European and Eurasian Studies Program Syllabus

Revised: August 2018

Introduction

The European and Eurasian Studies (EES) program at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) brings together two historic concentrations – one on European Studies and one on Soviet and East European Studies. This merger is a product of the end of the Cold War and the reuniting of Europe. It is also a result of the convergence of different intellectual traditions that developed around the study of Europe, East and West. The purpose of this syllabus is to show students how to work across these traditions. Divided into five parts, the syllabus sets out the EES program concentration requirements.

The readings in the first part of the syllabus provide an overview of European history from the peace of Westphalia to the Second World War. Here the goal is to reveal the broad patterns of historical development. Students will also gain a sense of how European countries competed with one another, how they rose to global prominence, and what impact they had on the outside world – including the countries of North America. This part of the syllabus includes two sample papers from the first comprehensive examination.

The second part of the syllabus focuses on the political economy of post-Second World War Europe. This is where students gain exposure to the mechanics of government and politics both in the context of liberal democracies and under communism in Central and Eastern Europe. This part of the syllabus also deals with grand narratives surrounding the integration of Western Europe and the fall of communism. It places particular emphasis, however, on the development of Europe during the post-Cold War period. This part of the syllabus includes two sample papers from the second comprehensive examination.

The third part of the syllabus turns attention to Europe and the outside world. It stresses how European countries fit into and respond to the global economy. It shows how they band together to exert influence on world events. And it explains contrasting national perspectives on foreign affairs. The scope is broad enough to include the whole post-Second World War experience. Again, the division of Europe into East and West and the integration of Western Europe are important. As with the political economy portion of the syllabus, however, the emphasis is on developments after the Cold War. This part of the syllabus includes two sample papers from the third comprehensive examination.

The fourth part focuses on Russia and Eurasia. This part of the syllabus is directed at those students who wish to specialize in Russian and Eurasian Studies as part of their broader training in European and Eurasian Studies. Students who opt into this track of the program are required to pass the Russian and Eurasian Studies examination in lieu of the examination on Europe and the outside world. They must also achieve proficiency in the Russian language. This part of the syllabus does not include sample papers but does contain illustrative topics for study.

The final part of the syllabus provides an overview of the two different traditions in European and Eurasian Studies as they have been taught at SAIS. One lesson from this overview is that many conventional terms ("East," "West," "Europe," "Russia," and "Eurasia") are approximations of complex and changing realities.

How to Prepare for the EES Comps

In preparing for the comps, there are two keys to success: (1) prepare steadily over an extended period of time, using the intersessions and the summer; (2) always read with your eye on the various questions you may be asked on the exam, so as to make your knowledge active rather than passive. Use this syllabus as the starting point for compiling a personal list of possible exam questions, and briefly outline your answers to these questions before you take the exam.

Reading Aids

You will always have too much to read, and too little time. That is true of this syllabus as well as the other parts of the SAIS curriculum. You must therefore be able to read through books and articles at varying speeds to extract what you need. To sharpen your reading skills, a valuable guide is Paul N. Edwards, *How to Read a Book, v4.0* (2010), available at http://pne.people.si.umich.edu/PDF/howtoread.pdf. The guide is just ten pages long. You should read and *study it before you do any of the readings from this syllabus*. You might also look at Alec Fisher, *The Logic of Real Arguments, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). This book is particularly recommended if you are a non-native English speaker.

Reference Works

Reference works are indispensable tools for charting unfamiliar intellectual domains and filling gaps in your knowledge. As you work through this syllabus, you should make regular use of the on-line encyclopedias listed in the European Studies Research Guide and the Russian and Eurasian Studies Research Guide, as well as *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (revised edition, 2008), *The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, and *The Encyclopedia of World History*. Consulting these references and a sampling of reviews in JSTOR before reading a particular book can give you a better fix on the arguments and information that the book contains.

Seminars and Discussion Groups

The EES program has a rich offering of seminars and discussion groups that you should attend, both in Bologna and in Washington. Some of these activities center on outside speakers; others – like the series hosted by Professor Charles Gati – focus on current events. By participating actively in these discussions, you learn how to use the information, concepts and ideas that you gather during your course of study. You also learn how to make connections across the different countries, disciplines, and analytic traditions.

Comp I: European History and Ideas

The purpose of this examination is to expose EES concentrators to a broad interpretative framework for understanding the formation and evolution of the international systems of states. The reason is simple. Throughout its modern history, Europe has been a system of sovereign but independent national states. For most of the modern period, the European state system was the core of the global state system.

That European state system came into existence formally with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which marked the end of the Thirty Years' War. The Habsburg Holy Roman Emperors attempted to establish a modern and hegemonic version of medieval European unity. The Habsburg King of Spain and the Pope supported the Holy Roman Emperor in this ambition. The Catholic French allied with the Ottoman Empire and the rebellious Protestant states of Northern Germany in opposition. This opposition defeated the Habsburgs. In place of medieval European unity, the 'Westphalian' peace ushered in a system of states guided by a self-conscious balance-of-power theory that kept states maneuvering constantly to prevent the hegemony (or dominance) of any one of their number.

The resulting competition between European states made them stronger. As a consequence, they were able to conquer and colonize large parts of the globe. Their continental rivalries acquired imperial dimensions and the European balance became entwined with a global balance of power. The 17th and 18th centuries witnessed titanic struggles among the European colonial empires for control of much of the rest of the world. Eventually, even China fell under indirect European domination. By the early 19th century, Britain had become the predominant colonial power in the world. The French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese also had large empires. Meanwhile, the United States broke free from Britain to begin seeking its 'manifest destiny' and Russia spread across the steppes of Eurasia and down into the Caucasus.

The evolution of the Westphalian state system was not self-evident and neither was it smooth. The French Revolution, starting in 1789, was a major explosion that radically changed the political, social, economic, and intellectual framework of the leading Continental state, shaking the rest of Europe and threatening the British monarchy and empire. As French revolutionary ideals spread, they began to transform the classic modern European state of the *Ancien Regime* – generally royal, autocratic, and cosmopolitan – into modern national states, which tend to be more democratic but also more insular and at times also more aggressive.

Then came Napoleon Bonaparte, who followed hard on the heels of the French Revolution and who tried to manipulate its political and technocratic ideals in order to establish a modern version of European unity under French control. Napoleon's influence on Europe was dramatic and he narrowly failed in his ambition. Only a broad alliance of anti-Napoleonic powers managed to hold him in check and so reassert a balance of power. Napoleon's final defeat in 1815 resulted in a reaffirmation of the Westphalian system at the Congress of Vienna. This time, however, the European state system was supplemented by a Concert of Powers, which pledged to cooperate with one another in order to keep order among each other and to maintain 'legitimate' governments in power throughout Europe.

This new Concert was only partially successful. The powerful ideas brought forth during the French Revolution combined with the increasingly significant economic and social transformations of modern capitalism to alter both domestic politics and the workings of the European state system. Traditional states had to become nation states in order to compete and survive. Nationalism, however, relied on a different conception of legitimacy from that promoted by the Concert – one based more on culture and ethnicity than on tradition. Often, meeting this new standard implied a change in the dimensions of existing states. The

unification of Italy in 1859 is one illustration; the formation of the German Empire in 1870 is another.

The influence of Napoleon's defeat and the reestablishment of the European balance in 1815 was not everywhere the same. Outside the Continent, Great Britain emerged as the dominant global power. By the mid-19th century, this preponderance of British might resulted in a *Pax Britannica*, animated by liberal ideals of free trade and, later, of the gold standard. Britain was the world's most advanced industrial economy. It was also the world's most advanced financial and trading center.

Such predominance could not go unchallenged. The late 19th century witnessed the rise of Germany within Europe and the United States across the Atlantic. By the early 20th century, Germany was bidding for European hegemony. The two world wars resulted (at least in part) from German efforts to break the old European balance of power and to establish a new global balance in which Germany could compete with Britain, the United States, and Russia. Only broad coalitions could stop this ambition.

Germany's defeat in the First World War led to a further reaffirmation of the Westphalian state system in Europe. The Treaty of Versailles not only restored the importance of the balance of power but also complemented the balance within Europe with a global concert organized around the League of Nations. The global imperial balance played a role as well. European colonial empires were reaffirmed and expanded. At the same time, the establishment of a communist regime in Russia posed a new challenge to the Westphalian order and to established colonial empires.

