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Perestroika in Central Europe

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Weeks

- 14 Poland: Solidarity, 1980-81; the underground society, 1982-88. Video: Poland in 1980-81.
- 15 Hungary from 1956 to 1988. Czechoslovakia from 1968 to 1988. The collapse of communism in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1989.

Course requirements

Mid-term exam (20% of the grade), two book reports or one paper (40%) and a final exam (40%). Mid-term and final are take-home essays in which students are expected to demonstrate familiarity with readings assigned in the course.

Introduction to Poland

University of Kansas

History 101

Department of History

Fall 1991

Instructor: Dr. Anna M. Cienciala

Bibliography

Readings are most frequently assigned from the following:
N. Davies, *Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland* (1984)

_____, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. II (1975 to the present) (1982)

J. K. Fedorowicz, ed., *A Republic of Nobles: Studies in Polish History to 1864* (1982)

Cz. Milosz, *The History of Polish Literature* (1983)

W. J. Stankiewicz, ed., *The Tradition of Polish Ideals* (1981)

P. S. Wandycz, *The Lands of Partitioned Poland, 1795-1918* (1974)

A. Zamoyski, *The Polish Way: A Thousand Year History of the Poles and Their Culture* (1987)

Chimen Abramsky, Maciej Jachimczyk and Anthony Polonsky, eds., *The Jews in Poland* (1986)

Xeroxed lecture notes and other materials are on reserve (3 copies for a class of 30)

Course outlineWeeks

- 1 Origins of the Polish state and medieval Poland. Piast and Jagiellonian Poland. Video: *Phoenix* I-II.
- 2 Decline and partitions of Poland. Video: *Phoenix* III
- 3 Discussion of Polish history to 1795; quiz No. 1 on same. The struggle for independence from 1795 to 1831, and from 1864 to 1905.
- 4 The struggle for independence from 1905 to 1914. Polish literature in the 19th century. Discussion of Polish history 1795-1914 and quiz No. 2 on same. Video: portions of *Phoenix* III.
- 5 The rebirth of Poland, 1914-18. Poland and the

- frontier with Germany; the Polish-Soviet war and the frontier with Soviet Russia.
- 6 The Second Republic, 1918-39: political, economic, social and cultural history. Poland in European politics, 1918-39.
- 7 The British guarantee to Poland and the coming of World War II. Video: *Poland: A European Country*.
- 8 German and Soviet occupations of Poland. The Polish question in World War II: 1939-43. Video: *Struggles for Poland*, No. 4.
- 9 The Polish question in World War II, 1943-45. Discussion: Poland 1914-45; quiz No. 3 on same. Video: *Struggles for Poland*, No. 5.
- 10 Poland 1944/45-1956. Gomulka's Poland. Video: *Struggles for Poland*, Nos. 6 and 7.
- 11 Gierek's Poland, 1970-80. Roots and birth of Solidarity. The Poland of Solidarity, 1980-81. Video: *Struggles for Poland*, No. 8.
- 12 Jaruzelski's Poland and the underground society, 1982-88. Video: Poland 1980-81.
- 13 The Polish revolution of 1989. Poland since 1989: freedom, political and economic crisis. Discussion of Poland 1945-90. Quiz # 4 on same. Video: excerpts from Polish TV in 1989.
- 14 Polish literature in the 20th century. Modern Polish music. Review for final exam.

Anna M. Cienciala

is Professor of History at the University of Kansas and an authority on twentieth-century Polish and East Central European history. Her numerous publications include *From Versailles to Locarno: Keys to Polish Foreign Policy, 1919-1925* (Indiana University Press, 1984) [with Titus Komarnicki], *Poland and the Western Powers, 1938-1939: A Study in the Interdependence of Eastern and Western Europe* (London: Routledge and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), and *Polska polityka zagraniczna w latach 1926-1939: Na podstawie tekstów ministra Józefa Becka opracowała Anna M. Cienciala* (Paris: Institut Littéraire, 1990).

Perestroika in Central Europe

Butler University

Political Science 380

Department of Political Science

Fall 1990

Instructor: Dr. David S. Mason

Required textbooks

Joseph Rothschild, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe since World War II* (1989)

Without Force or Lies: Voices from the Revolution of Central Europe, edited by W. M. Brinton & Alan Rinzler (1990)

The Collapse of Communism, edited by Bernard Gwertzman & Michael T. Kaufman (1990)

Required articles, indicated by an asterisk (*), are on reserve in the library.

Suggested readings

Since this course addresses an ongoing process in Central Europe, regular perusal of *The New York Times* or *The Christian Science Monitor* is strongly recommended. Other recommended readings are on reserve in the library.

