

Carleton University
[Department of Political Science](#)

Winter 2025

Political Science 3208A
PSCI 3208 Politics in Russia and Ukraine: Power and Contestation
Wednesdays, 8:35-11:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Dr. Andrea Chandler (she/her)
Office: Loeb D694
Phone: 613-520-2600 ext 1418
Office Hours: Tuesday, 1:00-2:00 p.m. and 4:30-5:30 p.m., Wednesday, 1:15-3:15 p.m.,
or by appointment
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Course description:

This course examines the politics of the Russian Federation and Ukraine, including their historical roots in pre-Soviet and Soviet times; the politics of transition in the 1990s; the reorientation of the Russian state under the leadership of Vladimir Putin; the impact of the Orange Revolution and the Euromaidan in Ukraine; and the conflict between those two states from 2014 onwards. Authoritarianism and democracy have been in constant tension in both countries: under Putin's presidency an increasingly rigid regime has taken hold. By contrast, Ukraine's politics show more openness and a more pro-Western orientation, but the war with Russia, which intensified with Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2014, has taken its toll on Ukrainian civil society. Scholars have offered various reasons why the two societies have taken different paths. Russia has an especially complicated quasi-federal composition, which greatly influences its domestic politics; and Russia at present pursues an openly aggressive foreign policy.

The goals of the course are: to provide a survey overview of politics of the two countries, within a historical and comparative context; to examine critically some of the major theoretical and analytical approaches that scholars have employed to try to explain the peculiarities of political development in this part of the world; to develop skills in research and analytical writing; and to analyze critically the conflict between the two states. Given the abundance of disinformation on the causes and nature of the Russia-Ukraine war, attention will be directed to the importance of finding complete and accurate information. Students are expected to attend and participate actively in class discussions, as spoken debate can promote greater understanding of complicated, dynamic political processes. Written assignments are intended to encourage students to read sources critically and to engage in thoughtful, original analysis based on thorough research.

The use of artificial intelligence/ChatGPT for work in this course is not permitted. Students are expected to complete all assigned readings themselves, in their entirety, and to write in their own words. Written work that does not demonstrate a full understanding of required reading, which shows insufficient attention to detail or which does not cite sources appropriately, will receive a failing mark.

Course format: In-person

Learning objectives. By the end of the course, students should be able to do complete the following:

- Show a well-grounded knowledge of the political processes of the two countries, informed by a historical perspective,
- Be able to compare and contrast the two countries effectively, with awareness of relevant theoretical and analytical approaches,
- Demonstrate a capacity to separate facts from misinformation and disinformation about the war, and show a recognition of the challenges to understanding conflicts while they are in progress,
- Demonstrate research and writing skills through an independent investigation of a research question, drawing on peer-reviewed and primary sources,
- Build speaking skills by participating actively and constructively in class discussions.

Textbooks: (ordered for purchase at the Carleton University Bookstore)

There are two textbooks:

Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States*. Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024. Paperback. Price: \$29.95

Brian D. Taylor, *Russian Politics: a Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2024. Paperback. Price: \$13.50

Additional required readings will be available electronically through Brightspace (see Tools ---ARES reserves). Students are expected to come to class having prepared the readings for that week in advance.

Course Requirements:

Attendance and participation (see below)	10%
In-Class Midterm Test, February 12	15%
In-Class Quiz, February 26	10%
Final research paper	30%, due April 2
Take-home final examination, due April 26 at 5:00 p.m., to be submitted through Brightspace.	35%

- Class attendance and participation in discussion (10%): All students are expected to attend lectures, to participate actively in discussions (which may include the preparation of small group presentations), and to prepare for these discussions by completing the assigned reading in advance. Discussion-based work will occur from time to time during class time. Attendance will be recorded and will be considered in the calculation of each student's participation mark. Participation will be evaluated *individually* for each student on the basis of his/her cumulative constructive contributions to focussed class discussions. Students may miss one

class in weeks 2-12 without penalty. *Late arrivals or early departures from class during the dates specified in this paragraph will result in a reduced mark for attendance and participation. Students who miss an occasional class discussion because of a documented illness or family emergency are encouraged to see the professor as soon as possible to discuss the missed work.*

