

## **EURR 4008A/5008F**

### **Nationalism, Conflict, and Legitimacy in Russia and the former Soviet Union**

Carleton University

Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies

Fall 2023

Richcraft Hall 3220, Tuesdays 8:35-11:25 am

Brightspace: <https://brightspace.carleton.ca/d2l/home/212132>

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#### **OBJECTIVES**

Russia's war on Ukraine has riveted international attention on the role of nationalism in Russia's foreign and domestic politics, reminding us that nationalism and ethnic politics are pervasive aspects of politics in Russia and Eurasia. This course surveys various manifestations of nationalism in Russia and the former Soviet states since 1991. It begins with an overview of nations and national identities in the Soviet Union and nationalist mobilization against the Soviet state. The next few weeks examine nation-building after the collapse of the USSR, the emergence and persistence of unrecognized or "de facto" states and frozen conflicts in Eurasia, and the phenomenon of the far right in post-Soviet politics.

Over the last year, there was an enormous amount of published research (including a number of excellent books) related to Russia's war. The second half of the course is going to dive into the many dimensions of the war covered in this growing scholarly literature, including: how Russians experience the war in everyday life, the influence of pro-war propaganda in Russia and abroad, the war's consequences for migration and displacement, the political war over historical memory, youth and patriotic education, and the role of ethnic minorities in relation to war and autocracy. We conclude with a discussion of how best to understand Russia's war: nationalist, imperialist, rationalist, genocidal, or something else?

The weekly seminars are structured in three parts. Since "nations" and "nationalism" as concepts are widely used yet poorly understood in popular usage, the first part of each seminar meeting will be devoted to understanding core concepts in relation to the required readings. The second part of each seminar turns to practice and applied research, introducing a variety of methodological approaches, techniques, and data sources that are used in the study of nationalism. The goal is to provide students with the tools for critically evaluating scholarship and for potentially conducting their own research into nationalist politics. The final part of each seminar is devoted to guest speakers, who typically will be authors of one of the required readings. This is a rare opportunity to engage directly with the experts we'll be reading and the ask about their experiences, motivations, interpretations, or (almost) anything else.

While this seminar casts a wide net, its omissions are perhaps even wider—especially this year as we set aside some of the comparative research in the second half of the semester to concentrate on Russia's war. The various weeks of this course intersect with a variety of categories of nationalism that could potentially be studied in their own right, including gender, language, class, religion, and civilization. In addition, there are a range of nationalist politics and processes that deserve equal attention but could not be included for lack of space, such as ethnic boundary-making, nation-branding, gastronationalism, and economic nationalism. These omissions should not be taken as a sign that these topics are irrelevant or unimportant. On the contrary, students may wish to investigate them for their research projects.

## READINGS

The following books are required. This does not mean that you must purchase them, but you are responsible for reading them on the weeks for which they are assigned. Books marked with an \* will be available as eBooks through ARES. The others will be put on 4 hour reserve in the library.

\*Harris Mylonas and Maya Tudor. *Varieties of Nationalism: Communities, Narratives, Identities*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

\*Brigid O’Keeffe. *The Multiethnic Soviet Union and Its Demise*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2022.

Elizaveta Gaufman. *Everyday Foreign Policy: Performing and Consuming the Russian Nation after Crimea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

\*Ian Garner. *Z Generation: Into the Heart of Russia’s Fascist Youth*. London: Hurst & Co., 2023.

\*Jade McGlynn. *Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin’s Russia*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023.

- Other required readings (articles and book chapters) will be accessible via the course page on Brightspace.
- Starting in Week 2, you’ll notice that there are also “**methodology review**” articles listed for each week. These articles are required and should be read carefully by students who are completing the methodology outline and presentation for that week, while the rest of the class may safely skim these articles.
- A list of “**further readings**” is provided for each week. It is neither expected nor required that students read these additional readings. Rather, the “further reading” lists are included to give you a sense of the existing research on a topic, and they may further be used as a starting point for those wishing to delve further into a subject for their own research.

## ASSIGNMENTS

### *Undergraduate students:*

Attendance & participation	20%	Weekly
Issue background paper & presentation	20%	Due on Monday prior to presentation.
Discussion paper	20%	Due on Monday prior to seminar.
Research essay proposal	10%	Due on Friday, October 20, at 12 pm
Research essay	30%	Due on Friday, December 8, at 12 pm

### *Graduate students:*

Attendance & participation	20%	Weekly
Methodology outline & presentation	20%	Due on Monday prior to presentation.
Discussion paper	20%	Due on Monday prior to seminar.
Research essay proposal	10%	Due on Friday, October 20, at 12 pm
Research essay	30%	Due on Friday, December 8, at 12 pm

### **Attendance & participation (20%):**

This is a seminar-based class, meaning that students' attendance and active participation in seminar discussions are essential to learning. *Active participation* in a seminar is different from listening to a lecture and asking questions afterward. Rather, active participation requires that all students will have read the required readings in advance of class. When reading, do not just highlight but take note of the main argument/finding, key concepts, and the kinds of evidence or data used. Think about connections between the readings (i.e., do they agree or are they at odds?). Active participation also requires active listening. *Active listening* means carefully considering other students' comments and engaging with them in a productive way—in other words, in a way that adds value to the discussion for everyone.

In all seminar discussions, **mutual respect and consideration is essential**. The seminar addresses topics that may hit home or seem controversial for some students. The concepts can be challenging and difficult to master. The seminar is a place where students can grapple with those ideas and issues and benefit from the feedback of the instructor and their peers.

In terms of grading:

- An A-level grade means that a student actively engages with the readings, contributes to the discussion, and listens to one's peers.
- A B-level grade means that the student participates and listens in discussions and demonstrates knowledge of the readings but does not rigorously engage with them.
- A C-level grade means that the student does not reliably participate or is disruptive.

### **Discussion papers (20%):**

Starting Week 2, each student will write a discussion paper for a week's readings during the course (one paper per student). **Discussion papers are due on Mondays at noon before the class for which the readings were assigned.** The papers will provide the foundation for our discussion of the readings at the start of class for each week, and students may be called upon to talk about points raised in their papers in seminar discussions.

