RUSSIAN 350
SOCIOL 221
VMS 318

Eastern Europe in Transition:
Markets, Media & the Mafia

Michael Newcity

Spring 2016
Wednesday/Friday: 1:25-2:40 p.m.
Languages 305
In the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet Union two years later, Russia, the other former Soviet republics, and the formerly-communist nations of Eastern Europe have sought to achieve fundamental political, economic, legal/constitutional, and social transformations. Some of the countries in this region have achieved great success in making the transition to more market-oriented economic systems and more democratic governance. Several of these former communist nations have joined the European Union and NATO. In other countries in this region, progress has been fitful and inconsistent; in a few countries violent conflicts have been fought; and in still other countries, little or no change has occurred. The two most powerful countries in this region prior to 1989—Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union—have ceased to exist.

This course will examine the progress of the transformations underway in the 29 nations that make up this region. In so doing, we will analyze how these countries have responded to the challenges associated with fundamental change and the conditions that influence these outcomes. We will attempt to use the successes and failures in Eastern Europe to develop a broader theory of economic and political change in transitional societies.

I. THEMES TO BE DISCUSSED

It would be impossible to discuss all of the themes and issues that have arisen in the course of the transition of the Eastern European nations from communism to post-communism. We will only have time to discuss some of the most significant such issues. The themes to be discussed in this course include:

What, where, and who is Eastern Europe?

Any understanding of recent developments in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union requires some familiarity with the region’s history. This segment of the course is intended to provide such an understanding by focusing on two aspects of the region’s historical legacies: the intersection of cultures in the region (Ottoman/Austro-Hungarian/Russian empires, Slavic/non-Slavic, Orthodox and Western Christianity/Islam, etc.) and the effects of decades of Soviet domination, with particular attention to the political and economic systems.

The Soviet economic model

Before current market reforms were initiated, before the collapse of communism, the nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had a market economy—an underground market economy. To understand the operation of the post-Soviet market economies in this region, it is first necessary to understand how the old Soviet economy worked and how the huge underground economy that co-existed with it operated. This segment of the course will examine how the Soviet-era underground operated and how the legacy of the underground economy has affected the development of a legitimate market economy in the post-Soviet era.
**Privatization and its aftermath**

This segment of the course will review the process by which the formerly communist countries transferred ownership of their economies from the state into private hands, the problems and inequities in these processes, and ongoing controversies over allegations of “piratization.” In this connection, we will examine in detail how the so-called “oligarchs”—the entrepreneurs who assembled massive economic empires out of the privatization process—have been treated by the current Russian government.

**Freedom of the press**

What role has a new and free(er) media played in the political and economic life of the post-Soviet societies? We will examine the conflicts that have arisen in Russia and other Eastern European nations between the media (state- and privately-owned) and the political elite and how those conflicts have been resolved. We will also examine the manner in which the media is regulated in the post-Soviet states.

**Crime, corruption and the mafia**

The media has been full of stories about the extent of organized criminal activities in this region. This segment of the course will be devoted to considering the reality of this situation—the extent to which organized crime occurs in the region, its effects on economic and political life, and its role in undermining reform initiatives. We will examine in detail the problem of human trafficking in Eastern Europe and the steps governments and international organizations have taken to combat it.

---

**II. META-THEMES OF THE COURSE**

In all of the topics that we discuss in this course we will return time and again to several important themes. Among these meta-themes will be

- What is Eastern Europe? How (if at all) does Eastern Europe differ from Western Europe? What accounts for these differences?

- Why have some Eastern European countries been clear winners in the post-communist transformation and why have others been clear losers?

- What role does the specific culture and history of individual countries play in determining the success or failure of reform efforts?

- What have Western governments and international organizations done to aid in the reform process? Have these efforts fostered or hampered reform in these countries?

- What role does the prospect of membership in organizations such as the European Union and NATO play in shaping the reform process in these countries?
III. GRADES

Graded assignments

Grades in this course will be calculated on the basis of several factors:

- **Country study**..................................................40%

  Each student will be assigned the name of one of the countries in the region at random and will be expected to prepare a 8-10 page report on that country containing

  1. a brief overview of the relevant political, economic, demographic, and cultural facts pertaining to the country with a view toward the themes of this course;

  2. a discussion of what makes the country *special*, especially its unique characteristics relating to the post-communist transition; and

  3. an analysis of success (or lack thereof) in reforming the government and economy and the reasons why. Has this country been a winner or a loser in the post-communist era?

  Each student must submit a bibliography with their country report.

  You must turn in a brief topic statement by Friday, March 25. The country report is due on May 6.

- **Midterm exam** ..................................................25%

  The midterm exam will be an in-class exam (scheduled for March 9) consisting of a series of objective short answer questions. The questions will be drawn from the in-class discussions, the assigned readings, and the student country reports presented in class.

- **Class participation** ..........................................20%

  Class participation will be evaluated primarily on the basis of attendance and participation/contributions to our class discussions. Attendance is mandatory and a sign-in sheet will be distributed and collected during each class. Your class participation will reflect attendance in class and your thoughtful participation in our class discussions reflecting a familiarity with the relevant issues and readings and a capability to synthesize the two.

  If you know that you will be unable to attend class, please notify me in advance.

