

## Course Information

Course Number: INTA 610  
Course Title: The Ukraine War and East European Politics  
Section: 650  
Time: Tuesdays, 6:30-9:10 pm  
Location: 1620 L St, NW, Suite 700 Washington DC in-person  
Credit Hours: 3.0

## Instructor Details

Instructor: Senior Lecturer Kateryna Shynkaruk  
Office: 1620 L Street NW, Washington, DC  
E-Mail: kshynkaruk@tamu.edu  
Office Hours: By appointment

## Course Description

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 brought the Eastern European region back into the spotlight of global politics and a new security reality raising the specter of a new Cold War. This course will review East European states' history and political culture, state- and nation-building experiences, and the role of identities in shaping their geopolitical futures. The course will explore Russia's evolving confrontation with other great powers over its privileged role in the region. We will analyze and build upon the first lessons learned from the security challenges and vulnerabilities of the transatlantic security architecture exposed by Russia's war on Ukraine.

The fall of the Iron Curtain in 1991 raised high hopes for democratic transitions in the post-communist states. This proved to be a complex process involving multiple domestic and external factors. We will discuss the questions: what worked in democratic transitions and what did not? How some of the illusions about regional democratization overlooked the risks from Russia's growing revisionist ambitions? And why 30 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union and a century after its creation, the Eastern European region again became the epicenter of tectonic shifts in global security and politics?

Students will be able to hone their analytical, writing, and presentation skills; develop a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of the problems discussed, and develop the skills of formulating hypotheses, and justifying their views about the course topics. The practical coursework will be based on interactive learning techniques and will comprise individual and group presentations, and written assignments.

This course is offered as both a face-to-face course to students in College Station and through electronic to-group delivery to students at the Bush School's Washington, D.C. teaching site synchronously via Zoom. Students participating online may utilize the chat box only with the express approval of the professor, and verbal participation during class sessions is required. The course requirements for students in both locations are the same.

## Course Prerequisites

Graduate Classification

## Course Learning Outcomes

By completing this course, students will be able to:

- Understand major academic and policy debates related to post-communist trajectories of the East European states;
- Evaluate factors that helped implement or hampered democratic reforms by the states;
- Demonstrate working knowledge of regional political and security landscape;
- Analyze the role of regional and global actors in shaping East European politics;
- Apply analytical frameworks and methodologies suitable for this area of research;
- Demonstrate effective analytical, writing, and presentation skills.

## Grading Policy

Grades are based on participation and attendance (10%), two in-class presentations (60%, each graded 30%), and a final policy paper (30%).

The following scale will be used for calculating final grades for this course:

- 90-100 A;
- 80-89 B;
- 70-79 C;
- 60-69 D;
- 0-59 F.

*Grades will be determined based on the following:*

### **Participation and Attendance (10%)**

All students are expected to attend each class and participate actively in the discussion of the assigned reading materials.

### **In-class Presentations (60%)**

Each student will give two 20-minute presentations - one individually and one in a team of two - discussing a specific topic related to the class, beginning week #3. Students will coordinate the topics of their interest with the professor at least one week in advance of each presentation. Each presentation will count for 30%, graded as follows: content – 11%, policy analysis – 11%, presentation delivery – 8%.

### **Final Policy Paper (30%)**

Students will write a 2,000-word policy paper to explore an empirical case of their choice related to the themes of the course. The specific topics for the paper will be discussed with students individually to meet their research and policy interests. The professor will work closely with students to help formulate

research questions and a suitable analytical framework, as well as relevant literature. The 30 points for the paper will be graded as follows: content – 11%, policy analysis – 11%, format, style – 8%. The final exam papers are due by **Tuesday, November 11, 2025**.

### Late Work Policy

- Late submission of the written assignment will be penalized by 5% per day (based on a 100-point grading scale) following the deadline.
- In exceptional cases qualifying for excused absences, an assignment deadline may be changed upon **prior arrangement** with the professor.

Work submitted by a student as makeup work for an excused absence is not considered late work and is exempted from the late work policy. Late work policies must clearly link to [Student Rule 7](#).

