

**TRANSITION AND COLORED REVOLUTIONS IN UKRAINE and  
OTHER POST-COMMUNIST STATES**

**Spring 2006**

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In October 2004 Ukraine held a presidential election which ended the “transition era” associated with Presidents Leonid Kravchuk (1991-1994) and Leonid Kuchma (1994-2004). The election was followed by an Orange Revolution that brought Viktor Yushchenko to power. The Orange Revolution was the third in a series of democratic revolutions in the post-Communist world, following Serbia (2000) and Georgia (2003). After Ukraine came Kyrgyzstan in 2005. The class will discuss all four democratic revolutions within a comparative context. Failed democratic revolutions, and the lack of prospects for revolutions, in Russia, Belarus, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan will also be discussed in class.

The class investigates as a case study Ukraine’s post-communist transition and democratization during the Kravchuk and Kuchma era’s, its successes and failures. The seminar will cover issues such as democratization, market economy, state-institution building, regionalism and national integration. The class will also study the origins of the Orange Revolution and prospects for democratic consolidation and reform under Yushchenko.

**Objectives**

By the end of the research seminar, students should:

1. Understand why Ukraine has developed in the manner it has since becoming an independent state.
2. Compare Ukraine’s transition with other post-communist and formerly authoritarian states which have undergone transitions.
3. Compare and contrast colored democratic revolutions in post-Communist states.
4. Understand why colored revolutions have not taken place in some post-Communist states.

**Seminar Information**

The seminar will be a reading and discussion seminar. All students will be expected to have read the required readings each week and attend class prepared to discuss them.

The instructor is Dr. Taras Kuzio, Visiting Professor, George Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. **His e-mail address is tkuzio@gwu.edu.**

**Class Details: Tuesdays, 18.10-20.00, Grant School, Room 105**

**Office Hours**

**16-18.00, Tuesdays,  
1957 E Street, George Washington University  
Suite 412  
202 - 994 5436**

## Guidelines and Grading

### **1. Participation in Class: 10%**

*As a Graduate class, it is expected that students will take an active part in class discussions. Students will be asked to volunteer to give 15 minute presentations that summarise the readings from one particular week. Volunteering to give a will go towards the presentation mark. A record will be kept of class participation.*

### **2. Two Literature Reviews: 30%**

*Each Literature Review should cover ALL of ONE weeks readings from the semester's Reading Pack. Any week can be chosen up to the deadline of the Review.*

*The Review should include citations from the weeks readings that you have chosen. These can either be in an Endnote format or in the Chicago style indented in the text. Always give page numbers for quotes. **The Literature Reviews should not be used in your Essay.***

***Length: 7 double-spaced pages, 12 point.***

***Submission: hard copy and by e-mail***

***Deadline: 15 February and 1 April***

### **3. Essay: 60%**

The essay theme should be discussed and agreed in office hours with the Professor during the course of the semester. Alternatively, consult the Professor by e-mail. The theme can be taken from any of the weeks readings.

*References:* Essays should include a **minimum** of ten references. A **maximum** of one half of the references are to be taken from the Reading Pack. The remaining half of the references should be found by the student. References can be either in Endnotes or in the Chicago style indented in the essay and then presented in a Bibliography at the end. No references will be accepted if they are not cited in the essay.

***Length: minimum*** of 20 double-spaced pages, 12 point, including Endnotes or Bibliography.

***Submission:*** hard copy and by e-mail in Word format.

***Deadline:*** April 15.

### **4. Penalty**

***Poor English language and grammar will be penalised.***

***A penalty of 2% per day after the deadline will be deducted from the final mark.***

*An extension can be arranged with the Professor if it is discussed prior to the deadline. The primary reason for extensions are medical, which requires a certificate or doctors note, or, extenuating circumstances.*

### **5. NOTE:**

1. Failure to strictly follow the Guidelines may result in a grade of C or lower;
2. If you quote any text it should be in quotation marks. Failure to do so constitutes PLAGIARISM. Your essay must be primarily in your own words, and not quotations.
3. ALL SUBMITTED WORK MUST BE NAMED WITH THE STUDENT SURNAME AND TYPE of ASSIGNMENT (e.g. Bush\_Essay or Cheney\_Summary1)

## **WEEK 1. SOVIET LEGACIES of EMPIRE and TOTALITARIANISM**

### **Key Questions**

1. What impact did the Tsarist and Soviet legacies have on the post-Soviet transition?
2. What evidence is there of “path dependence” in Ukraine’s transition?
3. What are the negative and positive legacies of the Soviet era?

