The God of Hungarians': Religion and Right Wing Populism in Hungary” in Marzouki, McDonnell & Roy eds. *Saving the People* London: Hurst & Co. 129-147.

Jan-Werner Müller. 2016. *What Is Populism* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

András Bozóki and Eszter Simon. 2019. „Two Faces of Hungary: From Democratization to Democratic Backsliding” in Sabrina P. Ramet & Christine M. Hassenstab eds. *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P. 221-247.

WEEK 9. November 16. **Analyzing post-communist regimes: A typology**
Guest speaker: BÁLINT MADLOVICS

Mandatory readings

Bálint Magyar & Bálint Madlovics (2021), „Modelled Trajectories of Post-Communist Regimes,” *European Dialogue Expert Group* available at:
<http://www.eedialog.org/en/2020/07/07/modelled-trajectories-of-post-communist-regimes/>

Bálint Magyar & Bálint Madlovics (2020), *The Anatomy of Post-Communist Regimes: A Conceptual Framework*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 729–738.

SECOND POSITION PAPER (November 16.) Andreas Schedler. 2013. *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism*. Chapter 2. „Shaping the Authoritarian Arena” Oxford: Oxford U. P. 54-76.

Further readings

András Bozóki 2011. „Postcommunist Regimes” in Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser & Leonardo Morlino eds. *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*, Los Angeles: Sage, 2090-2093.

Dorothee Bohle and Béla Greskovits. 2012. *Capitalist Diversity on Europe’s Periphery*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Stephen White, Paul G. Lewis, Judy Batt eds. 2013. *Developments in Central and East European Politics 5*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Ledeneva, Alena V. 2013. *Can Russia Modernise? Power Networks and Informal Governance*. Cambridge University Press

Péter Bajomi-Lázár. 2014. *Party Colonisation of the Media in Central and Eastern Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press

Béla Greskovits. 2015. „The Hollowing and Backsliding of Democracy in East Central Europe” *Global Policy* Volume 6. Supplement 1. June, 28-38.

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

Markus, Stanislav. 2015. *Property, Predation, and Protection: Piranha Capitalism in Russia and Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Bálint Magyar. 2016. *Post-Communist Mafia State: The Case of Hungary*. New York: CEU P
Jiangnan Zhu. 2017. „Corruption Networks in China: An Institutional Analysis”. In *Routledge Handbook of Corruption in Asia*, edited by Ting Gong and Ian Scott, 27–41. Abingdon - Oxford: Routledge

Bálint Magyar and Júlia Vásárhelyi eds. (2017), *Twenty-Five Sides of a Post-Communist Mafia State*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press

Sabrina P. Ramet & Christine M. Hassenstab eds. (2019), *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.

Klíma, Michal. 2019. *Informal Politics in Post-Communist Europe: Political Parties, Clientelism and State Capture*. London: Routledge

Bálint Magyar ed. 2019. *Stubborn Structures: Reconceptualizing Post-Communist Regimes*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press

Bálint Magyar & Bálint Madlovics. 2020. *The Anatomy of Post-Communist Regimes: A Conceptual Framework*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press

WEEK 10. November 23. **Autocratization in the EU: Hungary, Poland and beyond**

Mandatory readings

János Kornai. 2015. „Hungary’s U-Turn: Retreating from Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (3), July 34-48.

András Bozóki and Dániel Hegedűs. 2018. „An Externally Constrained Hybrid Regime: Hungary in the European Union” *Democratization*, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2018.1455664

Bill Stanley and Ben Stanley (2020), „Whose Poland Is It To Be? PiS and the Struggle between Monism and Pluralism” *East European Politics*, 36 (3), 378-394.

Further readings

Gábor Bánkuti, Gábor Halmai, Kim Lane Scheppelle (2012), „Disabling the Constitution” *Journal of Democracy*, 23 (3), 138-146.

András Bozóki. 2015. „Broken Democracy, Predatory State, Nationalist Populism” in Péter Krasztev & Jon Van Til eds. *The Hungarian Patient: Social Opposition to an Illiberal Democracy*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press. 3-36.

Peter Wilkin 2016 *Hungary’s Crisis of Democracy: The Road to Serfdom* Lanham: Lexington

Zsolt Enyedi. 2016. “Paternalist Populism and Illiberal Elitism in Central Europe.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 21 (1), 9–25.

Ben Stanley. 2016. „Defenders of the Cross: Populist Politics and Religion in Post-Communist Poland” in Nadia Marzouki, Duncan McDonnell & Olivier Roy eds. *Saving the People: How Populists Hijack Religion*. London: Hurst & Co. 109-128.

