

## **PARTY SYSTEMS OF THE VISEGRAD COUNTRIES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

(The syllabus was developed with the support of the  
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### **General Goals:**

This course covering party systems development in new democracies (specifically the Visegrad countries – Poland, Hungary, Czech Rep., Slovakia) will introduce 4th year political science students to the theory of party system analysis (comparative approach) in order to explain the practical outcome of the process of consolidation and overall development of the party systems of the V4 countries. In a short time period (by historical standards) the V4 countries covered a remarkable distance, transforming from satellite countries of the USSR to equal member within the EU and NATO. So, what does their way look like in terms of party systems development?

The course will assist students in developing familiarity with party systems analysis, general analytical skills, and familiarize them with contemporary relevant parties in the V4 countries. The course consist of 7 weeks (16 h of classes + 8 h of self-preparing time + research paper)

### **Students course requirements:**

Students speaking one of the V4 languages are encouraged to join the course, although the main research and literature is available in basic European languages (English, German). Students are expected to be prepared for each class session, to contribute to group discussion (and allow others to do the same), and to conduct independent research in from of a research paper (up to 15 p.).

**Format:** The course brings together a group of 4<sup>th</sup>-year students of the Political Science department who are interested in comparative politics, the Central and Eastern European transition story, party evolution and political institutions. The group is expected to discuss selected texts on theoretical approaches to party systems analysis, applying them to the process of development of the V4 party systems. Each student will have an opportunity to present their own research covering certain (TBA) aspects of the party systems development in the V4 countries as well as approaching case-studies of concrete parties and elections, which are relevant to the general process of consolidation.

## General texts required:

*In Russian: (students are expected to choose 3 of 5 mentioned titles)*

1. Ванштейн Г.И. *Посткоммунистическое развитие глазами западной политологии* // МЭиМО, 1997. № 8.
2. Голосов Г.В. *Партийные системы России и стран Восточной Европы: Генезис, структура, динамика*. - М.: Весь мир, 1999. - 152 с.
3. Джанда К. *Сравнение политических партий: исследования и теория* // Современная сравнительная политология. Хрестоматия. М., МОНФ, 1997. с. 88 – 144.
4. Мелешкина Е.Ю. *Формирование партийных предпочтений избирателей в посткоммунистических странах Восточной Европы: Основные концепции* // Выборы в посткоммунистических обществах. - М.: ИНИОН, 2000. - N 3. - С. 51-66.
5. Мельвиль А.Ю. *Демократические транзиты (теоретико-методологические и прикладные аспекты)*. М., МОНФ, 1999. – 108 с.

*In English: (students are expected to choose 2 of 5 mentioned titles)*

6. Agh A. *The Emerging Party System in ECE*. Budapest University of Economics, 1992. – 154 p.
7. Cotta M. *Building Party Systems after the Dictatorship: The East European Cases in a Comparative Perspective* // Democratization in Eastern Europe: Domestic and International Perspectives: Routledge, 1994.
8. Fitzmaurice T. *Politics and Government in the Visegrad Countries. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia*. Macmillan Press, 1998. 204 p.
9. Kitschelt H., Mansfeldova Z., Markowski R., and Toka G., *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
10. Taggart P., Szczerbiak A. *Contemporary Euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidates states of Central and Eastern Europe* // European Journal of Political Research. Vol. 43, number 1, January 2004. - pp. 1 – 27.

Research and articles in V4 languages are available under request.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### 1<sup>st</sup> week, 2<sup>nd</sup> week

#### Introduction to contemporary PARTology (Lecture and discussion, 2h+2h)

- What is the evidence for studying V4 as a single case-study?
- What are the concepts of transition, waves of democratization, postcommunism?
- Does party system configuration matter for democracy?
- What is institutionalism and party systems' analysis?
- How do we study party systems? (different methods and approaches)

