

## **IAS 5940-224: Topics in International Studies: Eastern European Politics**

### **Course Description:**

This course is designed for Master's program with emphasis in International Relations. The course examines the developments of contemporary politics across Eastern and Central European countries. These states have undergone a dramatic transformation since World War II - politically, economically, and socially. In order to understand these developments, this course looks at how East Central European states came under the dominance of the Soviet Union, how the rebellious societies contested and resisted the communist regimes, and finally, how those regimes collapsed in the late 1980s. The course also examines the most recent transformations and challenges – nationalism, democratization, the “color revolutions” of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, and tensions in relations between Russia and the West.

### **Class Dates, Location and Hours:**

Dates: October 10-15, 2017

Location: Aviano AB, Italy. Classroom location to be determined.

Hours: Tuesday - Friday 6:00-9:30 pm; Saturday and Sunday 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m.

Last day to enroll or drop without penalty: September 11, 2017

### **Site Director:**

Email: [apaviano@ou.edu](mailto:apaviano@ou.edu). Phone 39-0434-30-5977; DSN: 6322-5977.

### **Professor Contact Information:**

Course Professor: Max Kovalov, Ph.D.

Mailing Address: Department of Political Science  
College of Charleston  
66 George St.  
Charleston, SC 29424

Telephone Number: (872) 222-8715

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Professor availability: The professor will be available via email to students before and after the class sessions. On-site office hours are half an hour before and after each class session, by appointment.

### **Textbook(s) and Instructional Materials:**

Student materials are available at the OU Follett Bookstore located at 1185 Asp Avenue; Norman, OK, and can be ordered online, by phone, by email, or by fax. Ordering online at <http://www.bkstr.com/oklahomastore/home> is strongly recommended – students can track the status of their order within 48 hours. If an order has not been shipped within three days, students can contact the Follett textbook manager by phone (405) 325-3511, (800) 522-0772 (toll-free) or email [0831mgr@fhcg.follett.com](mailto:0831mgr@fhcg.follett.com). Phone orders (ask for the textbook manager and identify yourself as an Advanced Programs student) can be placed 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday through Thursday; 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. on Friday; 10 a.m. to 4p.m. on Saturday (CST). Summer hours: 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday (CST). Fax orders can be placed 24 hours a day at (405) 325-7770. Text prices are available online.

1. Ash, T. G. (1999). *The magic lantern: The revolution of '89 witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague*. New York: Vintage. ISBN 9780679740483.
2. Howard, M. M. (2003). *The weakness of civil society in post-communist Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521011525.

3. Materials posted on the OU Canvas learning management system: Access Canvas at <https://canvas.ou.edu>, enter your OU NetID and password, and select course to access material. If you require assistance with Canvas, please click on the Help icon. You can search the Canvas guides, chat with Canvas support, or contact OU IT.

Note: Follett is the Advanced Programs contractual textbook provider. Should text changes become necessary after publication of the course syllabus, Advanced Programs will facilitate text returns/refunds only for texts purchased through Follett.

### **Course Objectives:**

The objective of the course is to provide students with an understanding of major themes of totalitarianism, the “spheres of influence” and their relevance in contemporary Europe, democratic transitions and its challenges, and importance of historical legacies in analyzing the post-communist regimes.

### **Assignments, Grading and Due Dates**

#### **Tuesday, October 10: Cold War 2, Brexit, and Trump**

1. *The Economist*. “Diplomacy and Security after Crimea: The New World Order.” March 22, 2014.
2. McFaul, Michael A. 2014. “Confronting Putin’s Russia.” *The New York Times*. March 23, 2014.
3. Mearsheimer, John. 2014. “How the West Caused the Ukraine Crisis.” *Foreign Affairs* 93(5): 77-89.
4. Walt, Stephen. 2015. “Why Arming Kiev Is a Really, Really Bad Idea.” *Foreign Policy*. June 25, 2015.
5. *The Economist*. 2015. “From Cold War to Hot War; What Russia Wants,” February 14. p.19.
6. Kudelia, Serhiy. 2014. “Domestic Sources of the Donbas Insurgency.” *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo*. September.
7. Buchanan, Elizabeth. 2016. “Brexit’s Gifts to Putin.” *Foreign Affairs*, August 24.
8. Kinstler, Linda. 2016. “What Trump Means for Central and Eastern Europe.” *The Atlantic*, November 28.

