

## Ukraine's Political Dynamics in Regional Comparative Perspective\*

Yuriy Matsiyevsky  
Ostroh Academy National University  
Ukraine  
yuriym2000@yahoo.com

**Course description:** This course is focused on the dynamics of Ukraine's political regime transformation during independence. It builds on and seeks to develop topics from introductory courses such as Introduction to Political Science and Political Modernization.

The course is divided into two parts. Theoretical part covers introduction to transition studies, structural and agency approaches to democratization, theories of democracy, the current debate on hybrid regimes and conceptual problems of regime type analysis. While the first part of the course will consist of lectures, the second part will see students discussing theoretical explanations in order to understand the Ukrainian case in comparative perspective.

**The aim of this course is twofold:** first, to explore theories of democratization and regime change, and second, to investigate the path of Ukraine's transition through the presidencies of L.Kravchuk to V.Yanukovich in comparison to other NIS countries.

### **Learning outcomes:**

Upon completion of the course students will be able to:

- ascertain contrasting propositions and theoretical assumptions in the work of different authors.
- assess the utility of this work in explaining the path of Ukraine's regime transformation.
- acquire advanced knowledge of issues and problems of regime change, including concrete cases of successful and unsuccessful transition.
- understand and critique competing perspectives on regime change.

**Prerequisites:** Introduction to political science

### **Requirements:**

Participation in class discussion (12 seminars x 2 points): 24%,

Written in class exam: 36%. It combines 16 multiple choice questions (each worth one point) and two essay question (each worth 10 points), one on theory and the other on assessing its utility for explaining the given case.

Research essay: 40%. The research essay will consist of an in depth analysis of any theme of the course in regards to Ukraine, or in a country of your choice (within NIS), and provide at least one alternative explanations for regime change, democratization or backsliding to authoritarianism.

All papers must pay attention to good theorizing (whatever the tradition) and marshalling compelling evidence in support of it. Often a normal science framework (introduction, research question, literature review, theory, hypotheses, methods, variables, results, conclusions) can facilitate this.

### **Readings:**

---

\* The course is taught in Ukrainian

One copy of a reader will be available at the department's library. Some text are in e-format and available on the departments' data base.

## Course Overview:

### Part I

#### Theoretical Foundations of Transition Studies

##### 1. Conceptualizing Democracy and Non Democracy

###### Required Readings:

Democratization 2009: Christian W. Haerpfer... [et.al.] Oxford University Press, 10-24.

Brooker, Paul 2000: *Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*, (London: Macmillan), 16-45.

Філіп Шміттер, Тері Лін Карл “Чим є і чим не є демократія”/Демократія. Антологія.- Київ:Смолоскип, 2005. – С.79-92.

Девід Кольєр, Стівен Девіцкі “Демократія з прикметниками: концептуальні оновлення в процесі порівняльних досліджень”/Демократія. Антологія.- Київ:Смолоскип, 2005. – С.176-206.

###### Further Readings:

Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl 1991: “What Democracy Is ... and Is Not,” *Journal of Democracy*, 2 (3), 75-88.

Глобальне відродження демократії. За ред. Ларрі Даймонда і Марка Ф. Платтнера. Перекл. з англ. – Львів: Ахілл, 2004. – 463 с.

Ревель Жан-Франсуа. Відживлення демократії. Перекл. з фр. – Київ: Критика, 2004. – 589 с.

Dahl, Robert 1971: *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*, (New Haven: Yale UP), 1-17.

Alexander, Gerard 2002: “Institutionalized Uncertainty, the Rule of Law, and Sources of Democratic Stability,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (10), 1145-1170.

Chehabi, Houchang E. and Juan J. Linz (eds.) 1998: *Sultanistic Regimes*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).

Friedrich, Carl and Zbigniew Brzezinski (eds.) 1965: *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press).

Lijphart, Arend 1977: *Democracy in Plural Societies*, (New Haven: Yale UP).

Linz, Juan 2000: *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner)..

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan 1996: “Democracy and Its Arenas,” in: *ibid. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Part I: Theoretical Overview*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 3-15.

##### 2. “Transitology”: Structuralist Approaches

###### Required Readings:

Democratization 2009:/Christian W. Haerpfer... [et.al.] Oxford University Press. 74-88.

Даль Роберт “Демократичні трансформації”/Демократія. Антологія.- Київ:Смолоскип, 2005. – С.563-573.

