

Professor Milada Anna Vachudova
Spring Semester 2006

**UNDIVIDED EUROPE
DEMOCRATIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFTER COMMUNISM**

This course explores the collapse of communist rule in 1989, and the reaction of international institutions to the challenges of democratization, economic transition, ethnic conflict and European integration in an undivided Europe. As background, we will study the condition of states, nations and ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe before and during the Second World War. We will also study the nature of communist rule in Eastern Europe, of Soviet hegemony in the communist bloc, and of European integration in Western Europe during the Cold War. So prepared, we will explore the tremendous changes that have taken place in Europe since 1989. The post-communist states of Eastern Europe have embarked on sweeping domestic reforms aiming to create liberal democratic states with functioning market economies. The international institutions of Western Europe have struggled to adapt and to respond to the new challenges of an undivided Europe, and to support these reforms. Most dramatically, the European Union now has many new members, candidates and proto-candidates from formerly communist lands. EU enlargement is probably the most successful democracy promotion program ever implemented by an international actor. Most tragically, the building of a peaceful, democratic and prosperous Europe has been severely marred by ethnic cleansing and war in the former Yugoslavia. The two overarching questions at hand are: (1) How can we explain the great variation in the nature of political change in East European states after 1989?; and (2) What role have international institutions and other international actors played in shaping the course of this change? More broadly, what determines the utility of international organizations or other international actors in preventing conflict and promoting democratization and economic revitalization?

Books

Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*.
Vintage Books, Random House, 2000.

Joseph Rothschild and Nancy M. Wingfield, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II*. Oxford University Press, 2000.

Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*. Penguin Books, 1997.

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism*. Oxford University Press, 2005.

Reserve Readings

The other readings for the course will be available through the course website (<http://www.unc.edu/~eedwards>). Short articles (that may not appear on the syllabus) will also be posted on the website or sent via email.

Course Requirements

1. Attendance, homework and participation in class discussions: 20%.
2. Two tests: 20% (10% each).
3. Two short papers: 40% (20% each).
4. Final paper: 20%.

The short papers will be five to six pages each; the long paper will be about 15 pages long. Students will choose one of three questions to answer. There will be a handout on how to write and document the short papers. Most important, papers must include original research; they must be double-spaced and in 12 point font; and they must be turned in no later than in class on the day they are due. Late papers will be marked down one letter grade per day.

Contact Information

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Questions

If you have substantive questions about the course, please come see me during my office hours. Please email me at vachudov@email.unc.edu to set up appointments only in the case that you absolutely cannot come to office hours. Also please do come see me if you have any concerns about your performance, or any suggestions for how to improve the course. If you are a student at Charlotte or NCSU and you have questions that are not fully answered in section, please call me at my office at 919-962-0415. Generally I will not be able to answer substantive questions over email.

If you are writing to explain an absence or a late paper, or to re-schedule a missed test, please email the teaching assistant at eedwards@email.unc.edu.

Original Work

It is expected that any written work turned in for this class represents original work not previously or simultaneously handed in for credit in another course, unless this is done with the prior approval of all instructors involved.

Revised Syllabus

A revised version of this syllabus may be posted in the first week of February. At that time, there may be changes to the readings for the rest of the semester.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Weeks 1 + 2: Introduction to Europe in 2004 Interwar Europe 1918-1939

Lecture: January 11+13 + 18 + 20
(January 16 is Martin Luther King, Jr. Day: No Class)

Mazower, Chapter Two, "Empires, Nations, Minorities," pp. 41-75.

Rothschild, Chapter One, "The Interwar Background," pp. 1-22.

"When east meets west," survey of EU enlargement, *The Economist*, 22 November 2003.
http://www.economist.com/surveys/displayStory.cfm?story_id=2206761&no_na_tran=1

"A divided Union," survey of the EU, *The Economist*, 23 September 2004.
http://www.economist.com/surveys/displayStory.cfm?story_id=3194381&no_na_tran=1

Week 3: World War Two and Its Aftermath

Lecture: January 23 + 25 + 27

Mazower, Chapter Five, "Hitler's New Order, 1938-45," pp. 138-182.
Chapter Six, "Blueprints for the Golden Age," pp. 182-211.

Rothschild, Chapter Two, "World War II," pp. 23-74.