#### **Essay-1 (Due on first class session. Bring hard copy to class and upload the electronic version to Canvas).**

The military conflict between Russia and Ukraine was quite unthinkable just a few years ago, as the two countries share historical legacies, language, religion, and institutions. The media, policymakers, and scholars have used several narratives to explain the armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine, attributing the blame to external factors, such as (a) Russian involvement and its support of the rebels in Eastern Ukraine, (b) the role of the NATO and the West, or (c) domestic causes within Ukraine.

- a. How can we explain this conflict? Is this a proxy war between Russia and the West? Is this conflict caused by external structural factors, such as balance of power, interference in the sphere of influence, and expansion of Euro-Atlantic institutions? Or, should we look for domestic explanations of the crisis within Ukraine? What is the role of Russia in this conflict? Finally, does this conflict pose a threat to the international order and security?
- b. In your response, make sure to clearly identify and explain alternative factors accounting for the armed conflict in Ukraine, explain which factor(s) you find to be the most convincing, and explain why.

#### **Wednesday, October 11. What is Eastern Europe? Fault Lines, Origins of Communism, and Spheres of Influence**

1. Stokes, Gale. 1998. “Eastern Europe’s Defining Fault Lines.” In *Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture, and Society Since 1939*, Indiana University Press, 15–34.
2. Verdery, Katherine. 1996. “What Was Socialism, and Why Did It Fall?” In *The Revolutions of 1989*, Oxford University Press: 63-88.
3. Gregory, Paul R. 1990. “The Stalinist Command Economy.” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*: 18–25.

4. Gross, Jan T. 1989. "Social Consequences of War: Preliminaries to the Study of Imposition of Communist Regimes in East Central Europe." *East European Politics & Societies* 3(2): 198–214.
5. Primary documents
  - a. Bohlen "Poland at the Teheran Conference" in Stokes (28-30)
  - b. Churchill "The Percentages Agreement" in Stokes (30-31)
  - c. Truman "The Truman Doctrine" in Stokes (33-37)
  - d. Zhdanov "The Two-Camp Policy" in Stokes (38-42)
  - e. Berman "The Case for Stalinism" in Stokes (44-50)

#### **Thursday, October 12 Resistance to communist rule and communism's collapse**

1. Valenta, Jiri. 1984. "Revolutionary Change, Soviet Intervention, and 'Normalization' in East-Central Europe." *Comparative Politics* 16(2): 127–51.
2. Chirot, Daniel. 1990. "What Happened in Eastern Europe in 1989?" *PRAXIS International*: 278–305. **Read Chirot before reading Garton Ash**
3. Ash, Timothy Garton. 1999. *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague*. Reprint edition. New York: Vintage.
4. Primary documents
  - a. Brezhnev "The Brezhnev Doctrine" in Stokes (131-134)
  - b. Gorbachev "A Common European Home" in Stokes (265-267)

#### **Friday, October 13. Challenges of transition: Ethnicity and Nationalism**

1. Diamond, Larry Jay. 2002. "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 21–35.
2. Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51–65.
3. Kotkin, Stephen. 2015. "The Resistible Rise of Vladimir Putin." *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2015).
4. Hanson, Stephen E. 2011. "Plebiscitarian Patrimonialism in Putin's Russia Legitimizing Authoritarianism in a Postideological Era." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 636(1): 32–48.
5. Review Nations in Transit Russia report <https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/2016/russia>. You can use the report for your essay-2.

#### **Essay-2 (Due in class on Friday, October 13, 2017. Bring hard copy to class and upload the electronic copy to Canvas).**

Scholars of democratization have long debated whether transitions from authoritarianism/totalitarianism result in democracy. Some scholars suggest that Russia is a diminished type of democracy, while others argue that Russia is a diminished type of authoritarianism. How would you characterize the regime type in Russia? What are the impediments to democratic transition in Russia? In your answer, make sure to (a) outline the central elements of democracy (polyarchy), (b) describe the alternatives to full-fledged democracy, and (c) explain which elements are met or compromised in Russia.

#### **Saturday AM, October 14. Challenges of transition: incomplete democratization**

1. Brown, James F. 2001. *The Grooves of Change: Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Millennium*. Duke University Press, 162-200.
2. Barany, Zoltan D. 1994. "Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Post-Communist Politics and Societies." *Slavic Review* 53(2): 321–44.
3. Younge, Gary. 2003. "Shame of a Continent." *The Guardian*, January 8.