**CLASSROOM GROUND RULE:**
The use of computers, cell phones, and other electronic devices during class is a distraction and is not permitted.
Map quiz .......................................................... 15%

In the map quiz (scheduled for January 29 during class) you will be expected to label the names of each of the 29 countries of our region as well as locate and name each of their capital cities on blank maps of the region. A copy of the blank maps I use for the map quiz as well as a list of the countries and their capitals are attached to the syllabus. The map quiz will be graded using a numerical 0-100 scale and translated into a letter grade using the following scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Score Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A+</td>
<td>98-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>93-97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>90-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B+</td>
<td>88-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>83-87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>80-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+</td>
<td>78-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>73-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>70-72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D+</td>
<td>68-69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>63-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-</td>
<td>60-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>below 60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. STUDENT CONDUCT

The Duke Community Standard applies to this course and its various assignments.

Duke Community Standard

Duke University is a community dedicated to scholarship, leadership, and service and to the principles of honesty, fairness, respect, and accountability. Citizens of this community commit to reflect upon and uphold these principles in all academic and nonacademic endeavors, and to protect and promote a culture of integrity.

Student Obligation to Act

In accordance with the Duke Community Standard, students should act if they witness another student or professor partaking in unethical academic behavior. Appropriate responses include, but are not limited to: approaching the individual(s) observed, contacting the professor or teaching assistant about the event, and/or notifying other faculty. For more information, visit: http://studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/about-us/duke-community-standard

To uphold the Duke Community Standard:

- I will not lie, cheat, or steal in my academic endeavors;
- I will conduct myself honorably in all my endeavors; and
- I will act if the Standard is compromised.
Policies on Collaboration

1. **Exams and papers:**
   - Study groups are permitted.
   - Sharing study guides is permitted.
   - Sharing class notes is permitted.


V. **COORDINATES:**

My office is located in Room 303 of the Languages Building, which is next to Perkins Library on the West Campus main quadrangle. My telephone number is 660-3150 and my e-mail address is mnewcity@duke.edu. I do not have fixed office hours. I am in my office most days. If you would like to meet with me, either send me an email or contact me before/after class and we will set a mutually convenient time.

VI. **READINGS FOR THE COURSE**

The required readings for this course will consist of articles, book chapters, etc. that will be posted on the course Sakai site. There are no required texts to be purchased.
VII. CLASS SCHEDULE, TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION, AND RELATED READINGS

Part I
Introduction to Eastern Europe

1. Introduction to the course
   No required readings

2. What is Eastern Europe?
   Geoffrey Swain and Nigel Swain, Eastern Europe Since 1945, pp. 1-6 (2009) [SWAIN & SWAIN]
   J. Hagen, Redrawing the Imagined Map of Europe: The Rise and Fall of the “Center,” Political Geography, vol. 22 (2003), pp. 489-517 [HAGEN]

3. Placing Eastern Europe in a historical context
   Leon Marc, What’s So Eastern About Eastern Europe? Twenty Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall, pp. 41-49 (2010) [MARC]

4. The Soviet system

5. The post-communist reform agenda—dismantling the Soviet system

6. The international context—the European Union, the Council of Europe, and NATO
   Gergana Noutcheva and Dimitar Bechev, The Successful Laggards: Bulgaria and Romania’s Accession to the EU, East European Politics and Societies, vol. 22 (№ 1, 2008), pp. 114-144 [NOUTCHEVA]
   Giselle Bosse and Elena Korosteleva-Polglase, Changing Belarus? The Limits of EU Governance in Eastern Europe and the Promise of Partnership, Cooperation and Conflict, vol. 44 (№ 2, 2009), pp. 143-165 [BOSSE]
Part 2
Making Markets in Eastern Europe

7. Privatizing post-communist economies

8. Case studies of privatization

9. Foreign investment

10. The oligarchs

Part 3
Introducing the rule of law

11. Introducing the rule of law

12. Corruption
    Mark Levin and Georgy Satarov, *Corruption and institutions in Russia*, EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, vol. 16 (№ 1, March 2000), pp. 113-132 [LEVIN]
13. **The mafias**


Irina Abramova, *The Funding of Traditional Organized Crime in Russia*, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, vol. 27 (№ 1, March 2007), pp. 18-21 [ABRAMOVA]

**Part 4**

**Ethnic conflict**

Huma Haider, *(Re)Imagining Coexistence: Striving for Sustainable Return, Reintegration and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE, vol. 3 (2009), pp. 91-113 [HAIDER]


**Part 4**

**Media**

14. **Media and political transformation in Eastern Europe**

Ken Rogerson, *The Role of the Media in Transitions from Authoritarian Political Systems: Russia and Poland Since the Fall of Communism*, EAST EUROPEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 31 (№ 3, Fall 1997), pp. 329-353 [ROGERSON]

Colin Sparks, *Media systems in transition: Poland, Russia, China*, CHINESE JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION, vol. 1 (№ 1, April 2008), pp. 7-24 [SPARKS]

15. **Freedom of the press in Eastern Europe**


16. **Violence against journalists**


[MIJATOVIĆ]
VIII. EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES & THEIR CAPITALS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Capital</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>Tirane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>Yerevan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Baku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
<td>Minsk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia &amp; Herzegovina</td>
<td>Sarajevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Sofia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatia</td>
<td>Zagreb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>Prague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>Tallinn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Tbilisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Budapest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>Astana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>Pristina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>Bishkek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>Riga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>Vilnius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>Skopje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>Chisinau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>Podgorica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>Bucharest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>Belgrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>Bratislava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>Ljubljana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>Dushanbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>Ashgabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>Kyiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>Tashkent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>