

PSCI 3705 A
East/Central Europe and the European Union
6:05-8:55 p.m., Thursdays
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Dragoş Constantin Popa, Ph.D.
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a new project in East/Central Europe, entailing major changes along political and economic dimensions, replaced the previous task of Soviet-led communist construction. While virtually all the actors involved agreed that a significant transformation was warranted – usually dubbed as transition to liberal democracy and market economy – both the final objectives and the steps to be undertaken were initially less than clearly defined. As soon as the revolutionary euphoria dissipated, wide disagreement emerged as to what would be the best “model” to be followed. In its relations with the former communist countries of East/Central Europe, the European Union (EU) has pursued a policy of staged enlargement. While eight of these countries were admitted to the EU in May 2004 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) and two additional countries in January 2007 (Bulgaria and Romania), others are still waiting in the wings. The pattern of staged EU enlargement unveils a push-pull mechanism for integration (to be elaborated upon in the course), where candidate countries require a varied amount of resources to meet the membership criteria. The course provides a comparative examination of East/Central European post-communist transformation in the context of European Union enlargement and accession processes: questions of identity, security, stability and economic integration, as well as political and social challenges.

EVALUATION

Participation	15%
Research Essay Proposal (due Feb 12)	15%
Research Essay (due March 19)	30%
Final Exam (to be scheduled during the formal examination period, April 8-27 th , excluding April 11 th)	40%

1. Participation and short in-class presentation (15%). Students are expected to do the assigned readings and take part in class discussions. In addition, students should

prepare and deliver a short in-class presentation (7-10 minutes) based on one of the assigned readings or on a subject related to that week's topic. When based on the readings, the presentation should include the following elements: (i) main ideas or a *short* summary; (ii) key arguments made by the author(s); (iii) an assessment of these arguments; and, if possible – for additional points – (iv) links (similarities and differences) to the rest of the readings assigned for that week. In the case of those readings that are significantly shorter than the rest, point (iv) becomes mandatory; for those readings that are significantly longer than the average, point (iv) becomes optional. Students will be able to choose the week for their presentation during the first and second classes (January 8 and January 15, 2009). There will be a maximum of 6-7 students presenting each week, therefore you may want to decide early on the topic/week you prefer.

2. Research essay proposal (15%). A 3-4 page research essay proposal, due in class on February 12, 2009 – typed, double-spaced, Times New Roman 12-point or Arial 11-point fonts. The proposal should outline: (i) the structure of the research essay (due later in the term); (ii) main research question(s); (iii) hypotheses; (iv) main arguments; (v) methodological approaches; and (vi) a preliminary bibliography or materials most relevant to the research proposal. The proposal should use one of the topics discussed in the context of this course or a related topic relevant to the study of East/Central Europe and the European Union (the latter to be discussed with the instructor). The instructor and the teaching assistant will attempt to provide guidance for the final research essay, after reading the proposal. Graded proposals will be returned in class on February 26.

3. Research essay (30%). A 12-15 page research essay, due in class on March 19, 2009 – typed, double-spaced, Times New Roman 12-point or Arial 11-point fonts (page length requirements to be strictly adhered to). The research essay should build on the research essay proposal, follow the same format and incorporate possible suggestions made by the instructor and/or the teaching assistant. Proper structure, argumentation and content will be the key elements in assessing the essays, but spelling, grammar and style will also count. Referencing style is at students' discretion, as long as it is one of the styles employed regularly in the academic literature and it is used consistently throughout the paper (the same applies to citation format). Graded essay will be returned in class on April 2.

4. Final exam (40%). The exam will test students' understanding of the subject matter and their command of the readings. It will be organized during the official examination period for the Winter 2009 term (exact date to be announced by the Department).

Failure to complete any portion of the course evaluation requirements will result in a "F."

OTHER DETAILS

Late papers: late research essay proposals and research essays will be subject to one ½ grade reduction for each day they are late, weekends included (for example, A- to B+ for a paper supposed to be received on March 19 and handed in or date-stamped March 20). In rare cases, late papers will not be subject to penalties, but sufficient documentation has to be provided to the instructor. Late submission of assignments due to illness must be justified; otherwise, a penalty will be imposed. Reasons such as travel,

employment and misreading the examination schedule are not usually accepted. The papers must be handed in to the instructor directly; otherwise, use the Political Science Drop Box. (The drop box is intended to collect late assignments only; it is emptied every weekday at 4 p.m. and all items collected at that time are date-stamped with that day's date).

News: students are encouraged to bring news stories, policy documents, etc. to class if they are relevant to that week's topic. Use on a regular basis news sources such as *BBC News* (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/>), *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (<http://www.rferl.org>), *Transitions Online* (<http://www.tol.cz>), *The Globe and Mail* (www.theglobeandmail.com/), *The New York Times* (<http://www.nytimes.com/>) or *Google News* (<http://news.google.ca/>, where you can also create email alerts).