1. *Выборы в посткоммунистических обществах* // Пробл.-тем. сборник ИНИОН РАН / Отв. ред.и сост. Е.Ю. Мелешкина. М., 2000.
2. Давыдов Ю. П. *Возникновение региона ЦВЕ: последствия для России и Запада.* // Внешняя политика и безопасность современной России 1991–2002, хрестоматия. М., 2002, т.3. с.с. 117 – 131.
3. Дюверже М. *Политические партии.* М., Академический проект, 2000. - 558 с.
4. Елизаров В. *От авторитаризма - к демократии. Две модели* // Pro et Contra. 1998. т.3. № 3. с. 98 – 110.
5. Berglund S., Hellen T., Aarebrot F.N. *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1998. 441 p.
6. Da Silva V.A. *Duverger's Laws: Between social and institutional determinism* // European Journal of Political Research. Vol 45, Nr 1., 2006, pp. 31-41.
7. Кривдинский М.. *Конфликт вокруг «социального государства» в Польше и его влияние на партийную систему в 90-е годы XX века* // Балтийские исследования. Трансформация социальных и политических институтов: сборник научных трудов / Клуб исследователей Балтийской Европы. Калининград, Изд-во РГУ им. И. Канта, 2005. – Вып. 3. с.72 – 93.
8. Яргомская Н.Б. *Воздействие смешанных избирательных формул на фрагментацию партийных систем: опыт Италии и России* // Автореф.

дис. на соиск. учен. степ. к.п.н.: (23.00.02).МГИМО (У) МИД РФ – М.: 2002.

9. Mair P. *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
10. Mayer L.C. *A Note on the Aggregation of Party Systems* // Merkl P. *Western European Party Systems*, New York, 1980.
11. Rose, Richard & Haerpfer, Christian, *Change and Stability in the New Democracies Barometer: A Trend Analysis* // *Studies in Public Policy*, no. 270, 1996.
12. Siaroff A. *Comparative European Party Systems. An Analysis of Parliamentary Elections Since 1945*, New York – London, 2000.
13. Toka G. *Being represented – being satisfied? Political Support in East-Central Europe* // *Citizens and the State*. Oxford, 1995. - pp.354 – 382.
14. Zarycki T., *Cultural Capital and the Political Role of the Intelligentsia in Poland* // *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 19, no. 4, December 2003.

*Research and articles in V4 languages are available under request*

### 3<sup>rd</sup> week

#### What does the party system mean? (Lecture and discussion, 2 h)

- How do parties attract, compete, govern in V4 countries?
- How do parties interact as parts of the SYSTEM?
- How are party systems classified?
- What are the main theoretical approaches?

1. Корбонски А. *Переход к демократии в Венгрии, Польше и Чехословакии: некоторые предварительные суждения* // Восточная Европа: контуры посткоммунистической модели развития. М, ИНИОН РАН, 1992.
2. Кочетков А.П. *Политические партии и партийные системы* // Вестник Московского университета. Серия 12. Политические науки. 1998, № 6.
3. Кривдинский М.. *Конфликт вокруг «социального государства» в Польше и его влияние на партийную систему в 90-е годы XX века* // Балтийские исследования. Трансформация социальных и политических институтов: сборник научных трудов / Клуб исследователей Балтийской Европы. Калининград, Изд-во РГУ им. И. Канта, 2005. – Вып. 3. с.72 – 93.
4. Лейпхарт А. *Демократия в многосоставных обществах*. М.; Аспект пресс, 1997. - 302с.
5. Ladrech R. *Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a framework for analysis* // Party Politics, vol. 8, Nr 4, 2002.
6. Lewis, P. G, (ed.), *Party Structure and Organisation in East Central Europe*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 1996.

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#### 4<sup>th</sup> week

### Postcommunism and the transformation of political space of the V4 countries (discussion, 2 h)

- constitutional reforms
- different models of the parliamentary democracy (presidential vs. parliamentarian system)
- impact of the electoral law's stability and instability

1. Алексеева Т.А. *Демократия как идея и процесс.* // Вопросы философии. – 1996. – № 6.
2. *Власть - общество - реформы: Центральная и Юго-Восточная Европа. Вторая половина XX века.* Отв. редактор Э. Г. Задорожнюк. М.: Наука, 2006. – 442 с.
3. Елизаров В. *От авторитаризма - к демократии. Две модели* // Pro et Contra. 1998. т.3. № 3. с. 98 – 110.
4. Ильин М. В., Мельвиль А. Ю., Федоров Ю. Е. *Демократия и демократизация.* // Полис. 1996. № 5.
5. Мельвиль А.Ю. *Демократические транзиты (теоретико-методологические и прикладные аспекты).* М., МОНФ, 1999. – 108 с.
6. Тарасов И.Н. *Проблема динамики процесса посттоталитарного развития стран Восточной Европы* // Социально-экономическое развитие России. Проблемы, поиски, решения. - Изд. Центр СГСЭУ. 2000. – с. 51-53.
7. Тока G. *Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in East Central Europe* // Studies in Public Policy, no. 279, 1997.
8. Paczyńska A. *Inequality, Political Participation and democratic deepening in Poland* // East European Politics and Societies. Sage Publications, - 2005. Vol. 19. Nr 4. pp. 573 – 613.