**Discussion papers should not merely summarize the readings.** Rather, they should identify the main contributions (theoretical or empirical) of each reading and put them into dialogue with the other readings: how do they compare in terms of their approaches to the subject? What core concepts are introduced? How do their findings highlight shortcomings, omissions, or avenues for future research?

**The required length for discussion papers is 1000 words (+/- 10%).**

### **FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS: Methodology outline & presentation (20%)**

Each student will read and outline an article's methodology once during the course, starting from Week 2.

**Outlines should be submitted by noon on the Monday prior to class.** The outlines will be shared with the other students on Brightspace and presented during the seminar discussion.

**Outlines should be no more than 1-2 pages.** They should provide a quick reference: what is the article's research question, what is the method(s) used to examine it, and what kinds of data are used in the analysis. Students may also attach copies of relevant tables, figures, or annexes (like an interview schedule or content analysis codebook), which will not count against the page limit.

For the in-class presentation portion of the assignment, students should briefly present the article's core argument and finding(s), then discuss in greater detail the article's method and data. For example, the presentation may consider the link between the article's research question and core concept(s): how are key ideas converted into data? What are the limitations of the method and/or data? Does the article make reasonable claims based on the evidence, or does it push the data too far? Presentations may also consider whether a different/additional method would have been useful. **Presentations should be about 10 minutes in length.**

### **FOR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS: Policy background paper & presentation (20%)**

Each student will prepare a short policy background paper, starting from Week 2. A list of potential topics will be provided on Brightspace, though students may also propose a policy-related issue they would like to cover. **Policy background papers should be submitted by noon on the Monday prior to class.** The papers will be shared with the other students on Brightspace and presented during the seminar discussion.

**Policy background papers should be no more than 1-2 pages.** They should provide a quick reference: what is the nature of the issue? How did it arise, and what is the current status? Who are the key actors or stakeholders and what are their main policy options or challenges? Students may also attach copies of relevant maps, tables, or annexes, which will not count against the page limit.

Papers should include a list of recommended readings on the topic. This list should include readings from authoritative sources (think sources like the Russian Analytical Digest, not Wikipedia) that will be accessible for policy-makers who lack specialized knowledge on the topic. The list of readings will not count against the page limit.

For the in-class presentation portion of the assignment, students should briefly describe the issue, identifying the key actors, the nature of the policy challenge, varieties of responses and likely consequences or outcomes.

**Presentations should be about 10 minutes in length.**

### **Research proposal (10%)**

Students will submit a 1-2 paragraph proposal for their research essay along with a one-page working bibliography consisting of *scholarly* books and articles. **Proposals should be submitted by noon on Friday, October 20th.**

The proposal should clearly indicate a research question or thesis, identify the country or cases to be examined, and suggest why the topic is interesting in relation to nationalism. Students are welcome to discuss their research interests with the instructor in advance of drafting their proposal.

### **Research essay (30%)**

The research essay is an opportunity for students to dive into a subject of interest. Research essays should follow the research proposal and any change of topic for the research essay must first be approved by the course instructor. Topics for the research essay may vary widely, including in-depth examinations of a specific case, comparisons across a variety of cases, or a methodological survey of the literature on a nationalist phenomenon. It is expected that research essays will focus on contemporary or relatively recent (i.e. within the last decade) cases or debates.

The required length for research essays is 3000 words for undergraduate students and 4000 words for graduate students (+/- 10%). Additional guidelines will be provided in class. **Research essays are due by noon on Friday, December 8th.**

### **LATE POLICY**

Late papers will lose a half-letter grade for each day late (e.g., from A to A-) except in cases involving serious medical circumstances.

If your circumstances otherwise are likely to prevent you from submitting your assignments on time, please do not suffer in silence: get in touch to make an appointment and let's talk about it.

## **IMPORTANT DATES**

September 6: Fall term begins

September 30: Last day to withdraw from fall courses with a full fee adjustment.

October 9: Statutory holiday. University closed.

October 23-27: Fall Break

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**WEEK 1 (SEP. 12): WHAT DO WE TALK ABOUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT NATIONALISM?**

**Guest speaker: Prof. Harris Mylonas (George Washington University)**

**Required:**

Harris Mylonas and Maya Tudor. *Varieties of Nationalism: Communities, Narratives, Identities*. Elements in the Politics of Development. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023. (esp. pp.16-63)

Lowell W. Barrington. "Nationalism & Independence." In *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial & Postcommunist States*, 3–30. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006.

**Further reading:**

Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. *Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, 2006.

Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1995.

Breuilly, John. *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Chandra, Kanchan, ed. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Delanty, Gerard, and Patrick J. O'Mahony. *Nationalism and Social Theory: Modernity and the Recalcitrance of the Nation*. London: SAGE, 2002.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Ozirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. 3rd edition. London: Red Globe Press, 2017.

Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

## WEEK 2 (SEP. 19): NATIONS AND NATIONALISM IN THE USSR

**Guest speaker:** TBD

### **Required reading:**

Brigid O'Keeffe. *The Multiethnic Soviet Union and Its Demise*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2022.

### **Methodology review:**

Jessica Lovett. "The Fate of the Nation": Population Politics in a Changing Soviet Union (1964–1991). *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 4 (2023): 888–907.

### **Further reading:**

Beissinger, Mark R. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Bunce, Valerie. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Carrere d'Encausse, Helene. *The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Connor, Walker. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Goff, Krista A. *Nested Nationalism: Making and Unmaking Nations in the Soviet Caucasus*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021.

Hale, Henry E. *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

Markowitz, Lawrence P. "How Master Frames Mislead: The Division and Eclipse of Nationalist Movements in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32, no. 4 (2009): 716–38.

Martin, Terry. *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Motyl, Alexander J., ed. *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities: History and Comparison in the Study of the USSR*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Roeder, Philip G. "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization." *World Politics* 43, no. 2 (1991): 196–232.

