

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Fall 2010
POL 414 H 1 F / H 1 F
POLITICS OF INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

Instructor: Olga Kesarchuk
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Class meets: Wednesdays, 5-7 pm, LA 340
Office hours: Wednesdays, 4-5 pm, location TBA

Course description:

The course will focus on the pertinent challenges of transition from communism the post-Soviet states faced through an in-depth study of the politics of independent Ukraine. Some of these challenges include reforming the state and redefining the role it is to play in the economy and vis-à-vis the society, reforming the economic system and building a viable market economy, undergoing political transformation, constructing a national identity, formulating foreign policy. Although a substantial portion of the readings will be on Ukraine, students will be asked to read some theoretical pieces too and apply the main Political Science theories to explaining Ukrainian politics. The course will also aim to put Ukraine into a comparative perspective by drawing analogies with its eastern and western neighbours. Although some familiarity with Ukraine's history and politics is desirable, it is not a pre-requisite for taking this course.

Grading:

Your work in this course will be evaluated according to the following grading scheme:

- 15% for the literature review (5 pages double spaced on the readings discussed in class) (due **Wednesday, October 20th on topics covered during weeks 3-6; cannot be written on the same topic as your presentation of readings in class (see below)**)
- 20% for class participation (class attendance, contribution to class discussion and presentation on the readings during one of the seminars)
- 20% for presentation of your final paper including its main argument (during the final two weeks of classes)
- 45% for the final research paper (no more 20 pages double spaced) (**due Friday, December 3rd; please email me a short (about one page double spaced) summary of the ideas you are going to explore in your final paper and preliminary bibliography by November 1st. The paper has to be on an important aspect of Ukrainian politics of your choice, although it does not have to cover Ukraine exclusively. Comparative papers will be welcome**)

Readings:

There will be no reading kit for this course. The majority of articles assigned are available to students through our university's library system. The texts that are taken from books will be scanned and posted on Blackboard. You will require access to a printer to print out the materials. After each reading in the syllabus, its location is indicated in square brackets.

Handing in work:

Please hand in written assignment in the hard copy form to me during the class when it is due. Late assignments can be taken to the Political Science Department in Sidney Smith Hall, 3rd floor. Please give them to the departmental secretary and make sure you register your paper in the registration book at the office. All papers have to have your name, the name of the course, and the name of the instructor on top of the first page or on the title page. Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing in to the instructor or to the Department. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Late assignments will be penalized by 2 per cent per each working day of lateness.

Please note that according to regulations of the Faculty of Arts and Science, the last day for undergraduate students to submit ALL work to instructors in F section code courses is Tuesday, December 7th.

Office hours:

If you have questions about the readings, about the discussion, or about the assignments, office hours are best. No appointment is needed. If you cannot make office hours but would like to meet, email me to schedule a mutually agreeable alternative time.

Email:

Email should be used for communicating simple information, but extended conversations will be conducted face to face. Please expect to get an answer to your email within 2-3 working days. If you do not receive a reply within this period, resubmit your question(s). Please consult the course syllabus and other course information BEFORE submitting inquiries by email.

Academic offences:

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on Plagiarism at <http://www.utoronto.ca/writign/plagsep.html>

Policy on missed classes:

All absences require medical or other documentation to be excused.

Accessibility needs:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible:

disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

Week 1 (Sept 15th). Introduction: Ukrainian SSR and the Collapse of the USSR

- No readings assigned

Week 2 (Sept 22nd). Ukraine's Independence Era: a Chronological Overview

- D'Anieri, Paul. 2007. *Understanding Ukrainian Politics. Power, Politics, and Institutional Design*. M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York, pp.3-17, 48-102 [scanned, on Blackboard].

Week 3 (Sept 29th). Challenges of independence: building a state

1. Grzymala-Busse, Anna and Pauline Jones Luong. 2002. "Reconceptualizing the State: Lessons from Post-Communism." *Politics and Society* 30, 4, pp.529-554 [online, UofT Library database].
2. Ganev, Venelin. 2005. "Post-Communism as an Episode of State Building: A Reversed Tillean Perspective." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 38, pp. 425-445 [online, UofT Library database].
3. Whitmore, Sarah. 2005. "State and Institution Building Under Kuchma." *Problems of Post-Communism* 52, 5, pp. 3-11 [online, UofT Library database].
4. Way, Lucan. 2002. "The Dilemmas of Reform in Weak States: The Case of Post-Soviet Fiscal Decentralization." *Politics and Society* 30, 4, pp. 579-598 [online, UofT Library database].

Week 4 (Oct 6th). Challenges of independence: reforming the economic system. Business and the State

1. Van Zon, Hans. 2000. *The Political Economy of Independent Ukraine*. Macmillan Press Ltd., pp. 49-73 [scanned, on Blackboard].
2. Evans, Peter. 1997. "State Structures, Government-Business Relations, and Economic Transformation." In Sylvia Maxfield and Ben Ross Schneider (eds.)

- Business and the State in Developing Countries*. Cornell University Press. Pp. 63-87 [scanned, on Blackboard].
3. Puglisi, Rosaria. 2003. "The Rise of Ukrainian Oligarchs." *Democratization* 10, 3, pp. 99-123 [online, UofT Library database].
 4. Eichler, Maya. 2005. "Explaining Post-Communist Transformations: Economic Nationalism in Ukraine and Russia." In Eric Helleiner and Andreas Pickel. *Economic Nationalism in a Globalizing World*. Cornell University Press, pp.69-87 [scanned, on Blackboard].

