

Political Science 369 (Spring 2025)
Post-Soviet Politics: Russia, Ukraine, and the Road to War

Northwestern University, Scott Hall 212
Tuesday and Thursday 11:00AM-12:20PM

Instructor: Jordan Gans-Morse
Office Hours: Thursdays, 12:50-1:50PM & 3:00-4:00PM
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Zoom link: <https://northwestern.zoom.us/j/7923230706>

COURSE SUMMARY

When Vladimir Putin launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, he turned the international order upside down, initiated the largest war in Europe in over half a century, and set the stage for Russia's return to totalitarianism. How did this catastrophic turn of events come to be, and what will happen next? This course analyzes the political, economic, and foreign policy upheavals that shook Russia and Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Through the lens of the Russian and Ukrainian experiences, we will examine key concepts in comparative politics, such as revolution, regime change, market formation, nationalism, and state building. We will also consider key international relations debates pertaining to NATO enlargement, Russian imperialism, and other topics essential to understanding Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the ongoing geopolitical crisis it unleashed.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Students are expected to complete all required readings prior to each lecture and to attend all lectures and sections. If a student has a legitimate reason to miss a lecture or section (e.g., a religious holiday), please discuss this with the professor at the beginning of the term. Neither the readings nor the lecture slides will provide comprehensive coverage of the materials you are expected to know for the paper and exams.

There will be three assignments: a midterm exam, a 5- to 7-page essay, and a final exam. The exams will be based on the lectures and required readings. The essay will be based on the "Road to War" simulation game (see below). Your final grade will be determined as follows:

Midterm: 25%
Essay Assignment: 25%
Final: 30%
Attendance and Participation: 20%

The midterm will be taken in class on **May 1**. The final exam will be held at the time assigned by the Northwestern exam schedule: **Monday, June 9 from 12:00-2:00PM**. The essay assignment will be due **Tuesday, June 3 at midnight**. If you have an internship or

summer work that might conflict with the exam schedule, discuss this with the instructor and we will make arrangements.

Apart from documented cases of illness or family crisis, late paper assignments will be penalized a half grade per day (e.g., an A- becomes a B+). In cases of illness or crisis, a request must be made to the professor prior to the assignment's due date. The failure to turn in a paper or to attend an exam session will result in an F for the given assignment. Papers previously or simultaneously submitted for another course will not be accepted.

"Road to War" Simulation Game

In collaboration with Valens Games, we will engage in a customized strategic simulation game designed to illuminate the dynamics of democratic backsliding. Participation in the game will count toward your class participation grade, and the essay assignment will be based on the simulation game. More information about this part of the course will be provided later in the quarter.

RESEARCH STUDY PARTICIPATION REQUIREMENT

Students enrolled in this course are required to complete a research participation assignment. This will involve taking part in studies conducted by students and faculty from the Department of Political Science and will include up to 4 hours of research study participation. This will primarily require completing on-line surveys and, in some cases, in-person studies at Scott Hall. Students will be able to see how political science studies are conducted and can request information about the studies at the end of the quarter. Students who prefer not to participate in research may opt for an alternative that entails reading a book chapter about political science research and writing a five page reaction paper. The typical chapter is about 20 pages and thus reading it and writing a five-page paper should take approximately four hours. To opt for the 5-page paper alternative, email the lab manager, Jacob Fortier at jacobfortier2027@u.northwestern.edu.

Note that if you are enrolled in multiple classes that require participation, you only need to satisfy the requirement one time. Also, if you already completed the requirement in another course in a previous quarter (year), you are excused from the requirement.

