

JHP304Y1Y L0101

Ukraine: Politics, Economy and Society

Fall 2015/Spring 2016

University College (UC)
15 King's College Circle, room 87

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The course meets twice a week on Tuesdays and Thursdays, 10-11 am

This is the history of Ukraine through the study of its society, culture, and politics since the earliest times. Among the topics

to be considered are: Kievan Rus' (ninth to thirteenth centuries); the Mongol impact; Lithuanian-Polish-Crimean period; Orthodox revival; the Cossack state; national movement under Austrian and Russian rule; post World War I statehood; interwar Poland and Soviet Ukraine; the Great Famine; World War II to independent statehood. Ukraine will be studied as a territorial concept encompassing different historical experiences of major communities such as Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, and Russians who have lived for centuries on the territory of present-day Ukraine. Students will learn how Ukrainians have become the dominant national project in Ukraine during the last two hundred years.

GRADING

Participation	10%
One in-class test	25%
Book review (due December 3)	15%
Final essay (due April 5)	50%

WRITTEN WORK

Essay of 3,000 words (12 pages) should be written in the end of the second term. The essay topic should be chosen in consultation with the instructor.

The syllabus contains the basic readings for the course. Some additional readings will be assigned for discussion sections.

The following book will be placed on reserve at Robarts Library:



- Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine: the Land and Its People*. 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), can also be purchased at U of T bookstore;
- Lindheim Ralph and Luckyj, George, *Towards an Intellectual History of Ukraine: An Anthology of Ukrainian Thought from 1710 to 1995* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996);
- Ševčenko, Ihor, *Ukraine between East and West* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, c2009);
- Berkhoff, Karel C., *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004);
- *The Holodomor Reader: A Sourcebook on the Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine* (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2012).

Articled from *Daedalus*, *Social Research*, *Slavic Review*, *Russian Review*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *English Historical Review*, and *Journal of Contemporary History* are available on-line. Most other readings are placed on Blackboard. Some additional readings may be assigned for particular discussions.

LECTURES (First term)

Week 1 (Tuesday September 15 – Thursday September 17)

1. **Introduction: where and what is Ukraine?**
2. **Geographic and ethno-linguistic setting**

Marc von Hagen, “Does Ukraine Have a History?”, *Slavic Review*, 54, 3 (Fall, 1995), pp. 658-673; Magocsi, Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 3-25;

Questions for discussion [the last 10 minutes of a meeting]

- What are Von Hagen’s major points?
- How diverse is Ukraine?

Week 2 (Tuesday September 22 – Thursday September 24)

3. **Greek colonies and the steppe peoples**
4. **The Slavs and Khazars**

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 25-55; Omeljan Pritsak, “The Khazar Kingdom's Conversion to Judaism,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1978), pp. 261-281;

Questions for discussion

- Elaborate on Szporluk’s thesis that the making of Ukraine meant the unmaking of “great” Russian and Polish nations.
- Where were most Greek colonies located?
- Who are the Slavs?

Week 3 (Tuesday September 29 – Thursday October 1)

5. **Kyivan Rus’: a khanate or a “feudal” state?**
6. **Economy and society: Europe or Eurasia?**

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 55-120; Pritsak, Omeljan, *The Origin of Rus’: An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 5-28; *Primary chronicle* (attached)

Questions for discussion:

- What was the role of the Vikings and the steppe traditions in founding Kievan Rus'?
- Which were the most famous rulers?
- Was Kievan Rus' a feudal state?

Week 4 (Tuesday October 6 – Thursday October 8)

7. The Mongol invasion: Pax Mongolica

8. Kyivan Rus' between Russia and Ukraine: the legacy

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 88-120; Jaroslaw Pelenski, *The Contest for the Legacy of Kievan Rus'* (Boulder, Col.: Columbia University Press, 1998), selections; Pritsak and Reshetar, "The Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (June, 1963), read pp. 230-243;

Questions for discussion:

- Who has more rightful claims to the legacy of Kievan Rus' – Russia or Ukraine?
- How politics has been intermingled with the studies of Kievan Rus'?
- Why did Mongols move so fast? What were the consequences?

Week 5 (Tuesday October 13 – Thursday October 15)

9. The Kingdom of Galicia-Volhynia

10. East Meets West: The Union of Lublin (1569)

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 120-158; Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West* (selections);

Questions for discussion:

- What was unique about Galicia-Volhynia?
- Was the Union of Lublin an annexation of Ukraine?