Course outline and reading assignmentsWeeks

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|---|---|---|
| 1 | <p>THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM</p> <p>A. The revolutions of 1989</p> <p>B. The Gorbachev evolution</p> <p>C. The end of the Cold War</p> <p>Read: <i>The Collapse of Communism</i></p> | Soviet Union;"* M. Goldman, "Gorbachev the Economist;"* M. Gorbachev, "Address to the Party Central Committee" in <i>Without Force or Lies</i> , 436-58; Carol Saivetz, "New Thinking and Soviet Third World Policy;"* I. Andreyev, "Rethinking the Third World Development;"* "Z" [Anonymous], "To the Stalin Mausoleum" in <i>Without Force or Lies</i> , 380-435. |
| 2 | <p>THE ORIGINS OF THE SYSTEM</p> <p>A. The establishment of communist rule</p> <p>B. The communist political system</p> <p>C. Centrally planned economies</p> <p>D. Political dissent</p> <p>Read: Rothschild, <i>Return to Diversity</i>, Chapters I-IV.</p> | Recommended read.: Gail Lapidus, "Gorbachev and the Reform of the Soviet System," <i>Daedalus</i> , Spring 1987; Abel Aganbegyan, <i>Inside Perestroika</i> (1989), Ch. I; M. Gorbachev, "Perestroika: Origins, Essence, Revolutionary Character" in his book <i>Perestroika</i> (1987), Ch. I; Teague and Mann, "Gorbachev's Dual Role," <i>Problems of Communism</i> , Jan-Feb. 1990; D. Mason, "The End of the Brezhnev Doctrine."* |
| 3 | <p>CHALLENGES TO THE SYSTEM</p> <p>A. Yugoslavia 1948</p> <p>B. Hungary 1956</p> <p>C. Czechoslovakia 1968</p> <p>D. Poland 1980</p> <p>Read: Rothschild, Ch. V-VI.</p> | 6 THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE |
| 4 | <p>THE IDEAS OF CHANGE</p> <p>A. Economic reform and the market</p> <p>B. Civil society and democratization</p> <p>C. The idea of Central Europe</p> <p>Read: Tatyana Zaslavskaya, "The Novosibirsk Report;"* Milan Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe;"* Elemer Hankiss, "The Second Society;"* Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless" in <i>Without Force or Lies</i>, 43-127.</p> <p>Recommended readings: T. G. Ash, "Does Central Europe Exist?" in his <i>The Uses of Adversity</i>; Nikolai Shmelyov, "Advances and Debts," in Tarasulo, <i>Gorbachev and Glasnost</i>; Gail Lapidus, "State and Society: Toward the Emergence of Civil Society in the Soviet Union," in Bialer, <i>Inside Gorbachev's Russia</i>; Ed Hewett, "Khrushchev to Brezhnev: Previous Efforts at Economic Reform," in his <i>Reforming the Soviet Economy</i>, Ch. V; J. F. Brown, "An Economic Overview," in his <i>Eastern Europe and the Communist Bloc</i>, Ch. IV.</p> <p>First exam</p> | <p>A. Poland: non-communist government</p> <p>B. Hungary: the rift in the iron curtain</p> <p>C. East Germany: the collapse of the Berlin Wall</p> <p>D. Czechoslovakia: the velvet revolution</p> <p>E. Romania: the fall of a dictator</p> <p>Read: Abraham Brumberg, "Poland: the Demise of Communism;"* George Cziczery, "The Siege of Nogradi Street, Budapest, 1989" in <i>Without Force or Lies</i>, 289-304; T. G. Ash, "Berlin: Wall's End;"* T.G. Ash, "Prague: Inside the Magic Lantern;"* Norman Manea, "Romania: Three Lines with Commentary," in <i>Without Force or Lies</i>, 305-334.</p> <p>Recommended read.: William Luers, "Czechoslovakia: Road to Revolution," <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Spring 1990; Guenther Grass, "Poland - The World's Guinea Pig" in <i>Without Force or Lies</i>, 211-22.</p> <p>Second exam</p> |
| 5 | <p>THE GORBACHEV CHALLENGE</p> <p>A. The emergence of Gorbachev: system and personality</p> <p>B. Perestroika</p> <p>C. Glasnost</p> <p>D. Democratization</p> <p>E. New thinking in foreign policy</p> <p>F. The erosion of the Brezhnev Doctrine</p> <p>Read: D. Mason, "Glasnost and Perestroika in the</p> | 7 THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETIES |
| | | <p>A. Elections</p> <p>B. Constitutional changes</p> <p>C. Independent groups</p> <p>D. Multiple parties</p> <p>E. The opening of the mass media</p> <p>F. Privatization of the market</p> <p>Read: Richard Thornburgh, "The Soviet Union and the Rule of Law;"* Ronald Linded, "The New Eastern Europe;"* V. Kusin, "The Elections Compared and Assessed;"* Jiri Pehe, "Economic and Constitutional Change [in Czecho-Slovakia];"* Jeffrey Sachs and David Lipton, "Poland's Economic Reform."*</p> <p>Recommended read.: L. Balcerowicz, "The Price of Polish Economic Reform," in <i>Without Force or Lies</i>, 223-38.</p> |
| | | 8 ISSUES IN CHANGE: DOMESTIC |
| | | <p>A. Social movements and revolutions</p> <p>B. The process of democratization</p> |