### **Required Reading**

- Richard Rose, ‘A Diverging Europe’, *Journal of Democracy*, vol.12, no.1 (January 2001), pp.93-106.
- Alexander J.Motyl, ‘Structural Constraints and Starting Points: The Logic of Systematic Change in Ukraine and Russia’, *Comparative Politics*, vol.29, no.4 (July 1997), pp.433-447.
- Taras Kuzio, ‘Ukraine: Coming to Terms with the Soviet Legacy’, *The Journal of Communist Studies & Transition Politics*, vol.14, no.4 (December 1998), pp.1-27.

## **WEEK 2. TRANSITION AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION**

### **Key Questions**

1. Why is the national question still ignored by ‘transitology’?
2. Civic or Ethnic statehood? Is this the only choice open to post-communist states? Do pure civic states exist in practice?
3. Does nationalism play a negative or positive role (or both) in Ukraine’s transition?
4. Why did Kravchuk prioritise nation-building policies over political and economic reform?
5. Compare and contrast nation building and policies towards national minorities in the Kravchuk and Kuchma era’s.

### **Required Reading**

- Raw Abdelal, ‘Memories of Nations and States: Institutional History and National Identity in Post-Soviet Eurasia’, *Nationalities Papers*, vol.30, no.3 (September 2002), pp. 459-484.
- Steven D.Roper, and Florin Fesnic, ‘Historical Legacies and Their Impact on Post-Communist Voting Behaviour’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol.55, no.1 (January 2003),pp. 119-131.
- Stephen Shulman, ‘National Identity and Public Support for Political and Economic Reform in Ukraine’, *Slavic Review*, vol.64, no.1 (Spring 2005), pp.59-87.
- Stephen Shulman, ‘Ukrainian Nation-Building under Kuchma’, *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52, no.5 (September-October 2005), pp.32-47

## **WEEK 3. STATE BUILDING AND CONSTITUTION MAKING**

### **Key Questions**

1. Why did the constitutional process take so long in Ukraine?
2. What were the main divisions in the constitutional debate?
3. How did debate over the correct national symbols hold up the constitutional process?
4. Why did parliament quickly adopt its own draft constitution in June 1996?
5. How did it differ from the presidential draft?

### **Required Reading**

- Sarah Whitmore, ‘State and Institution Building under Kuchma’, *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52, no.5 (September/October 2005), pp.3-11.
- Kataryna Wolczuk, *The Moulding of Ukraine: The Constitutional Politics of State Formation (Budapest)* Central European University Press, 2002), Ch.5 (“How to Organise the State? Constitutional Debates After the 1994 Elections”), pp.129-188.

- Robert K. Christensen, Edward R. Rakhimkulov and Charles R. Wise, 'The Ukrainian Orange Revolution brought more than a new president: What kind of democracy will the institutional changes bring?', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol.38, no.2 (June 2005), pp.207-230.

#### **WEEK 4. POLITICAL REGIME AND POLITICAL CULTURE**

##### **Key Questions**

1. Define Ukraine's regime within a political science framework.
2. Have Soviet legacies influenced the evolution of the political regime in Ukraine?
3. Ukraine has been defined as an 'authoritarian', 'corporatist', 'blackmail state', and 'delegative democracy'. What do these terms tell us about Ukraine's democratisation and the nature of its political regime?
4. Compare and contrast Ukraine's progress in democratisation to other post-communist states.

##### **Required Reading**

- Lucan A. Way, 'The Sources and Dynamics of Competitive Authoritarianism in Ukraine', *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol.20, no.1 (March 2004), pp.143-161.
- Hans V. Zon, 'Political Culture and Neo-Patrimonialism under Leonid Kuchma', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52, no.5 (September/October 2005).
- Taras Kuzio, 'Regime Type and Politics in Ukraine under Kuchma', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol.38, no.2 (June 2005), pp.167-190.