Week 6 (Tuesday October 20 – Thursday October 22)

11. Orthodoxy, the Protestant Reformation, and the Union of Brest

12. The Tatars and the Crimean Khanate

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 158-177; Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West*, pp. 112-63;

Questions for discussion:

- The reasons behind the Church Union.
- Why was the Orthodox Church in crisis?
- What made parts of Ukraine a part of Islamic civilization?

Week 7 (Tuesday October 27 – Thursday October 29)

13. The Cossacks: War and Peace on the Steppe Frontier

14. The Making of the Ruthenian Nation

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 188-206; Ševčenko, *Ukraine between East and West*, pp. 164-86;

Questions for discussion:

- Who were Cossacks?
- Characterize the role of the steppe frontier.
- What was the role of Cossacks in the making of the Ruthenian nation?

Week 8 (Tuesday November 3 – Thursday November 5)

15. The Khmel'nyts'kyi revolution of 1648 and its aftermath

16. The Hetmanate: State, Order and Nation in the Borderlands

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 209-52; *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations*, pp. 43-56;

Questions for discussion:

- Was the Cossack revolution inevitable? Was possible without Khmel'nyts'kyi?
- Was the union with Moscow a smart (and only) choice for Ukraine?
- How would you characterize the Hetmanate?

Week 9 (Tuesday November 10 – Thursday November 12)

17. Tuesday: NO CLASS: November break!

18. Ivan Mazepa: hero or traitor?

Orest Subtelny, "Mazepa, Peter I, and the Question of Treason," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, II, 2 (1978), pp. 158-183; *Towards an Intellectual History*, pp. 53-73; Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 253-277;

Questions for discussion:

- Was Mazepa a great ruler?
- What was the importance of the Battle at Poltava?

Week 10 (Tuesday November 17 – Thursday November 19)

19. From the Enlightenment to Romanticism: the "death" of a nation

20. The end of the Eurasian steppe frontier: the invention of New Russia

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 277-299; 307-311; Simon Sebag Montefiore, *The Prince of Princes: The Life of Potemkin* (London, 2000), pp. 263-285;

Questions for discussion:

- Was the expiration of Ukraine's autonomous statehood inevitable? Why did it happen?
- What was new about New Russia?
- Can you compare North American western frontier with Ukraine's steppe frontier?
- Was serfdom in Right Bank Ukraine indeed a slavery?

Week 11 (Tuesday November 24 – Thursday November 26)

21. Right Bank Ukraine in Poland: serfdom as slavery

22. Popular violence, the peasant Jacquerie

Barbara Skinner, "Borderlands of Faith: Reconsidering the Origins of a Ukrainian Tragedy," *Slavic Review*, 1 (2005), pp. 88-116; Jaroslaw Pelenski, "The Haidamak Insurrections and the Old Regimes in Eastern Europe," in *The American and European Revolutions, 1776-1848* (Iowa City, 1980), pp. 228-242; Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 311-317;

Questions for discussion:

- Which were the reasons behind the popular violence in Right Bank Ukraine?
- What did Uman' stand for as a symbol?

Week 12 (Tuesday December 1 – Thursday December 3)

23. The partitions of Poland-Lithuania: new order in Eastern Europe

24. Whose empire? Ukrainians as empire-builders

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 317-320; Steven Velychenko, "Empire Loyalty and Minority Nationalism in Great Britain and Imperial Russia, 1707 to 1914: Institutions, Laws, and Nationality in Scotland and Ukraine," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 39, 3 (1997), pp. 413-441; Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture*, pp. 53-64 (selections); Zenon Kohut, "The Development of a Little Russian Identity and Ukrainian Nationbuilding," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3/4 (December 1986), pp. 559-576;

Questions for discussion:

- Why was Poland-Lithuania partitioned?
- Why Ukrainians joined the Russian empire-building project? Could they be considered traitors to Ukraine?
- In which ways Ukrainians were similar to Scots?

Week 13 (Tuesday December 8)

25. In-class test

LECTURES (Second term)

Week 1 (Tuesday January 12 – Thursday January 14)

1. **The origins of modern Ukraine: different legacies (review)**
2. **Ukrainian lands in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century: Peasants into Nation**

Frank Sysyn, "The Reemergence of the Ukrainian Nation and Cossack Mythology," *Social Research*, 58, 4 (Winter 1991), pp. 845-865; Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 323-349; Roman Szporluk, "Ukraine: From the Imperial Periphery to a Sovereign State," in *Daedalus*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1997), pp. 85-120;

Questions for discussion [the last 10 minutes of a meeting]

- What is the Cossack mythology?
- Are Cossacks the major symbol of Ukraine? Why?
- Elaborate on Szporluk's thesis that the making of Ukraine meant the unmaking of "great" Russian and Polish nations.