Хантінгтон Самюел “Три хвили демократизації” /Демократія. Антологія.- Київ:Смолоскип, 2005. – С.574-583.

Растоу Данкварт “Переходи до демократії:Спроба створення динамічної моделі” /Демократія. Антологія.- Київ:Смолоскип, 2005. – С.583-604.

###### Further Readings:

У пошуках правильної парадигми: концептуальні перспективи посткомуністичного переходу у країнах Східної Європи. Під редакцією Дежана Гузіни. – Київ: Ай-Бі (Проект «Демократична освіта») – 2003. – 340 с.

Lipset, Seymour M. 1959: “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy,” *American Political Science Review*, 53 (1), 69-105.  
*Comparative Politics*, 24 (4), 379-399.

Ross, Michael L. 2001: “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?,” *World Politics*, 53 (3), 325-361.

Snyder, Richard 1992: “Explaining Transitions from Neopatrimonial Dictatorships,”

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and George W. Downs 2005: “Development and Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 84 (5), 77-86.

Downs, Anthony 1957: *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, (New York: Harper & Row).

Geddes, Barbara 1999: “What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 115-144.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufmann 1995: *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, (Princeton: Princeton UP).

### 3. “Transitology”: Agency Approaches

#### Required Readings:

*Democratization 2009*:/Christian W. Haerpfer...[et.al.] Oxford University Press. 74-88.

Пршеворский А. Демократия и рынок. Политические и экономические реформы в Восточной Европе и Латинской Америке / Пер. с англ. – М.: РОССПЭН, 2000. – 320 с.

#### Further Readings:

Гельман В. Гельман В.Я. Из огня да в полымя? (Динамика постсоветских режимов в сравнительной перспективе) // *Полис*. 2007. №2. С. 81—108.

Карл Т.Л., Шмиттер Ф. Демократизация: концепты, постулаты, гипотезы. Розмышления по поводу применимости транзитологичной парадигмы при изучении посткомуністических трансформацій // *Полис*. – 2004. - № 4. – С. 6 – 27.

Bermeo, Nancy 1997: “Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict during Democratic Transitions,” *Comparative Politics*, 29 (3), 305-322.

Colomer, Josep 2000: *Strategic Transitions. Game Theory and Democratization*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman 1997: “The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions,” *Comparative Politics*, 29 (3), 263-284.

O’Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter 1986: *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).

Pridham, Geoffrey 1995: *Transitions to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives from Southern Europe, Latin America and Eastern Europe*, (Aldershot et al.: Dartmouth).

Stepan, Alfred 1997: “Democratic Opposition and Democratization Theory,” *Government and Opposition*, 32 (4), 657-673.

### 4. What is wrong with democratization? Why there are Hybrid Regimes?

#### Required Readings:

*Democratization 2009*:/Christian W. Haerpfer...[et.al.] Oxford University Press. 249-263.

Diamond, Larry 2002: “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes,” *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (2), 21-35.

Карозерс Т. Конец парадигмы транзита: пер. с англ. / Т. Карозерс // *Политическая наука*.

*Политическое развитие и демократизация: Современные исследования* : РАН ИНИОН. Центр

социальных научно-информационных исследований. Отдел политической науки. – М., 2003. – № 2. – С. 42– 65.

**Further Readings:**

Moises Naim, 2012: "Mafia States" *Foreign Affairs*, May-June.

Wigell, Mikael 2008: "Mapping 'Hybrid Regimes': Regime Types and Concepts in Comparative Politics," *Democratization*, 15 (2), 230-250.

Лінц Хуан Дж. Переваги парламентаризму. / В кн.: Глобальне відродження демократії. За ред. Ларрі Даймонда і Марка Ф. Платтнера. Перекл. з англ. – Львів: Ахілл, 2004. – С. 212-221.

Schedler, Andreas 1998: "What is Democratic Consolidation?," *Journal of Democracy*, 9 (2), 91-107.

Bogaards, Matthijs 2009: "How to Classify Hybrid Regimes? Defective Democracy and Electoral Authoritarianism," *Democratization*, 16 (2), 399-423

Ekman, Joakim 2009: "Political Participation and Regime Stability: A Framework for Analysing Hybrid Regimes," *International Political Science Review*, 30 (1), 7-31.