IN-CLASS ELECTRONICS POLICY

Please turn all phones off before the lecture. Note that this implies no texting as well as no calls. Laptops may be used for note-taking only. Use of email, Facebook, or other activities unrelated to lecture is strictly prohibited and may result in a grade deduction.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY SYLLABUS STANDARDS

This course follows the [Northwestern University Syllabus Standards](#). Students are responsible for familiarizing themselves with this information.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students in this course are required to comply with the policies found in the booklet, “Academic Integrity at Northwestern University: A Basic Guide.” All papers submitted for credit in this course must be submitted electronically unless otherwise instructed by the professor. Your written work may be tested for plagiarized content. For details regarding academic integrity at Northwestern or to download the guide, visit:

<https://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies/academic-integrity/index.html>

GENERATIVE AI POLICY

In this course, you are allowed to use Generative Artificial Intelligence (GAI) on assignments only for the purposes specified in assignment prompts. Any use of GAI should be accompanied by a disclosure at the end of an assignment explaining (1) what you used GAI for; (2) the specific tool(s) you used; and (3) what prompts you used to get the results. Any use of GAI beyond where permitted will be viewed as a potential academic integrity violation.

CLASS RECORDINGS

Unauthorized student recording of classroom or other academic activities (including advising sessions or office hours) is prohibited. Unauthorized recording is unethical and may also be a violation of University policy and state law. Students requesting the use of assistive technology as an accommodation should contact [AccessibleNU](#). Unauthorized use of classroom recordings – including distributing or posting them – is also prohibited. Under the University’s [Copyright Policy](#), faculty own the copyright to instructional materials – including those resources created specifically for the purposes of instruction, such as syllabi, lectures and lecture notes, and presentations. Students cannot copy, reproduce, display, or distribute these materials. Students who engage in unauthorized recording, unauthorized use of a recording, or unauthorized distribution of instructional materials will be referred to the appropriate University office for follow-up.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of the course, the aim is that you will have improved your ability to:

- Apply critical thinking and analytical writing skills to the study of contemporary political and economic events;
- Discuss intelligently the political and economic developments in Russia, Ukraine, and surrounding post-communist countries;
- Use theories of comparative politics and political economy to explain variation across political systems.

COURSE MATERIALS

The following books are required for purchase:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
- Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)

Other readings on the syllabus will be made available through Canvas.

COURSE OVERVIEW

Thursday, April 3

Lecture 1: Introduction

Assigned Readings:

- Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991* (Oxford University Press, 1992)
 - Introduction (pp. 1-11) (Canvas)
- Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Excerpts from Chapter 1 (pp. 20-35)

PART I: End of the Soviet Era

Tuesday, April 8

Lecture 2: Overview of the Soviet System

Key Themes:

- Marxism
- Stalinism
- Totalitarianism: A new political order
- The Soviet command economy

Assigned Readings:

- Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (New York: HarpersCollins, 2009)
 - Excerpts from Chp 1: The Idea of Communism (pp. 9-11, 18-25) (Canvas)
- Mary McAuley, *Soviet Politics, 1917-1991* (Oxford University Press, 1992)
 - Chp 4: Terror (pp. 50-62) (Canvas)
- Anders Åslund, *Building Capitalism: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Bloc* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)
 - Chp 1: What Communism Actually Was (pp. 20-38) (Canvas)

Optional Readings:

- Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (New York: HarpersCollins, 2009)
 - Chp 4: Building Socialism: Russia and the Soviet Union, 1917-1940 (pp. 56-77) (Canvas)
 - Chp 13: Khrushchev and the Twentieth Party Congress (pp. 227-244) (Canvas)

Additional Background Materials:

- Ronald Suny, *The Soviet Experiment* (Oxford University Press, 1997)

- Janos Kornai, *The Soviet System: The Political Economy of Communism* (Oxford University Press, 1992)
- Zbigniew Brzezinski and Carl Friedrich, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Harvard University Press, 1956)

Thursday, April 10

Lecture 3: Collapse of the Soviet System (Part 1)

Key Themes:

- Gorbachev's economic and political reforms
- Nationalism, social movements, and civil society
- Eastern European democratization and fall of the Iron Curtain

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Chp 1: The Captain (pp. 1-40)
- Serhii Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*, 2nd Edition (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2021)
 - Chp 25: Good Bye, Lenin! (pp. 307-322) (Canvas)

