

Post-Communist Democratization

International Master's Program in International Studies
Graduate Institute of Russian Studies
National Chengchi University
Fall Semester, 2016

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Wednesdays 15:10-18:00

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Course Description

The collapse of authoritarian rule in Southern Europe, Latin America and East Asia which began in the 1970s, the breakdown of Communist regimes in East Europe and the former Soviet Union which began in 1989, and the recent color revolutions and the Arab Spring which began in the 2000s, have revived interest in the study of democratization. Did the literature of transition from authoritarian regimes shed light on the developmental trend and pattern of Soviet-type regime transition? What explains the resilience of existing authoritarian regimes? How can democracy be effective and sustainable? The course aims to explore the democratization process in the post-communist countries in both theory and practice. Students are introduced to contending perspectives on the major issues of post-communist democratization.

Course Requirements and Grading

- ☼ Class participation (25%): Students are expected to attend regularly, to read the assigned readings, and to actively participate in class discussions.
- ☼ Presentations (25%): Each student is required to give three ten-minute oral presentations. The first two are to present reviews of the assigned readings of the weekly topic, and the final one is to present the research proposal of the final paper.
- ☼ Final paper (50%): Each student is required to write a research paper (5,000-8,000 words) related to the topics covered in the course. The final paper will be due on **Jan. 16, 2017**.

Websites, Periodicals, Multimedia, Further reading

websites:

- *Nations in Transit 2016, Country Report* , Freedom House,
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/nations-transit/nations-transit-2016>
- *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, <http://www.rferl.org>
- *Russian Analytical Digest*, <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/index.cfm>
- *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, <http://www.jamestown.org/publications.php>
- *EurasiaNet*, <http://www.eurasianet.org>
- *National Endowment for Democracy*, <http://www.ned.org>

Periodicals: *Journal of Democracy*; *Post-Soviet Affairs*; *Europe-Asia Studies*; *Problems of Post-Communism*; *Demokratizatsiya*; *East European Politics*; *Democratization*; *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*; *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*; *Post-Communist Economies*; *Russian Politics and Law*; *Central Asian Survey*; *Slavic Review*; *Comparative Politics*; *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*

Online Multimedia :

National Endowment for Democracy, <http://www.ned.org/events>; *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/events>; *Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS)*, <http://csis.org/multimedia>; *Heritage Foundation*, <http://www.heritage.org>; *Brookings*, <http://www.brookings.edu/multimedia.aspx>

- “Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy,”
<http://www.ned.org/events/authoritarianism-goes-global-the-challenge-to-democracy/>
- “The Authoritarian Resurgence: China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela,”
<http://www.ned.org/events/the-authoritarian-resurgence-china-russia-saudi-arabia-and-venezuela>
- “Democratizing China: Insights from Theory and History,”
<http://www.ned.org/events/democratizing-china-insights-from-theory-and-history/>
- “Democracy promotion and the Democracy Recession,”
<http://www.ned.org/events/democracy-promotion-and-democracy-recession>
- “The Global Campaign against Democratic Norms,”
<http://www.ned.org/events/the-global-campaign-against-democratic-norms>

Further reading: Robert A Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*; Larry Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies throughout the World*; Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Philip J. Costopoulos, eds., *Debates on Democratization*; Jean Grugel and Matthew Louis Bishop, *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*; Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* ; Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy toward Consolidation*; Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Democracy after Communism*; Stephen White, Richard

Sakwa and Henry E. Hale, eds., *Developments in Russian Politics 8*; Stephen White, Paul G. Lewis & Judy Batt, eds., *Developments in Central & East European Politics 5*; Amanda E. Wooden and Christoph H. Stefes, eds., *The Politics of Transition in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Enduring Legacies and Emerging Challenges; Eastern Europe, Russia and Central Asia* (London: Europa Publications, 2015)

Schedule and Reading Assignments

Week 1 (Sept. 14): Introduction

Week 2 (Sept. 21): The Global Wave of Democratization

- John Markoff (with Amy White), “The Global Wave of Democratization,” in Christian W. Haerpfer, et al., eds, *Democratization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ch. 5.
- Anders Aslund, *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ch. 1.

Recommended: Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*; Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*.