Gasiorowski, Mark J. and Timothy J. Power 1998: "The Structural Determinants of Democratic Consolidation," *Comparative Political Studies*, 31 (6), 740-771.

Lijphart, Arend and Carlos Waisman (eds.) 1996: *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, (Boulder: Westview Press).

Morlino, Leonardo 2009: "Are there hybrid regimes? Or are they just an optical illusion?," *European Political Science Review*, 1 (2), 273-296.

Morlino, Leonardo, 2008: "Hybrid Regimes or Regimes in Transition" FRIDE working papers, #70.

O'Donnell, Guillermo 1996: "Illusions About Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy*, 7 (2), 34-51.

O'Donnell, Guillermo 1994: "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (1), 55-70.

Ottaway, Marina 2003: *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

Schedler, Andreas 2001: "Measuring Democratic Consolidation," *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, 36 (1), 66-92.

Schmitter, Philippe C. 1995: "Transitology: The Science or the Art of Democratization?," in: Tulchin, Joseph S. and Bernice Romero (eds.) *The Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 11-41.

Stepan, Alfred and Cindy Skatch 1993: "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarism and Presidentialism," *World Politics*, 46 (1), 1-22.

Zakaria, Fareed 1997: "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, 76 (2), 22-43.

**5. Why there is Authoritarian Resurgence in some of the Post-Soviet States?**

**Required Readings:**

Jason Brownlee 2007: *Authoritarianism in the age of democratization*, (Cambridge University Press), 16-42.

McFaul, Michael 2002: "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics*, 54 (2), 212-244.

Levitsky Steven, Way Lucan 2010: *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (Cambridge University Press), 3-36.

**Further Readings:**

Snyder, Richard 2006: "Beyond Electoral Authoritarianism. The Spectrum of Nondemocratic Regimes," in: Schedler, Andreas (ed.): *Electoral Authoritarianism. The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 219-231.

Albrecht, Holger and Oliver Schlumberger 2004: "Waiting for Godot': Regime Change Without Democratization in the Middle East," in: *International Political Science Review*, 25 (4), pp.371-392.

Albrecht, Holger 2005: "How Can Opposition Support Authoritarianism? Lessons from Egypt," *Democratization*, 12 (3), 378-397.

Bellin, Eva 2004: "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics*, 36 (2), 139-157.

Brumberg, Daniel 2002: "The Trap of Liberalized Autocracy," *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (4), 56-68.

Gandhi, Jennifer 2008: *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski 2007: "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies*, 40 (11), 1279-1301.

Howard, Marc Morjé und Philip G. Roessler 2006: "Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes," *American Journal of Political Science*, 50 (2), 365-381.

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way 2002: "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (2), 51-65.

Lust-Okar, Ellen 2005: *Structuring Conflict in the Arab World. Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Nathan, Andrew J. 2003: "Authoritarian Resilience," *Journal of Democracy*, 14 (1), 6-17.

Magaloni, Beatriz 2008: "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule," *Comparative Political Studies*, 41 (4/5), 715-741.

Schlumberger, Oliver 2007 (ed.): *Debating Arab Authoritarianism: Dynamics and Durability in Nondemocratic Regimes*, (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press).

Smith, Benjamin 2004: "Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960-1999," *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (2), 232-246.

Ulfelder, Jay 2007: "Natural-Resource Wealth and the Survival of Autocracy," *Comparative Political Studies*, 40 (8), 995-1018.

## 6. Mixed, Hybrid or Semi: How do we Conceptualize the Post-Soviet Regimes?

### Required Readings:

Collier, David and Steven Levitsky 1997: "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics*, 49, 430-451.

Armony, Ariel and Hector Schamis 2005: "Babel in Democratization Studies," *Journal of Democracy*, 16 (4), 113-128.

Sartori, Giovanni 1991: "Comparing and Miscomparing," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 3 (3), 243-257.

Munck, Gerardo L. 2006: "Drawing Boundaries: How to Craft Intermediate Regime Categories,"

Schedler, Andreas (ed.): *Electoral Authoritarianism. The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner), 27-40.

### Further Readings:

Skaaning Svend Erik, J. Møller 2010: "Beyond the radial delusion: Conceptualizing and measuring democracy and non-democracy." *International Political Science Review* 31(3): 262–283.