Week 2 (Tuesday January 19 – Thursday January 21)

3. **Modernization and Tradition in Dnieper Ukraine**
4. **The peoples of Dnieper Ukraine**

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 350-373; Boris Balan, "Urbanization and the Ukrainian Economy in the Mid-19th Century," in I.S. Koropeckyj, ed. *Ukrainian Economic History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 277-309; Patricia Herlihy, "Ukrainian Cities in the Nineteenth Century," in *Rethinking Ukrainian History* (1981), pp. 135-155; Rudnytsky, "The Problem of Jewish-Ukrainian Relations in Nineteenth-Century Ukrainian Political Thought," in his *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, pp. 299-315;

Questions for discussion

- Urbanization in Ukraine: who benefited from it?
- Were Ukrainian cities in Ukraine "Ukrainian" in the 19th century?

- Describe the socioeconomic status and historical importance of major national minorities in Ukraine: Poles, Russians, and Jews. Are they part of Ukrainian history?

Week 3 (Tuesday January 26 – Thursday January 28)

5. Imagining Ukraine: The Origins of Ukrainian National Movement

6. The Ukrainian Question in Russia

Magocsi, “The Ukrainian National Revival: A New Analytical Framework,” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 16 (1989), pp. 45-62; Miller, *The Ukrainian Question* (Chapters I and II); Andreas Kappeler, “*Mazepintsy, Malorossy, Khokhly*: Ukrainians in the Ethnic Hierarchy of the Russian Empire,” in *Culture, Nation, and Identity*, pp. 162-181; Mykola Kostomarov “Two Rus’ Nationalities” (file attached)

Questions for discussion:

- What was the role of imagination in shaping modern Ukraine?
- What was intelligentsia and what was its role?
- What was so subversive about Kostomarov’s famous article?

Week 4 (Tuesday February 2 – Thursday February 4)

7. Urban life in Ukraine: Modernity, Identities, and Social Relations: Kyiv

8. Kyiv II

Bilenky, "Inventing an Ancient City: How Fiction, Ideology, and Archeology Refashioned Kyiv during the 1830s and 1840s" (forthcoming, attached below); Hamm, *Kiev*, pp. 55-135; Meir, *Kiev: Jewish Metropolis*, pp. 101-135; excerpts from Sholom Aleichem’s “Bloody Hoax,” Alexander Kuprin’s “Yama” and Volodymyr Vynnychenko’s “A Zealous Friend”

Questions for discussion:

- How was Kiev perceived in Russian literature?
- How politics was intermingled with the studies of Kiev’s past?
- Describe Kiev’s multicultural face

Week 5 (Tuesday February 9 – Thursday February 11)

9. Urban life in Ukraine: Modernity, Identities, and Social Relations: Odessa

10. Odessa II

F.W. Skinner, “Trends in Planning Practices: The Building of Odessa 1794-1917” in Hamm, ed., *The City in Russian History* (Lexington, Ky., 1976), pp. 139-159; Herlihy, Patricia, *Odessa: A History, 1794-1914* (1986), Chapters 10, 11, 12 (pp. 233-311); Alexander Kuprin, "Gambrinus" (attached below), or Isaak Babel, “Odessa” and “The Aroma of Odessa” in his *Complete Works*, pp. 75-82.

Questions for discussion:

- Which epidemic diseases were recurrent in Odessa? The reasons behind major epidemics?
- Which was ethnic composition of social classes in Odessa? What can demographics tell us about Odessa’s economy, social relations, etc?
- Which was the role of the state in Odessa’s development? Was Russian state effective in dealing with Odessa’s growth?

Week 6 (Tuesday February 16 – Thursday February 18)

NO CLASSES: READING WEEK

Week 7 (Tuesday February 23 – Thursday February 25)

11. Ukrainians vs. Russian Imperial Challenge, the 1860s-1900

12. The Ukrainian movement on the eve of World War I [On Bagrov and the murder of Stolypin]

Miller, *The Ukrainian Question*, pp. 263-264 (Appendix I), 267-269 (Appendix II); Mykola Kostomarov “Two Rus’ Nationalities” (file attached); V. Antonovych, “The Views of the Ukrainophiles” (file attached); Rudnytsky, “Drahomanov as a Political Theorist,” in his *Essays*, pp. 203-253; Rudnytsky, “The Ukrainian Movement on the Eve of the First World War,” in his *Essays in Modern Ukrainian History*, pp. 375-388; *Towards an Intellectual History*, pp. 201-226 (Mikhnovsky)

Questions for discussion:

- How did the attitudes toward Ukrainians change in Russia in the course of the 19th century?
- Why did Russian imperial government persecute the Ukrainian identity?
- Was Ukrainian movement a mass political movement on the eve of the World War I?
- Evolution of Ukrainian nationalism from Antonovych to Mikhnovsky.