#### **Saturday PM, October 14. Color Revolutions**

1. D'Anieri, P. 2006. "Explaining the Success and Failure of Post-Communist Revolutions." *Communist and post-communist studies* 39(3): 331–50.
2. Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2006. "International Diffusion and Postcommunist Electoral Revolutions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39 (3): 283–304.
3. Way, Lucan. 2008. "The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions." *Journal of Democracy* 19(3): 55–

69.

4. Gorenburg, Dmitry. 2014. "Countering Color Revolutions: Russia's New Security Strategy and Its Implications for U.S. Policy." *Ponars Eurasia Policy Memos*, September.
5. Koesel, Karrie J., and Valerie J. Bunce. 2013. "Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers." *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (03): 753–768.

### **Sunday AM, October 15. Georgia, Euromaidan, Crimea, and Ukraine-Russia conflict**

1. King, Charles. 2008. "The Five-Day War: Managing Moscow After the Georgia Crisis." *Foreign Affairs* 87(6): 2–11.
2. Kudelia, Sergiy. 2014. "Ukraine in Context: What Happens When Authoritarians Fall." *Foreign Affairs*, February 27.
3. Kudelia, Serhiy. 2014. "The House That Yanukovich Built." *Journal of Democracy* 25 (3): 19–34.

### **Sunday PM, October 15. Civil Society in Eastern Europe**

1. Howard, Marc M. 2003. *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
2. Julie Hemment. 2012. "Nashi, Youth Voluntarism, and Potemkin NGOs: Making Sense of Civil Society in Post-soviet Russia." *Slavic Review* 71 (2). Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies: 234–60.

### **Essay-3 Topic TBD (due on October 28, 2017 in Canvas)**

#### **Class Participation and Essay Guidelines:**

The instructor will be available to students via e-mail or telephone before the course. It is important that students regularly check their OU email and Canvas in the weeks prior to the start of the course and during the course.

1. Participation. This is a discussion-based class. Each student's participation is essential for its success, and good participation requires good preparation. All students are expected to read the assigned material **prior to each class** and actively engage in discussion. Student participation will be measured by quality rather than quantity of contributions.
2. Essay guidelines.
  - a. Start by clearly stating your argument – what is it that you are explaining, arguing, or disagreeing with?
  - b. Use the literature you've read for class to support your argument.
  - c. Cite all the sources for ideas and direct quotations. Make sure to include the author, the year, and page(s) if you are quoting the text or the author and year if you are referring to ideas or concepts. Examples:
    - i. Mearsheimer (2014) argues that the West is responsible for the conflict between Russian and Ukraine
    - ii. According to Robert Dahl, "democracy requires not only free, fair, and competitive elections, but also the freedoms that make them truly meaningful" (Diamond 2002, 22).
  - d. Include the list of all cited work. You can use any citation style as long as you are consistent.

**Grading:**

This is a letter-graded course: A, B, C, D, or F. This is a 3 credit hour course that requires three written assignments of about 1500 words each (approximately 5-6 double-spaced pages) and active participation in class discussions.

<b>Assignment</b>	<b>Due Date</b>	<b>Percent of Grade</b>
Essay 1	Due first night of class	25%
Essay 2	Due during class, <b>Friday</b>	20%
Essay 3	Due by midnight, <b>October 28, 2017</b>	30%
Class Participation	During class sessions	25%

**Notice:** Failure to meet assignment due dates could result in a grade of I (Incomplete) and may adversely impact Tuition Assistance and/or Financial Aid.

## **POLICIES AND NOTICES**

### **Attendance/Grade Policy**

Attendance and participation in interaction, individual assignments, group exercises, simulations, role playing, etc. are valuable aspects of any course because much of the learning comes from discussions in class with other students. It is expected that you attend all classes and be on time except for excused emergencies.

Excused absences are given for professor mandated activities or legally required activities such as emergencies or military assignments. It is the policy of the University to excuse absences of students that result from religious observances and to provide without penalty for the rescheduling of examinations and additional required class work that may fall on religious holidays. Unavoidable personal emergencies, including (but not limited to) serious illness; delays in getting to class because of accidents, etc.; deaths and funerals, and hazardous road conditions will be excused.

If you are obtaining financial assistance (TA, STAP, FA, VA, Scholarship, etc.) to pay all or part of your tuition cost, you must follow your funding agency/institution's policy regarding "I" (Incomplete) grades unless the timeline is longer than what the University policy allows then you must adhere to the University policy. Students who receive Financial Aid must resolve/complete any "I" (Incomplete) grades by the end of the term or he/she may be placed on "financial aid probation." If the "I" grade is not resolved/completed by the end of the following term, the student's Financial Aid may be suspended make the student ineligible for further Financial Aid.

