

Carleton University  
Department of Political Science  
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>

Winter 2024

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

Professor: Andrea Chandler  
Office: Loeb D694  
Phone: 613-520-2600 ext 1418  
Office Hours: Monday and Tuesday, 1:15-3:15, or by appointment  
E-mail: [Andrea.Chandler@carleton.ca](mailto:Andrea.Chandler@carleton.ca)

**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 2022 Russian invasion 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 federal and multiethnic composition, which greatly influences its politics; and Russia pursues a more ambitious (indeed, it is fair to say 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. 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.

*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 the facts from contradictory narratives of 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 questions, drawing on a wide range of peer-reviewed and primary sources,
- Build confidence in speaking skills by participating actively and constructively in class discussions.

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

There are two textbooks:

Serhii Plokhy, *The Russo-Ukrainian War: the Return of History*. New York: Norton, 2023.

Marlene Laruelle and Jean Radvanyi, *Russia: Great Power, Weakened State*. Second edition. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield, 2023.

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

**Schedule of Course Lectures and Readings**

Week 1 (January 9) Introduction

Week 2 (January 16) Historical Patterns in the Ukraine-Russia Relationship

Required Reading:

Laruelle and Radvanyi, chapter 1.

Plokhy, Preface and pp. 1-25.

Week 3 (January 23) *Perestroika* and the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Impacts on Russia and Ukraine

Required Reading:

Plokhy, pp. 25-34.

Laruelle and Radvanyi, chapter 2.

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

Week 4 (January 30) The 1990s: Friendly Relations at What Cost?

Required Reading:

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, *The Red Mirror: Putin's Leadership and Russia's Insecure Identity* New York: Oxford University Press, chapter 5.

Laruelle and Radvanyi, pp. 81-87.

Plokhy, chapter 3.

Week 5 (February 6) Putin's Accession, Kuchma's Succession; the Orange Revolution (2000-2005)

Required Reading:

Plokhy, pp. 81-95.

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 13) Comparing Reform and Political Trends in Russia and Ukraine;  
**MIDTERM TEST**

Required Reading:

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, chapter 5.

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.

Week 7 (February 27) NATO Enlargement; the Russo-Georgian War. **IN-CLASS QUIZ**

Required Reading:

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 and the Annexation of Crimea, 2013-2014

Required Reading:

Plokhyy, pp. 95-134.

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

Week 9 (March 12) Conflict in East Ukraine. Antecedents and Responses

Required Reading:

Plokhyy, chs. 9-10.

Paul Chaisty, Stephen Whitefield, and Christopher J. Gerry. 2022. "The Buck Stops Elsewhere: Authoritarian Resilience and the Politics of Responsibility for COVID-19 in Russia." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 38 (5): 366–85.

Week 10 (March 19) Russia's Invasion of Ukraine, 2022

Required Reading:

Plokhyy, chs 8, 11, and 12.

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

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, pp. 347-66.

Week 11 (March 26) Authoritarianism and Democracy since 2014

Required Reading:

Laruelle and Radvanyi, chapter 5.

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 12 (April 2) Civil Society and Human Rights

Required Reading:

Laruelle and Radvanyi, chapter 3.

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.

Week 13 (April 9) Significance of the Conflict for the International Environment

Required Reading:

Plokhyy, chapter 13.

Laruelle and Radvanyi, chapter 6 and 7.

Emily Couch, “Beware the ‘Civilisation’ Battle,” *Index on Censorship*, vol. 51. No. 2, pp. 78-79.

**Course Requirements:**

Attendance and participation (see below)	10%
In-Class Midterm Test, February 13	20%
In-Class Quiz, February 27	5%
Final research paper	30%, due April 2
Final examination (to be held during the scheduled examination period in April)	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 2-13 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 instructor as soon as possible to discuss the missed work.***

- In-Class Midterm Test, February 13 (20%). 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 27 (5%). In this closed-book quiz (60 minutes), students will be asked about their work in progress for their final research project. Paper topics will be posted to Brightspace early in the term. Students are required to choose a topic from the list posted by the professor in the early term, unless the professor has given prior permission for a different topic during a spoken conversation. Students may bring 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 proposed 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 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%. The examination will be scheduled during the official exam period (April 13-25). Students will be responsible for all material covered in the course, including lectures, readings and discussions.

### **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.*

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### **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 for fall 2019 establishes April 10 as the final deadline for all written assignments. Please submit papers according to the instructions.*

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## **Appendix**

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### **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/>
  - Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
  - The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

### **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:

#### ***Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances:***

Please contact your instructor if you are experiencing circumstances that (a) are beyond your control, (b) have a significant impact your capacity to meet your academic obligations, and (c) could not have reasonably been prevented. Decisions on academic consideration are in your instructor's discretion; they will be guided by the course learning outcomes and the principle of good faith. Please see [here](#) for more details. For considerations relating to course work, your instructor may request that you complete the [Self-Declaration form](#). To apply for a deferral of your final exam, you must submit the Self-Declaration form to the Registrar's Office no later than three days after the scheduled examination or take-home due date.

***Pregnancy accommodation:*** Please 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, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

***Religious accommodation:*** Please 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](#).

***Accommodations for students with disabilities:*** If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the

Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation, or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

***Accommodation for student activities:*** Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please 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 information, please [click here](#).

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](http://students.carleton.ca/course-outline).

### **Sexual Violence Policy**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. 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: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](http://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support).

### **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

### ***Plagiarism***

The Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional 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, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, 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;
- 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.

### ***Use of Artificial Intelligence***

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

### ***Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations***

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question or a final grade of "F" for the course. More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

### **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).

### **Submission and Return of Term Work**

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

### **Grading**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. 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 Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

### **Carleton Political Science Society**

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities,

academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

### **Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.