Week 8 (Tuesday March 1 – Thursday March 3)

15. Western Ukraine under Austrian Habsburgs, 1772-1914: Galicia as the Ukrainian Piedmont

16. World War I and Ukrainian lands

Readings: Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 491-498; J.-P. Himka, “The Construction of Nationality in Galician Rus’: Ikarian Flights in Almost all Directions,” in *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*, Kennedy, Michael and Ronald G. Suny, eds. (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1999), pp. 109-164;

Questions for discussion:

- Describe the major identity choices among Ruthenians in Galicia
- Why did Ruthenians become Ukrainians in Galicia?
- Describe Russian imperial policies in occupied Galicia

Week 9 (Tuesday March 8 – Thursday March 10)

17. Russian Revolution in Ukraine

18. Revolution, Social Conflict, and Anarchy in Ukraine, 1917-1920

Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 498-546; Henry Abramson, “Historiography on the Jews and the Ukrainian Revolution,” *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 15, No. 2 (1990), pp. 33-45; Frank Sysyn, “Nestor Makhno and the Ukrainian Revolution,” in *Taras Hunczak, Ukraine, 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass. 1977), pp. 271-304; *Towards an Intellectual History*, pp. 227-259.

Questions for discussion:

- Characterize major Ukrainian political regimes in Ukraine in 1917-1920
- Who were the enemies of the Ukrainian revolution and why?
- Why did the Ukrainian revolution fail?

Week 10 (Tuesday March 15 – Thursday March 17)

19. Soviet Experiment in Ukraine: from Economic Modernization and Cultural Revival to Terror

20. Was *Holodomor* the Ukrainian Genocide?

Krawchenko, *Social Change and National Consciousness*, pp. 46-170; *Towards an Intellectual History*, pp. 269-83; *Holodomor Reader*, pp. 19-26; 79-86; 104-107.

Questions for discussion:

- Was the Soviet Union an affirmative action empire?
- Why did the Bolsheviks launch the policy of Ukrainianization?
- Do you agree that the Great Famine was the genocide against Ukrainians?

Week 11 (Tuesday March 22 – Thursday March 24)

21. The Polish Ukraine: The Rise of Radical Nationalism.

22. Ukraine during World War II, 1939-1945: the Holocaust, collaboration, and resistance

John-Paul Himka, “Western Ukraine in the Interwar Period,” *Nationalities Papers*, XX, 2 (New York, 1994), pp. 347-364; Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 626-655; *Towards an Intellectual History*, pp. 260-68, 284-302; Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, pp. 59-89

Questions for discussion:

- Which were the reasons for the emergence of Ukrainian radical nationalism?
- Why did nationalism dominate over communism among Western Ukrainians?
- How did Ukrainians react to Nazi invasion?
- Describe the main features of Nazi politics in occupied Ukraine

Week 12 (Tuesday March 29 – Thursday March 31)

23. The Ukrainian Radical Nationalists: Heroes or Villains?

24. Soviet Experiment Reloaded: Ukraine after World War II

Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, pp. 205-232, 275-305; Sergei I. Zhuk, “Religion, ‘Westernization,’ and Youth in the ‘Closed City’ of Soviet Ukraine, 1964-84,” *Russian Review* 67 (October 2008), pp. 661-679; William Jay Risch, “Soviet ‘Flower Children’. Hippies and the Youth Counter-culture in 1970s L’viv,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 40 (2005), 3, pp. 565-584.

Questions for discussion:

- Was Stalin a Ukrainian nation-builder? Explain why Stalin added new territories to Soviet Ukraine and what were the consequences of this for Ukraine?
- Did Ukraine become a modern nation by the early 1980s (Serhy Yekelchuk), or remained a colonized province?
- Did Soviet modernity mean loss of Ukrainian identity to Russification?

Week 13 (Tuesday April 5 – Thursday April 7)

25. The Birth of (New) Nation: Independent Ukraine

26. Contemporary Ukraine: from Orange Revolution to the Revolution of Dignity

Readings: Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 715-751; Catherine Wanner, *Burden of Dreams* (selections)

Questions for discussion:

- What led to Ukraine's independence?
- What is a post-Soviet identity?
- Why did Ukraine lag behind compared to its Central and East European neighbors?
- Compare two the most recent revolutions in Ukraine. Were they nationalist, democratic or "bourgeois"?