- In-Class Midterm Test, February 12 (15%). Students will have 90 minutes to write a closed-book test, in-class, covering all course material (lectures, readings, discussion) up to and including Week 5. Students will be expected to show understanding of basic concepts, debates, institutions and events, and to analyze assigned reading critically.
- In-Class Quiz, February 26 (10%). In this closed-book quiz (60 minutes), students will be asked about their work in progress for their final research project. The assignment will expect students to analyze in depth a primary source document; details of the sources to be used and themes to be addressed will be posted to Brightspace early in the term. Students are required to choose a topic from the list posted by the professor. Students may bring to the quiz a single sheet of paper with a preliminary bibliography of at least eight primary peer-reviewed or primary sources, which they can append to their quiz answers. The successful student will be able to explain briefly their research question, their main hypothesis, research plan, and sources to be consulted.
- Final research paper (30%), due April 2, to be submitted as a Word document or pdf to Brightspace. The final assignment is a written research paper, 10-15 typed, double-spaced pages long (in 12-point font). Students will complete the paper discussed in the quiz earlier in the term. *This paper is expected to show original analysis, sustaining an argument which will be supported with evidence. The final assignment is a research paper and should demonstrate that you have considered a range of scholarly sources: a minimum of eight published books or articles, as appropriate to the research topic. The paper should demonstrate careful and critical consideration of a broad range of carefully chosen, quality research sources (including peer-reviewed scholarly publications and at least one primary source). The use of artificial intelligence/ChatGPT is **not permitted** for this paper. The professor does not consider encyclopedias or general Internet information sources (such as Wikipedia) to be acceptable research sources for university-level research papers. Papers which simply assemble or reiterate information, which do not demonstrate sufficiently rigorous research, and/or which do not show basic understanding of the material covered in lectures and readings will not be considered satisfactory assignments. See additional information below (Statement on Written Work).*
- Final examination: 35%. Take-home examination due April 26 at 5 p.m. Students will be responsible for all material covered in the course, including lectures, readings and discussions. The exam questions and instructions will be posted on or before **April 8**. While students will not be expected to do additional research for the exam beyond the assigned readings, references should be included in the

exam answers as appropriate (see below, under “Statement on Written Work,” and on the section on Academic Integrity on pages 10-11 of this course outline).

OFFICE HOURS

The professor holds scheduled office hours that are specifically dedicated to answering questions from students. Students are encouraged to come to these office hours. When students have questions related to the course material, the content of assignments, and research strategies, it is best to discuss those questions in person (or in a virtual, real-time conversation) with the professor. Do not hesitate to ask for help in finding research sources, or to ask further questions about material covered in course lectures. Students can also contact the professor to make an appointment for a meeting time outside of office hours. Students may use e-mail to contact the professor for brief exchanges of factual information. The professor normally replies to e-mail messages within two working days. Students are encouraged to check Brightspace regularly for possible announcements, for example if a weather event or other unforeseen circumstance will affect the class.

STATEMENT ON WRITTEN WORK

*All written assignments should answer a specific question and make a clear argument, providing facts and evidence to back up statements made. Papers should analyze, rather than describe, the issues and events discussed. All papers should use footnotes, endnotes or parenthetical referencing to acknowledge sources consulted, and provide a complete bibliography. Footnotes should be complete and accurate, inserted into the text of your paper as appropriate whenever you have referred to someone else’s idea, argument, or research. Any time you quote directly from a source, the citation should be indicated in quotation marks and footnoted. Quotations from secondary sources are to be avoided, as are quotations of more than fifty words in length from any one source. *** If you are unsure about how to cite sources properly, please see the professor for advice.*

LATE PAPERS

Papers are expected to be submitted on time, to facilitate prompt marking for your fellow students. Extensions for written assignments will be considered for exceptional circumstances beyond the student’s control. Marks will be deducted for lateness, and the university schedule establishes April 8 as the final deadline for all written assignments. Please submit papers according to the instructions posted on Brightspace.

→ go to next page for schedule of course lectures and required readings

Schedule of Course Lectures and Readings

Week 1 (January 8) Introduction

Week 2 (January 15) Historical Patterns in the Ukraine-Russia Relationship

Required Reading:

Popova and Shevel, Introduction and pp. 20-33.