CNN Episode 1 Comrades: <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/01/>
Study the map at: <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/01/maps/#>

Week 4: Europe During the Cold War

Lecture: January 30 + February 1
Section: February 3

Mazower, Chapter Eight, "Building People's Democracy," pp. 250-285.

Rothschild, Chapter Three, "The Communists Come to Power," pp. 75-124
Skim Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Peter M.R. Stirk (1996). "The Reconstruction of Europe under Superpower Hegemony,"
Chapter 4 in Stirk, *A History of European Integration Since 1914*. Pinter, pp. 82-118.

CNN Episode 2 Iron Curtain: <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/02/>
CNN Episode 7 After Stalin: <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/07/>

Week 5: Protest and Revolution in Eastern Europe

Lecture: February 6 + 8

Test One: February 10

Mazower, Chapter Eleven: "Sharks + Dolphins: The Collapse of Communism," pp. 367-401.

Rothschild, Chapter 7, "The Various Endgames," pp. 227-263.

Timothy Garton Ash (1990). *The Magic Lantern*. Random House. (Selected chapters.)

Grzegorz Ekiert (1996). *The State Against Society*. Princeton University Press, pp. 3-35.

Week 6: The Challenges of Political and Economic Transition

Lecture: February 13 + 15

Section: February 17

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapter 1 + 2.

Valerie Bunce (1999). "The Political Economy of Postsocialism," *Slavic Review* 58, pp. 756-793.

Jacques Rupnik (1994). "Europe's New Frontiers: Remapping Europe," *Daedalus* 123, 3 (Summer), pp. 91-114.

Adam Michnik (2000). "Independence Reborn and the Demons of the Velvet Revolution," in *Between Past and Future: The Revolutions of 1989 and Their Aftermath*. Central European University Press, pp. 81-99.

Summit of the Club of Madrid in Prague, November 2005: Working Group Summaries by Jan Kubik and Keith Darden.

Week 7: Institutions in the New Europe

February 20 + 22 + 24

Paper One Due February 24

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapter 3 + 4.

Peter Stirk (1996). "The New European Architecture," Chapter Eight in Stirk, *A History of European Integration Since 1914*. Pinter, pp. 244-285.

Robert O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann (1993). "Introduction" and "Conclusion: Structure, Strategy, and Institutional Roles," in *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-1991*. Harvard University Press, pp. 1-22, and 381-406.

**Week 8: Europe's Security Institutions:
The Council of Europe, the OSCE and Regional Initiatives**

February 27 + March 1

Section: March 3

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapter 5.

Janusz Bugajski (1993). "The Fate of Minorities in Eastern Europe," *Journal of Democracy* 4, 4 (October), pp. 85-99.

Konrad Huber, "The CSCE and Ethnic Conflict in the East," *RFE/RL Research Report*, Vol. 2, No. 31 (30 July 1993), pp. 30-36; and "The CSCE's New Role in the East: Conflict Prevention," *RFE/RL Research Report*, Vol. 3, No. 31 (12 August 1994), pp. 23-30.

Judith Kelley (2004). *Ethnic Politics in Europe*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 4 on Latvia or Chapter 5 on Estonia, pp. 73-93 and pp. 94-115.

The OSCE at:

<http://www.osce.org/general/>

The Council of Europe at:

<http://www.coe.int/portalT.asp>

Spring Break UNC Charlotte + NCSU March 6-10.

Spring Break UNC Chapel Hill March 13-17.

Week 9: Europe's Security Institutions: The Atlantic Alliance

March 6 + 8 + 10 Chapel Hill

March 13 + 15 + 17 Charlotte and NCSU

Ronald D. Asmus (2002). *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era*. Columbia University Press. (Selected chapters.)

Anthony Forster and William Wallace (2001/2002). "What is NATO for?" *Survival* 43, 4 (Winter), pp. 107-122.

Dan Reiter (2001). "Why NATO Enlargement Does Not Spread Democracy," *International Security* 25, 4 (Spring), pp. 41-67.

Rachel Epstein (2005). "NATO Enlargement and the Spread of Democracy: Evidence and Expectations," *Security Studies* 14, 1: pp. 63-105.

Václav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, Address at the Conference "Europe's New Democracies: Leadership and Responsibility," Bratislava, May 11, 2001.

