

**Political Science 552**  
**Communist and Post-Communist Politics**  
**State University of New York at Albany**  
**Fall 2015**

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Monday 2:45-5:35  
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***Course Description***

This course provides a survey of the politics of communism and post-communism in Russia, Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and East Asia. It begins with an overview of the origin and development of Leninism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China, stressing both the similarities and differences between these countries' experiences under Leninism. The second part of the course examines and analyzes the profound political, economic, and social changes in former Leninist societies during the post-communist transformation. Specifically, we will cover different paths of political development; economic reforms; social transformation; and nationalism and ethnic conflicts. The course will conclude with a broad discussion of the international dimensions of post-communism. The primary aims of the course are to familiarize students with the major challenges confronting former Leninist countries as they move away from socialism in varying ways, and to provide students with not only the theoretical tools necessary for understanding the collapse of Leninism, but also the perspectives crucial to making well-grounded evaluations of the diverging political and socio-economic trajectories in these countries.

***Course Requirements***

Your grade in this course will be determined in the following manner:

Seminar participation	20%
In-class presentations	30%
20-30 page research paper	50%

Class attendance and active, informed participation are mandatory. Students must complete the assigned readings prior to the seminar meetings. The oral presentations require each student to analyze and report on a number of assigned readings for a given week. In addition, students are required to write a major research paper on any aspect of post-Leninist transformations, but the topic must be finalized in consultation with the instructor. To facilitate the writing process, a 3-page paper proposal (1 page description, 1 page outline, 1 page bibliography) will be due at the beginning of seminar on October 19, 2015. The final draft of the paper will be due in the last class on December 7, 2015. Late papers without university-approved reasons will result in grade reduction.

## ***Readings***

Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (New York: Ecco, 2009)  
Cheng Chen, *The Prospects for Liberal Nationalism in Post-Leninist States* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2007, 2012)  
Martin K. Dimitrov, ed., *Why Communism Did Not Collapse* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013)  
Henry E. Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

The rest of the readings are available on Blackboard. Those marked with “available on-line” can be retrieved by clicking on “E-Journals” from the Libraries web page and typing in the title of the journal in the search box.

## **PART I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

### August 31: Introduction: Marxism and Leninism

- Course syllabus
- Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, “The Communist Manifesto,” <http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/classics/manifesto.html>
- Robert Tucker, *The Marxian Revolutionary Idea* (New York: Norton, 1969), 3-32
- Richard Lowenthal, “Development vs. Utopia in Communist Policy,” in Chalmers Johnson, ed. *Change in Communist Systems* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), 33-54
- Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, 9-55, 101-114

### September 21: Leninism in the Soviet Union

- V. I. Lenin, “The State and Revolution,” in R. Tucker, ed. *The Lenin Anthology* (New York: Norton, 1969), 335-350, 369-384
- Robert Tucker, “Stalinism as Revolution from Above,” in Robert Tucker, ed. *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (New York: Norton, 1977), 77-108
- Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, 56-77, 194-266, 398-418
- Andrew Janos, “What Was Communism?” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29:1 (1996): 1-24 [available on-line]

### September 28: Leninism in China and Eastern Europe

- Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, 148-193, 265-397, 421-478 (skim)
- Chalmers A. Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 1-30

- Alec Nove, “Reform Models: Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, China,” *Economics of Feasible Socialism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983): 118-151
- Harry Harding, *China’s Second Revolution: Reform After Mao* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1987), 11-39

## **PART II: POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION**

### October 5: The Collapse of Leninism in Eastern Europe and Russia

- Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism*, 481-617
- Daniel Chirot, “What Happened in Eastern Europe in 1989?” in D. Chirot, ed. *The Crisis of Leninism and the Decline of the Left* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 3-32
- “Z” Martin Malia, “To the Stalin Mausoleum,” *Daedalus* 119:2 (1990): 295-344
- Alexander Dallin, “Causes of the Collapse of the USSR,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8:4 (1992): 279-302
- Valerie Bunce, “Subversive Institutions: The End of the Soviet State in Comparative Perspective,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 14:4 (October-December 1998): 323-354