Taylor, Preface and Chapter One.

Emily Couch, "Beware the 'Civilisation' Battle," *Index on Censorship*, vol. 51. No. 2, 2022, pp. 78-79.

Week 3 (January 22) *Perestroika* and the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Impacts on Russia and Ukraine

Required Reading:

Popova and Shevel, pp. 33-41.

Taylor, pp. 21-30.

Roman Solchanyk, "Ukraine, The (Former) Center, Russia, and 'Russia.'" *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1992, pp. 31-45.

Week 4 (January 29) The 1990s: Friendly Relations at What Cost?

Required Reading:

Popova and Shevel, pp. 41-66

Taylor, Chapter 3 and pp. 61-72.

Week 5 (February 5) Putin's Accession, Kuchma's Succession; the Orange Revolution (2000-2005)

Required Reading:

Popova and Shevel, chapter 3.

Taylor, pp. 31-40.

Malinova, Olga. 2021. "Framing the Collective Memory of the 1990s as a Legitimation Tool for Putin's Regime." *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 68, no. 5, pp. 429-41.

Week 6 (February 12) Comparing Reform and Political Trends in Russia and Ukraine.

IN-CLASS TEST

Required Reading:

Kudelia, Serhiy. "If Tomorrow Comes: Power Balance and Time Horizons in Ukraine's Constitutional Politics." *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* vol. 21, no. 2, 2013, pp. 151-78.

Taylor, pp. 72-100.

Week 7 (February 26) NATO Enlargement; the Russo-Georgian War. **IN-CLASS QUIZ**

Required Reading:

Popova and Shevel, chapter 5.

Vasile Rotaru. 2019. "'Mimicking' the West? Russia's Legitimization Discourse from Georgia War to the Annexation of Crimea." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 52 (4): 311-21.

Appel, Hilary, and Jennifer Taw. "Has Russia's Anti-NATO Agenda Succeeded?" *Problems of Post-Communism* 68, no. 6 (January 1, 2021): 468–76.

Week 8 (March 5) The Euromaidan, the Annexation of Crimea, and Conflict in East Ukraine 2013-2021

Required Reading:

Popova and Shevel, Chapters 5 and 6.

Jade McGlynn, "United by History: Government Appropriation of Everyday Nationalism During Vladimir Putin's Third Term." *Nationalities Papers* 48 (6), 2020, 1069–85.

Week 9 (March 12) Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, 2022

Required Reading

Petr Kratochvil and Mila O'Sullivan, "A War like no other: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine as a War on Gender order," *European Security*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2023, pp. 347-66.

James Pattison, "Ukraine, Wagner, and Russia's Convict-Soldiers." *Ethics & International Affairs* 38, no. 1 (2024): 17–30.

Mikhail Polianskii; Russian Foreign Policy Research and War in Ukraine: Old Answers to New Questions?. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 1 June 2024; 57 (2): 156–172.

Week 10 (March 19) Authoritarianism and Democracy since 2014

Required Reading:

Taylor, Chapter 6.

Jessica Pisano, "How Zelensky has Changed Ukraine," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 33, no. 3, July 2022, pp. 5-13.

Ivan Fomin and Olga Nadskakuła-Kaczmarczyk. 2022. "Against Putin and Corruption, for Navalny and the 'Revolution'?: The Dynamics of Framing and Mobilization in the Russian Political Protests of 2017–18." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 55 (1): pp. 99–130.

Week 11 (March 26) Civil Society and Human Rights

Required Reading:

Olga Onuch, "European Ukrainians and their fight against Russian invasion." *Nations and Nationalism*, 29(1), 2023, pp. 53–62.

Anna Wylagała, "How Family History Helps Ukrainians Face the War," *Current History*, October 2023, 122 (846), pp. 249-254.

Vladimir Kara-Murza, "My First Thought was that I was going to be led out to be Executed," *Washington Post*, 29 August 2024.

Maria Sonevytsky, "Good Evening, We are From Ukraine: The Subversive Radicalism of a Viral Wartime Slogan." *Los Angeles Review of Books*, 17 January 2023.