The failure of the Treaty of Versailles to establish a durable new European balance contributed to the disaster that followed. The breakdown of the world economy during the Great Depression and the rise of Japan in East Asia played important roles as well. These trends culminated in the Second World War. This time, however, the result was different. The European state system that emerged from the conflict was no longer the center of the global system. Even the strongest European states were eclipsed by the 'superpowers' of the United States and the Soviet Union, which divided Europe into rival camps. The European balance of power was discredited and the legitimacy of the European national state was brought into question. The rest of this syllabus explores how Europe and Russia responded to these new circumstances.

The history examination has three sections. The first focuses on the origins of the European state system up through the revolutions of 1848. The second focuses on Europe from 1848 through the First World War. The third looks at the aftermath of that first global conflict and ends with the cessation of hostilities in the Second World War.

This chronological ordering is somewhat arbitrary insofar as the dividing lines are only relevant for some arguments and not others. By implication, many of the books that we recommend cover more than one section of the examination. This syllabus divides up the books according to their relative importance – most important works, related surveys, and more narrowly focused arguments.

We recommend you start with one of the most important works to get an overview of the narrative. Then you should look at one or more of the related surveys so that you move beyond the events and into their interpretations. Finally, you should supplement your reading with a sampling of the more narrowly focused arguments about economic history, military conflict, diplomacy, or nationalism. We hope you will try this examination at the end of the second semester. With a reasonable amount of preparation on your part, you should expect to pass before you proceed to your third semester in the European Studies concentration.

Most Important Works (not in alpha order)

Thomson, David. *Europe Since Napoleon*. London: Penguin, 1966.

OR

Craig, Gordon. *Europe, 1815-1914*. Hinsdale, Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1972.

OR

Breunig, Charles, and Matthew Levinger. *The Revolutionary Era, 1789-1850*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2002.
Rich, Norman. *The Age of Nationalism and Reform, 1850-1890*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1970.
Gilbert, Felix, and David Clay Large. *The End of the European Era, 1890 to the Present*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991.

Related Surveys

Dukes, Paul. *A History of Europe, 1648-1948: The Arrival, The Rise, The Fall*. London: The MacMillan Press, 1985.
Gildea, Robert. *Barricades and Borders: Europe, 1800-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
Joll, James. *Europe Since 1870*. London: Penguin, 1990.
Merriman, John. *A History of Modern Europe: From the Renaissance to the Present, Third Edition*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010.
Roberts, J.M. *Europe, 1880-1945*. London: Longman, 1989.
Simms, Brendan. *Europe: The Struggle for Supremacy from 1453 to the Present*. New York: Allen Lane, 2013.

Thematic Arguments

Anderson, M.S. *War and Society in the Europe of the Old Regime, 1619-1789*. London: Sutton Publishing, 1998.
Best, Geoffrey. *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870*. London: Sutton Publishing, 1998.
Bond, Brian. *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
Kennedy, Paul. *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945*. London: Fontana, 1984.
Kiernan, V.G. *Colonial Empires and Armies, 1815-1960*. London: Sutton, 1998.
Kindleberger, Charles P. *The World in Depression, 1929-1939.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
Kissinger, Henry. *Diplomacy*. New York: Touchstone, 1994.
Landes, David S. *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Comp I: Modern European History and Ideas
Sample Exam - January 2017 (Bologna)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: Origins of the Modern State System, 1648-1848

1. How did France come to dominate Europe in the 18th Century?

2. Discuss the influence of religion in the Thirty Years War?

3. How did England's "Glorious Revolution" affect the European balance of power?

Section II: Nationalism, Capitalism, and Imperialism, 1848-1914

4. In what respects did the foreign policy of Gladstone differ from that of Disraeli?

5. What were the main issues raised by Joseph Chamberlain in the British imperialist and tariff policy?

6. "No sooner did Bismarck make an alliance with Austria-Hungary than he tried to escape its consequences." Discuss.

Section III: The Age of Extremes, 1900-1945

7. Analyze the foreign and domestic policy of Neville Chamberlain.

8. What was the impact of the Russian Revolution of 1917 on the European state system in the 1920s and 1930s?

9. What was John Maynard Keynes' response to "Say's Law"?

Comp I: Modern European History and Ideas
Sample Exam - January 2017 (Washington)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: Origins of the Modern State System, 1648-1848

1. "Napoleon was more 'modern' than his opponents." Discuss.

2. What were the main features of and rationale for European mercantilism in the 17th and 18th centuries?

3. What were the causes and consequences of the Seven Years War?

Section II: Nationalism, Capitalism, and Imperialism, 1848-1914

4. What were the geopolitical consequences of Italian unification?

5. What were the causes and consequences of the Great Depression of the 1870s?

6. What caused the revolutions of 1848?

Section III: The Age of Extremes, 1900-1945

7. Why did Churchill revalue the pound in 1925?

8. What were the consequences of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire for Europe and the global system generally?

9. What caused the Second World War?

Comp II: Comparative European Political Economies

The purpose of this examination is to make sure that students understand the essentials of governance – including economic governance – across Europe. Although the focus is on European countries, there is no way to avoid (and plenty of reason to incorporate) the study of European integration as well.

The examination has three different components. The first focuses on the basic institutions of governance and the underlying principles of comparative politics. The second pays closer attention to the countries of Western Europe. The third is primarily concerned with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

There is a huge literature available on any of these topics – with hundreds of new publications coming out each year. Moreover, the countries themselves are changing in response to slow moving forces like demographics or technological innovation and in response to fast moving events like war and economic crisis. The challenge, therefore, is to establish a broad overview that is at the same time coherent and adaptive; it should give you a sense of why things are as they appear to be at the moment, but it should also give you the foundation upon which to begin anticipating how things will evolve in the future.

The purpose of this syllabus is to lay that foundation. If you read the books listed here and give the material serious consideration then you should be able to pass the second comprehensive examination. If you work through this material alongside the courses in West European Political Economies, the Political Economies of Central and Eastern Europe, and any course on the European Union or European integration, then the second comprehensive examination should be straightforward. In any case, we hope you will try this examination at the end of the second semester. With a reasonable amount of preparation on your part, you should expect to pass before you proceed to your third semester in the European and Eurasian Studies concentration.

Section One: Politics and Policies

For this first part of the examination, we want to you to focus on the institutions of democratic governance. It would be useful also if you have a good overview of the institutions of the European Union (EU). Therefore, we suggest you start with two books that give you the necessary vocabulary and description. The book on democracies is a classic by Arend Lijphart; the book on the EU is a standard textbook by Desmond Dinan. You should read through both quickly and familiarize yourself with the language they use and the basic claims they make.

Dinan, Desmond. *Every Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration, Fourth Edition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010.

Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Once you feel comfortable with the basic language that is being used, you can start to think about specific institutional or policy problems. The kinds of questions that interest us concern a wide range of factors like the evolution of party systems, value change, globalization, and capital market integration. You should look at past exams to get a sense of how the questions are phrased. Then you will want to have a resource where you can find some of the answers. The resources we recommend are from the Oxford University Press series of handbooks in political science. There are lots of these books and they are all very weighty.

Remember, these are handbooks and not novels. You are not expected to read them from cover to cover. Instead, we want you to dip into them as a means of identifying what are the useful questions that academics are considering at the moment and what are the answers they propose. These books will help you acquire a firmer grasp on the breadth of the literature. So use the old exams as a guide to topics and use the handbooks as a first step in finding the answers. The two handbooks we want you to focus on are the *Oxford Handbook of Political Science* and the *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*.

Boix, Carles, and Susan C. Stokes, eds. *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
Goodin, Robert E., ed. *Oxford Handbook of Political Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Section Two: Western Europe

The material on Western Europe builds on two different traditions. One is a mainstream comparative political economy approach that looks at the role of institutions (including cultures) in shaping economic performance and political behavior. The other is more precisely focused on how the countries of Western Europe have used the process of European integration as a means to achieve their economic and political goals. The first tradition is grounded in classic texts by Karl Polanyi and Andrew Shonfeld; the second emerged out of a range of different works by a diverse group of writers like David P. Calleo, Ernst Haas, Stanley Hoffmann, and Gunnar Myrdal.

This literature is massive. But the size should not scare you away. Instead it should intrigue you. The challenge is to structure a manageable introduction. We suggest you start with a series of edited volumes. That way you can follow the trajectory of individual countries through short, chapter-length analyses. This does not replace the insights that you would garner from reading a book (or series of books) on each country. But it will help you map progression over time and so get a sense of where there are gaps that you need to fill.