Slezkine, Yuri. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." *Slavic Review* 53, no. 2 (1994): 414–52.

Smith, Jeremy. *Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Suny, Ronald Grigory. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

Tishkov, Valery. *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Conflict In and After the Soviet Union: The Mind Aflame*. London: Sage, 1997.

Vujačić, Veljko. *Nationalism, Myth, and the State in Russia and Serbia: Antecedents of the Dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

### WEEK 3 (SEP. 26): NATION-BUILDING AFTER THE USSR

**Guest speaker:** Prof. Peter Rutland (Wesleyan University)

**Required reading:**

Peter Rutland. 'Thirty Years of Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet States'. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 14–32.

Helge Blakkisrud. 'Russkii as the New Rossiiskii? Nation-Building in Russia After 1991'. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 64–79.

Diana T. Kudaibergenova. "The Archaeology of Nationalizing Regimes in the Post-Soviet Space." *Problems of Post-Communism* 64, no. 6 (2017): 342–55.

Volodymyr Kulyk. "What Have We Learned about Ethnonational Identities in Ukraine?" *Nationalities Papers* (2023), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.41>.

**Methodology review:**

Christofer Berglund. "'Forward to David the Builder!' Georgia's (Re)Turn to Language-Centered Nationalism." *Nationalities Papers* 44, no. 4 (July 2016): 522–42.

**Further reading:**

Aktürk, Şener. *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Barrington, Lowell. 'A New Look at Region, Language, Ethnicity and Civic National Identity in Ukraine'. *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 3 (2022): 360–81.

Bekus, Nelly. 'Reassembling Society in a Nation-State: History, Language, and Identity Discourses of Belarus'. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 98–113.

Broers, Laurence, and Ceyhun Mahmudlu. 'Civic Dominion: Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan over 25 Years of Independence'. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 47–63.

Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Goode, J. Paul. "Russia's Ministry of Ambivalence: The Failure of Civic Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 35, no. 2 (2019): 140–60.

Insebayeva, Sabina, and Nafissa Insebayeva. "The Power of Ambiguity: National Symbols, Nation-Building and Political Legitimacy in Kazakhstan." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 4 (2022): 660–82.

Isaacs, Rico, and Abel Polese, eds. *Nation-Building and Identity in the Post-Soviet Space: New Tools and Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2016.

Kolstø, Pål. "'Is Imperialist Nationalism an Oxymoron?'" *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 1 (2019): 18–44.

Kudaibergenova, Diana T. *Toward Nationalizing Regimes: Conceptualizing Power and Identity in the Post-Soviet Realm*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020.

Megoran, Nick. *Nationalism in Central Asia: A Biography of the Uzbekistan-Kyrgyzstan Boundary*. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.

Onuch, Olga. 'European Ukrainians and Their Fight against Russian Invasion'. *Nations and Nationalism* 29, no. 1 (2023): 53–62.

Rees, Kristoffer, and Aziz Burkhanov. "Constituting the Kazakhstani Nation: Rhetorical Transformation of National Belonging." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 24, no. 4 (2018): 433–55.

Shevel, Oxana. "Russian Nation-Building from Yel'tsin to Medvedev: Ethnic, Civic or Purposefully Ambiguous?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 63, no. 2 (2011): 179–202.

Stewart, Katie L. 2021. "Building the Nation Through Celebrating the Nation: A Comparison of Holidays in Russia's Regions." *Europe-Asia Studies* 73(10):1876–1907.

Wilmers, Leila. 'The Local Dynamics of Nation Building: Identity Politics and Constructions of the Russian Nation in Kazan and Ekaterinburg'. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 2 (2023): 258–79.



## WEEK 4 (OCT. 3): DE FACTO STATES & FROZEN CONFLICTS

**Guest speaker:** Prof. Magdalena Dembińska (Université de Montréal)

### **Required reading:**

Magdalena Dembińska. 'Legitimizing the Separatist Cause: Nation-Building in the Eurasian de Facto States'. *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (2023): 80–97.

Nina Caspersen. "Degrees of Legitimacy: Ensuring Internal and External Support in the Absence of Recognition." *Geoforum* 66 (2015): 184–92.

Andrei A. Kazantsev, Peter Rutland, Svetlana M. Medvedeva, and Ivan A. Safranchuk. "Russia's Policy in the 'Frozen Conflicts' of the Post-Soviet Space: From Ethno-Politics to Geopolitics." *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 2 (2020): 142–62.

Adam Potočník and Miroslav Mares. "Donbas Conflict: How Russia's Trojan Horse Failed and Forced Moscow to Alter Its Strategy." *Problems of Post-Communism* 70, no. 4 (2023): 341–51.

### **Methodology review:**

Nick Megoran. "On Researching 'Ethnic Conflict': Epistemology, Politics, and a Central Asian Boundary Dispute." *Europe-Asia Studies* 59, no. 2 (2007): 253–77.

### **Further reading:**

Aliyev, Huseyn, and Emil Aslan Souleimanov. "Why Do De Facto States Fail?" *Problems of Post-Communism* 66, no. 3 (2019): 161–71.

Bakke, Kristin M., John O'Loughlin, Gerard Toal, and Michael D. Ward. "Convincing State-Builders? Disaggregating Internal Legitimacy in Abkhazia." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (2014): 591–607.

Beyer, John, and Stefan Wolff. "Linkage and Leverage Effects on Moldova's Transnistria Problem." *East European Politics* 32, no. 3 (2016): 335–54.

Caspersen, Nina. *Unrecognized States: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2011.

Coppieters, Bruno. "Four Positions on the Recognition of States in and after the Soviet Union, with Special Reference to Abkhazia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 6 (2018): 991–1014.

Dembińska, Magdalena. "Carving out the Nation with the Enemy's Kin: Double Strategy of Boundary-Making in Transnistria and Abkhazia." *Nations and Nationalism* 25, no. 1 (2019): 298–317.