All speeches at: http://www.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/index_uk.html

Petr Lunak (2001). "Reassessing the Cold War alliances," *NATO Review*, web edition, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Winter), pp. 31-33.

<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2001/0104-09.htm>

The Atlantic Alliance at:

<http://www.nato.int/welcome/home.htm>

Week 10 + 11: The Wars in the Former Yugoslavia

Lecture: March 20 + 22

Section: March 24

Lecture: March 27 + 29 + 31

Paper Two due March 31

Laura Silber and Allan Litte, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*.

Misha Glenny, "The Balkan Vortex: Nationalism, war and NATO, 1989-99," in Glenny, *The Balkans 1804-1999* (London: Granta Books, 1999), pp. 634-662.

The Yugoslav Wars of Succession:

<http://www.smuhsd.k12.ca.us/smhs/library/enc.htm>

The Economist, Survey: The Balkans, January 22, 1998:

<http://www.economist.com/surveys/showsurvey.cfm?issue=19980124>

CNN on Yugoslav transition:

<http://europe.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2000/yugoslavia/>

<http://europe.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2000/yugo.crisis/>

Institute for War & Peace Reporting on the Balkans:

http://www.iwpr.net/index.pl?balkans_index.html

International Crisis Groups on the Balkans:

<http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/projects/program.cfm?typeid=3>

Weeks 12: Democratization and International Actors

Lecture: April 3 + 5

Section: April 7

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapter 6 +7.

Michael McFaul (2005). "Transitions from Postcommunism," *Journal of Democracy* 16, 3 (July): pp. 5-19.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2005). "International Linkage and Democratization" *Journal of Democracy* 16, 3 (July), pp. 20-34

European Commission enlargement website:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/index_en.html

European Commission 2001 Strategy Paper and Regular Reports:
<http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report2001/index.htm>

European Parliament enlargement website:
http://www.europarl.eu.int/enlargement/default_en.htm

Week 13: The Enlargement of the European Union

Lecture: April 10

Test Two on April 12

(April 14 is a holiday: No Class)

Milada Anna Vachudova, *Europe Undivided*, Chapters 5 + 8.

Timothy Garton Ash (1998). "Europe's Endangered Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* 77, 2 (March/April): pp. 51-65.

Andrew Moravcsik and Milada Anna Vachudova (2003). "National Interests, State Power and EU Enlargement," *East European Politics and Societies*

Weeks 14: Stabilizing the Balkans

Lecture: April 17 + 19 + 21

Stanley Hoffmann, "Yugoslavia: Implications for Europe and for European Institutions," in *The World and Yugoslavia's Wars*, edited by Richard Ullman (New York: The Council on Foreign Relations, 1996), pp. 97-121.

"The Plight of Kosovo," *The New York Review of Books*, April 11, 1991.

Timothy Garton Ash, "Kosovo: Was it Worth It?" *The New York Review of Books*, September 21, 2000.

Tim Judah, "The Fog of Justice," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2004), pp. 23-25.

Judy Batt (2005). "The Question of Serbia," *Chaillot Paper No. 81*, Institute for Security Studies, Paris. <http://www.iss-eu.org/chaillot/chai81e.html>

Milada Anna Vachudova, "Promoting Political Change and Economic Revitalization in the Western Balkans," *Slovak Foreign Policy Affairs*, 2/2005.

The EU's relations with South Eastern Europe:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/see/index.htm

The World Bank's Strategy Paper on South Eastern Europe:
<http://www.worldbank.org/ba/news/2000/pr-mar00-03.htm>

The European Policy Centre:
<http://www.theepc.be/top.asp?SEC=challenge>

The Center for European Reform:
<http://www.cer.org.uk/>

Week 15: What Future for Europe?

Lecture: April 24 + 26

Section: April 28 – Last Day of Class

Final Paper due May 1

Web Sites on Postcommunist Europe:

Central Europe Online:
www.europeaninternet.com/centraleurope/

Transitions Online:
www.tol.cz

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty:
www.rferl.org
<http://search.rferl.org/>

East European Constitutional Review:
www.law.nyu.edu/eecr/index.html

Financial Times search engine:
<http://globalarchive.ft.com/globalarchive/search.html>