Week 3 (Sept. 28): Theories of Democratization

- Christian Welzel, “Theories of Democratization,” in Haerpfer, et al., eds, *Democratization*, ch. 6.
- Grzegorz Ekiert, “Three Generations of Research on Post-Communist Politics – A Sketch,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (May 2015), pp. 323-337.

Recommended: Richard D. Anderson, Jr., et al., *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy*; Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *After the Collapse of Communism: Comparative Lessons of Transition*.

Week 4 (Oct. 5): Measuring Democracy and Democratization

- Patrick Bernhagen, “Measuring Democracy and Democratization,” in Haerpfer, et al., eds, *Democratization*, ch. 3.
- Larry Diamond, *In Search of Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2016), ch. 3.

Recommended: Michael Coppedge, *Democratization and Research Methods*; Andrew Roberts, *The Quality of Democracy in Eastern Europe: Public Preferences and Policy Reforms*; Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, eds., *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*.

Week 5 (Oct. 12): The Authoritarian Resurgence

- Martin K. Dimitrov, “Understanding Communist Collapse and Resilience,” in Martin K. Dimitrov, ed., *Why Communism Did Not Collapse: Understanding Authoritarian Regime Resilience in Asia and Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ch. 1.
- Thomas Ambrosio, “Beyond the Transition Paradigm: A Research Agenda for Authoritarian Consolidation,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Summer 2014), pp. 471-494.

Recommended: Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*; Andreas Schedler, *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*; Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Christopher Walker, eds., *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy*.

Week 6 (Oct. 19): Constitutional Engineering and Democratization

- Robert Elgie and Sophia Moestrup, “Semi-Presidentialism in Democracies, Quasi-Democracies, and Autocracies,” in Robert Elgie and Sophia Moestrup, eds., *Semi-Presidentialism in the Caucasus and Central Asia* (London: Palgrave, 2016), ch. 1.
- Henry E. Hale, “The Informal Politics of Formal Constitutions: Rethinking the Effects of ‘Presidentialism’ and ‘Parliamentarism’ in the Cases of Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Ukraine,” in Tom Ginsburg and Alberto Simpser, eds., *Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), ch. 10.

Recommended: Matthew Soberg Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*; Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*; Robert Elgie & Sophia Moestrup, eds., *Semi-Presidentialism in Central and Eastern Europe*.

Week 7 (Oct. 26): Political Parties and Democratization

- Leonardo Morlino, “Political Parties,” in Haerpfer, et al., eds, *Democratization*, ch. 14.
- Andrey Semenov, Olesya Lobanova and Margarita Zavadskaya, “When Do Political Parties Join Protests? A Comparative Analysis of Party Involvement in ‘For Fair Elections’ Movement,” *East European Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (2016), pp. 81-104.

Recommended: Paul Webb and Stephen White, ed., *Party Politics in New Democracies*; Anna M. Grzymala-Busse, *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*; Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, ed., *Political Parties and Democracy*.

Week 8 (Nov. 2): Elections and Democratization

- Joshua A. Tucker, “Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Sept. 2007), pp. 535-551.
- Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wochik, “Oppositions versus Dictators: Explaining Divergent Electoral Outcomes in Post-Communist Europe and Eurasia,” in Staffan I. Lindberg, ed., *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), ch. 10.

Recommended: Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*; Sarah Birch, *Electoral Systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe*; Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris, *Comparing Democracies 4: Elections and Voting in a Changing World*.

Week 9 (Nov. 9): Civil Society and Democratization

- Larry Diamond, *In Search of Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2016), ch. 6.
- Francesco Cavatorta, “Civil Society Activism under Authoritarian Constraints,” in Francesco Cavatorta, ed., *Civil Society Activism under Authoritarian Rule: A Comparative Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2013), ch. 1.

Recommended: Terry Cox, ed, *Civil Society and Social Capital in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*; Marc Morje Howard, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*; Graeme B. Robertson, *The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes: Managing Dissent in Post-Communist Russia*.

Week 10 (Nov. 16): The Media and Democratization

- Katrin Voltmer and Gary Rawnsley, “The Media,” in Haerpfer, et al., eds, *Democratization*, ch. 16.
- Rachel Vanderhill, “Limits on the Democratizing Influence of the Internet: Lessons from Post-Soviet States,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter 2015), pp. 31-56.