The sequence starts with Peter Katzenstein's collection *Between Power and Plenty* as the countries of Western Europe struggled to respond to the crisis of the 1970s. It extends through David P. Calleo and Claudia Morgenstern's collection *Recasting Europe's Economies* to cover the 1980s. Herbert Kitschelt and his colleagues have an excellent collection on *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*. And the cycle finishes with Peter Hall and David Soskice's *Varieties of Capitalism*.

Calleo, David P., and Claudia Morgenstern, eds. *Recasting Europe's Economies: National Strategies in the 1980s*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1990.
Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice, eds. *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
Katzenstein, Peter J. *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
Kitschelt, Herbert, Peter Lange, Gary Marks, and John D. Stephens, eds. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Clearly this is a lot to work through. Therefore, we suggest that you read judiciously and that you use the old exams as a guide to the sort of questions we are likely to address. You will find that many of the themes that crop up in this section overlap with the previous section as well. This is intentional. You should use basic concepts and arguments in comparative politics to analyse more complicated problems in the real world (of which

Western Europe is a part).

The material also stops in the early 2000s. It does not cover the single currency and it does not include the recent (and on-going) economic and financial crises. These are areas where the literature is constantly changing. They are also areas where European integration becomes more important. Therefore, we need to turn to the second theme in this part of the examination before finishing this first one.

The European integration story should be familiar to you from your reading of the Dinan textbook listed in the section on politics and policies above. If you are completely unfamiliar with the historical narrative of European integration, we recommend that you read an expanded version of the historical chapters in *Ever Closer Union* that Dinan published separately as a stand-alone volume called *Europe Recast*.

Dinan, Desmond. *Europe Recast: A History of the European Union, Second Edition*. Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2014.

Dinan's history of European integration is not the most comprehensive, but it is the easiest to read quickly. Our goal with this book is just to give you a broad overview of the terrain. Armed with that, you should be ready to tackle more of the analytical material. The problem is that so much of this material is controversial. Andrew Moravcsik's history has been challenged on its sources and methods; Craig Parson's book is good but too narrowly focussed on France; John Gillingham is a bit too close to the Thatcherite anti-European conspiracy view. That doesn't leave us with an easy choice. Without being too self-referential, we would encourage you to read David P. Calleo's *Rethinking Europe's Future* and Mark Gilbert's *European Integration: A Concise History*.

Calleo, David P. *Rethinking Europe's Future*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
Gilbert, Mark. *European Integration: A Concise History*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012.

Once you understand the story of European integration, all that remains is to knit that together with the literature on comparative political economy. This is no simple task but it is clearly worth the effort. And you will see why as we turn to the crisis of the 2000s. Alas, there is no easy literature for us to reference here. Instead we ask you to look at one of the better synthetic works – Anand Menon's *State of the Union*. You should also take advantage of the *Oxford Handbook on the European Union*. Finally, you should read about how things are changing in light of the recent crisis. Here we recommend Loukas Tsoukalis' *In Defence of Europe*.

Jones, Erik, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill, eds. *Oxford Handbook on the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
Menon, Anand. *Europe: The State of the Union*. London: Atlantic Books, 2008.
Tsoukalis, Loukas. *In Defence of Europe: Can the European Project be Saved?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Section Three: Central and Eastern Europe

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe have had a different developmental trajectory and the influence of that difference on their economic performance and political behaviour remains important even today. Therefore, our goal with this part of the examination is to introduce you to the experience of life under communism, to explain the challenge of a dual

economic and political transition, to look at the influence of European integration on these processes, and to suggest what normal life in Central and Eastern Europe means today. Clearly this is an ambitious agenda. It is all the more challenging because the languages of the countries involved will be more unfamiliar to many of you and so the names of key individuals will be harder to remember.

The best place to start is with a synthetic narrative history. There are a number of reasonably good history texts on the region. But there is one synthesis that stands out: Joseph Rothschild's *Return to Diversity*. We suggest you read the latest edition to Rothschild's work (co-authored with Nancy Wingfield) alongside another post-war history so that you have some framework for comparison – like the textbook by Swain and Swain.

Rothschild, Joseph, and Nancy W. Wingfield. *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Swain, Geoffrey, and Nigel Swain. *Eastern Europe Since 1945, Fourth Edition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009.

This overview of the history will give you the landmarks that you need to begin mapping the differences between East and West. The next step is to understand how Central and Eastern Europe was transformed. Here it is good to contrast the immediate reaction of someone like Vladimir Tismaneanu with the later reflections of someone like Stephen Kotkin.

Kotkin, Stephen, with Jan T. Gross. *Uncivil Society: 1989 and the Implosion of the Communist Establishment*. New York: Modern Library, 2010.

Tismaneanu, Vladimir. *Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel*. New York: The Free Press, 1992.

The striking thing about these arguments is just how little importance they attribute to Western influence on the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. There was some influence, to be sure. But that is a far cry from suggesting that the West somehow defeated communism and so won the Cold War. It is also different from saying that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe could easily jump from one pattern of political and economic organization to another. Indeed, the dual transition was frighteningly difficult. Again, the West had a role to play, but what is important to note is that the influence of national history was more important. Here we would like for you to look at two books – by Ivan Berend and Milada Vachudova.

Berend, Ivan T. *From the Soviet Bloc to the European Union: The Economic and Social Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe Since 1973.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Vachudova, Milada. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

The final step is to get a sense of what 'normal' life is like for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of communism and their accession to the European Union. As with the West European countries, there is no easy solution to this dilemma – particularly if you want an overview and not the kind of in-depth analysis that you would get from more specialized courses. Fortunately, there is a good edited volume that covers many of the country cases:

Ramet, Sabrina P. *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Keeping Up to Date

There is no easy solution to the challenge of keeping your understanding of contemporary European political economy up to date. We can refer you to some recent textbooks, but you should know by now that will never be sufficient. Here are our three suggestions in any case. *Europe Today* is a comprehensive volume that aims to cover both the European Union and the national levels of analysis, including Russia. *Developments in European Politics* is more narrowly focussed on the country level with less of the wider European Union context. Both of these volumes are designed to encompass the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as those of the West. In fairness, however, the Central and East European countries often get short shrift in the analysis. Therefore, we also suggest you look at the most recent edition of *Developments in Central and East European Politics*. This will help you to follow what is going on within specific countries as well.

Jones, Erik, Paul M. Heywood, Martin Rhodes, and Ulrich Sedelmeier, eds. *Developments in European Politics, 2*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011.

Tiersky, Ronald, and Erik Jones, eds. *Europe Today, Fifth Edition*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.

White, Stephen, Judy Batt, and Paul G. Lewis, eds. *Developments in Central and East European Politics, 5*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013.

Comp II: Comparative European Political Economies
Sample Exam - January 2017 (Bologna)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: Politics and Policies

1. Has globalization supported or undermined the European welfare state?

2. How have the European Court of Justice and its attendant case law changed judicial procedures across Europe?

3. When are consensual political systems more effective at making decisions than majoritarian ones?

Section II: Western Europe

4. To what extent do the different patterns of industry-finance relations in France and Italy explain the differences in the economic performance of the two countries during the 1950s and 1960s?

5. 'Western Europe does not have one social model; it has several.' Discuss.

6. Why did the German economy strengthen in after 2005 while the British economy foundered?

Section III: Central and Eastern Europe

7. Why was Slovakia willing to enter into the eurozone in 2009 while the Czech Republic was not?

8. Why was shock therapy more successful in Poland than in Russia in the 1990s?

9. Why was Romania given more flexibility by the Soviets in the 1960s than Czechoslovakia?

Comp II: Comparative European Political Economies
Sample Exam - January 2017 (Washington)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: Politics and Policies

1. Why is right-wing extremism so prominent in some European countries but not in others?

2. "Keynesianism may have failed in Europe, but monetarism certainly hasn't succeeded." Discuss.

3. Does privatization help fight corruption or help to encourage it?

Section II: Western Europe

4. "The 'Third Way' in Tony Blair's Britain meant one thing, but in Lionel Jospin's France and Gerhard Schroeder's Germany it meant another." Discuss.

5. To what extent did the industrial and financial structures of European countries influence their responses to the global economic and financial crisis?

6. Why was there so much political turmoil in Western Europe during the 1970s and early 1980s?

Section III: Central and Eastern Europe

7. Why did Hungary and the Czech Republic move from success to difficulty in the post-communist transition period?

8. Why were the 'color' revolutions not more successful in promoting democracy?

9. To what extent was access to western trade finance a mixed blessing for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe during the 1970s and 1980s?