Alvarez, Mike, et al. 1996: "Classifying Political Regimes," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31 (2), 3-36.

Collier, David and Robert Adcock 1999: "Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach to Choices about Concepts," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2, 537-565.

Collier, David and James E. Mahon 1993: "Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analyses," *American Political Science Review*, 87 (4), 845-855.

Munck, Gerardo L. and Jay Verkuilen 2002: "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy. Evaluating Alternative Indices," *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (1), 5-34.

Reich, Gary 2002: "Categorizing Political Regimes: New Data for Old Problems," *Democratization*, 9 (4), 1-24.

## **7. Formal Institutions or Informal Politics: What defines the political process?**

### **Required Readings:**

Gerd Mayer (ed.) 2008: *Formal Institutions and Informal Politics in Central and Eastern Europe*. 2<sup>nd</sup> revised and updated edition. Barbara Burdich Publishers, Opladen&Farmington Hills 2008.

Lauth H. J. 2000. *Informal Institutions and Democracy // Democratization*. Vol. 7. № 4.

Меркель В., Круассан А. Формальные и неформальные институты в дефектных демократиях// ПОЛИС. – 2002. - №1. – С. 6-17.

### **Further Readings:**

Helmke G., Levitsky S. (eds.) 2006: *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. - Baltimore (MD).

Гельман В. Подрывные институты и неформальное управление в современной России// *Полития* №2, (57), 2010.

Hale H. "Formal Constitutions in Informal Politics. Institutions and Democratization in Post-Soviet Eurasia" *World Politics*, 63, No 4, 2011.

Кейт Дарден Целостность коррумпированных государств: взяточничество как неформальный институт управления// *Прогнозис* №2 (18) 2009.

Darden Keith "Blackmail as a Tool of State Domination: Ukraine Under Kuchma," *East European Constitutional Review*, Volume 10, Spring/Summer 2001

## **Part II**

### **Political Transformation in Ukraine and in the NIS**

## **8. From empire to (quasi) nation-states: the birth of defective democracy in the NIS**

### **Required Readings:**

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

Kuzio Taras 2002: *Ukraine: State and Nation Building*. 6-21.

Harasymiw Bohdan 2002: *Post-Communist Ukraine*. Ch.4, 84-112.

### **Further Readings:**

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

Lucan Way 2004: "The sources and dynamics of competitive authoritarianism in Ukraine" *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*. Vol.20 (1), 143 - 161

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

Adrian Karatnycky 1995: "Ukraine at the crossroads," *Journal of Democracy*, v.6(1), 117-30

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

## **9. From defective democracy to semi-authoritarianism (Kuchma, Yeltzin, Lukashenka, Shevarnadze)**

### **Required Readings:**

Harasymiw, Bohdan 2002: *Post-Communist Ukraine*, (Edmonton: CIUS Press).

Timm Beichelt 2011: *Forms of Rule in the Post-Soviet Space: Hybrid Regimes* in President, Oligarchs and Bureaucrats: Forms of Rule in the Post-Soviet Space, Ashgate.

Olena Nikolayenko 2004: "Press Freedom during the 1994 and 1999 Presidential Elections in

Ukraine: A Reverse Wave?", *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 56(5) 661-686.

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

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

#### **Further Readings:**

Henry Hale 2005: "Why Not Parties? Supply and Demand on Russia's Electoral Market," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 27(2) 147-166

Holovaty, S. 2000: "Ukraine in Transition: From Newly Emerged Democracy Towards Autocracy?," *Review of Central and East European Law*, 26 (3), 267-309.

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

Arthur Miller and Thomas Klobucar 2003: "Partisan Development in Post-Soviet Ukraine", *Journal of Political Marketing*, vol. 2(1) 33-5

Diuk, Nadia 2001: "Sovereignty and Uncertainty in Ukraine," *Journal of Democracy*, 12 (4), 57-64.

Kubicek, Paul 1994: "Delegative Democracy in Russia and Ukraine," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 27 (4), 423-441.

Kuzio, Taras 1998: *Ukraine: State and Nation Building*, (London: Routledge).

Motyl, Alexander J. 1997: "Structural Constraints and Starting Points. The Logic of Systemic Change in Ukraine and Russia," *Comparative Politics*, 29 (4), 433-447.