Gamaghelyan, Philip, and Sergey Rumyantsev. "The Road to the Second Karabakh War: The Role of Ethno-Centric Narratives in the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict." *Caucasus Survey* (2021): 1–17.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23761199.2021.1932068>.

Isachenko, Daria, Mykhailo Minakov, and Gwendolyn Sasse, eds. *Post-Soviet Secessionism: Nation-Building and State-Failure after Communism*. ibidem Press, 2021.

Kolstø, Pål. "Authoritarian Diffusion, or the Geopolitics of Self-Interest? Evidence from Russia's Patron-Client Relations with Eurasia's De Facto States." *Europe-Asia Studies* 73, no. 5 (2021): 890–912.

Malyarenko, Tetyana, and Stefan Wolff. *The Dynamics of Emerging De-Facto States: Eastern Ukraine in the Post-Soviet Space*. Routledge, 2019.

Pegg, Scott. "Twenty Years of de Facto State Studies: Progress, Problems, and Prospects." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, July 27, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.516>.

Shesterinina, Anastasia. *Mobilizing in Uncertainty: Collective Identities and War in Abkhazia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021.

Toal, Gerard. *Near Abroad: Putin, the West and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Yemeljanova, Galina M. "Western Academic Discourse on the Post-Soviet de Facto State Phenomenon." *Caucasus Survey* 3, no. 3 (2015): 219–38.

## WEEK 5 (OCT. 10): THE FAR RIGHT, AUTOCRACY, AND WAR

**Guest speaker:** Tamta Gelashvili (University of Oslo)

### **Required readings:**

Marlene Laruelle. *Is Russia Fascist?* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021. (chapters 6-7)

Andreas Umland. "The Far Right in Pre-and Post-Euromaidan Ukraine: From Ultra-Nationalist Party Politics to Ethno-Centric Uncivil Society." *Demokratizatsiya* 28, no. 2 (2020): 247–68

Tamta Gelashvili. 'Opportunities Matter: The Evolution of Far-Right Protest in Georgia'. *Europe-Asia Studies* 75, no. 4 (2023): 649–74.

### **Methodology review:**

Vitaliy V. Kashpur, Mikhail Myagkov, Alexei A. Baryshev, Viacheslav L. Goiko, and Evgeniy V. Shchekotin. "Where Russian Online Nationalists Go When Their Communities Are Banned: A Case Study of Russian Nationalism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 26, no. 2 (2020): 145–66.

### **Further reading:**

Arnold, Richard. *Russian Nationalism and Ethnic Violence: Symbolic Violence, Lynching, Pogrom and Massacre*. Routledge, 2018.

Arnold, Richard, and Lawrence P. Markowitz. "The Evolution of Violence within Far-Right Mobilization: Evidence from Russia." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, no. 9 (2018): 1558–73.

Bar-On, Tamir. "The Radical Right and Nationalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, edited by Jens Rydgren, 17–41. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Bustikova, Lenka. "Voting, Identity and Security Threats in Ukraine: Who Supports the Radical 'Freedom' Party?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, no. 2–3 (2015): 239–56.

Clover, Charles. *Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia's New Nationalism*. Yale University Press, 2017.

Fediunin, Jules Sergei. 'Conceptualizing Nativism in Authoritarian Russia: From Nationalist Ideology to Antimigrant Riots'. *Nationalities Papers*, Published online: 14 August 2023, 1–27.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2023.60>.

Gabowitsch, Mischa. "Are Copycats Subversive? Strategy-31, the Russian Runs, the Immortal Regiment, and the Transformative Potential of Non-Hierarchical Movements." *Problems of Post-Communism* 65, no. 5 (2018): 297–314.

Gomza, Ivan, and Johann Zajackowski. "Black Sun Rising: Political Opportunity Structure Perceptions and Institutionalization of the Azov Movement in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5 (2019): 774–800.

Horvath, Robert. *Putin's Fascists: Russkii Obraz and the Politics of Managed Nationalism in Russia*. New York: Routledge, 2020.

Kolstø, Pål. "Crimea vs. Donbas: How Putin Won Russian Nationalist Support—and Lost It Again." *Slavic Review* 75, no. 3 (2016): 702–25.

Laruelle, Marlene. "The Three Colors of Novorossiia, or the Russian Nationalist Mythmaking of the Ukrainian Crisis." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 32, no. 1 (2016): 55–74.

Laryš, Martin, and Jan Holzer. *Militant Right-Wing Extremism in Putin's Russia: Legacies, Forms and Threats*. S.l.: Routledge, 2021.

Shekhovtsov, Anton. *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*. London; New York: Routledge, 2017.

Varga, Mihai. "Russia's Far-Right Violence Wave." *Problems of Post-Communism* 66, no. 3 (2019): 200–210.

Yudina, Natalia, and Alexander Verkhovsky. "Russian Nationalist Veterans of the Donbas War." *Nationalities Papers* 47, no. 5 (2019): 734–49.

## WEEK 6 (OCT. 17): WAR AND NATIONALISM IN EVERYDAY LIFE

**Guest speaker: Prof. Elizaveta Gaufman (University of Groningen)**

### **Required reading:**

**Elizaveta Gaufman. *Everyday Foreign Policy: Performing and Consuming the Russian Nation after Crimea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023. (esp. chapters 2-5)**

### **Methodology review:**

**Tetiana Bulakh. “Made in Ukraine: Consumer Citizenship During EuroMaidan Transformations.” In *Identity and Nation Building in Everyday Post-Socialist Life*, edited by Abel Polese, Jeremy Morris, Emilia Pawlusz, and Oleksandra Seliverstova, 73–90. London: Routledge, 2018.**