Recommended: “Special issue: Media in Eurasia,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring 2014); “Special Issue: The Media Landscape in Central Asia,” *Demokratizatsiya*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Summer 2015); Sarah Oates, *Revolution Stalled: The Political Limits of the Internet in the Post-Soviet Sphere*.

Week 11 (Nov. 23): Political Elite and Democratization

- Alexander Baturo, “From Patronal First Secretary to Patronal President: Post-Soviet Political Regimes in Context,” in Robert Elgie and Sophia Moestrup, eds., *Semi-Presidentialism in the Caucasus and Central Asia* (London: Palgrave, 2016), ch. 2.
- Lucan Way, *Pluralism by Default: Weak Autocrats and the Rise of Competitive*

Politics (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), ch. 1.

Recommended: Henry E. Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective*; David Lane, *Elites and Classes in the Transformation of State Socialism*; John Higley and Gyorgy Lengyel, eds., *Elites after State Socialism: Theories and Analysis*.

Week 12 (Nov. 30): State Governance and Democratization

- John Ishiyama, “Regime Legacies and Governance in Post-Communist States,” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 1-24.
- Andrei Melville and Mikhail Mironyuk, “ ‘Bad Enough Governance’: State Capacity and Quality of Institutions in Post-Soviet Autocracies,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2016), pp. 132-151.

Recommended: Janos Kornai and Susan Rose-Ackerman, ed., *Building a Trustworthy State in Post-Socialist Transition*; Tomasz Inglot, *Welfare States in East Central Europe, 1919-2004*; Rasma Karklins, *The System Made Me Do It: Corruption in Post-Communist Societies*.

Week 13 (Dec. 7): Economic Development and Democratization

- Jose Antonio Cheibub and James Raymond Vreeland, “Economic Development and Democratization,” in Nathan J. Brown, ed., *The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development, and Diffusion* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), ch. 6.
- Dali L. Yang, “China’s Developmental Authoritarianism: Dynamics and Pitfalls,” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 45-70.

Recommended: Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*; Anders Aslund, *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia*, 2nd ed; Neil Robinson, *The Political Economy of Russia*.

Week 14 (Dec. 14): Transitional Justice and Democratization

- Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik, eds., *Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), ch. 1.
- Monika Nalepa, *Skeletons in the Closet: Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 1.

Recommended: Joanna R. Quinn, ed, *Reconciliation(s): Transitional Justice in Postconflict Societies*; Alexander Barahona De Brito, Carmen Gonzalez-Enriquez, and Paloma Aguilar, eds., *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies*; Lavinia Stan, *Transitional Justice in Post-Communist Romania: The Politics of Memory*.

Week 15 (Dec. 21): Ethnic Politics, State-Building, and Democratization

- Svante E. Cornell, “Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflict in Theoretical Perspective,” *World Politics* 54 (Jan. 2002), pp. 245-276.
- Henry E. Hale, “The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell,” *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 2005), pp. 55-70.

Recommended: Mark R. Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*; Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*; Henry E. Hale, *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World*.

Week 16 (Dec. 28): Civil-Military Relations and Democratization

- Thomas C. Bruneau and Florina Cristiana Matei, “Towards a New Conceptualization of Democratization and Civil-Military Relations,” *Democratization*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (Dec. 2008), pp. 909-929.
- Bettina Renz, “Civil-Military Relations and the Security Apparatus,” in Mark Galeotti, ed., *The Politics of Security in Modern Russia* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), ch. 4.

Recommended: Brian D. Taylor, *Politics and the Russian Army: Civil-Military Relations, 1689-2000*; Narcis Serra, *The Military Transition: Democratic Reform of the Armed Forces*.

Week 17 (Jan. 4): External Influence and Democratization

- Milada Anna Vachudova, “Democratization in Postcommunist Europe: Illiberal Regimes and the Leverage of the European Union,” in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 4.
- Laurence Whitehead, “Antidemocracy Promotion: Four Strategies in Search of a Framework,” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 1-24.

Recommended: Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds., *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*; Frank Schimmelfennig, Stefan Engert, and Heiko Knobel, *International Socialization in Europe: European Organizations, Political Conditionality and Democratic Change*.