Comp III: Europe and the World Since 1945

This comprehensive examination covers the relationship between European countries and the outside world. That relationship is both country-specific and regional. Over time, Europe has emerged as an actor in its own right. Even when it does not act, it has an influence far beyond European borders.

As with the previous comprehensive examinations, this one has three different elements. The first concerns the international political economy, which is arguably where Europe is most influential. The second looks at the regional dimension of Europe's relations with the outside world, and draws on the history of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as well as the European Union. The third focuses on the comparative foreign policies of European countries.

The purpose of this syllabus is to provide an introduction to each of the three elements of the examination. It does not promise to offer a comprehensive review of every component. If you work through this material alongside the courses we offer on European foreign policy and on the transatlantic relationship, you should be able to do well on the examination. Individual country courses, as well as courses on U.S. foreign policy, would help as well. Our expectation is that you should be able to pass this examination by the end of your third semester.

Section One: Europe in the Global Economy

This first part of the comprehensive examination deals with money and trade. If you have already completed the courses in international monetary theory and international trade theory, you should be familiar with the basic models that you will encounter. However, you may not be familiar with the many institutions at work in the global economy. Therefore we suggest that you go through one of the standard texts on the subject just to make sure you have a solid overview.

Gilpin, Robert. *Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Once you are confident that you have a good sense of what you will encounter, you can start to focus more narrowly on the role of Europe. There are three dimensions that are particularly important – trade, finance, and development. You can find several books on each of these subjects but three stand out in particular for their clarity and concision.

Hodson, Dermot. *Governing the Euro Area in Good Times and Bad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Holland, Martin. *The European Union and the Third World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002.

Meunier, Sophie. *Trading Voices: The European Union in International Commercial Negotiations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Finally, it is useful to have a good sense of how Europe works as a political economy. This overlaps somewhat with what we ask in the second comprehensive examination but that is only because what goes on within Europe has implications for the outside world as well. To get a sense of what is at stake, it is worth looking at some of the more optimistic visions from the middle of the 2000s.

McCormick, John. *The European Superpower*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007.
Tsoukalis, Loukas. *What Kind of Europe?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Section Two: European Foreign and Security Policy

With this second part of the examination, we want to explore the evolution of both the European Union and NATO as foreign policy actors. This is a big subject with significant roots in the Cold War. Therefore it is useful to start with some kind of narrative overview. It is even more useful to pick books from different historical periods. Here are four recommendations to start – two from the Cold War era and two that are more recent.

DePorte, A.W. *Europe Between the Superpowers: The Enduring Balance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Second Edition, 1986.
Kaplan, Lawrence S. *NATO and the United States*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988.
Lundestad, Geir. *The United States and Western Europe since 1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
Sloan, Stanley R. *NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

These books give a sense of the historical development of Europe as an actor in the world arena. But it is also important to get a sense of the differences between Europe and the United States in terms of ambition or worldview. This is where the debate about the nature of European power becomes important. Here we have four books to recommend for consideration. Two are by Robert Kagan, who is the American scholar who ignited the 'Mars and Venus' controversy during the run-up to the second Gulf War. The others are by Europeans, one of whom – Robert Cooper – played an important role in shaping the common foreign and security policy of the EU.

Cooper, Richard. *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Atlantic Books, 2004.
Kagan, Robert. *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order, Revised and Expanded Edition*. London: Atlantic Books, 2003.
Kagan, Robert. *The Return of History and the End of Dreams*. London: Atlantic Books, 2008.
Laidi, Zaki. *Norms over Force: The Enigma of European Power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008.

This debate about European power has been heavily influenced by the end of the Cold War. The fall of communism made possible the enlargement of both the EU and NATO to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In turn, that enlargement reduced the cohesion and effectiveness of those institutions as global actors. Hence it is important to consider both how European enlargement came about and what impact it had. We cover some of this material in the syllabus for the second comprehensive examination within the context of Central and Eastern Europe. Here the focus is more on the impact that enlargement had on the EU and NATO. The NATO story requires some narrative introduction because it is not covered elsewhere in the syllabus. The EU story can stand alone.

Asmus, Ronald D. *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
Medcalf, Jennifer. *Going Global or Going Nowhere?: NATO's Role in Contemporary International Security*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008.

Zielonka, Jan. *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

The question of interest is the distribution of roles and responsibilities across the EU and NATO. This question is particularly important in the face of new security concerns. It has implications for American global leadership as well. Three recent books illustrate the range of considerations involved. Two of these focus narrowly on European security; one looks more broadly at the transatlantic relationship as a whole.

Allin, Dana H., and Erik Jones. *Weary Policeman: American Power in an Age of Austerity*. London: Routledge for IISS, 2012.
Rees, Wyn. *The US-EU Security Relationship: The Tensions between a European and Global Agenda*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011.

A final consideration in this section is the role of the European Union as a foreign policy and security actor. This consideration is complicated somewhat by the complex institutional structure of the European Union itself. Therefore, we suggest three different volumes to provide a range of perspectives.

Hill, Christopher, and Michael Smith, eds. *International Relations and the European Union, Second Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Marsh, Steve, and Wyn Rees. *The European Union and the Security of Europe: From Cold War to Terror War*. London: Routledge, 2012.
Smith, Karen E. *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World, Second Edition*. London: Polity, 2008.

Section Three: Comparative Foreign Policy

The third section of this examination is on comparative foreign policy. Here it would be useful for students to pay particular attention to the foreign policies of Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, as these have evolved both during the Cold War and since 1989. Obviously this is a lot of material to cover. It also helps to have some sense of what 'foreign policy' means and how it can be studied. A good place to start is with a classic textbook on foreign policy analysis. A country-by-country survey of European foreign policy also helps. Fortunately, we have examples of both. Unfortunately, they are a little dated (although Christopher Hill has promised that he is working on a new edition).

Hill, Christopher. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003.
Manners, Ian, and Richard G. Whitman, eds. *The Foreign Policies of the European Union Member States*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Another way to approach the problem is to look at how different countries in Europe responded to common events. Here we have three suggestions – the fall of Yugoslavia, the problem of genocide more generally, and the U.S. intervention in Iraq. There are a number of books on all three subjects. The books listed below are meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

Caplan, Richard. *Europe and the Recognition of the New States in Yugoslavia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Serfaty, Simon. *Architects of Delusion: Europe, America, and the Iraq War*. Philadelphia:

University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
Smith, Karen E. *Genocide and the Europeans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

A third way examine national foreign policies is to look at national relations between European countries and third parties, like the United States. Every country has a 'special relationship' with the United States. The British example is the most obvious and yet France, Italy, and Germany have them as well. So does Poland. Your challenge is to figure out how these special relationships differ from one country to the next. Recent books by Philip Gordon, Christopher Hill, and Stephen Szabo give a good illustration of what we mean.

Gordon, Philip, and Jeremy Shapiro. *Allies at War: America, Europe and the Crisis over Iraq*. New York: McGraw Hill, 2004.
Christopher Hill. *The National Interest in Question: Foreign Policy in Multicultural Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
Szabo, Stephen F. *Parting Ways: The Crisis in German-American Relations*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2004.

Keeping Up to Date

The European foreign policy landscape is evolving rapidly. Fortunately, there are two excellent policy journals produced in the United Kingdom that provide consistent coverage. *Survival* is based at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). *International Affairs* is based at Chatham House. Both are in London.

These journals are useful for three reasons. They provide in-depth analysis of European foreign and security matters, ranging from trade and economics, to the European Union, to comparative national foreign policies. In other words, they cover the whole of this third section of the syllabus. They also publish articles on global concerns and other parts of the world. Indeed, that is their mission. Many if not most of these articles are written by Europeans; all contribute to the European foreign policy conversation. Hence, these journals show you what Europeans are thinking as well as analysing what they are doing. Finally, these journals invest significant resources in surveying recent books and other publications. They have excellent short book reviews – many of which are written by SAIS colleagues – and also thematic review essays.

Keeping up to date is important for your professional development as well as for exam preparation. The effort you spend here will help you develop the skills employers look forward in SAIS graduates. As part of that fusion of intellectual and professional concerns, the EES program is very proud to host a unique seminar on 'writing for policy' that is taught by *Survival* editor Dana Allin.

Comp III: Europe and the World Since 1945
Sample Exam - January 2017 (Bologna)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: Europe in the Global Economy

1. To what extent did Europe's sovereign debt crisis signal the inherent weakness of the euro as a rival to the dollar?

2. Why did European monetary integration take a major step forward in the late 1970s?

3. To what extent has European Competition Policy become a second pillar of anti-trust activity in the United States?

Section II: European Foreign and Security Policy

4. To what extent did the European Political Cooperation of the early 1970s anticipate the G-7 and G-20 summits of today?