#### **WEEK 5. POLITICAL ('KUCHMAGATE') CRISIS**

##### **Key Questions**

1. What sparked the Kuchmagate crisis?
2. Why did the opposition fail to oust Kuchma?
3. How did Viktor Yushchenko emerge from the crisis?

##### **Required Reading**

- Paul D'Anieri, 'The last hurrah: The 2004 Ukrainian presidential elections and the limits of machine politics', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol.38, no.2 (June 2005), pp.231-250.
- Serhiy Kudelia, 'The Rise of Democratic Opposition in Ukraine: From Obscurity to Triumph'; SAIS Paper, John Hopkins University, March 2005.
- Taras Kuzio, 'Ukraine's Orange Revolution. The Opposition's Road to Success', *Journal of Democracy*, vol.16, no.2 (April 2005), pp.117-130.

#### **WEEK 6. EXECUTIVE AND OLIGARCHS**

##### **Key Questions**

1. When did Ukraine's oligarchs emerge?
2. How do Ukraine's oligarchs differ from their Russian counterparts?
3. How do oligarchs articulate their political interests?
4. What kind of relationship emerged between Kuchma and the oligarchs?

##### **Required Reading**

- Paul D'Anieri, 'Leonid Kuchma and the Personalization of the Ukrainian Presidency', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.50, no.5 (September-October 2003), pp.58-63.
- Rosaria Puglisi, 'The Rise of the Ukrainian Oligarchs', *Democratization*, vol.10, no.3 (Autumn 2003), pp.99-123.

- Lucan A. Way, 'Rapacious individualism and competitive authoritarianism in Ukraine, 1992-2004', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, vol.38, no.2 (June 2005), pp.191-206.

## **WEEK 7. CIVIL SOCIETY, POLITICAL PARTIES AND GENDER**

### **Key Questions**

1. Do the authorities hinder or promote civil society?
2. Polls show that Ukrainians have weak feelings of efficacy. Why does efficacy matter in a liberal democracy?
3. Is there a link between national identity and civil society in Ukraine?
4. Outline the key policy issues around which the three main groups of parties (left, centre and national democrats) have been formed.

### **Required Reading**

- Lucan A. Way, 'Authoritarian State-Building and the Sources of Political Liberalization in the Western Former Soviet Union, 1992-2004', *World Politics*, vol. 57, no. 2 (January 2005), pp.231-261.
- John O'Loughlin, and James E.Bell, 'The Political Geography of Civic Engagement in Ukraine', *Post-Soviet Geography and Economics*, vol.40, no.4 (June 1999), pp.233-266.
- Alexandra Hrycak, 'Coping with Chaos: Gender and Politics in a Fragmented State', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52, no.5 (September/October 2005).

## **WEEK 8. PARLIAMENTARY and PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

### **Key Questions**

1. Why are elections important for democracies?
2. What regional and ideological cleavages exist in Ukraine.
3. Compare and contrast three Ukrainian elections of your choosing.

### **Required Reading**

- Thomas F. Klobucar, Arthur H.Miller, and Gwyn Erb, 'The 1999 Ukrainian Presidential Election: Personalities, Ideology, Partisanship, and the Economy', *Slavic Review*, vol.61, no.2 (Summer 2002), pp.315-344.
- Taras Kuzio, 'The 2002 Parliamentary Elections in Ukraine: Democratization or Authoritarianism', *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol.19, no.2 (June 2003), pp.24-54.
- Ralph S. Clem and Peter R. Craumer, 'Shades of Orange: The Electoral Geography of Ukraine's 2004 Presidential Elections', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, vol.XLVI, no.5 (July-August 2005), pp.364-385.

## **WEEK 9. COMPARATIVE ('COLORED') DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS**

### **Key Questions**

1. Why did democratic revolutions take place in these four countries?
2. Why were these revolutions non-violent?
3. Do any other post-communist countries exhibit similar features making them ripe for revolution?