### **Further reading:**

- Caldwell, Melissa L., ed. *Food and Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.
- Fox, Jon E., and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. “Everyday Nationhood.” *Ethnicities* 8, no. 4 (2008): 536–63.
- Gaufman, Elizaveta. “Eating Identity: Theorizing the Everyday Foreign Policy Assemblage.” *Global Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (2021): 1–9.
- Goode, J. Paul. “Becoming Banal: Incentivizing and Monopolizing the Nation in Post-Soviet Russia.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44, no. 4 (2021): 679–97.
- Goode, J. Paul. “Everyday Nationalism in World Politics: Agents, Contexts, and Scale.” *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6 (2020): 974–82.
- Goode, J. Paul. “Love for the Motherland (or Why Cheese Is More Patriotic than Crimea).” *Russian Politics* 1, no. 4 (2016): 418–49.
- Goode, J. Paul, and David R. Stroup. “Everyday Nationalism: Constructivism for the Masses.” *Social Science Quarterly* 96, no. 3 (2015): 717–39.
- Jašina-Schäfer, Alina. *Everyday Belonging in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: Russian Speakers in Estonia and Kazakhstan*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2021.
- Knott, Eleanor. “Generating Data: Studying Identity Politics from a Bottom-Up Approach in Crimea and Moldova.” *East European Politics and Societies* 29, no. 2 (2015): 467–86.
- McGlynn, Jade. “United by History: Government Appropriation of Everyday Nationalism During Vladimir Putin’s Third Term.” *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6 (2020): 1069–85.
- Militz, Elisabeth, and Carolin Schurr. “Affective Nationalism: Banalities of Belonging in Azerbaijan.” *Political Geography* 54 (2016): 54–63.
- Morris, Jeremy, Abel Polese, Oleksandra Seliverstova, and Emilia Pawlusz, eds. *Informal Nationalism after Communism: The Everyday Construction of Post-Socialist Identities*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2018.
- Polese, Abel, Jeremy Morris, Emilia Pawlusz, and Oleksandra Seliverstova, eds. *Identity and Nation Building in Everyday Post-Socialist Life*. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Polese, Abel, Oleksandra Seliverstova, Tanel Kerikmae, and Ammon Cheskin. “National Identity for Breakfast: Food Consumption and the Everyday Construction of National Narratives in Estonia.” *Nationalities Papers* 48, no. 6 (2020): 1015–35.
- Rohava, Maryia. “The Politics of State Celebrations in Belarus.” *Nations and Nationalism* 26, no. 4 (2020): 883–901.
- Seliverstova, Oleksandra. “‘Consuming’ National Identity in Western Ukraine.” *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 1 (2017): 61–79.
- Yusupova, Guzel. “Cultural Nationalism and Everyday Resistance in an Illiberal Nationalising State: Ethnic Minority Nationalism in Russia.” *Nations and Nationalism* 24, no. 3 (2018): 624–47.
- Zadora, Anna. “Daily Identity Practices: Belarus and Potato Eaters.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 52, no. 2 (2019): 177–85.

**Guest speaker:** Prof. Sarah Oates (University of Maryland)

**Required readings:**

- Vera Tolz and Stephen Hutchings. 'Truth with a Z: Disinformation, War in Ukraine, and Russia's Contradictory Discourse of Imperial Identity'. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39, no. 5 (2023): 347–65.
- Sarah Oates. "Nothing Is True, But It Turns Out Not Everything Is Possible: Putin's Failed Attempt to Turn Strategic Narratives into Military Success in the Ukrainian Invasion." SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY, April 2, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4412501>.
- Joanna Szostek and Dariya Orlova. "Free Speech versus Defence of the Nation? The Media as Sources of National Insecurity in Ukraine." *European Security* (2023): 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2023.2231369>.
- Anton Oleinik. "War Propaganda Effectiveness: A Comparative Content-Analysis of Media Coverage of the Two First Months of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine." *Atlantic Journal of Communication* (March 2023): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15456870.2023.2187801>.

**Methodology review:**

- Grigor (Khaldarova), Irina, and Mervi Pantti. "Visual Images as Affective Anchors: Strategic Narratives in Russia's Channel One Coverage of the Syrian and Ukrainian Conflicts." *Russian Journal of Communication* 13, no. 2 (2021): 140–62.

**Further reading:**

- Alyukov, Maxim. "Making Sense of the News in an Authoritarian Regime: Russian Television Viewers' Reception of the Russia–Ukraine Conflict." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 3 (2022): 337–59.
- Chakars, Janis, and Indra Ekmanis, eds. *Information Wars in the Baltic States: Russia's Long Shadow*. Palgrave Macmillan Series in International Political Communication. Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2022.
- Claessen, Eva. 'The Making of a Narrative: The Use of Geopolitical Othering in Russian Strategic Narratives during the Ukraine Crisis'. *Media, War & Conflict* 16, no. 1 (2023): 82–99.
- Greene, Samuel A. 'You Are What You Read: Media, Identity, and Community in the 2020 Belarusian Uprising'. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 38, no. 1–2 (2022): 88–106.
- Hutchings, Stephen. *Projecting Russia in a Mediatized World: Recursive Nationhood*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2022.
- Lankina, Tomila, and Kohei Watanabe. "'Russian Spring' or 'Spring Betrayal'? The Media as a Mirror of Putin's Evolving Strategy in Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 10 (2017): 1526–56.
- Maschmeyer, Lennart, Alexei Abrahams, Peter Pomerantsev, and Volodymyr Yermolenko. 'Donetsk Don't Tell – "Hybrid War" in Ukraine and the Limits of Social Media Influence Operations'. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* (2023): 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2023.2211969>.
- Oates, Sarah. "Russian Media in the Digital Age: Propaganda Rewired." *Russian Politics* 1, no. 4 (2016): 398–417.
- Radnitz, Scott. "Solidarity through Cynicism? The Influence of Russian Conspiracy Narratives Abroad." *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (2022): sqac012.
- Sablina, Liliia. 'The Role of Social Media in Facilitating Minority Mobilisation: The Russian-Language pro-War Movement in Germany amid the Invasion of Ukraine'. *Nations and Nationalism* (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12982>.
- Stoycheff, Elizabeth, and Erik C Nisbet. "Priming the Costs of Conflict? Russian Public Opinion About the 2014 Crimean Conflict." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 29, no. 4 (2017): 657–75.
- Wijermars, Mariëlle. *Memory Politics in Contemporary Russia: Television, Cinema and the State*. New York: Routledge, 2019.