Week 5 (Oct 13th). Challenges of independence: building a national identity

1. Beissinger, Mark R. 1997. "State Building in the Shadow of an Empire-State. The Soviet Legacy in Post-Soviet Politics." In Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott (eds.). *The End of Empire? The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective*. M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York, pp. 157-185 [scanned, on Blackboard].
2. Wilson, Andrew. 2002. "Elements of a Theory of Ukrainian Ethno-National Identities." *Nations and Nationalism* 8, 1, pp. 31-54 [online, UofT Library database].
3. Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: the Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London. Chapter 3 "Three Patterns of Peripheral Incorporation," pp.59-82 (recommended); Chapter 4 "The Double Catalysm," pp. 85-104 (required) [scanned, on Blackboard].
4. D'Anieri, Paul. 2007. "Ethnic Tensions and State Strategies: Understanding the Survival of the Ukrainian State." *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 23, 1, pp. 4-29 [online, UofT Library database].

Week 6 (Oct 20th). Ukrainian-Russian Relations. Integration Efforts in the Post-Soviet Space. REVIEWS ARE DUE THIS WEEK

1. D'Anieri, Paul. 1999. "Trade and Power in International Politics. The Dilemmas of Interdependence" In D'Anieri, Paul. *Economic Interdependence in Ukrainian-Russian Relations*, pp.43-65 [scanned, on Blackboard].
2. Puglisi, Rosaria. 2003. "Clashing Agendas? Economic Interests, Elite Coalitions and Prospects for Cooperation between Russia and Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 55, 6, pp. 827-845 [online, UofT Library database].

3. Wolczuk, Roman. 2002. *Ukraine's Foreign and Security Policy, 1991-2000*. Routledge, pp.27-38, 52-68 [scanned, on Blackboard].

Week 7 (Oct 27th). Energy Politics in the Region and Ukraine

1. Balmaceda, Margarita. 2007. *Energy Dependency, Politics and Corruption in the Former Soviet Union. Russia's Power, Oligarch's Profits and Ukraine's Missing Energy Policy, 1995-2006*. Routledge Taylor and Francis Group: London and New York, pp. 1-19, 23-61, 84-96 [scanned, on Blackboard].
2. Abdelal, Rawi. 2004. "Interpreting Interdependence: National Security and the Energy Trade of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus." In: Robert Legvold and Celeste Wallander (eds.). *Swords and Sustenance: The Economics of Security in Belarus and Ukraine*. Pp. 101–127 [available online at <http://www.people.hbs.edu/rabdelal/Interpreting%20Interdependence.pdf>].
3. Pirani, Simon. "The Russo-Ukrainian Gas Dispute, 2009." In *Russian Analytical Digest* No. 53, January 2008 [available online at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=95596>].
4. Recommended: *It is a Gas. Funny Business in the Turkmen-Ukraine Gas Trade. A Report by Global Witness*. 2006 [available online at http://www.globalwitness.org/media_library_detail.php/479/en/its_a_gas_funny_business_in_the_turkmen_ukraine_g].

Week 8 (Nov 3rd). Foreign policy: integration into the EU and NATO.

1. Wolczuk, Kataryna. "Ukraine and Its Relations With the EU in the Context of the European Neighbourhood Policy." In *Ukraine: Quo Vadis?* Chaillot Paper 108, February 2008, pp. 87-117 [available online at <http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp108.pdf>].
2. Moroney, Jennifer D. P. 2002. "Ukraine's Foreign Policy on Europe's Periphery: Globalization, Transnationalism, and the Frontier." In Jennifer Moroney et al (eds). *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*. Praeger: Westport, Connecticut. Pp. 57-88 [scanned, on Blackboard].
3. TBA

Week 9 (Nov 10th). Democratization: the Orange Revolution and Beyond. Internal and External Actors

1. Levitskiy, Steven and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13, 2, pp. 51-65 [online, UofT Library database].
2. McFaul, Michael. 2007. "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution." *International Security* 32, 2, pp.45-83 [online, UofT Library database].
3. D'Anieri, Paul. 2006. "Explaining the Success and Failure of Post-Communist Revolutions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39, 3, pp. 331-350 [online, UofT Library database].
4. Diuk, Nadia. 2005. "The Triumph of Civil Society" In Anders Aslund and Michael McFaul. *Revolution in Orange: the Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 69-84 [scanned, on Blackboard].
5. Wolowski, Pawel. "Ukrainian Politics After the Orange Revolution – How Far From Democratic Consolidation?" In *Ukraine: Quo Vadis?* Chaillot Paper 108, February 2008, pp. 25- 53 [available online at <http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp108.pdf>].

Week 10 (Nov 17th). Ukraine and its Neighbours: What Does the Comparison Tell Us?

1. Darden, Keith. 2009. *Economic Liberalism and Its Rivals. The Formation of International Institutions among the Post-Soviet States*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Chapters 1 "A Natural Experiment" (pp.3-22) and 6 "Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine" (pp.150-183) [scanned, on Blackboard].
2. Tompson, William. 2005. "The Political Implications of Russia's Resource-Based Economy." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 21, 4, pp. 335-359 [online, UofT Library database].
3. D'Anieri, Paul. 2007. Chapter 10 "Ukraine in Comparative Perspective: Electoral Authoritarianism in the Former Soviet Union and Beyond" In *Understanding Ukrainian Politics. Power, Politics, and Institutional Design*. M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York, pp.215-240 [scanned, on Blackboard].

Weeks 11-12 (Nov 24th and December 1st). Student presentations of their final paper