

POL 414H-F IDENTITY, DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY IN  
UKRAINE

Professor Lucan A. Way

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This course will explore the sources of identity and regime formation in modern Ukraine. First, the course explores theories of the origins of nationalism and the impact of identity and regional politics. Second, the course investigates efforts at democratic and authoritarian state building in the 1990s and 2000s.

This course will be broken up into two parts. The first part of the semester (September 19-November 7) will involve weekly discussions of assigned readings. Each week during this time, students are required to email me (at [lucan.way@utoronto.ca](mailto:lucan.way@utoronto.ca)) a ½-1 page reaction paper that covers at least two of the readings **by Monday at 5pm on the day before class**. Reactions can include everything from a summary comparison of arguments made in the articles/chapters, comments etc. These will be graded as check, check minus and check plus. (I will provide a few guiding questions each week that will help you write these reactions and return your comments by the start of class the next day).

Depending on the size of the class, students may also be asked to present at least one of the week's readings – providing an overview of the theoretical and empirical issues covered in the material.

The second part of the course (November 14-December 5) will focus on the writing of a research paper 25-30 pages double spaced. The paper should cover a topic related to Ukrainian identity or regime politics. Students should begin discussing possible topics with me as soon as possible. During this time, there will be no assigned reading. Instead, students are required to work on their papers and make two paper presentations.

*Grading:*

Weekly comments:	20%
Class participation (in first part of course):	20%
Class presentations:	10%
Initial outlines/drafts:	10%
Final paper:	40%

*Readings:*

A reader will be provided during class that should be individually Xeroxed.

**September 12: Intro to course**  
- Structuralism versus Voluntarism

**I. Identity:**

**September 19: Approaches to National Identity Formation and the Formation of Ukrainian Identity:**

Breuilly, John (1996) 'Approaches to nationalism', in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.) *Mapping the Nation* (Verso: London) Ch.5, pp.146-74

Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*. pp. 42-65

Paul Robert Magocsi *The Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism: Galicia As Ukraine's Piedmont* pp. 38-64

Keith Darden, "A First Mover Advantage in National Culture: Mass Schooling and the Origins of Nationalism in the USSR" ms.

*Suggested Reading:*

Marples, David R. 1999b. "National Awakening and National Consciousness in Belarus." *Nationalities Papers* 27, no. 4: 565-578.

Leshchenko, Natalia. 2002. "A fine instrument: two nation-building strategies in post-Soviet Belarus" *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (3), 2004, 333–352.

*Questions to think about:*

How do the approaches to national identity offered by the different authors differ?

Which authors view identity as more constant and difficult to change?

**September 26: Regionalism/Identity and Democracy**

Lowell Barrington and Erik Herron, "One Ukraine or Many? Regionalism in Ukraine and Its Political Consequences", *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 32:1, (March 2004), pp. 53-86.

Steven Roper and Florin Fesnic, "Historical Legacies and Their Impact on Post-Communist Voting Behavior", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 55: 1 (2003), pp. 119-131.

Lowell Barrington, "Examining rival theories of demographic influences on political support: The power of regional, ethnic, and linguistic divisions in Ukraine", *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 41 (2002), pp. 455-491

Gwendolyn Sasse, "Conflict-Prevention in a Transition State: The Crimean Issue in Post-Soviet Ukraine", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 8: 2 (Summer 2002), pp. 1-26.

**October 3: Creating Democracy and Authoritarianism**

Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 1:1, (Winter

1990), pp. 51-70.

Lucan Way and Steven Levitsky, "The Dynamics of Autocratic Coercion After the Cold War" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. forthcoming.

Sarah Birch, "Electoral Systems, Campaign Strategies, and Vote Choice in the Ukrainian Parliamentary and Presidential Elections of 1994", *Political Studies*, vol. 46: 1 (March 1998), pp. 96-114.

Keith Darden, "Blackmail as a Tool of State Domination: Ukraine under Kuchma," *East European Constitutional Review*, v. 10, no. 2/3, Spring/Summer 2001.

Marc Howard, "The Weakness of Post-Communist Civil Society" *Journal of Democracy* (*skim*)

*Suggested readings:*

**Juliet Johnson, "Path Contingency in Postcommunist Transformations," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 33:3 (April 2001), pp. 253-**

Lucan Way "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave." *World Politics* January 2005.

John Ishiyama and Ryan Kennedy, "Superpresidentialism and Political Party Development in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 53:8 (December 2001), pp. 1177-1191.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "Elections without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13:2 (April 2002), pp. 51-65.

### **October 10: Ukraine in WWII (study week)**

Note: I will be away this week. Thus, a presentation and discussion of a recent film on Ukraine in WWII will be presented during class.