Readings: all the readings are required. The vast majority of them are available online, accessed either directly on the Internet or through the Library, which has paid subscriptions to those respective journals and publications. The rest will be made available on reserve in the Library and/or as photocopies in the Political Science Resource Centre (C666 LA). A course pack/kit is not available; the instructor will upload all the readings available in electronic format on WebCT.

SCHEDULE

- Week 1. Introduction
- Week 2. The Communist Experiment: Different Routes in East/Central Europe
- Week 3. The Fall of the "Eastern Bloc"
- Week 4. Good Bye Lenin! and Early Transition Steps
- Week 5. Understanding the Post-Communist Transition in East/Central Europe
- Week 6. Expanding the European Union
- Week 7. Spring Break (Class suspended)
- Week 8. The Enlarged EU: Politics and Geopolitics
- Week 9. The Enlarged EU: Social and Economic Considerations
- Week 10. Governance by Conditionality
- Week 11. Soft or Hard Borders for an Enlarged Europe?
- Week 12. The Future of the European Union
- Week 13: Final wrap-up class

Week 1. Introduction

January 8, 2009

- No assigned readings

Week 2. The Communist Experiment: Different Routes in East/Central Europe

January 15, 2009

- Bennett, Kovrig. "Hungarian Socialism: The Deceptive Hybrid." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 1, issue 1 (1986), 113-134

- Korbonski, Andrzej. "Poland" (50-85). In *Communism in Eastern Europe*, ed. Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984
- Remington, Robin Alison. "Yugoslavia" (238-282). In *Communism in Eastern Europe*, ed. Teresa Rakowska-Harmstone. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984
- Tismaneanu, Vladimir. "The Tragicomedy of Romanian Communism." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 3, issue 2 (1989), 329-376

Week 3. The Fall of the "Eastern Bloc"

January 22, 2009

- Brucan, Silviu. *The Wasted Generation: Memoirs of the Romanian Journey from Capitalism to Socialism and Back*. Oxford: Westview Press, 1993. Ch. 10 ("The Inside Story of the Revolution," 167-187)
- Gooding, J. "Perestroika as Revolution from Within." *The Russian Review*, vol. 51, no. 1 (1992), 36-57
- Judt, Tony. "The Dilemmas of Dissidence: The Politics of Opposition in East-Central Europe." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1988), 185-240
- Rainer, Janos M. "1956: The Mid-Twentieth Century Seen from the Vantage Point of the Beginning of the Next Century." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 58, no. 8 (December 2006), 1189-1198

Week 4. Good Bye Lenin! and Early Transition Steps

January 29, 2009

- Movie: *Good Bye Lenin!* (2003), directed by Wolfgang Becker
- Adam, Jan. "The transition to a market economy in Hungary." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 47, issue 6 (September 1995), 989-1006
- Welsh, Helga A. "Dealing with the Communist past: Central and East European experiences after 1990." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 48, issue 3 (May 1996), 413-428

Week 5. Understanding the Post-Communist Transition in East/Central Europe

February 5, 2009

- D'Anieri, Paul. "Explaining the success and failure of post-communist revolutions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 39, no. 3 (September 2006), 331-350

- Gerry, Christopher J., and Tomasz M. Mickiewicz. "Inequality, Democracy and Taxation: Lessons from the Post-Communist Transition." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 1 (January 2008), 89-111
- Mungiu, Alina. "Beyond the New Borders." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 15, no. 1 (January 2004), 48-62
- Petrovic, Milenko. "The role of geography and history in determining the slower progress of post-communist transition in the Balkans." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2 (June 2008), 123-145

Week 6. Expanding the European Union

February 12, 2009

- Dangerfield, Martin. "The Visegrád Group in the Expanded European Union: From Preaccession to Postaccession Cooperation." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 22, no. 3 (Summer 2008), 630-667
- Karp, Jeffrey A. and Shaun Bowler. "Broadening *and* deepening or broadening *versus* deepening: The question of enlargement and Europe's 'hesitant Europeans.'" *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 45, issue 3 (May 2006), 369-390
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. "Of Dark Sides and Twilight Zones: Enlarging to the Balkans." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (February 2003), 83-90
- Noutcheva, Gergana and Dimitar Bechev. "The Successful Laggards: Bulgaria and Romania's Accession to the EU." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 22, no. 1 (Winter 2008), 114-144

Week 7. Spring Break (Class suspended)

February 19, 2009

Week 8. The Enlarged EU: Politics and Geopolitics

February 26, 2009

- Bojkov, V.D. "Neither here, not there: Bulgaria and Romania in current European politics." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 37, issue 4 (December 2004), 509-522
- Neumayer, Laure. "Euroscepticism as a political label: The use of European Union issues in political competition in the new Member States." *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 47, issue 2 (March 2008), 135-160