Prizel, Ilya 1997: "Ukraine Between Proto-Democracy and 'Soft' Authoritarianism," Dawisha, Karen and Bruce Parrott (eds.) *Democratic Changes and Authoritarian Reactions in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), 330-370.

## **10. Color Revolutions and its implications on regime's dynamics**

### **Required Readings:**

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, 2011: *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*, Cambridge University Press. 3-35.

David Lane and Stephen White, (Eds.) 2010: *Rethinking the 'coloured revolutions'*. Routledge, London and New York.

### **Further Readings:**

See special issue of the *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 25, no. 2-3 (June-September 2009)

Mark R. Beissinger, 2007: "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions", *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No.2 259-76.

Lucan Way 2008: "The real causes of Color revolutions" *Journal of Democracy*. 19(3) 55-69.

Lincoln Mitchell 2004: "Georgia's Rose Revolution", *Current History*, vol. 103, 342-348.

Wilson Andrew, *Ukraine's Orange Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. 232p.

Adrian Karatnycky 2005: "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *Foreign Affairs*, v. 84( 2)

Kuzio, Taras 2005: "Ukraine's Orange Revolution. The Opposition's Road to Success," *Journal of Democracy*, 16 (2), 117-130.

## **11. Democracy too much or too little: evaluating the post-revolutionary dynamics**

### **Required Readings:**

D'Anieri, Paul 2007: *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics and Institutional Design*, M.E.Sharp, 241-259.

D'Anieri Paul (ed) 2010: *Orange revolution and aftermath : mobilization, apathy, and the state in Ukraine*

Washington, D.C. : Woodrow Wilson Center Press : Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Further Readings:**

Мацiевский Ю. 2010: Смена, транзит или цикл: динамика политического режима в Украине в 2004-2010 гг.// Полис, №5.17-37.

Beichelt, Timm 2005: "Autocracy and Democracy in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine," *Democratization* , 11 (5), 113-132.

D'Anieri, Paul 2005: "What has changed in Ukrainian Politics?" *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol.52 (5),82-91.

Korosteleva, Elena 2004: "The Quality of Democracy in Belarus and Ukraine," *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 20 (1), 122-142.

Solonenko, Iryna 2005: "The European Union as Democracy Promoter: The Case of Ukraine," *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, 2, 57-69.

**12. Resurgence of authoritarianism under Yanukovich?**

**Required Readings:**

D'Anieri, Paul 2011: "Structural Constraints in Ukrainian Politics" *East European Politics & Societies*. February 2011 vol. 25 no. 1. 28-46

Мацiевський Ю.,2011: Спокуси авторитаризмом// Критика, №5-6.

**Further Readings:**

Мацiевський Ю., "Який режим буде В.Янукович і що з того вийде?"// Наукові записки НаУОА. Серія «Політологія». – Вип.5. –2010р.

Жданов І., "Чи можлива "путiнiзацiя" України?"  
<http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/10/7/5454113/>

Мисельюк А., "Десять відмінностей системи Януковича від системи Кучми"  
<http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/07/16/5226836/>

Андрусів В. "Новий штаб авторитаризму" <http://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2010/11/22/5597061/>

**13. Informal practices in Ukraine's politics**

**Required Readings:**

Puglisi, Rosaria 2003: "The Rise of the Ukrainian Oligarchs," *Democratization*, 10 (3), 99-123.

Гретхен Хелмке, Стивен Левитски 2010: "Неформальные институты и сравнительная политика" *Прогнозис*, 10.

Anna Grzymala-Busse 2008: "Beyond Clientelism Incumbent State Capture and State Formation", *Comparative Political Studies* Vol.41 ( 4/5) 638-673.

Protsyk Oleh, Wilson Andrew 2002: "Centre Politics in Russia and Ukraine. Patronage, Power and Virtuality" *Party Politics*vol 9. (6)703-727.

Janine R. Wedel 2001: "Clans, Cliques, and Captured States. Rethinking "Transition" in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union" Discussion Paper No. 58.

**14. Final Discussion. Authoritarian resilience or Incomplete Transitions?**

**Required Readings:**

Bunce, Valerie 2000: "Comparative Democratization. Big and Bounded Generalizations," *Comparative Political Studies*, 33 (6/7), pp. 703-734.

Carother, Thomas 2002: "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (1), 5-21.

Hale, Henry E. (2005) "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *World Politics*, 58 (1), 133-165.