Students are responsible for meeting the guidelines of Tuition Assistance and Veterans Assistance. See the education counselor at your local education center for a complete description of your TA or VA requirements.

### **Academic Integrity and Student Conduct**

Academic integrity means honesty and responsibility in scholarship. Academic assignments exist to help students learn; grades exist to show how fully this goal is attained. Therefore all work and all grades should result from the student's own understanding and effort.

Academic misconduct is any act which improperly affects the evaluation of a student's academic performance or achievement. Misconduct occurs when the student either knows or reasonably should know that the act constitutes misconduct. Academic misconduct includes: cheating and using unauthorized materials on examinations and other assignments; improper collaboration, submitting the same assignment for different classes (self-plagiarism); fabrication, forgery, alteration of documents, lying, etc...in order to obtain an academic advantage; assisting others in academic misconduct; attempting to commit academic misconduct; destruction of property, hacking, etc...; intimidation and interference with integrity process; and plagiarism. All students should review the Student's Guide to Academic Integrity at [http://integrity.ou.edu/students\\_guide.html](http://integrity.ou.edu/students_guide.html)

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. All students should review policies regarding student conduct at <http://studentconduct.ou.edu/>

### **Accommodation Statement**

The University of Oklahoma is committed to making its activities as accessible as possible. For accommodations on the basis of disability, please contact your local OU Site Director.

### **Adjustment for Pregnancy/Childbirth-Related Issues**

Should you need modifications or adjustments to your course requirements because of documented pregnancy-related or childbirth-related issues, please contact me as soon as possible to discuss. Generally, modifications will be made where medically necessary and similar in scope to accommodations based on temporary disability. Please see <http://www.ou.edu/content/eoo/faqs/pregnancy-faqs.html>.

## **Title IX Resources**

For any concerns regarding gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, sexual misconduct, stalking, or intimate partner violence, the University offers a variety of resources, including advocates on-call 24/7, counseling services, mutual no-contact orders, scheduling adjustments, and disciplinary sanctions against the perpetrator. Please contact the Sexual Misconduct Office at [smo@ou.edu](mailto:smo@ou.edu) or (405) 325-2215 (8-5), or the Sexual Assault Response Team at (405) 615 -0013 (24/7) to report an incident. To learn more about Title IX, please visit the Institutional Equity Office's website at <http://www.ou.edu/content/eoo.html>

## **Course Policies**

Advanced Programs policy is to order books in paperback if available. Courses, dates, and professors are subject to change. Please check with your OU Site Director. Students should retain a copy of any assignments that are mailed to the professor for the course. Advanced Programs does not provide duplicating services or office supplies.

Any and all course materials, syllabus, lessons, lectures, etc. are the property of professor teaching the course and the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma and are protected under applicable copyright.

For more information about Advanced Programs, visit our website at: <http://www.goou.ou.edu/>

## **INSTRUCTOR VITA**

**Max Kovalov, PhD**

### **Education**

- 2013 PhD, Political Science, University of Oklahoma
- 2004 MS, International Studies, Oklahoma State University
- 2001 BA Business, Vinnytsia National Technical University, Ukraine

### **Current Positions**

- Adjunct Professor, Advanced Programs, University of Oklahoma
- Adjunct Professor, International Studies Program and Department of Political Science, College of Charleston
- Program Coordinator, Initiative for Public Choice and Market Process, College of Charleston

### **Frequently Taught Advanced Programs Courses**

- Eastern European Politics
- European Studies Capstone
- Model UN
- Comparative Politics

### **Major Areas of Teaching and Research Interest**

- Eastern European Politics
- The politics of protest
- Democratization
- Politics of globalization
- Populism

### **Representative Publications and Presentations**

- Kovalov, Maksym. 2014. "Electoral Manipulations and Fraud in Parliamentary Elections: The Case of Ukraine." *East European Politics & Societies*, 28(4): 781–807.
- Kovalov, Maksym. 2015. "The Armed Conflict in Eastern Ukraine: Exploring Competing Narratives." *Copernicus Journal of Political Studies*. Forthcoming. (non-refereed)
- "Protest Mobilization in Ukraine: Svoboda before the Euromaidan," Paper Presented at the 73<sup>rd</sup> MPSA Annual National Conference, Palmer House Hotel, Hilton, Chicago, IL. April 2015

### **Major Professional Affiliations**

- Midwest Political Science Association
- American Political Science Association