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## 5<sup>th</sup> week

### Relevant parties in the V4 parties (Lecture and discussion, 2 h)

- What are the different approaches to the relevance of the parties?
- The three sources of the formation of the contemporary party systems: restored parties, successor parties of communism, new parties.
- How different are the successor parties of communism?
- Eurosceptics and eurooptimists as a CEE political phenomena.

1. Задорожнюк Э., *Социал-демократия в Центральной Европе* / РАН, Ин-т славяноведения. - М., Academia, 2000. - 311 с.
2. Ишияма Дж. *Партии-преемницы коммунистических и организационное развитие партий в посткоммунистической политике* // Полис. 1999. № 4.
3. Лыкошина Л. С. *Левые силы в Польше* // Партии и движения Западной и Восточной Европы: теория и практика. М., ИНИОН РАН, 1997.
4. Яжборовская И. *Общественные сдвиги и посткоммунистические партии в Центральной и Восточной Европе* // Форум. Политическая культура и общественные сдвиги. М., 1996.
5. Barnes, Samuel, H. *The Mobilization of Political Identity in New Democracies* // Barnes, Samuel, H. and Simon, Janos (eds) *The Postcommunist Citizen*. Erasmus Foundation, Budapest 1998. pp. 223 – 241.
6. Evans, G., Whitefield. *Identifying the Bases of Party Competition in Eastern Europe* // *British Journal of Political Studies*, № 23, 1993. pp. 521-548.
7. Henderson K., Robinson N. *Post-communist Politics: an Introduction*. London: Prentice Hall, 1997.
8. Kitschelt, H. *Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-communist Democracies* *Theoretical Propositions* // *Party Politics*. Vol. 1. Nr 4. 1995.p. 447 – 472.
9. Ladrech R. *Europeanization and Political Parties: Towards a framework for analysis* // *Party Politics*, vol. 8, Nr 4, 2002.
10. Taggart P., Szczerbiak A. *Contemporary Euroscepticism in the party systems of the European Union candidates states of Central and Eastern Europe* // *European Journal of Political Research*. Vol. 43, number 1, January 2004. - pp. 1 – 27.

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## **6<sup>th</sup> week**

### **Parliamentary Debate on “Joining the EU”: Role Game (4 h)**

- students are divided into 8 groups (of 2 or 3 persons each), each representing V4 Eurosceptical and Eurooptimistic options, debating in parliament on EU accession. Each group should present arguments used by their counterparts in the real debate of 2003-2004.

1. *Власть - общество - реформы: Центральная и Юго-Восточная Европа. Вторая половина XX века.* Отв. редактор Э. Г. Задорожнюк. М.: Наука, 2006. – 442 с.
2. Геремек Б. *Парламентаризм в Центральной Европе // Конституционное право: восточноевропейское обозрение.* М.: МОНФ, 1995. №3 (12) с. 64-82.
3. Жуковский И.И., *Европейский парламент: особенности электорального процесса и выборы 2004 года // Европейский Союз – Россия – Калининград (вопросы европейской интеграции в публикациях институтов ЕС и оценках российских и зарубежных экспертов).* Вып.2. – Калининград, Изд-во КГУ, 2004. с. 34-43.
4. Borzutzky S., Kraniidis E. *A Struggle for Survival. The Polish Agricultural Sector from Communism to EU Accession // East European Politics and Societies.* Sage Publications, - 2005. Vol. 19. Nr 4. pp. 614 – 654.
5. McDonald M., Mendes S., Budge J. *What Are Elections For? Conferring the median Mandate // British Journal of Political Science.* Vol. 34, 2004.

Students are encouraged to visit the official web-pages of the relevant V4 political parties (there is a lot of useful information in English) in order to get insight on the contemporary political rhetoric and position of the actors.

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**7<sup>th</sup> week (2 h)**

research paper presentation

final discussion, feedback session

*Please note, that the syllabus is subject to change depending on actual class needs and interests, and the political situation in the V4 countries.*