C. Transition to a market economy
 D. Maintaining social justice
 E. Nationalism
 Read: D. Mason, "Solidarity as a New Social Movement;"* Robert Dahl, "The Path to Pol-yarchy;"* "A Survey of Perestroika" in *The Economist*;* D. Mason, "Perestroika, Social Justice and Public Opinion;"* Martha Olcott, "The Lithuanian Crisis."*

Recommended read.: Rex Hopper, "The Revolutionary Process," *Social Forces*, March 1950; Valerie Bunce, "The Transition from State Socialism to Liberal Democracy;" Philippe Schmitter, "The Consolidation of Democracy in Southern Europe;" *Hungary in Transformation to Freedom* publ. by the Hudson Institute; D. Mason, "Public Opinion in Poland's Transition to Market Economy;" Stephen Kux, "Soviet Federalism," *Problems of Communism*, March-April 1990; Stephen Burg, "The Soviet Union's Nationalities Question," *Current History*, October 1989.

9 ISSUES IN CHANGE: INTERNATIONAL

A. The promise and peril of a united Germany
 B. The future of the European alliances
 C. The end of the Cold War
 D. The impact on the European communities and 1992

Read: Christoph Bertram, "The German Question;"* Jim Hoagland, "Europe's Destiny;"* McGeorge Bundy, "From Cold War toward Trusting Peace;"* Douglas Clarke, "The New Security Environment."*

Recommended read.: Ronald Asmus, "A United Germany," *Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1990; "The New Superpower," *Newsweek*, 2/26/90, 17-34; Guenther Grass, "Don't Reunify Germany," in *Without Force or Lies*, 203-10.

10 THE FUTURE

A. USSR: the collapse of an empire?
 B. Eastern Europe
 C. The American response

Read: "Why Gorbachev is Failing;"* T.G. Ash, "Eastern Europe: *Après Le Deluge, Nous*;"* Theodore Sorenson, "Rethinking National Security."*
 Recommended read.: "The Soviet Union on the Brink," *World Affairs*, Summer 1989.

Supplementary bibliographical information

A. Bibliographies
The American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies (annual)
 B. Periodical Indexes
Social Science Index (journal articles)
Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin (journals, books, documents)
The New York Times Index
Monthly Catalog of U. S. Government Publications

Also see some of the computerized databases on the computer terminals in the Reference room. Ask a reference librarian for help.

C. Yearbooks

Yearbook of International Communist Affairs (annual)
Political Handbook of the World

D. Translated Material from the Soviet and East European Media

Joint Publications Research Service, *USSR Reports* (series on "National Economy," "Military Affairs," Political and Sociological Affairs" etc.) and *East Europe*
 Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Soviet Union* and *Daily Report: Eastern Europe*. Indexes to these are in the Reference Room.

Soviet Review (current periodicals)

Current Digest of the Soviet Press (weekly; current periodicals)

E. Other Sources

Paul Shoup, *The East European and Soviet Data Handbook*
The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History
Soviet Studies (mostly politics and economics)
Slavic Review

Report on the USSR and *Report on Eastern Europe* published by Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe

Course Requirements

Two tests, a final exam, and a 10-15 page term paper. I will also occasionally ask you to do short ungraded "homewrites" on issues or material that we will discuss the next class period. Your participation in class discussions will be graded both on frequency and evidence of familiarity with the assigned material. The final grade will be determined roughly as follows: two tests, 20% each; final, 30% paper, 20%; participation, 10%.

David S. Mason

is Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at Butler University in Indianapolis. He has written extensively on politics in Poland, the Soviet Union and East Central Europe, and is the author of *Public Opinion and Political Change in Poland* (Cambridge University Press, 1985) and *Revolution in East-Central Europe and World Politics* (forthcoming from Westview Press in 1992). He is currently coordinating an international collaborative public opinion survey on popular perceptions of social justice in eleven countries in east and west Europe.

Corrections

In the April 1991 issue (Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 78, BOOKS section) we misprinted the zip code for the Southwest Polonia Press. The correct address is as follows: 3308 Nairn Street, El Paso, Texas 79925.

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