## WEEK 8 (NOV. 7): WAR, MIGRATION, AND DISPLACEMENT

**Guest speaker:** Dr. Margarita Zavadskaya (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

### **Required readings:**

Tania Bulakh. "Entangled in Social Safety Nets: Administrative Responses to and Lived Experiences of Internally Displaced Persons in Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 455–80.

Irina Kuznetsova. "To Help 'Brotherly People'? Russian Policy Towards Ukrainian Refugees." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 505–27.

Aizada Arystanbek and Caress Schenk. "Racializing Central Asia during the Russian-Ukrainian War: Migration Flows and Ethnic Hierarchies." PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo. Washington, D.C., August 9, 2022. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/racializing-central-asia-during-the-russian-ukrainian-war-migration-flows-and-ethnic-hierarchies/>.

Margarita Zavadskaya. "The War-Induced Exodus from Russia." *FIIA Briefing Paper* 358. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs, March 2023. <https://www.fia.fi/en/publication/the-war-induced-exodus-from-russia>.

### **Methodology review:**

Viktoriya Sereda. "'Social Distancing' and Hierarchies of Belonging: The Case of Displaced Population from Donbas and Crimea." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 404–31.

### **Further reading:**

"Brain Drain from Russia After February 24<sup>th</sup> 2022." *Russian Analytical Digest*, no. 288 (21 November 2022). <https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD288.pdf>

Charron, Austin. "'Somehow, We Cannot Accept It': Drivers of Internal Displacement from Crimea and the Forced/Voluntary Migration Binary." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 432–54.

Jaroszewicz, Marta, and Jan Grzymski. "Securitization in the Shadow of Armed Conflict: The Internal Othering and Electoral Rights of IDPs in Ukraine." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 56, no. 1 (2023): 1–22.

Moen-Larsen, Natalia. "'Suitcase – Shelling – Russia': Narratives about Refugees from Ukraine in Russian Media." *East European Politics* 36, no. 1 (2020): 124–42.

Myhre, Marthe Handå. "Forced Migrant 'Compatriots' from Ukraine: Accessing Legal Residency and Citizenship in the Russian Federation." *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 6 (2018): 1028–45.

Nikolko, Milana. "Diaspora Mobilization and the Ukraine Crisis: Old Traumas and New Strategies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no. 11 (2019): 1870–89.

Rimpiläinen, Emma. "Victims, Villains, or Geopolitical Tools? Representations of Donbas Displacement in Ukrainian and Russian Government Media." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 481–504.

Ruget, Vanessa. "'Name the Republic That Was Joined to Russia in 2014': Russia's New Civics and History Test for Migrants." *Nationalities Papers* 46, no. 1 (2018): 20–33.

Sasse, Gwendolyn, and Alice Lackner. "The Displaced as 'Ordinary Citizens': Exploring Variation in the Political Attitudes of the Displaced from Donbas." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 3 (2020): 354–82.

Schenk, Caress. "Producing State Capacity through Corruption: The Case of Immigration Control in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37, no. 4 (2021): 303–17.

Sereda, Viktoriya. *Displacement in War-Torn Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Tarkhanova, Oleksandra. "Shades of Protracted Displacement: Reconciling Citizenship and the Status of Internally Displaced in Eastern Ukraine." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2023): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2232556>.

Uehling, Greta Lynn. "Three Rationalities for Making Sense of Internal Displacement in Ukraine." *Migration Studies* 9, no. 3 (2021): 1536–59.



Guest speaker: **TBD**

**Required reading:**

Jade McGlynn. *Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia*. London New York Oxford New Delhi Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023. (esp. chapters 1-4)

**Methodology review:**

Benjamin Forest and Juliet Johnson. "Monumental Politics: Regime Type and Public Memory in Post-Communist States." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27, no. 3 (2011): 269–88.

**Further reading:**

- Bakke, Kristin M., Kit Rickard, and John O'Loughlin. "Perceptions of the Past in the Post-Soviet Space." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39, no. 4 (2023): 223–56.
- Bernhard, Michael, and Jan Kubik, eds. *Twenty Years After Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Gugushvili, Alexi, Peter Kabachnik, and Ana Kirvalidze. "Collective Memory and Reputational Politics of National Heroes and Villains." *Nationalities Papers* 45, no. 3 (2017): 464–84.
- Hosaka, Sanshiro. "Hybrid Historical Memories in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 4 (2019): 551–78.
- Katchanovski, Ivan. "Terrorists or National Heroes? Politics and Perceptions of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 48, no. 2–3 (2015): 217–28.
- Khlevnyuk, Daria. "'Framing' and 'Screening' the Gulag: Politics of Memory of the Great Patriotic War and Stalin's Repressions in Russian Regions." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 55, no. 3 (2022): 24–43.
- Klymenko, Lina. "Choosing Mazepa Over Lenin: The Transformation of Monuments and Political Order in Post-Maidan Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 5 (2020): 815–36.
- Koposov, Nikolay. *Memory Laws, Memory Wars: The Politics of the Past in Europe and Russia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Kovalov, Maksym. "When Lenin Becomes Lennon: Decommunisation and the Politics of Memory in Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 5 (2022): 709–33.
- Krawatzek, Félix. "Which History Matters? Surveying Russian Youth and Their Understandings of the Past." *Problems of Post-Communism* 68, no. 5 (2021): 402–14.
- Kurilla, Ivan. "Understanding the Immortal Regiment: Memory Dualism in a Social Movement". *Europe-Asia Studies*. Published online (5 May 2023): 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2023.2197179>
- Nelson, Todd H. *Bringing Stalin Back In: Memory Politics and the Creation of a Useable Past in Putin's Russia*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019.
- Norris, Stephen M., ed. *Museums of Communism: New Memory Sites in Central and Eastern Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020.
- Oushakine, Serguei Alex. "Remembering in Public: On the Affective Management of History." *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2013): 269–302.
- Rees, Kristoffer Michael. "Recasting the Nation: Transforming Heroes of the Soviet Union into Symbols of Kazakhstani Patriotism." *Central Asian Survey* 39, no. 4 (2020): 445–62.
- Shevel, Oxana. "No Way Out? Post-Soviet Ukraine's Memory Wars in Comparative Perspective." In *Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Perspectives on Advancing Reform in Ukraine*, edited by Henry E. Hale and Robert W. Ortung, 21–40. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016.
- Wanner, Catherine. "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War in Ukraine." *Slavic Review* 78, no. 2 (2019): 328–35.
- Wylegała, Anna, and Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper, eds. *The Burden of the Past: History, Memory, and Identity in Contemporary Ukraine*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020.