5. 'NATO was re-forged in Kosovo and yet broken in Afghanistan and Libya.' Discuss.

6. 'Europe's migration crisis is the result of its failure to respond adequately to the Arab Spring.' Discuss.

Section III: Comparative European Foreign Policy

7. Why are the Central and East European countries more enthusiastic about further NATO enlargement than many of their West European counterparts?

8. Why did the European powers diverge in their reactions to the U.S. war on terror and the invasion of Iraq?

9. 'France seemed determined to preserve its world role during the Cold War period while Britain seems more ready to abandon any aspiration to great power status.' Discuss.

Comp III: Europe and the World Since 1945
Sample Exam - January 2017 (Washington)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: Europe in the Global Economy

1. Why did France rebel against the Bretton Woods System in the late 1960s while Germany and Great Britain struggled to adapt to its requirements?

2. To what extent has the European Union abandoned omnibus multilateral trade talks like the Doha Round in favor of bi-lateral trade negotiations with key trading partners?

3. To what extent has Europe succeeded in becoming a global leader in the production of voluntary industrial standards?

Section II: European Foreign and Security Policy

4. What were the obstacles to effective European intervention in Yugoslavia in the 1990s?

5. To what extent was the European Neighborhood Policy doomed from the start?

6. To what extent was European Political Cooperation a success in the 1970s and to what extent was it a failure?

Section III: Comparative European Foreign Policy

7. Why do different Member States have such different attitudes toward Turkey and toward the question of Turkish enlargement to the European Union?

8. 'France has one view of Europe's role in the world; Germany has another.' Discuss.

9. Why did the 'euromissiles' crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s have such a different impact on Germany, Italy and France?

Comp III: Russian and Eurasian Studies (RES)

The protracted upheavals in Russia and Eurasia pose serious educational challenges. On the one hand, understanding the manifold changes in the post-communist world demands intellectual flexibility. On the other hand, a well-defined structure of academic priorities is essential for effective learning. The RES track of the European and Eurasian Studies program is designed to balance these two requirements. The largest emphasis is on the study of Russia, but attention is also given to the non-Russian regions of the former USSR.

EES concentrators who choose the Russian and Eurasian Studies track are encouraged to take *at least* two courses focusing on Russia for credit, including "Russia, the Making (and Unmaking) of a Superpower". All students taking RES courses in Washington are encouraged to participate in the biweekly non-credit Current Affairs Seminar and to attend the biweekly meetings of the Russia-Eurasia Forum.

EES concentrators who choose the Russian and Eurasian Studies track must pass the Russian language proficiency exam. Note that aside from Russian, SAIS does not teach any of the other Central and East European or Eurasian languages for proficiency. Therefore, it is not possible to substitute away from the Russian language proficiency requirement for students who want to concentrate on Russian and Eurasian Studies. Students who have already achieved proficiency in Russian are encouraged to begin studying another modern European language.

Second-year concentrators who want to complete the RES track of the European and Eurasian Studies concentration must pass the RES written comprehensive in lieu of the third comprehensive examination on Europe and the World. The structure of the examination will be similar to the other comps. The examination will focus on three areas – the rise and fall of communism in Russia and Eurasia, the post-communist experience, and the wider role of the post-communist region (including Russia) in the world writ large. Each part will be equally weighted, with three questions in each area. Students will write four essays from the total of nine.

Any student who wants to specialize in the Russian and Eurasian Studies track should notify Cristina Benitez in writing before the end of their first semester at SAIS. Students are allowed to join this specialization after the first semester, but they will need to get written permission from the Program Director in order to do so.

Part 1: The Rise and Fall of Communism in Russia and Eurasia

Illustrative Topics

- Main features of the Tsarist system and the reasons for its demise.
- Major turning points in the development of the Soviet system.
- Major turning points in Soviet foreign relations.
- The role of ideology in the Soviet system and the effects of dissent.
- Main features of the Soviet economic system; its economic strengths and weaknesses.
- Linkages between the domestic system and foreign relations.
- Causes and consequences of mass terror under Stalin.
- Soviet foreign policy from the late 1930s to the late 1940s.
- Effects of World War II on the Soviet domestic system.
- Soviet policies toward Eastern and Western Europe from the 1950s onward
- The nature and limits of destalinization in the Khrushchev era.
- Soviet policies toward ethnic differences.
- Reasons for Khrushchev's fall from power.
- Soviet economic trends from Stalin to Gorbachev; reasons for the slowdown of economic growth.
- Dissent in the post-Stalin period; changes in the role of the intelligentsia from Khrushchev to Gorbachev.
- The historical roots and nature of the crisis in the late Soviet era.
- Political structure of the Soviet state; implications for the fate of the Soviet political system.
- Changes and continuities in Soviet foreign policy from the late 1950s to the late 1980s
- Comparison of the overall circumstances facing Khrushchev with those facing Gorbachev when each leader assumed power.
- Gorbachev's accomplishments and failures as a leader.
- Alternative explanations of the collapse of the USSR, and the evidence for each.

Recommended Readings

- Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, 5th edition (1992), chs. 30-39, 40-42.
- Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (2009), chs. 1,6, 9-10, 20, 24-30.
- Jerry Hough and Merle Fainsod, *How the Soviet Union is Governed* (1979), chs. 1-7.
- Y. Gorlizki, "Too Much Trust: Regional Party Leaders and Local Political Networks under Brezhnev," *Slavic Review* 69 No. 3 (2010): 676-700.
- Robert Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR* (1994), chs. 1, 3, 5-8.
- Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation,* Rev. ed. (2002), chs. 4-7.
- Alec Nove, *An Economic History of the USSR, 1917-1991* (1992), chs. 3-4, 6-8, 12-14.
- Philip Hanson, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Economy: An Economic History of the USSR from 1945* (2003), chs. 2-5, 7, 9.
- R. Craig Nation, *Black Earth, Red Star: A History of Soviet Security Policy, 1917-1991* (1992), chs. 1-8.
- David C. Engerman, "Ideology and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917-1962," *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (2010), vol. 1, 20-43.
- Peter Reddaway, "The Development of Dissent in the USSR," in William Griffith, ed., *The Soviet Empire: Expansion and Detente* (1976), 57-84.

- Michael McFaul, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin* (2001), chs. 1-3.
- Donna Bahry, "Society Transformed? Rethinking the Social Roots of Perestroika," *Slavic Review* 52, No. 3 (Fall 1993), 512-54.
- Ronald Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, 'National' Identity, and Theories of Empire," and Terry Martin, "An Affirmative Action Empire: The Soviet Union as the Highest Form of Imperialism," in Suny and Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (2001).
- Victor Zaslavsky, "Success and Collapse: Traditional Soviet Nationality Policy," in Ian Bremmer and Ray Taras, eds., *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States* (1993), 29-42.
- Serhii. Plokhy, *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (2014), Introduction, Epilogue.
- Brian D. Taylor, "The Soviet Military and the Disintegration of the USSR," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 5.1 (2003): 17-66.
- Alexander Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, no. 4, 1992, pp. 279 302.
- Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (2002), 1-10, 147-99, 385-442.
- Stephen Cohen, "Was the Soviet System Reformable?" plus responses by Archie Brown and Mark Kramer, *Slavic Review* 63, no. 3 (Fall 2004), 459-512.
- Andrew Barnes, "Three in One: Unpacking the 'Collapse' of the Soviet Union," Problems of Post-Communism 61, no. 5 (Sep-Oct 2014): 3-13.

Part 2: Post-Communist Experience

A) Politics

Illustrative Topics

- Major turning points in Russian politics since 1991.
- Sources of continuity and sources of discontinuity between the Soviet and the post-Soviet political systems.
- Key decisions and events that affected the design of Russia's post-communist political systems.
- Factors facilitating and impeding democratization in Russia and other post-Soviet states.
- Similarities and differences among the post-communist political outcomes in Russia and the other post-Soviet states.
- Sources of political power in post-Soviet Russia, and changes in these sources over time.
- Interaction between political change and economic reform in Russia and other post-Soviet states.
- Causes and consequences of the Russian political crisis in the fall of 1993.
- Changing characteristics of electoral politics in post-communist Russia and other post-Soviet states
- Trends in Russian regional politics and trends in center-periphery relations.
- The changing role of political parties in the political system of the Russian Federation.