Additional Background Materials:

- David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (Vintage Press, 1994)
- Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (Doubleday Press, 1996)

Tuesday, April 15

Lecture 4: Collapse of the Soviet System (Part 2)

Key Themes:

- The August 1991 coup and the Soviet Empire's last days
- Causes of the Soviet collapse

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Chp 5: The Unraveling (pp. 163-196)
- Alexander Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8, 4 (1992) (Canvas)

Highly Recommended:

- Victoria Bonnell, Ann Cooper, and Gregory Freidin, *Russia at the Barricades: Eyewitness Accounts of the August 1991 Coup* (M.E. Sharpe, 1994)
 - Part I, Chp 3: Statements and Explanations by the Putschists (pp. 55-68) (Canvas)
 - Part II, Chps 1 and 4: The Public Reacts (pp. 71-77, 100-110) (Canvas)

Additional Background Materials:

- Michael McFaul, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin* (Cornell University Press, 2001)
- Ronald Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford University Press, 1993)
- Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Vladislav Zubok, *Collapse: The Fall of the Soviet Union* (Yale University Press, 2021)

PART II: The 1990s – “Triple Transitions” in Russia and Ukraine

Thursday, April 17

Lecture 5: Politics – The Attempt to Build Democracies (Part 1)

Key Themes:

- Building institutions for democracy
- Russia: The October 1993 constitutional crisis
- Russia: The 1996 presidential elections

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Excerpts from Chp 2: The Natural (pp. 41-70)
- Matt Bivens and Jonas Bernstein, “The Russia You Never Met,” *Demokratizatsiya* 6, 4 (1998)

Additional Background Materials:

- Lilia Shevtsova, *Yeltsin's Russia: Challenges and Constraints* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1997)
- Michael McFaul, *Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin* (Cornell University Press, 2001)

Tuesday, April 22

Lecture 6: Politics – The Attempt to Build Democracies (Part 2)

Key Themes:

- Ukraine: A Peaceful Transfer of Power
- Ukraine: Kuchma's *Sistema*
- Comparing Russian & Ukrainian Democracy in the '90s

Assigned Readings:

- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Excerpts from Chp 2: Regime Divergence (pp. 57-73)
- Lucan Way, *Pluralism by Default: Weak Autocrats and the Rise of Competitive Politics* (John Hopkins University Press, 2015)
 - Excerpts from Chp 3: Pluralism by Default in Ukraine (pp. 43-63)

Additional Background Materials:

- Paul D'Anieri, *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (Routledge, 2007)
- Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (Yale University Press, 2000)
 - Chp 9: Politics: Developing the Rules of the Game (pp. 172-206)

Thursday, April 24

Lecture 7: Foreign Policy – The Attempt to Join the West

Key Themes:

- Russia's "near abroad": Civil wars and nuclear weapons during the Soviet collapse
- Russia's search for a new identity: Westernizers vs. Eurasianists
- Ukraine's search for a new identity: Between Russia and Europe
- NATO enlargement and the Kosovo bombings

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Chp 9: Falling Apart (pp. 310-339)
- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Excerpts from Chp 4: Ukraine, Russia, and the West (pp. 113-127)
- Mary Elise Sarotte, "Russia, Ukraine and the 30-Year Quest for a Post-Soviet Order," *The Financial Times* (February 24, 2022)

Highly Recommended:

- Strobe Talbott, *The Russia Hand: A Memoir of Presidential Diplomacy* (Random House, 2003)

- Excerpts from Chp 1: The Hedgehog and the Bear (pp. 3-10) (Canvas)
- Chp 13: The Jaws of Victory (pp. 332-349) (Canvas)
- Mary Elise Sarotte, "A Broken Promise: What the West Really Told Moscow About NATO Expansion," *Foreign Affairs* 93 (September/October 2014): 90-97 (Canvas)

Additional Background Materials:

- Bobo Lo, *Russian Foreign Policy in the Post-Soviet Era: Reality, Illusion, and Mythmaking* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)
- Andrei Tsygankov, *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*, 4th Edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016)
- James Goldgeier and Michael McFaul, *Power and Purpose: US Policy Toward Russia After the Cold War* (Brookings Institution Press, 2003)
- Steven Pifer, *The Eagle and the Trident: US-Ukraine Relations in Turbulent Times* (Brookings Institution Press, 2017)
- James Goldgeier and Joshua Shiffrin, *Evaluating NATO Enlargement: From Cold War Victory to the Russia-Ukraine War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023)
- M.E. Sarotte, *Not One Inch: America, Russia, and the Making of the Post-Cold War Stalemate* (Yale University Press, 2021)
- Mariana Budjeryn, "Was Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament a Blunder?" *World Affairs* 179, 2 (2016): 9-20
- Mariana Budjeryn, *Inheriting the Bomb: The Collapse of the USSR and the Nuclear Disarmament of Ukraine* (John Hopkins University Press, 2022)

Tuesday, April 29

Lecture 8: Politics – The Attempt to Build Nation-States

Key Themes:

- Nationalism and pseudo-federalism in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia
- Ethnic sovereignty and the fragmentation of the Russian state
- The wars in Chechnya
- Forging a national identity in Ukraine

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Excerpts from Chp 8: The Mountains (pp. 262-298)
- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Excerpts from Chp 1: Entangled Histories (pp. 35-56)

Highly Recommended:

- Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power* (Yale University Press, 1999)
 - Chp 1: A Personal Memoir of Grozny and the Chechen War (pp. 17-55) (Canvas)

Additional Background Materials:

- Yurii Slezkine, "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review* 53, 2 (1994)
- Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Ronald Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford University Press, 1993)
- Jeffrey Kahn, "The Parade of Sovereignties: Establishing the Vocabulary of the New Russian Federalism," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 16, 1 (2000)
- Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, *The Red Mirror: Putin's Leadership and Russia's Insecure Identity* (Oxford University Press, 2020)
 - Chp 4: The New Russian Identity and the Burden of the Soviet Past
- Volodymyr Kulyk, "Is Ukraine a Multiethnic Country?" *Slavic Review* (Summer 2022)

Thursday, May 1: IN-CLASS MIDTERM

Tuesday, May 6

Lecture 9: Economics – The Attempt to Build Market Economies

Key Themes:

- The politics of economic reform
- The Soviet legacy and economic crisis
- "Wild East" Capitalism: Oligarchs, mafia, and barter

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Excerpts from Chp 6: The Transformation (pp. 197-232)
- Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (Yale University Press, 2000)
 - Excerpts from Chp 12: The IMF's Red Pencil; Ukraine's Economic Black Hole (pp. 253-272) (Canvas)

Highly Recommended:

- David Hoffman, *The Oligarchs: Wealth and Power in the New Russia* (Public Affairs, 2002)
 - Chp 5: Mikhail Khodorkovsky (pp. 100-126) (Canvas)
 - Chp 6: Boris Berezovsky (pp. 127-149) (Canvas)

Additional Background Materials:

- Anders Åslund, *How Russia Became a Market Economy* (Brookings Institution Press, 1995)
- Clifford Gaddy, *The Price of the Past: Russia's Struggle with the Legacy of a Militarized Economy* (Brookings Institution Press, 1998)
- Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, *Without a Map: Political Tactics and Economic Reform in Russia* (The MIT Press, 2001)
- Andrei Shleifer, "Government in Transition," *European Economic Review* 41, 3 (1997)
- Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (Cornell University Press, 2002)
- Jordan Gans-Morse, "Property Rights: Forging the Institutional Foundations for Russia's Market Economy" in Susanne A. Wengle, ed., *Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility* (Cambridge University Press, 2022)
- Anders Åslund, *How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy* (Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2009)
- Rosaria Puglisi, "The Rise of the Ukrainian Oligarchs," *Democratization* 10, 3 (2003)