*There will be no required reading this week. You should use this time to come up with a bibliography and topic of your paper.*

*Suggested Reading:*

Keith Darden, Excerpts from "Resisting Occupation" Chapter IV of "Mass Schooling and the Formation of Enduring National Loyalties" (book ms)

Timothy Snyder, *Reconstruction of Nations*, pp. 154-178.

Burds, Jeffrey, "AGENTURA: Soviet Informants' Networks in Galicia, 1944-1948," *Eastern European Politics and Societies* (January 1997).

### **October 17: Kravchuk and Kuchma regimes**

***Short description of paper topic (half page) and 1 page bibliography due to me by email before start of class***

Wilson, Andrew. *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. Pp. 172-206

Timm Beichelt, "Autocracy and Democracy in Belarus, Russia and Ukraine", *Democratization*, vol. 11: 5 (December 2004), pp. 113-132.

Sarah Birch, "The Presidential Election in Ukraine, October 1999", *Electoral Studies*,

vol. 21: 2 (June 2002), pp. 339-363.

Taras Kuzio, "The 2002 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine: Democratization or Authoritarianism?" *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 19:2 (June 2003), pp. 24-54.

*Recommended:*

Lucan Way "The sources and dynamics of competitive authoritarianism in Ukraine" *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. Volume 20, Number 1 / March 2004, 143 - 161

Paul D'Anieri, "Leonid Kuchma and the Personalization of the Ukrainian Presidency", *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 50:5, (September-October 2003), pp. 58-65.

Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine at the crossroads," *Journal of Democracy*, v.6, no.1, Jan 1995, 117-30

**October 24: Political Parties, Civil Society and the Media**

Arthur H. Miller, Gwyn Erb, William M. Reisinger, and Vicki L. Hesli, "Emerging Party Systems in Post-Soviet Societies," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 62:2

**Henry Hale, "Why Not Parties? Supply and Demand on Russia's Electoral Market," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 27:2 (January 2005), pp. 147-166**  
*(carefully read introductory sections and conclusion, skim empirical sections)*

Olena Nikolayenko, "Press Freedom during the 1994 and 1999 Presidential Elections in Ukraine: A Reverse Wave?", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 56:5 (July 2004), pp. 661-686.

Hans van Zon, "Alternative Scenarios for Ukraine", *Futures*, vol. 34 (2002), pp. 401-416.

Paul Kubicek, "The Limits of Electoral Democracy in Ukraine", *Democratization*, vol. 8:2 (Summer 2001), pp. 117-139.

*Suggested Readings:*

Remzi Lani and Frrok Cupi, "The Difficult Road to the Independent Media: Is the Post-Communist Transition Over?", *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 2: 1 (January 2002), pp. 75-90.

Arthur Miller and Thomas Klobucar, "Partisan Development in Post-Soviet Ukraine", *Journal of Political Marketing*, vol. 2:1 (2003), pp. 33-54.

**October 31: The Role of International Factors**

Diane Ethier, "Is Democracy Promotion Effective? Comparing Conditionality and Incentives", *Democratization*, vol. 10: 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 99-120.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "International Linkage and Democratization." *Journal of Democracy* July 2005.

Stephen Knack, "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?", *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 48 (2004), pp. 251-266.

**November 7: The Colored Revolutions**

Lucan Way "Ukraine's Orange Revolution: Kuchma's Failed Authoritarianism." *Journal of*

*Democracy*. 16: 2 (April 2005).  
Lincoln Mitchell, "Georgia's Rose Revolution", *Current History*, vol. 103: 675 (October 2004), pp. 342-348.  
Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, "International Diffusion and Postcommunist Electoral Revolutions" ms.

*Suggested Reading:*

Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, v. 84, no. 2, March/April 2005

**November 14: Work on paper**

*Preliminary paper outlines due*

These outlines should cover the basic theoretical issue that will be covered and the possible arguments you might offer.

The class will be spent discussing papers individually with students.

**November 21: Paper Literature review and Initial Presentations**

8-10 page literature review due. This will form a first draft of the first part of your paper. It should review the main theoretical issues in your paper and the competing points of view that you will compare and contrast.

Each student will present (for 10-15 minutes) their paper topic and literature review in front of the class. These presentations may provide just a general theoretical question and possible answers. The presentation will be followed by questions/critiques from the rest of the class.

**November 28: Work on Paper**

*Detailed paper outlines due.*

These outlines should include both the central theoretical question (included in the literature review already handed in) plus a thesis and the nature of the evidence to back that thesis.

**December 5: Final Paper Presentations**

Each student will present their full paper – including their paper's central thesis – to the class. These presentations should reflect substantial work on the paper.

**December 11: Papers due**

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