POL 415H-S: Winter 2010 [[DRAFT DEC.26 .09]]
Nationalism,Myth, and History:Ukraine and the CIS
(The Political Economy of Transition and Nation-Building)
Wed: 4-6 pm; TC 24

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This seminar course will focus on the period of post-communist transformation since 1989 and will analyse the interplay between this transformation and the process of nation-building (or rebuilding). The central dynamics of this period involved movement towards a market economy and democracy. Were these two goals compatible or in conflict? How did the transition contribute to nation-building-and vice-versa? Did different historical conditions-such as prior statehood, linguistic regionalism, ethnic or religious diversity, western vs. eastern historical ties - lead to different transition outcomes? Was the formation of economic "oligarchs" in some countries related to historical conditions ? Do the oligarchs help or hinder nation-building? The course will address these and other questions by using the evidence of the political economy literature of this period focusing on CIS case studies with Ukraine as a central example , but will set this in a broader context of the evolution and performance of all post-communist countries , including Central Europe, Baltics, and South-East –Europe.

Course work will consist of 1) an assignment, a short essay of about . 1,500 words, with a value of 30% of mark and due on Fri.Feb.5, 2010; and 2) a full length term essay of about 4-5,000words due Fri. April 9 with value of 70%. . Late penalty of 2% per day applies. For both the assignment and essay each student will be assigned *by lottery* one of the region's countries to work on , but bilateral trades will be allowed. The allocation procedure and the nature of the work expected will be explained in the first class, Jan.6. The assignment consists of describing for the country basic evolution of transformation process, stating WHAT happened. The long essay will continue foir the same country analyzing in depth WHY transformation evolved as it did . For the long essay, each student will be required some time in the last three weeks of class, to give a short presentation of the paper's main thesis and preliminary findings, with some summary handouts - this is to help produce a better final paper -the presentation will not be graded.

Four books will be used extensively and made available in the short-term loan library :

- D'Anieri,P., R.Kravchuk, and T.Kuzio (1999) *Politics and Society in Ukraine,* Westview Press [[DAKK]]
- Havrylyshyn ,O. (2006) *Divergent Paths in Post-Communist Transformation,* Palgrave MacMillan Publishers [[OH Book]]
- Auer,S. (2004), *Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe.* London: Routledge [[AUER]]
- Fritz, Verena (2007) *State-Building .A Comparative Sudy of Ukraine.Lithuania, Belarus and Russia.* Budapest, CEU Press. [[FRITZ]]

Required readings for each lecture are noted by a bullet . Many other items are available electronically; all others will be provided in short-term reserve. Additional suggested readings for deeper study of the issues are shown in [[ ]].

Course Topics Overview

I. INTRODUCTION: AN OVERVIEW OF POST-COMMUNIST TRANSFORMATION

II. THE TRANSITION TO MARKET ECONOMY: WHICH WAS BETTER- GRADUAL OR RAPID?

III. SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

IV. POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION: DEMOCRATIZATION OR ELECTORAL AUTOCRACY?

V. FORMATION OF OLIGARCHS: A SIDE-EFFECT OF MARKETIZATION OR LACK THEREOF?

VI. NATION-BUILDING: WAS NATIONALISM LIBERALISING OR CONFLICTUAL?

VII. BUILDING STATE INSTITUTIONS

VIII. THE OUTCOME: WHAT KIND OF STATES DO WE HAVE TODAY?

Class Calendar and Readings

LECT.1 JAN.6: I. INTRODUCTION: Course logistics, Issues, Aims

- DAKK,Ch.1,pp.1-7
- OH book : Intro. And Ch.1
- AUER, "Liberal Nationalism in Central Europe", Ch.1
- FRITZ, Ch.1, "State and Institution Building."

LECT.2 JAN.13: II. TRANSITION TO MARKET

The Basic Facts

- O. Havrylyshyn, (2007) " Fifteen years of Transformation in the Post-Communist World", *Policy Issues Paper* , CATO institute , Washington. D.C.
- Bohdan Harasymiw,,(2002), Post Communist Ukraine. Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press: Ch9.to p.371

The Big Debate : which was better- Rapid or Gradual?

- Gerard Roland,(2001) "Ten years After…Transition and Economics", *IMF Staff Papers*,Vol. 48.Special Issue on Transition,pp.29-52
- OH Book: Ch.2
- Jeffrey Kopstein(2009) "1989asa Lens for the Communist Past and Post-Communist Future" Contemporary European History, vol.18,3, p. 284-302

[[Additional readings suggested:Michael Ellman "Transition:Intended and Unintended Processes", pp.595 ff.in *Comparative Economic Studies*; Anders Aslund,How Russia Became a Market Economy;(1995) Kolodko(2000) Post-Communist transition: The Thorny Road: Gaidar(2003),State and Evolution:Russia's Search for a Free Market. For Ukraine,see K. Banaaian (1999) , The Ukrainian Economy since Independence ; R.Kravchuk (2002), Ukrainian Political Economy ; Anders Aslund (2009)How UYkraine became A Market Economy ,; for Baltics Anatol Lieven (1993), The Baltic Revolution.]]