12 (April 2) Significance of the Conflict for the International Environment

Required Reading:

Popova and Shevel, Conclusion.

Oksana Khromeychuk, "Ukraine Fatigue: Why I'm Fighting to Stop the World Forgetting us," *The Guardian*, January 25, 2024.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/25/ukraine-fatigue-why-im-fighting-to-stop-the-world-forgetting-us>

Tatiana Zhurzhenko, “How War Is Rebordering Ukraine.” *Current History* 1 October 2024; 123 (855): 249–255.

Thomas de Waal, “Opportunistic Georgia Joins Europe’s Illiberal Club,” *Financial Times*, June 5, 2024, <https://www.ft.com/content/80b6dea5-a905-41a4-b53a-d8b650dd99bc>

Political Science Course Outline **Appendix**

REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATION

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

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. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus):

<https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton Resources:

Mental Health and Wellbeing:

<https://carleton.ca/wellness/>

Health & Counselling Services:

<https://carleton.ca/health/>

Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>

Academic Advising Centre (AAC):

<https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>

Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS):

<https://carleton.ca/csas/>

Equity & Inclusivity Communities:

<https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off Campus Resources:

Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>

Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>

Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>

ood2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>

The Walk-In Counselling Clinic:

<https://walkincounselling.com>

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Students must contact the instructor(s) of their absence or inability to complete the academic deliverable within the predetermined timeframe due to medical or other extenuating circumstances. For a range of medical or other extenuating circumstances, students may use the online self-declaration form and where appropriate, the use of medical documentation. This

policy regards the accommodation of extenuating circumstances for both short-term and long-term periods and extends to all students enrolled at Carleton University.

Students should also consult the [Course Outline Information on Academic Accommodations](#) for more information. Detailed information about the procedure for requesting academic consideration can be found [here](#).

Pregnancy: Contact your Instructor 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, please contact Equity and Inclusive Communities (EIC) at equity@carleton.ca or by calling (613) 520-5622 to speak to an Equity Advisor.

Religious obligation: Contact your Instructor 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 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, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). Requests made within two weeks will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis. For final exams, the deadlines to request accommodations are published in the [University Academic Calendars](#). 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 its

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.

PETITIONS TO DEFER

*Students unable to write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control may apply within **three working days** to the Registrar's Office for permission to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully supported by the appropriate documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered. [See Undergraduate Calendar, Article 4.3](#)*

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s). Permissibility of submitting substantially the same piece of work more than once for academic credit. If group or collaborative work is expected or allowed, provide a clear and specific description of how and to what extent you consider collaboration to be acceptable or appropriate, especially in the completion of written assignments.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY

*The last day to withdraw from full fall term and fall/winter courses with a full fee adjustment is **September 30th, 2024**. The last day for a fee adjustment when withdrawing from winter term courses or the winter portion of two-term courses is **January 31, 2025**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full fall and late fall courses is **November 15, 2024**. The last day for academic withdrawal from full winter, late winter, and fall/winter courses is **March 15, 2025**.*

WDN: For students who withdraw after the full fee adjustment date in each term the term WDN will be a

permanent notation that appears on their official transcript.

OFFICIAL FINAL EXAMINATION PERIOD

*Fall courses: **December 9-21, 2024**. Winter and Fall/Winter courses: **April 11-26, 2025** (may include evenings & Saturdays or Sundays)*

For more information on the important dates and deadlines of the academic year, consult the [Carleton 2024-2025 Calendar](#).

GRADING SYSTEM

The grading system is described in the Undergraduate Calendar section [5.4](#).

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

PLAGIARISM

The University Senate defines plagiarism as *"presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own."* This can include:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else, including the unauthorized use of generative AI tools (e.g., ChatGPT);
- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "*substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.*"

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.

RESOURCES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)

Department of Political Science (2777)
B640 Loeb
Registrar's Office (3500) 300
Tory

Centre for Student Academic Success (3822) 4th
floor Library
Academic Advising Centre (7850) 302
Tory
Paul Menton Centre (6608) 501
Nideyinàn
Career Services (6611) 401
Tory