**Guest speaker: Prof. Ian Garner (Queen's University)**

**Required reading:**

**Ian Garner. *Z Generation: Into the Heart of Russia's Fascist Youth*. London: Hurst & Co., 2023.  
(esp. ch.s 4-7)**

**Methodology review:**

**Jussi Lassila and Anna Sanina. 'Attitudes to Putin-Era Patriotism Amongst Russia's "In Between" Generation'. *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 7 (2022): 1190–1209.**

**Further reading:**

- Alexeev, Michael, and William Pyle. 'A Blind and Militant Attachment: Russian Patriotism in Comparative Perspective'. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39, no. 5 (2023): 309–28.
- Barbieri, Jaroslava. 'Raising Citizen-Soldiers in Donbas: Russia's Role in Promoting Patriotic Education Programmes in the Donetsk and Luhansk Peoples' Republics'. *Ethnopolitics* (26 June 2023): 1–22.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2023.2220097>.
- Bækken, Håvard. "Patriotic Disunity: Limits to Popular Support for Militaristic Policy in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 37, no. 3 (2021): 261–75.
- Dahlin, Johanna. "'No One Is Forgotten, Nothing Is Forgotten': Duty, Patriotism, and the Russian Search Movement." *Europe-Asia Studies* 69, no. 7 (2017): 1070–89.
- Daucé, Françoise. "Patriotic Unity and Ethnic Diversity at Odds: The Example of Tatar Organisations in Moscow." *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 1 (2015): 68–83.
- Goode, J. Paul. "Love for the Motherland (or Why Cheese Is More Patriotic than Crimea)." *Russian Politics* 1, no. 4 (2016): 418–49.
- Goode, J. Paul. "Patriotism without Patriots? Perm'-36 and Patriotic Legitimation in Russia." *Slavic Review* 79, no. 2 (2020): 390–411.
- Hemment, Julie. *Youth Politics in Putin's Russia: Producing Patriots and Entrepreneurs*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015.
- Hirsch, Francine. "How Russia's Patriotic History Projects Support Putin's War." *Current History* 121, no. 837 (2022): 283–85.
- Kratochvíl, Petr, and Gaziza Shakhanova. "The Patriotic Turn and Re-Building Russia's Historical Memory: Resisting the West, Leading the Post-Soviet East?" *Problems of Post-Communism* 68, no. 5 (2021): 442–56.
- Le Huérou, Anne. "Where Does the Motherland Begin? Private and Public Dimensions of Contemporary Russian Patriotism in Schools and Youth Organisations: A View from the Field." *Europe-Asia Studies* 67, no. 1 (2015): 28–48.
- Nizhnikau, Ryhor, and Kristiina Silvan. 'From Demobilisation to Civic Engagement: The Post-2014 Remodelling of the Belarusian Republican Youth Union'. *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 7 (9 August 2022): 1210–30.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2022.2089636>.
- Oushakine, Serguei Alex. *The Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War, and Loss in Russia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Pynnöniemi, Katri, ed. *Nexus of Patriotism and Militarism in Russia: Quest for Internal Cohesion*. Helsinki University Press. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2021.
- Sanina, Anna. *Patriotic Education in Contemporary Russia: Sociological Studies in the Making of the Post-Soviet Citizen*. ibidem Press, 2017.
- Silvan, Kristiina. "From Komsomol to the Republican Youth Union: Building a Pro-Presidential Mass Youth Organisation in Post-Soviet Belarus." *Europe-Asia Studies* 72, no. 8 (2020): 1305–28.

**Guest speaker:** Prof. Kyle Marquardt (University of Bergen)

**Required readings:**

Guzel Yusupova. "How Does the Politics of Fear in Russia Work? The Case of Social Mobilisation in Support of Minority Languages." *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 4 (2022): 620–41.

Mariia Shynkarenko. "Compliant Subjects?: How the Crimean Tatars Resist Russian Occupation in Crimea". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 55, no. 1 (2022): 76–98.

Volodymyr Kulyk. "Is Ukraine a Multiethnic Country?" *Slavic Review* 81, no. 2 (2022): 299–323.

Kyle L. Marquardt. "Ethnic Variation in Support for Putin and the Invasion of Ukraine." PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo. Washington, D.C., January 12, 2023. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/ethnic-variation-in-support-for-putin-and-the-invasion-of-ukraine/>.

**Methodology review:**

Mariya Vyushkova and Evgeny Sherkhonov. "Russia's Ethnic Minority Casualties of the 2022 Invasion of Ukraine: A Data Story from the Free Buryatia Foundation." *Inner Asia* 25, no. 1 (May 2, 2023): 126–36. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22105018-02501011>.

**Further reading:**

Aliyev, Huseyn. "Social Sanctions and Violent Mobilization: Lessons from the Crimean Tatar Case". *Post-Soviet Affairs* 38, no. 3 (2022): 206–21.

Bērziņa, Ieva, Gatis Krūmiņš, Jānis Šiliņš, and Māris Andžāns. "History Perceptions and National Identity among Latvian Youth: Entrapped between Narratives of Latvia and Russia?" *Nations and Nationalism* 29, no. 2 (2023): 700–717.

Bureiko, Nadiia, and Teodor Lucian Moga. "The Ukrainian–Russian Linguistic Dyad and Its Impact on National Identity in Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 1 (2019): 137–55.