- Political succession in Russia after Yeltsin; parallels or contrasts with patterns of succession in other post-Soviet countries.
- The changing nature of the state in Central Asia.
- The concepts of democratic,"hybrid," and authoritarian regimes, and the applicability of each concept to the post-Communist states.
- The relative strength and political consequences of the "resource curse" in Russia and other post-Soviet states.

Recommended Readings

- Archie Brown, ed., *Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader* (2001), Sections 1-5, 9, 11-12.
- Michael McFaul, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin* (2001), chs. 4-10.
- Peter Reddaway and Dmitri Glinsky, *The Tragedy of Russia's Reforms: Market Bolshevism against Democracy* (2001), ch. 1, Epilogue.
- Bruce Parrott and Serhiy Kudelia, "Russia—European or Not?" in Ronald Tiersky and Erik Jones, eds., *Europe Today: A Twenty-First Century Introduction, 5th ed.* (2014).
- David Hoffman, *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* (2002), chs. 8-16.
- Richard Sakwa, *Putin and the Oligarch: The Khodorkovsky-Yukos Affair* (2014), chs. 1-4, 9.
- Amy Knight, *Spies Without Cloaks: The KGB's Successors* (1996), Introduction, chs. 2-4, 6-7, 9-10.
- Amy Knight, "Finally, We Know About the Moscow Bombings," New York Review of Books 59, no. 18 (2012): 56-59.
- Lucan Way, "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine," *World Politics* (2005): 231-61.
- Sarah Birch, "Post-Soviet Electoral Practices in Comparative Perspective," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 4 (2011), 703-725.
- Timothy Frye, "Corruption and Rule of Law," in A. Åslund, S. M. Guriev and A. Kuchins, eds., *Russia after the Global Economic Crisis* (2010), 79-94.
- K. J. Koesel and V. J. Bunce, "Putin, Popular Protests, and Political Trajectories in Russia: A Comparative Perspective," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28 4 (2012): 403-23.
- Valerie Bunce, Michael A. McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Post-Communist World* (2009), chs. 1-2,7-10, 12.
- J. A. Dunn, "Lottizzazione Russian Style: Russia's Two-Tier Media System," Europe-Asia Studies 66, no. 9 (Oct 2014): 1425-51.
- Michael McFaul and Anders Aslund, eds., *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough* (2006), chs. 1-3, 5-8.
- S. Kudelia and T. Kuzio, "Nothing Personal: Explaining the Rise and Decline of Political Machines in Ukraine," Post-Soviet Affairs 31, no. 3 (May 2015): 250-78.
- Pauline Luong Jones and Erika Weinthal, "Rethinking the Resource Curse: Ownership Structure, Institutional Capacity, and Domestic Constraints," *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006), 241-263.
- R. Horvath, "Putin's 'Preventive Counter-Revolution': Post-Soviet Authoritarianism and the Spectre of Velvet Revolution," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 1 (2011): 1-25.

- Fiona Hill and Clifford G. Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*, revised and expanded ed. (2013), chs. 10-14.
- Karen Dawisha, *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* (2014), chs. 6-7.
- E. Schatz and E. Maltseva, "Kazakhstan's Authoritarian 'Persuasion'," *Post -Soviet Affairs* 28 1 (2012): 45-65.
- Andrew Monaghan, "The vertikal: power and authority in Russia." *International Affairs* 88.1 (2012): 1-16.
- Masha Hedberg, "Top-Down Self-Organization: State Logics, Substitutional Delegation, and Private Governance in Russia." *Governance* 29.1 (2016): 67-83.

B) Economies

Illustrative Topics

- "Shock therapy" and its feasibility under Russian political and economic conditions.
- Western policies toward economic reform in the post-Soviet states.
- Main trends in the post-Soviet states' foreign-trade patterns and investment flows.
- Reasons for the different outcomes of economic reform in the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Russia.
- Russian debates over economic reform and their outcomes.
- The pattern of Russian privatization, and its economic consequences.
- Origins and economic behavior of Russian commercial banks.
- Manifestations and economic consequences of the informal economy in Russia and Ukraine.
- Causes of the 1998 economic crisis in Russia, and its consequences for the Russian economic system.
- Causes of the revival of Russia's economy after 1999, and its long-term sustainability.
- The causes and consequences of the Russian turn toward "state capitalism" under Putin.
- The economic crisis of 2008 and the government's policy responses.
- The sources and strength of "resource nationalism" in Russia and Central Asia. (state re-assertion of control over lucrative sectors of the economy, especially the extractive industries.)
- Russia and other post-Soviet countries as petro-states: implications for economic reform.

Recommended Readings

- Anders Aslund, *Russia's Capitalist Revolution: Why Market Reform Succeeded and Democracy Failed* (2007), chs. 3-8.
- Hill, Fiona, and Clifford G. Gaddy. *The Siberian Curse: How Communist Planners Left Russia out in the Cold* (2003.), chs. 1-4.
- Clifford Gaddy and Barry Ickes, "Russia's Virtual Economy," *Foreign Affairs* 77, No. 5 (Sep.-Oct. 1998), 53-67.
- Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50 (January 1998), 203-34.
- Juliet Johnson, *A Fistful of Rubles: The Rise and Fall of the Russian Banking System* (2000), chs. 2-4, 7-8.

- Sergei Guriev and Andrei Rachinsky, "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, No. 1 (Winter 2005), 131-150.
- Martin G. Gilman, *No Precedent, No Plan: Inside Russia's 1998 Default* (2010), Introduction, Chs.5-7, 9.
- J. Zweynert, "Conflicting Patterns of Thought in the Russian Debate on Transition: 2003-2007," *Europe-Asia Studies* 62, no. 4 (2010), 547-569.
- V. Dobrynskaya and E. Turkisch, "Economic Diversification and Dutch Disease in Russia," *Post-Communist Economies* 22, no. 3 (2010), 283-302.
- S. Tabata, "Observations on Russian Exposure to the Dutch Disease," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 53, no. 2 (2012), 231-243.
- J. D. Brown, J. S. Earle, et al., "Helping Hand or Grabbing Hand? State Bureaucracy and Privatization Effectiveness," *American Political Science Review* 103, no. 2 (2009), 264-283.
- Anders Åslund, Sergei M. Guriev, and Andrew Kuchins, eds., *Russia after the Global Economic Crisis* (2010), chs. by Guriev/Tsyvinski, Crane/Usanov, and Åslund.
- Anders Åslund, *How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and a Democracy* (2009), chs. 2-6, 8.
- Richard Rose and W. Mishler, "The Impact of Macro-Economic Shock on Russians," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 26, no. 1 (2010), 38-57.
- S. Malle, "The Policy Challenges of Russia's Post-Crisis Economy," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28, no. 1 (2012), 66-110.
- S. Closson, "A Comparative Analysis on Energy Subsidies in Soviet and Russian Policy," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 44 4 (2011): 343-56.
- Thane Gustafson, *Wheel of Fortune: The Battle for Oil and Power in Russia* (2012), Introduction, ch. 13.
- Neil Robinson, "Introduction: the political problems of Russian capitalism" and "The contexts of Russia's political economy: Soviet legacies and post-Soviet policies," in Robinson, ed., *The Political Economy of Russia* (2013).
- Philip Hanson, "Russia's Inward and Outward Foreign Direct Investment: Insights into the Economy," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 51, no. 5 (2010), 632-652.
- R. Connolly and P. Hanson, "Russia's Accession to the World Trade Organization: Commitments, Processes, and Prospects," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 53 4 (2012): 479-501.
- Clifford G. Gaddy and Barry S. Ickes, "The Russian Economy through 2020: The Challenge of Managing Rent Addiction," in Masha Lipman & Nikolai Petrov, eds., *Russia in 2020: Scenarios for the Future* (2011), 165-86.
- Stanislav Markus, "Secure property as a bottom-up process: Firms, stakeholders, and predators in weak states." *World Politics* 64.02 (2012): 242-277.

C) National Identities and Ethnic Relations

Illustrative Topics

- Intellectual utility and limits of Brubaker's "tradic nexus" in analyzing Soviet and post-Soviet ethnonational developments.
- The early Soviet policy of "indigenization" and changes in Soviet nationalities policy over time.
- The role of Russian nationalism in sustaining the Soviet system, and in undermining it.