### October 12: Post-Communist Democracy-Building

- Charles King, “Post-postcommunism: Transition, Comparison, and the End of ‘Eastern Europe’,” *World Politics* 53 (October 2000): 143-172 [available on-line]
- Michael McFaul, “The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World,” *World Politics* 54:2 (2002) [available on-line]
- Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, “The Great Divide: Precommunist Schooling and Postcommunist Trajectories,” *World Politics* 59:1 (2006): 83-115 [available on-line]
- Grzegorz Ekiert and Daniel Ziblatt, “Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe: One Hundred Years On,” *East European Politics and Societies* 27:1 (2013): 90-107 [available on-line]
- Jan-Werner Mueller, “Eastern Europe Goes South,” *Foreign Affairs* 93:2 (2014): 14-19 [available on-line]

### October 19: Post-Communist “Hybrid” Regimes (1)

- Lucan Way, “Authoritarian State-Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave,” *World Politics* 57:2 (2005): 231-261 [available on-line]
- Henry Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1-177

#### October 26: Post-Communist “Hybrid” Regimes (2)

- Henry Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 178-488

#### November 2: Post-Communist Resilient Authoritarianism

- Martin K. Dimitrov, *Why Communism Did Not Collapse* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), Part I, II, IV, V

### **PART III: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

#### November 9: Economic Reforms in Comparative Perspective

- Joel Hellman, “Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transition,” *World Politics* 50 (1998): 203-234 [available on-line]
- Timothy Frye, “The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Postcommunist World,” *World Politics* 54 (2002): 308-337 [available on-line]
- Hongbin Cai and Daniel Treisman, “Did Government Decentralization Cause China’s Economic Miracle?” *World Politics* 58:4 (July 2006): 505-535 [available on-line]
- Harley Balzer, “Russia and China in the Global Economy,” *Demokratizatsiya* 16:1 (Winter 2008): 37-47 [available on-line]
- Dorothee Bohle and Bela Greskovits, *Capitalist Diversity on Europe’s Periphery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 7-54; 259-274

#### November 16: Post-Communist Civil Societies

- Marc Morje Howard, “Postcommunist Civil Society in Comparative Perspective,” *Demokratizatsiya* 10:3 (Summer 2002): 285-305 [available on-line]
- Rudra Sil and Cheng Chen, “State Legitimacy and the (In)significance of Democracy in Post-Communist Russia,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 56:3 (2004): 347-368 [available on-line]
- Kathleen Collins, “The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories,” *World Politics* 56:2 (2004): 224-261 [available on-line]
- Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua A. Tucker, “Communism’s Shadow: Postcommunist Legacies, Values, and Behavior,” *Comparative Politics* 43:4 (July 2011): 379-399 [available on-line]
- Jessica C. Teets, “Let Many Civil Societies Bloom: The Rise of Consultative Authoritarianism in China,” *China Quarterly* 213 (2013): 19-38 [available on-line]

#### November 23: Post-Communist Nationalism and National Identity

- Veljko Vujacic, “Historical Legacies, Nationalist Mobilization, and Political Outcomes in Russia and Serbia: A Weberian View,” *Theory and Society* 25 (1996): 763-801
- Cheng Chen, *The Prospects for Liberal Nationalism* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2007), entire book

#### **PART IV: INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS**

##### November 30: International Diffusion and “Diffusion-Proofing”

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, “Linkage, Leverage and the Post-Communist Divide,” *East European Politics and Societies* 27:2 (2007): 48-66 [available on-line]
- David Cameron, “Creating Market Economies after Communism: The Impact of the European Union,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 25:1 (2009): 1-38 [available on-line]
- Martin K. Dimitrov, *Why Communism Did Not Collapse* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), Part III
- Karrie J. Koesel and Valerie J. Bunce, “Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers,” *Perspectives on Politics* 11:3 (September 2013): 753-768 [available on-line]
- Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, “The Transformative Power of Europe Revisited,” *Journal of Democracy* 25:1 (2014): 20-32 [available on-line]

##### December 7: Post-Communist International Relations

- Suisheng Zhao, “Foreign Policy Implications of Chinese Nationalism Revisited: the strident turn,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 22:82 (2013): 535-553 [available on-line]
- Marcin Kaczmarski, “Domestic Power Relations and Russia’s Foreign Policy,” *Demokratizatsiya* 22:3 (2014): 383-409 [available on-line]
- Andrei Tsygankov, “Vladimir Putin’s Last Stand: The Sources of Russia’s Ukraine Policy,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31:4 (2015): 279-303 [available on-line]