- Poguntke, Thomas et al. "The Europeanisation of national party organisations: A conceptual analysis." *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 46, issue 6 (October 2007), 747-771
- Zielonka, Jan. "Challenges of EU Enlargement." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 15, no. 1 (January 2004), 22-35

Week 9. The Enlarged EU: Social and Economic Considerations

March 5, 2009

- Berend, I.T. "Social shock in transforming Central and Eastern Europe." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 30, issue 3 (September 2007)
- Fisher, Sharon et al. "Slovakia's Neoliberal Turn." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 59, no. 6 (September 2007), 977-998
- Heyns, Barbara. "Emerging Inequalities in Central and Eastern Europe." *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 31 (2005), 163-197
- Kaufman, Robert R. "Market Reform and Social Protection: Lessons from the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 21, no. 1 (February 2007), 111-125

Week 10. Governance by Conditionality

March 12, 2009

- Kratochvil, Petr. "The Discursive Resistance to EU-Enticement: The Russian Elite and (the Lack of) Europeanisation." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 3 (May 2008), 397-422
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore. "Between Historical Legacies and the Promise of Western Integration: Democratic Conditionality after Communism." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 21, no. 1 (February 2007), 142-161
- Pridham, Geoffrey. "Status Quo Bias or Institutionalisation for Reversibility? The EU's Political Conditionality, Post-Accession Tendencies and Democratic Consolidation in Slovakia." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, issue 3 (May 2008), 423-454
- Schimmelfennig, Frank. "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe." *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 21, no. 1 (February 2007), 126-141

Week 11. Soft or Hard Borders for an Enlarged Europe?

March 19, 2009

- Kubicek, Paul. "The European Union and Democratization in Ukraine." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol. 38, no. 2 (2005), 269-292

- Popa, D. C., and Bogdan Buduru. "New Borders and Staged Enlargement: Romania and the EU" (85-102). In *Soft or Hard Borders? Managing the Divide in an Enlarged Europe*, by Joan DeBardeleben (ed.), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005
- Sasse, Gwendolyn. "The European Neighbourhood Policy: Conditionality Revisited for the EU's Eastern Neighbours." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 2 (March 2008), 295-316
- White, Stephen et al. "Enlargement and the New Outsiders." *Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS)*, vol. 40, no. 1 (March 2002), 135-153

Week 12. The Future of the European Union

March 26, 2009

- Haukkala, Hiski. "The European Union as a Regional Normative Hegemon: The Case of European Neighbourhood Policy." *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, issue 9 (November 2008), 1601-1622
- Klasnja, Marko. "The EU and Kosovo: Time to Rethink the Enlargement and Integration Policy?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 54, no. 4 (July-August 2007), 15-32
- Papava, Vladimer and Michael Tokmazishvili. "Becoming European: Georgia's Strategy for Joining the EU." *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 53, no. 1 (January-February 2006), 26-32
- Türkes, Mustafa and Göksu Gökgöz. "The European Union's Strategy towards the Western Balkans: Exclusion or Integration?" *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 20, no. 4 (November 2006), 659-690

Week 13: Final wrap-up class

April 2, 2009

- No assigned readings

OTHER RESOURCES

Journals with articles on EU enlargement:

- Communist and Post-Communist Studies
- East European Politics and Societies
- East European Quarterly
- Europe-Asia Studies
- European Journal of Political Research
- Journal of European Public Policy

- Journal of European Social Policy
- Journal of Common Market Studies
- Problems of Post-Communism

EU enlargement and European integration websites:

- Center for Applied Policy Research (Munich):
<http://www.cap-lmu.de/english/index.php>
 - Centre for European Policy Studies (Brussels):
<http://www.ceps.be/index3.php>
 - European Centre for Minority Issues (Flensburg, Germany):
<http://www.ecmi.de>
 - European Commission Enlargement site:
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/index_en.htm
 - European Commission Public Opinion (surveys):
http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/index_en.htm
 - European Parliament Enlargement site:
http://www.europarl.eu.int/enlargement/default_en.htm
 - European Union Information Website (Brussels):
<http://www.euractiv.com/en/HomePage>
 - EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program:
www.eumap.org/
 - EU Observer (non-profit organization, Brussels):
<http://www.euobserver.com/>
 - EU Politix (media site):
<http://www.eupolitix.com/EN/>
 - The World Bank EU Integration site:
<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/...> [google "The World Bank EU Integration"]
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Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your letter of accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April examinations**.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations

in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Department's Style Guide is available at:

<http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science only communicates with students via Connect accounts. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.