### **Required Reading**

- Aleksander Smolar, 'History and Memory: The Revolutions of 1989-91', *Journal of Democracy*, vol.12, no.3 (July 2001), pp.5-19.
- Michael McFaul, 'Transitions from PostCommunism', *Journal of Democracy*, vol.16, no.3 (July 2005), pp.5-19.
- Krnjevic-Miskovic Damjan de. 'Serbia's Prudent Revolution', *The Journal of Democracy*, vol.12 no.3 (July 2001), pp.96-110.

- Charles H. Fairbanks, 'Georgia's Rose Revolution', *Journal of Democracy* vol.15, no.2 (April 2004), pp.110-124.

### **Optional Reading**

**HOW FREEDOM IS WON: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy**  
(New York: Freedom House, 2005). Available at:  
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/research/specreports/civictans/FHCIVICTRANS.pdf>



### **WEEK 10. UKRAINE'S (ORANGE) DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION**

#### **Key Questions**

1. What factors lay behind the Orange Revolution?
2. Describe the wide political alliance behind the Orange Revolution.
3. Was there an "American conspiracy", as Russia claims?
4. Compare and contrast the Orange Revolution with other democratic revolutions.

#### **Required Reading**

- Taras Kuzio, 'Kuchma to Yushchenko: Ukraine's 2004 Elections and "Orange Revolution"', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52, no.2 (March-April 2005), pp.29-44.
- Lucan A. Way, 'Kuchma's Failed Authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy*, vol.16, no.2 (April 2005), pp.131-145.
- Taras Kuzio, 'Directed Chaos' and Non-Violence in Ukraine's Orange Revolution', (Stockholm: Swedish National Defense College, forthcoming).

### **WEEK 11. FAILED DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONS**

#### **Key Questions**

1. Why have democratic revolutions only taken place in a limited number of countries?
2. What type of regime is more susceptible to democratic revolution?
3. What key policies have been undertaken to prevent democratic revolutions?
4. Is the weakness of the democratic opposition a factor in preventing democratic revolutions?

#### **Required Reading**

- Graeme P. Herd, 'Colorful Revolutions and the CIS. "Manufactured" Versus "Managed" Democracy?', *Problems of Post Communism*, vol.52, no.2 (March-April 2005), pp.3-18.
- Andrew Wilson, *Virtual Politics. Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005): 'The "Political Technologist": Machiaveli as Corporate Adviser', pp. 49-72, 'Administrative Resources', pp.73-88, 'Dishing the Opposition', pp.151-186.
- Sarah E. Mendelson and Theodore P. Gerber, 'Soviet Nostalgia: An Impediment to Russian Democracy', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol.29, no.1 (Winter 2005-2006), pp.83-96.
- Vitali Silitski, 'Preempting Democracy: The Case of Belarus', *Journal of Democracy*, vol.16, no.4 (October 2005), pp.83-97.

### **WEEK 12. POST-REVOLUTIONARY TRANSITIONS**

#### **Key Questions**

1. Revolutions create high expectations, but can they be always fulfilled?
2. What changes in policies have been undertaken since the Serbian and Georgian revolutions?

3. Analyse the government led by Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. Why was there an early split in the Orange coalition?
4. Which of the democratic revolutions is likely to be most successful?

**Required Reading**

- Henry Hale, 'Democracy and Revolution in the Post-Communist World: From Chasing Events to Building Theory', *World Politics*, forthcoming.
- Mason Whit, 'Trouble in Tbilisi', *National Interest*, no.79 (Spring 2005), pp.139-144.
- Paul D'Anieri, 'What Has Changed in Ukrainian Politics? Assessing the Implications of the Orange Revolution', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52, no.5 (September/October 2005), pp.82-91.
- Anders Aslund, 'The Economic Policy of Ukraine after the Orange Revolution', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, vol.46, no.1 (July-August 2005), pp.327-353.

**Optional Reading:**

- Papers on politics, economics, media, 2006 elections and foreign policy from the Workshop 'The Orange Revolution: One Year On' at the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, Elliot School of International Affairs George Washington University: [http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/orange\\_revolution.htm](http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/orange_revolution.htm)
- Taras Kuzio, 'Revisiting the Orange Revolution, Parts One and Two: Considerable Gains', *Jamestown Foundation, Eurasian Daily Monitor*, vol.2, no.217 and 220 (21 and 28 November 2005). Available from [www.jamestown.org](http://www.jamestown.org)