Dzutsati, Valery. "Explaining Diversionary Domestic Conflict: Inequality and Communitarianism in Russia". *Ethnopolitics* 22, no. 3 (2023): 290–314.

Eras, Laura. "War, Identity Politics, and Attitudes toward a Linguistic Minority: Prejudice against Russian-Speaking Ukrainians in Ukraine between 1995 and 2018". *Nationalities Papers* 51, no. 1 (January 2023): 114–35.

Kulyk, Volodymyr. "Identity in Transformation: Russian-Speakers in Post-Soviet Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies* 71, no. 1 (2019): 156–78.

Romanova, Valentyna, and Andreas Umland. "Decentralising Ukraine: Geopolitical Implications." *Survival* 61, no. 5 (2019): 99–112.

Shcherbak, Andrey, and Kristina Sych. "Trends in Russian Nationalities Policy." *Problems of Post-Communism* 64, no. 6 (2017): 311–28.

Shelest, Hanna, and Maryna Rabinovych, eds. *Decentralization, Regional Diversity, and Conflict: The Case of Ukraine*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

Silaev, Nikolai. "Ethnicity as a Tool and Nationalities Policy as Practice: The Case of Stavropol Krai." *Caucasus Survey* 8, no. 2 (2020): 196–213.

White, Allison C. "A Chink in the Autocrat's Armour: Demographic Change and Voter Turnout in Putin's Russia." *Ethnopolitics* 21, no. 4 (2022): 381–400.



WEEK 12 (DEC. 5): WHAT KIND OF WAR: NATIONALIST, IMPERIALIST, GENOCIDAL?

**Required readings:**

- Scott Radnitz. "Vladimir Putin's Casus Belli for Invading Ukraine." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* 762. Washington, D.C., March 28, 2022. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/vladimir-putins-casus-belli-for-invading-ukraine/>.
- Botakoz Kassymbekova and Erica Marat. 'Time to Question Russia's Imperial Innocence'. *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* 771. Washington, D.C., April 2022. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/time-to-question-russias-imperial-innocence/>.
- Marlene Laruelle. "Imperializing Russia: Empire by Default or Design?" *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* 789. Washington, D.C., August 22, 2022. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/imperializing-russia-empire-by-default-or-design/>.
- Kristina Hook. "The Policy Implications of Russia's Genocide in Ukraine." *PONARS Eurasia Policy Memo* 826. Washington, D.C., February 1, 2023. <https://www.ponarseurasia.org/the-policy-implications-of-russias-genocide-in-ukraine/>.

**Further reading:**

- Arel, Dominique, and Jesse Driscoll. *Ukraine's Unnamed War: Before the Russian Invasion of 2022*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023.
- Charap, Samuel, and Timothy J. Colton. *Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Charron, Austin. "Russia's Recolonization of Crimea." *Current History* 119, no. 819 (2020): 275–81.
- D'Anieri, Paul. *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Galeotti, Mark. *Putin's Wars: From Chechnya to Ukraine*. Osprey Publishing, 2022.
- "Ideological and Conspiratorial Underpinnings of Russia's War Against Ukraine." *Russian Analytical Digest*, no. 299 (4 August 2023). <https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/RAD299.pdf>
- Koval, Nadiia, Volodymyr Kulyk, Mykola Riabchuk, Kateryna Zarembo, and Marianna Fakhuridinova. "Morphological Analysis of Narratives of the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict in Western Academia and Think-Tank Community." *Problems of Post-Communism* 69, no. 2 (2022): 166–78.
- Kragh, Martin, and Andreas Umland. "Putinism beyond Putin: The Political Ideas of Nikolai Patrushev and Sergei Naryshkin in 2006–20." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 39, no. 5 (2023): 366–89.
- Marchuk, Iryna, and Aloka Wanigasuriya. "Beyond the False Claim of Genocide: Preliminary Reflections on Ukraine's Prospects in Its Pursuit of Justice at the ICJ." *Journal of Genocide Research* (November 9, 2022): 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2022.2143528>.
- Marples, David R., ed. *The War in Ukraine's Donbas: Origins, Contexts, and the Future*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2021.
- McFaul, Michael. "Putin, Putinism, and the Domestic Determinants of Russian Foreign Policy." *International Security* 45, no. 2 (2020): 95–139.
- McGlynn, Jade. *Russia's War*. Cambridge: Polity, 2023.
- Morris, Jeremy. "Russians in Wartime and Defensive Consolidation." *Current History* 121, no. 837 (2022): 258–63.
- Oskanian, Kevork K. "A Very Ambiguous Empire: Russia's Hybrid Exceptionalism." *Europe-Asia Studies* 70, no. 1 (2018): 26–52.
- Plochy, Serhii. *The Russo-Ukrainian War: The Return of History*. WW Norton, 2023.
- Shaw, Martin. "Russia's Genocidal War in Ukraine: Radicalization and Social Destruction." *Journal of Genocide Research* (March 8, 2023): 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2023.2185372>.
- Tsygankov, Andrei. 'Russia, Eurasia and the Meaning of Crimea'. *Europe-Asia Studies* 74, no. 9 (2022): 1551–73.

## SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

### **Submission, Return and Grading of Term Work:**

Written assignments must be submitted directly to the instructor(s) according to the instructions in the course outline. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Carleton E-mail Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or CULearn. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and CULearn accounts.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to EURUS website is the official course outline.

### **Plagiarism**

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own.*" This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

### **Statement on Student Mental Health**

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

### **Academic Accommodation**

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

**Informal accommodation due to short-term incapacitation:** in the event that you are unable to make an assigned deadline or attend class owing to illness or incapacitation and you require an extension of no more than two weeks, please complete the Self-Declaration for Academic Considerations form (<https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/self-declaration.pdf>) and contact the instructor to make arrangements.

**Pregnancy obligation:** write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

**Religious obligation:** write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

**Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, please request your accommodations for this course through the [Ventus Student Portal](#) at the beginning of the term. Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

### **Survivors of Sexual Violence**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>

### **Accommodation for Student Activities**

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>