- Connections between social structure and national consciousness in the USSR's constituent republics.
- Comparative ethnonational effects of Soviet rule in Central Asia and the western USSR.
- Civic nationalism, ethnic nationalism, and the applicability of these concepts to the post-Soviet states.
- Approaches to citizenship and migration in the post-Soviet states.
- Impact of states' ethnic composition on their foreign relations.
- Sources and limits of Russian nationalism in the post-Soviet period.
- Causes of post-Soviet conflicts in Chechnya.
- Development of post-communist ethnic relations in the Baltic States.
- Causes of post-Soviet conflicts in the southern Caucasus.
- National identity in post-communist Ukraine and the impact of Russian intervention in Ukraine.
- National identity and ethnic conflict in Central Asia.

Recommended Readings

- Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (1996).
- Bernard Yack, *Nationalism and the Moral Psychology of Community* (2012), ch. 1.
- Ronald Grigor Suny, "Provisional Stabilities: The Politics of Identities in Post-Soviet Eurasia," International Security 24, no. 3 (1999): 139-78.
- Keith Darden and A. Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide - Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," World Politics 59, no. 1 (2006): 83-115.
- Igor Torbakov, "History, Memory and National Identity: Understanding Politics of History and Memory Wars in Post-Soviet Lands," Demokratizatsiya 19, no. 3 (2011), 209-232.
- Henry E. Hale, "The Makeup and Breakup of Ethnofederal States: Why Russia Survives Where the USSR Fell," *Perspectives on Politics* 3, no. 1 (2005), 55-70.
- J. P. Goode, "Nationalism in Quiet Times: Ideational Power and Post-Soviet Hybrid Regimes," *Problems of Post-Communism* 59, no. 3 (2012), 6-16.
- Forest and J. Johnson, "Monumental Politics: Regime Type and Public Memory in Post-Communist States," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27, no. 3 (2011), 269-288.
- Vera Tolz, *Russia: Inventing the Nation* (2001), chs. TBA.
- O. Shevel, "Russian Nation-building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic or Purposefully Ambiguous?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (2011), 179-202.
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D) Societies

Illustrative Topics

- Multiple meanings of the term "society."
- The significance of "civil society" as an ideological concept and an analytical category before and after the end of communism.
- Elements and limits of civil society in pre-Revolutionary Russia.
- The Marxist-Leninist attitude toward civil society.
- Elements and limits of civil society in the Gorbachev years.
- Legacies of communism for the social structure and societal organization of the post-Soviet states.
- Societal impact of "shock therapy" economic reforms.
- Main population and health trends in the post-Soviet states, and their political and economic implications.
- Educational trends in the post-Soviet states, and their political and economic implications.
- Scope of the post-communist revival of religion, and the implications for societal autonomy.
- Stimuli and obstacles to the development of NGOs in the post-Soviet states.
- Russian sexual mores and behavior under communism and in the post-communist era.
- Changes in patterns of domestic and interstate migration in the post-communist era.
- Potential conflicts between democratization and the development of "civil society."
- Organized crime and the development of "uncivil society" in the post-Soviet states.

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- Igor Torbakov, “The Russian Orthodox Church and Contestations over History in Contemporary Russia,” Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization 22, no. 1 (Jan 2014): 145-70.
- Igor Kon, “Sexuality and Culture,” in Igor Kon and James Riordan, eds., *Sex and Russian Society* (1993), 15-44.
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- M. Holt Ruffin and Daniel C. Waugh, eds., *Civil Society in Central Asia* (1999), 122-213.
- Olivier Roy, “The Predicament of ‘Civil Society’ in Central Asia and the ‘Greater Middle East’,” International Affairs 81, no. 5 (October 2005), 1001-12.

Part 3: The Role of the Post-Communist Region in the World

Illustrative Topics

- Major turning points in Soviet foreign relations.
- Continuities and discontinuities between Soviet and post-Soviet Russian foreign policies.
- Stages in the development of post-Soviet Russian foreign policy, and the characteristics of each stage.
- Relationship between internal and foreign policies in the post-Soviet period.
- Post-Soviet Russian foreign-policy objectives and regional priorities.
- Dynamics of the post-Soviet adjustment in Russian-American relations before the Ukrainian crisis.
- Russian relations with Germany: common and divergent interests.
- Implications of NATO enlargement for Russian foreign policy and foreign relations.
- Impact of "color revolutions" on Russian foreign policy.
- Energy exports as a tool of Russian foreign policy.
- Georgian relations with Russia and the West, including the Russo-Georgian War.
- Russian relations with China and the post-Soviet fate of triangular diplomacy.
- Evolution of post-Soviet Russian policy toward Central Asia compared with the policies of the United States and China.
- Sources of the Ukrainian crisis.
- Implications of the Ukrainian crisis for relations among Russia, Europe, and the United States.

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- T. P. Gerber, “Foreign Policy and the United States in Russian Public Opinion,” Problems of Post-Communism 62, no. 2 (Mar-Apr 2015): 98-111.
- Martha Brill Olcott, *Central Asia’s Second Chance* (2005), ch. 1-4, 6-7.

Comp III (B): Russian and Eurasian Studies Specialization
January 2018 (Washington)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: The Rise and Fall of Communism in Russia and Eurasia

1. What impact did the death of Stalin have on relations between the Soviet Union and the rest of the communist world?

2. Why were the Soviets interested in détente with the West?

3. To what extent did the Stalinist totalitarian system continue to function after his death?

Section II: The Post-Communist Experience

4. How has the relationship between the Presidency and the media changed from Boris Yeltsin to Vladimir Putin?

5. 'If the West had really wanted Russia to succeed with its dual transformation, Western governments would have offered more financial aid rather sending lawyers and economists.' Discuss.

6. What are the three most important demographic challenges facing Russia in the 21st Century?

Section III: Russia, Eurasia, and the Wider World

7. 'The collapse of the Soviet Union may have released the Central Asian republics from communism, but it did not release them from dictatorship.' Discuss.

8. How has the relationship between Russia and Turkey changed since the fall of the Soviet Union?

9. 'Yeltsin may have started the war in Chechnya, but Putin finally put an end to it.' Discuss.

Comp III (B): Russian and Eurasian Studies Specialization
May 2018 (Washington)

Please write essays in response to four (4) of the following nine (9) questions, including at least one (1) question from each of the three (3) sections. You have four (4) hours to complete the examination.

Section I: The Rise and Fall of Communism in Russia and Eurasia

1. Why did the Soviet Union back down in the Cuban Missile Crisis?

2. To what extent did Russia end up subsidizing the rest of the Soviet Empire?

3. Why did the relationship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China break down?

Section II: The Post-Communist Experience

4. Why were the color revolutions not more successful at promoting democracy?

5. How did Putin win over support from the Russian electorate and what sustains that support today?

6. What were the underlying causes of the Russian financial crisis in the late 1990s?

Section III: Russia, Eurasia, and the Wider World

7. 'Russian involvement in Ukraine after the Maidan was a matter of domestic Russian politics and not foreign policy.' Discuss.

8. 'The real lesson to be learned from the impact of Western sanctions is that Russia's economic future depends upon China.' Discuss.

9. How has the relationship between Russia and the United States changed since the fall of the Soviet Union?

Two Traditions for Studying Europe and Eurasia

The European and Eurasian Studies program encompasses two parts of Europe and its surroundings. It also bridges two different traditions for area studies. The European Studies side of the program emerges from a broad cultural and historical approach. The Russian and Eurasian Studies side of the program developed out of Soviet and East European Studies.

These origins are very different. Traditional Europeanists confronted an overwhelming amount of information. They looked across a variety of different countries, each proudly celebrating its own history and culture. They had access to a wide array of official documents. They could travel freely from one place to the next to conduct interviews or sociological research. And they could engage with like-minded scholars representing a range of different perspectives.

By contrast, Sovietologists had to wrestle what information they could glean from isolated archives and secretive governments. Much of the national and cultural diversity of the region was suppressed rather than being celebrated; it remained important nonetheless. Sovietologists could not travel freely in the countries they studied and often had difficulty becoming fluent in the local languages. They could not conduct frank interviews and they had little opportunity for open exchange of views with scholars from the region.

Despite these differences, however, the two traditions have many similarities. For example, they are broadly interdisciplinary, they prize depth of knowledge over generalizability, and they are closely attentive to language and meaning. Finally, they believe that methodological rigor should be compatible with historical awareness and cultural sensitivity.

European Studies at SAIS

The SAIS European Studies program was founded by Professor David P. Calleo in the late 1960s. His work provides much of the intellectual underpinning for the first three elements in the current syllabus. In 2012, many of Professor Calleo's friends and former students gathered in Bologna to celebrate his contribution. You can find a description of the 'Calleo School' with detailed analysis of many of its facets in the resulting *festschrift* edited by Professor John L. Harper.