Matthijs Bogaards (2018), De-democratization in Hungary: Diffusely Defective Democracy, *Democratization*, DOI: [10.1080/13510347.2018.1485015](https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2018.1485015)

András L. Pap 2018. *Democratic Decline in Hungary: Law and Society in an Illiberal Democracy*. London: Routledge

Licia Cianetti, James Dawson & Seán Hanley. 2018. „Rethinking ’Democratic Backsliding’ in Central and Eastern Europe – Looking Beyond Hungary and Poland” *East European Politics*, 243-256. DOI: [10.1080/21599165.2018.1491401](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2018.1491401)

Adam Fabry. 2019. *The Political Economy of Hungary: From State Capitalism to Authoritarian Neoliberalism*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

Krzysztof Jasiński. 2019. „Conservative modernization and the rise of Law and Justice in Poland” In Katharina Bluhm and Mihai Varga eds. *New Conservatives in Russia and East Central Europe*. New York: Routledge

Ewa Dabrowska, Áron Buzogány and Mihai Varga. 2019. „The Budapest-Warsaw Express. Conservatism and the diffusion of economic policies in Poland and Hungary” In K. Bluhm and M. Varga eds. *New Conservatives...* New York: Routledge

Marta Kotwas and Jan Kubik. 2019. „Symbolic Thickening of Public Culture and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Poland” *East European Politics and Societies*. 33 (2) : 435-471. [10.1177/0888325419826691](https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325419826691)

Gábor Scheiring (2020), *The Retreat of Liberal Democracy: Authoritarian Capitalism and Accumulative State in Hungary*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

András Körösnéyi, Gábor Illés, Attila Gyulai (2020), *The Orbán Regime: Plebiscitary Leader Democracy in the Making*. London: Routledge

János Mátyás Kovács & Balázs Trencsényi eds. (2020), *Brave New Hungary: Mapping The ’System of National Cooperation’*. Lanham: Lexington Books

- Milada Anna Vachudova. 2020. „Ethnopolism and Democratic Backsliding in Central Europe” *East European Politics*, 318-340. DOI [10.1080/21599165.2020.1787163](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2020.1787163)
- Zsolt Enyedi. 2020. „Right-wing Authoritarian Innovations in Central and Eastern Europe” *East European Politics*. 363-377. DOI [10.1080/21599165.2020.1787162](https://doi.org/10.1080/21599165.2020.1787162)
- Robert Csehi and Edit Zgut. 2021. „’We Won’t Let Brussels Dictate Us’: Eurosceptic Populism in Hungary and Poland” *European Politics and Society*. 22 (1), 53-68.

WEEK 11. November 30. **Analyzing authoritarian tendencies in global comparison**

Mandatory readings

Ivan Krastev & Stephen Holmes. 2018. „Imitation and Its Discontents” *Journal of Democracy*, 29 (3), 117-128.

Jan Kubik. 2020. „Against the Imitation Thesis” *Concilium Civitas Almanac*, November.

Jaroslav Kuisz and Karolina Wigura. 2020. “The Pushback against Populism: Reclaiming the Politics of Emotion” *Journal of Democracy*, 31 (2), 41-53.

Further readings

Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner eds. 2015. *Democracy in Decline?* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Francis Fukuyama. 2015. „Why Is Democracy Performing So Poorly?” *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (1), 11-20.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2015. „The Myth of Democratic Recession” *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (1), 45-58.

Larry Diamond. 2015. „Facing up the Democratic Recession” *Journal of Democracy*. 26. (1), 141-155.

Richard Youngs. 2015. *The Puzzle of Non-Western Democracy*. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie

Richard Youngs. 2015. „Exploring Non-Western Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (4) 140-154.

Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner & Christopher Walker eds. 2016. *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge of Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. P.

Jeffrey Isaac. 2017. „Is There Illiberal Democracy? A Problem with No Semantic Solution” *Public Seminar*, July 12.

Ivan Krastev. 2017. *After Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Steven Levitsky & Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. NY: Random House, 72-96.

Magdalena Solska, Florian Bieber and Dane Taleski eds. 2018. *Illiberal and Authoritarian Tendencies in Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe*. Bern: Peter Lang

Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes. 2019. *The Light that Failed: Why the West is Losing the Fight for Democracy*. New York: Pegasus

Larry Diamond. 2019. *Ill Winds*. New York: Penguin Random House

Daniel Bochsler and Andreas Juon. 2020. “Authoritarian Footprints in Central and Eastern Europe” *East European Politics* 36 (2): 167-187.

WEEK 12. December 7. **Concluding discussion and handing the final essays**