LECT.4 JAN 20: III. SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

- OH Book ,Ch.3
- Pradeep Mitra and Ruslan Yemtsov (2006) "Increasing Inequality in Transition Economies" World Bank Policy Research Paper 4007, Sep.2006
- World Bank (2005) Growth ,Poverty , and Inequality: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union Overview pp.1-22
- M.Steven Fish (2005) Democracy Derailed in Russia , pp.20-23 and 150-169

[[additional: UNDP (1998) ,Poverty in Transition; Milanovic, B. (1998) Income Inequality and Poverty ; also his article in *Economics of Transition, vol 7,no.2*, as well as other articles in that issue.*]]*

LECT.5: Jan 27 IV. THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

- Adam Przeworski (1991) Democracy and the Market Ch.4, pp.136-161
- OH Book, pp.55-58
- Michael McFaul, (2002) " The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorships ", *World Politics*, vol.54, Jan.2002, pp.212-44

[[Additional : Przeworski et.al. (2000) Democracy and Development ; the rest of Fish; Ole Norgaard (2000).Economic Institutions and Democratic Reform, esp.ch.3 on Przeworski hypothesis]]

LECT.6 FEB. 3. V. FORMATION OF OLIGARCHS

- OH Book pp.133-143 and CH.6, pp.177-202
- J.Gould and Y. Hetman (2008) "market Democracy Unleashed? Business Elites and the Crisis of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Business and Politics*, vol.10,Issue 2, Art.1 {{ www.bepress.com/bap/vol10/iss2/art1 }}
- Hans van Zon (2005) "Political Culture and Neo-Patrimonialism Under Leonid Kuchma" Problems of Post-Communism Vol 52,5, p12-22

[[Additional : the rest of Goldman; Hellman, Joel, (1998)"Winners Take All",*World Politics*,vol.50, pp.203-34;Hellman and Schankermann,(2000) " Intervention, Corruption and Capture", *Economics of Transition* vol.8, no.3, pp.295-326; there are many books by journalists on Russian oligarchs; the best are Chrystia Freeland and Rose Brady , there is little so far on Ukraine or other CIS **[[might be a good MA or PhD thesis]],** one exception is Viatcheslav Avioutski (2009) "The Consolidation of the Ukrainian Business Class" paper presented at Danyliw Seminar , Uof Ottawa Chair of Ukrainian Studies. The link beteen energy and oligarchy in Ukraine a is also analysed in Margarita Balmaceda, "Corruption, Intermediary Companies and Energy Security, Problems of Post-Communism vol 55, 4, p. 16-28.]]

LECT.7 FEB.10 VI. NATION-BUIDING (OR REBUILDING): THE BASICS

- Reread AUER Ch.1
- George Schoepflin, "The Functions of Myths…" pp.19-35 in G .Hosking and G.Schoepflin,eds (1997). Myths and Nationhood
- FRITZ, Ch.2 " A Framework for Assessing States", and Ch.5 "State-Building in the Post-Soviet Region."

WINTER BREAK –FEB.17

LECT. 8&9: Feb 24&Mar 3; VI. NATION BUILDING -SEQUENCING

POLITICAL,ECONOMIC AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES: CASE STUDIES

- ON UKR:DAKK ,Ch.2 & Ch. 9,FRITZ Ch.6 & O.Havrylyshyn (1997) ,"Economic reform in Ukraine", Ch.11. in M.Blejer and M. Skreb,eds, Macroeconomic Stabilization in Transition Economies
- ON CE:AUER, Ch.3 on Poland (skim chs.4-5 on Czech R. and Slovakia)
- ON BALTICS: S. Bollerup and C. Christensen, (1997), Nationalism in Eastern Europe ,Ch.5 on Estonia ,pp.60-74; FRITZ Ch.10 LITH

[[Additional: other chapters in AUER, and Bollerup&Christiansen , give accounts of nation-building in Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia, Moldova. Also see A. Lieven (1993) The Baltic Revolution. The Ukraine –Russia contretemps is discussed succinctly in A. Lieven (1999), Ukraine & Russia . On various other regional conflicts see Jan Bugaski (1995) , Nations in Turmoil. .
On the mechanics of state-building. day-to-day detail of actual process –see DAKK,Chs.3,4,5-8; similarly in Harasymiw, chs.4-10 ; The Kravchuk and Banaian books also have some of this . Fritz is very good on Ukraine as well as Russia, Belarus. Norgaard Ch7 on general post-soviet issues]]

LECT.10 MAR.10 VIII THE OUTCOME 2007: WHAT WAS MYTH? WHAT IS REALITY?

- Janos Kornai (2006), "The Great Transformation of Central Eastern Europe", *Economics of Transition,* Vol.14(2) ,2006, pp.207-244
- G.Ekiert, J.Kubik, and M.A. Vachudova, (2007) "Democracy in the Post-Communist World : An Unending Quest ?" *East European Politics and Society,* vol.21, no.1, pp.7-30
- O. Havrylyshyn, (1995), "How Patriarchs and Rent-Seekers are Hijacking the Transition to a Market Economy", *The HURI Bulletin of Facts Analysis and Opinion, vol.2,no.3* May-June 1995,pp.1-6
- Theodor Todoroiu (2007), "Rose ,Orange and Tulip: The Failed post-Soviet Revolutions" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies,* vol.40,pp.315-342

[[Additional: on the spectrum of democracy –authoritarianism see Lucan Way (2005) Authoritarian State-Building …" *World Politics* vol.52 no.2 p231,also Bunce and Wolchik "International Diffusion and Post-Communist Electoral Revolutions" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* vol.39,p.283. The last reference also contains other articles on colour revolutions . So too does the April 2005 issue of *Journal of Democracy.* An update on the "second-wave " of post communist democratization is on the website of the German Marshall Fund US (gmfus.org) , under Demes, Forbrig and Sheperd. And finally, the Freedom House publication *Nations in Transit* is available for 2007 on their website, covering about 25 post-communist states. It does not give a historical overview, just most recent developments of democratic freedom measures. It has been published annually for 10+ years so can be used to construct a timeline for any country.]]

LECT.11 MAR.17: PAPER PRESENTATIONS

LECT.12. MAR.24.PAPER PRESENTATIONS

LECT.13 MAR 31 .PAPER PRESENTATONS