The approach taken in the SAIS European Studies program – and carried into EES – rests on three contentions. The first contention is that the national state is the cornerstone for European political and economic organization. It is also the model that Europeans imposed with greater or lesser success on the rest of the world. The challenge is to understand what the national state entails and why it is so powerful – even in the context of European integration. These questions are addressed in two of Calleo's earliest works, *Coleridge and the Idea of the Modern State* (1966) and *Europe's Future, the Grand Alternatives* (1967). The first work analyzes the Romantic tradition of nationalism; among other themes, the second reveals how Charles de Gaulle brought Romantic nationalism to life.

These arguments are important because they explain why the national state has such a powerful grip on popular imagination, which is the essence of its legitimacy both historically and in the modern world. They also explain why European integration has developed as it has, not as a means of replacing the national state but rather as a collection of institutions to complement national politics and to aid in securing the national interests of Europe's most powerful states. These arguments date from the 1960s and yet they continue to resonate. For example, you can find them in Michael M. Harrison's analysis of France as *The Reluctant Ally* (1981) and Philip Gordon's book on French military strategy, *A Certain Idea of France* (1993). Harrison was an early faculty member in the European Studies program and Gordon

was a doctoral student. You can find more recent evidence of the importance of the nation state in Timo Behr's 2009 dissertation on French and German engagement with the Arab world and Saskia van Genugten's 2012 dissertation on Italian and British influence in Libya.

Within a world organized around strong national states, however, it would be an illusion to imagine that countries would abandon themselves either to Europe or to a broader Atlantic security community that includes the United States. This is the second fundamental contention – national diversity is resilient and countries do not easily surrender their uniqueness. This explains why the European Studies program has traditionally focused so much attention on country-specific analysis. You can see this attention to country cases in Harrison's work, just mentioned, but also in the work of other faculty members over the years, like Jeremiah Reimer (Germany), Hans-Georg Betz (Austria), Dorothee Heisenberg (Germany), and Mitchell Orenstein (Czech Republic). You can see it in the work of the European Studies faculty in Bologna as well, like Adrian Lyttleton (Italy), Patrick McCarthy (France, Italy), and Erik Jones (Belgium, Netherlands). Finally, this emphasis on country-specific experience can be found in the wide variety research undertaken within the European Studies program – like Thomas Row's (1997) work on economic nationalism in Italy, Omer Taspinar's work on *Kurdish Nationalism and Political Islam in Turkey* (2004), Christopher Chivvis' (2010) work on the economic thinking Jacques Rueff, Matthias Matthijs' (2010) book on ideas and economic crisis in Britain, and Gabriel Goodliffe's writing on *The Resurgence of the Radical Right in France* (2012).

The resilience of national experience has implications for international organization. That is the third contention. Specifically, it anticipates the contemporary view that the world will always have multiple centers of power and that any attempt to create a monolithic or hegemonic framework will ultimately prove to be self-defeating. The inevitability and desirability of a plural world order is a recurring theme in Calleo's work and the implications for leading countries like the United States or Germany are particularly important. Efforts by the United States to expand its reach across the globe threaten to upset both the domestic balance of American politics and the world economy. These are the arguments laid out in *The American Political System* (1969) and *America and the World Political Economy* (1973). They become ever more potent in *The Imperious Economy* (1982) and *The Bankrupting of America* (1993). The situation with Germany is similar in many respects; given its geographic location and history, an overreaching Germany is often a source of instability and conflict. This theme can be seen in *The German Problem Reconsidered* (1978) and in *Beyond American Hegemony* (1987).

Reconciliation to a plural order has not been easy either for Great Britain or the United States at the global level or for Germany within Europe. Nevertheless, such reconciliation is essential if governments are to avoid self-injury or other unintended consequences of their actions. The difficulty is to foster enlightened policy leadership. John Lamberton Harper's *American Visions of Europe* (1994) grapples with the competing programs of political elites in the United States. So does Dana Allin's *Cold War Illusions* (1998) and the book written jointly by Allin and Jones called *Weary Policeman* (2012). Forging enlightened leadership is difficult when elites disagree on how the world works. The challenge of providing effective leadership is also apparent in Harper's (1986) work on American assistance to Italy during the immediate aftermath of the Second World War and it can be found in Lanxin Xiang's (1997) work on British and American policy toward China.

The many strands of the SAIS European Studies program can be seen in Calleo's most recent volumes, *Rethinking Europe's Future* (2002) and *Follies of Power* (2009). The first of these re-examines the role of nationalism in the construction of modern Europe; the second reconsiders the importance of embracing a more plural world order. However, it is important to remember that the study of Europe is always a work in progress and there is new

and exciting material coming into print each day. Moreover, Europe is itself changing. The end of the Cold War is an obvious illustration. So is the new relationship with Turkey. However, the integration of East and West and the normalization of relations with the new Russia have become questions of paramount importance. That is why European Studies and Russian and Eurasian Studies have grown together.

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From Soviet and East European Studies to Russian and Eurasian Studies

The SAIS Soviet Studies program was founded in the mid-1960s by Professor Herbert S. Dinerstein. Initially it focused on the external behavior of the USSR. In keeping with US apprehensions about Soviet international conduct during the Cold War, Dinerstein's published works dealt largely with foreign affairs. Two of his principal works are *War and the Soviet Union: Nuclear Weapons and the Revolution in Soviet Military and Political Thinking* (1962) and *The Making of a Missile Crisis: Cuba 1962* (1976). Both works attempted to look inside the "black box" of Soviet decision-making to discern leadership discussions and debates over national-security policy. Dinerstein also tracked Soviet behavior in the post-colonial world. He was at work on a major study of Soviet relations with Eastern Europe when an auto accident ended his academic career and deprived the scholarly world of his insights into this critical subject.

Dinerstein had already taken steps to widen the substantive scope of the Soviet Studies Program by recruiting Bruce Parrott, a specialist on Soviet internal politics, to join the SAIS faculty. Parrott's research focused on the political dimensions of Soviet economic policy and economic reform. His principal work on this subject is *Politics and Technology in the Soviet Union* (1983). Research for the book sparked his interest in the effects of the USSR's technological performance on its policies toward the United States and both halves of Europe. One result was *The Soviet Union and Ballistic Missile Defense* (1987), written in response to the Reagan Administration's initiation of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Like most Sovietologists, Parrott was galvanized by the radical domestic reforms and foreign-policy innovations introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev, and he spent the next phase of his subsequent professional career studying the seismic changes they triggered.

When it became clear that those changes threatened not only the USSR's hold on its European satellites but the survival of the USSR itself, the Russian and Eurasian Studies program (as it soon was renamed) broadened its coverage of Eastern Europe. A new faculty member, Ilya Prizel, taught courses on Eastern Europe, Ukraine, and Russia. Prizel later published a book, *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia and Ukraine* (1998), which won a U.S. scholarly prize as the year's best book on Soviet or Russian foreign relations. Later Charles Gati took over the courses on Eastern Europe. Gati had already won the same national prize for his study of the demise of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe, and in 2006 he won the prize a second time for *Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt*.

The disintegration of the USSR caused intense ferment and soul-searching among scholars who specialized in the countries of the former Soviet bloc. When independent Russia and fourteen other former Soviet republics emerged as sovereign states, scholars asked themselves what had caused this transformation and where the new states were headed. To address these questions, scholars at SAIS, the University of Maryland, and other universities launched an ambitious research project. It produced ten thematic volumes published under the series title, *The International Politics of Eurasia* (1994-1997), with Bruce Parrott and Karen Dawisha as general editors. At the outset of the project Parrott and Dawisha published a separate book, *The Politics of Upheaval: Russia and the New States of Eurasia* (1994). Later they organized a parallel project, funded by the U.S. State Department, to analyze the post-communist evolution of Eastern Europe as well as the former Soviet Union. It produced four edited volumes under the series title, *Authoritarianism and Democratization in Post-Communist* Societies (1997).

Eastern Europe's gradual movement from "East" to "West" posed the conundrum of where the region belonged in the curriculum, and for the better part of a decade SAIS students were able to study it under the rubrics of either European Studies or Russian and

Eurasian Studies. The countries that used to be called Eastern Europe now belong to an undivided Europe, even though the durability of their membership cannot be taken for granted. In any case, the events of the past two decades have demonstrated the rigidity of many of the geopolitical concepts commonly used during the Cold War. We have entered an era in which more flexible concepts and more sophisticated comparisons are required. That is one of the reasons that the creation of a combined European and Eurasian Studies program makes solid intellectual sense.

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