PART III: The 2000s – Russia's and Ukraine's Paths Diverge

Thursday, May 8

Lecture 10: Politics – Russian Democracy: The Beginning of the End

Key Themes:

- Putin's rise and the recentralization of power
- United Russia and the formation of a single-party system
- Conflict in the Caucasus and domestic terrorism

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Excerpts from Chp 3: Unreasonable Doubt (pp. 80-108)
 - Excerpts from Chp 4: The Mountains (pp. 298-309)
- Susanne A. Wengle, ed., *Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility* (Cambridge University Press, 2022)
 - Excerpts from Ora John Reuter and David Szakonyi, "Party Politics and Voting in Russia" (pp. 62-65 [sections 3.3, 3.3.1], 67-72 [3.3.3-3.3.4], and 76-77 [3.4])
 - Excerpts from Evgenia Olimpieva, "The Pendulum of Center-Region Relations in Russia" (pp. 114-118 [section 5.5])
- Fiona Hill and Clifford Gaddy, *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin* (Brookings Institution Press, 2013)
 - Excerpts from Chp 9: The System (pp. 210-224, 231-244) (Canvas)

Additional Background Materials:

- Brian Taylor, *The Code of Putinism* (Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Lilia Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003)
- M. Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Vladimir Putin, *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia's President* (Public Affairs, 2000)
- Roger Cohen, "The Making of Vladimir Putin," *The New York Times* (March 26, 2022)

Tuesday, May 13

Lecture 11: Politics – Ukraine's Orange Revolution: A Step Toward Democracy?

Key Themes:

- Kuchma's failure to consolidate power
- The color revolutions
- Unfulfilled promises of the Orange Revolution

Assigned Readings:

- Lucan Way, *Pluralism by Default: Weak Autocrats and the Rise of Competitive Politics* (John Hopkins University Press, 2015)
 - Excerpts from Chp 3: Pluralism by Default in Ukraine (pp. 63-78)
- Adrian Karatnycky, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *Foreign Affairs* 84 (2005)
- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Excerpts from Chp 2: Regime Divergence (pp. 73-86)

Additional Background Materials:

- Paul D'Anieri, *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (Routledge, 2007)
- Andrew Wilson, *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World* (Yale University Press, 2005)
- Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine's Orange Revolution* (Yale University Press, 2005)
- Lucan Way, "Ukraine's Orange Revolution: Kuchma's Failed Authoritarianism," *Journal of democracy* 16, 2 (2005)

Thursday, May 15

Lecture 12: Foreign Policy – The Return of Geopolitics

Key Themes:

- 9/11, Afghanistan, Iraq, and the global war on terrorism
- Russia's response to the color revolutions
- The next wave of NATO enlargement

- Russia's invasion of Georgia
- The US-Russian "Reset"

Assigned Readings:

- Andrei Tsygankov, "Russia's Foreign Policy," in Stephen K. Wegren and Dale R. Herspring, ed., *After Putin's Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain*, 4th Edition (Rowman & Littlefield, 2010)
- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Excerpts from Chp 4: Ukraine, Russia, and the West (pp. 127-133)
- Jeffrey Simon, "Ukraine Against Herself: To Be Euro-Atlantic, Eurasian, or Neutral?" *Strategic Forum* (February 2009)

Additional Background Materials:

- Robert Legvold, *Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century and the Shadow of the Past* (Columbia University Press, 2007)
- Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*, 2nd Edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011)
- Andrei Tsygankov, *Russia's Foreign Policy: Change and Continuity in National Identity*, 4th Edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016)
- Paul D'Anieri, "Ukrainian Foreign Policy from Independence to Inertia," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, 3-4 (2012): 447-456
- Rilka Dragneva and Kataryna Wolczuk, "Between Dependence and Integration: Ukraine's Relations with Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, 4 (2016): 678-698

Tuesday, May 20

Lecture 13: Economics – Oil, Growth, and State Capitalism

Key Themes:

- Russia's economic revival and the petrostate
- A tilt toward state capitalism in Russia
- Ukraine's failure to launch

Assigned Readings:

- Daniel Treisman, *The Return: Russia's Journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev* (Free Press, 2011)
 - Excerpts from Chp 6: The Transformation (pp. 232-239)
- Timothy Frye, *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia* (Princeton University Press, 2021)
 - Chp 6: Russia's Economy (pp. 85-106)
- Excerpts (pp. 3-8, 11-12, 14-21) from Pekka Sutela, "The Underachiever: Ukraine's

Economy Since 1991," The Carnegie Papers (March 2012)

Additional Background Materials:

- Chris Miller, *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018)
- Jordan Gans-Morse, *Property Rights in Post-Soviet Russia: Violence, Corruption, and Demand for Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2017)
- Anders Åslund, *Ukraine: What Went Wrong and How to Fix It* (Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2015) (chapter 4)

PART IV: The 2010s – Putinism, Post-Maidan Ukraine, and the Seeds of War

Thursday, May 22

Lecture 14: Ukraine's Maidan Revolution – A Second Shot at a New Ukraine

Key Themes

- Yanukovich's resurrection
- The Euromaidan Revolution / Revolution of Dignity
- Post-Maidan reform efforts
- Truths and myths about Ukraine's far right
- Zelensky and the rise of civic nationalism

Assigned Readings:

- Lucan Way, *Pluralism by Default: Weak Autocrats and the Rise of Competitive Politics* (John Hopkins University Press, 2015)
 - Excerpts from Chp 3: Pluralism by Default in Ukraine (pp. 78-91)
- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Chp 5: Euromaidan, Crimea Annexation, and the War in Donbas (pp. 143-176)
 - Chp 6: The Road to Full-Scale Invasion (pp. 177-216)

Additional Background Materials:

- Maria Popova, "Why the Orange Revolution Was Short and Peaceful and Euromaidan Long and Violent," *Problems of Post-communism* 61, 6 (2014): 64-70
- Serhiy Kudelia, "The Maidan and Beyond: The House That Yanukovich Built," *Journal of Democracy* 25, 3 (2014)
- Olga Onuch and Henry Hale, *The Zelensky Effect* (Oxford University Press, 2023)
- Jessica Pisano, "How Zelensky Has Changed Ukraine," *Journal of Democracy* 33, 3 (2022)
- Volodymyr Kulyk, "Is Ukraine a Multiethnic Country?" *Slavic Review* (Summer 2022)

Tuesday, May 27

Lecture 15: The New "Putinism" and the Consolidation of Authoritarianism in Russia

Key Themes:

- The 2011-2012 protests
- Rising conservatism, nationalism, and authoritarianism
- Annexation of Crimea and war in Donbas
- Domestic implications of Russia's geopolitical resurgence

Assigned Readings:

- M. Steven Fish, "What is Putinism?" *The Journal of Democracy* 28, 4 (2017): 61-75
- Susanne A. Wengle, ed., *Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility* (Cambridge University Press, 2022)
 - Excerpts from Marlene Laruelle, "Conservative Forces and the Putin Regime" (pp. 372-386 [sections 16.3-16.4])
- Chris Miller, "The Surprising Success of Putinomics," *Foreign Affairs* (February 7, 2018) and "Can Putin Fix Russia's Sputtering Economy," *Foreign Affairs* (March 13, 2019)

Additional Background Materials:

- Timothy Frye, *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia* (Princeton University Press, 2021) (Chapters 4, 7, and 8)
- Samuel Greene and Graeme Robertson, *Putin v. the People: The Perilous Politics of a Divided Russia* (Yale University Press, 2019)
- Brian Taylor, *The Code of Putinism* (Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Mikhail Zygar, *All the Kremlin's Men: Inside the Court of Vladimir Putin* (New York, NY: PublicAffairs, 2016)
- Marlene Laruelle, *Is Russia Fascist? Unraveling Propaganda East and West* (Cornell University Press, 2021)
- Jade McGlynn, *Memory Makers: The Politics of the Past in Putin's Russia* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2023)
- Chris Miller, *Putinomics: Power and Money in Resurgent Russia* (University of North Carolina Press, 2018)
- Anders Åslund, *Russia's Crony Capitalism: The Path from Market Economy to Kleptocracy* (Yale University Press, 2019)

Thursday, May 29

Lecture 16: Russia's Resurgence and the Road to War

Key Themes:

- Russian interventions on a global scale
- Roots of Putin's full-scale invasion of Ukraine

Assigned Readings:

- John Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions That Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 2014)
- Robert Person and Michael McFaul, "What Putin Fears Most," *Journal of Democracy* (February 22, 2022)
- Mikhail Zygar, "How Putin Lost Interest in the Present," *The New York Times* (March 10, 2022)
- Taras Kuzio, "Imperial Nationalism as the Driver Behind Russia's Invasion of Ukraine," *Nations and Nationalism* 29, 1 (2023): 30-38
- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Excerpts from Intro: Russia's Invasion & Ukraine's Resistance (pp. 1-15)

Optional Readings:

- Paul Stronski and Richard Sokolsky, "The Return of Global Russia: An Analytical Framework," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (December 14, 2017)

Additional Background Materials:

- Angela Stent, "The Putin Doctrine," *Foreign Affairs* (January 27, 2022)
- Timothy Frye, *Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia* (Princeton University Press, 2021) (chapters 9-10)
- Julia Gurganus and Eugene Rumer, "Russia's Global Ambitions in Perspective," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (February 20, 2019)
- Daniel Treisman, "Why Putin Took Crimea: The Gambler in the Kremlin," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2016)
- Dominique Arel and Jesse Driscoll, *Ukraine's Unnamed War: Before the Russian Invasion of 2022* (Cambridge University Press, 2023)
- Serhiy Kudelia, *Seize the City, Undo the State: The Inception of Russia's War on Ukraine* (Oxford University Press, 2025)
- Paul D'Anieri, *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge University Press, 2023)
- Lucian Kim, *Putin's Revenge: Why Russia Invaded Ukraine* (Columbia University Press, 2025)

Tuesday, June 3

Lecture 17: The Consequences of Putin's War

Key Themes:

- Industrial-scale war returns to Europe
- Global repercussions

- The final split: Russian totalitarianism, Ukrainian democracy
- Russia and Ukraine in comparative perspective

Assigned Readings:

- Kathryn Stoner, "The War in Ukraine: How Putin's War in Ukraine Has Ruined Russia," *Journal of Democracy* 33, 3 (2022): 38-44
- Olga Onuch, "Why Ukrainians Are Rallying Around Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 33, 4 (2022): 37-46
- Maria Popova & Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Hoboken, NJ: Polity Press, 2024)
 - Conclusion (pp. 217-238)

Optional Readings:

- Andrew Roberts, "Democracy and Democratisation in Post-Communist Europe," in Adam Fagan and Petr Kopecky, eds., *Routledge Handbook of East European Politics* (Routledge, 2017)

Further Background Materials:

- Marlene Laruelle, "So, Is Russia Fascist Now? Labels and Policy Implications," *The Washington Quarterly* 45, 2 (2022): 149-168
- Andrei Kolesnikov, "Putin's War Has Moved Russia from Authoritarianism to Hybrid Totalitarianism," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (April 19, 2022)
- Alexander Gabuev, "The Russia That Might Have Been," *Foreign Affairs* (March 13, 2023)

Russia and Ukraine in Comparative Perspective

- Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54, 2 (2002)
- Henry Hale, *Patronal Politics: Eurasian Regime Dynamics in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 2014)
- Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," *World Politics* 55, 2 (2003)
- Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- M. Steven Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Tuesday, June 3 (by midnight): ESSAY ASSIGNMENT DUE

Monday, June 9 (12:00-2:00PM): FINAL EXAM