### Course Schedule

**Syllabus topics and readings are subject to change and will be communicated to students in advance.**

#### **Week 01, August 26: Introduction.**

Course overview, discussing your research focus and policy interests and topics for the coursework. Beginning of readings.

- Snyder T. Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin. New York: Basic Books, 2010. P. 1-154.
- Yekelchik S. Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know. Oxford University Press, 2020. Chapter 3.

#### **Week 02, September 2: Why Russia Invaded Ukraine?**

- Article by Vladimir Putin “On the Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians”. July 12, 2021. <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/66181>
- Retracted RIA story exposes Kremlin's premeditated attack on Ukraine. March 2, 2022. [https://central.asia-news.com/en\\_GB/articles/cnmi\\_ca/features/2022/03/02/feature-02](https://central.asia-news.com/en_GB/articles/cnmi_ca/features/2022/03/02/feature-02)  
Original article in Russian: <https://web.archive.org/web/20220226051154/https://ria.ru/20220226/rossiya-1775162336.html>
- Ash, T. N., Bohr, A., Busol, K., Giles, K., Lough, J., Lutsevych, O., Nixey, J., Sherr, J., Smith, S. J., & Wolczuk, K. (2023). How to end Russia’s war on Ukraine: Safeguarding Europe’s future, and the dangers of a false peace. <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2023/06/how-end-russias-war-ukraine>
- D’Anieri, Paul J. Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Chapter 1.

Optional:

- Yekelchik S. Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know. Oxford University Press, 2020. Chapter 3.

**Week 03, September 9: Setting the Scene: The Fall of the Iron Curtain and Broader European Context**

- D’Anieri, Paul J. *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Chapter 3.
- Yekelchik S. *Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, 2020. Chapter 4.
- Kuzio T. *Transition in Post-Communist States: Triple or Quadruple?* *Politics*. Vol.21/3 (2001): 168-177.
- Carey H.F., Raciborski R. *Postcolonialism: A Valid Paradigm for the Former Sovietized States and Yugoslavia?* *East European Politics and Societies*. Vol.18, No. 2. (2004): 191-235.
- Plokhy S. *The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine*. New York: Basic Books, 2015. Chapters 25-26, & Epilogue.

Optional:

- Plokhy S. *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union*. New York: Basic Books, 2014. Chapters 3, 8, 10, 17.
- Bunce V. *Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience*. *World Politics* 55 (January 2003), 167-92.
- Vachudova, M. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. P. 11 -24.

**Week 04, September 16: Elephant in the Room: Russia’s Neo-Imperialism in the Eastern Neighborhood I**

- Myths and misconceptions in the debate on Russia. How they affect Western policy, and what can be done (Chatham House, 2021)
- Popescu N., Wilson A. *The limits of enlargement-lite: European and Russian power in the troubled neighborhood*. Policy Report. London: ECFR, 2009. 64 p.
- Hill F., Gaddy C.G. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Brookings Institution Press, 2013. Chapters 1-2.

Optional:

- M. Emerson M., Checchi A., Fujiwara N., Gajdosova L. *Synergies vs. Spheres of Influence in the Pan-European Space*. Brussels: CEPS, 2009. 104 p.
- Samokhvalov V. *Relations in the Russia–Ukraine–EU triangle: ‘zero-sum game’ or not?* EUISS Occasional Paper, 68, September 2007. 39 p.

**Week 05, September 23: Elephant in the Room: Russia’s Neo-Imperialism in the Eastern Neighborhood II**

- Adamsky, Dmitry (Dima). *The Russian Way of Deterrence: Strategic Culture, Coercion, and War*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2024. Chapters 3, 5, Conclusion.
- D’Anieri, Paul J. *Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Chapter 6.

- Stoner K. E. *Russia Resurrected: Its Power and Purpose in a New Global Order*. Oxford University Press, 2021. Chapters 2-3.

Optional:

- Hill F., Gaddy C.G. *Mr. Putin: Operative in the Kremlin*. Brookings Institution Press, 2013. Chapters 10-14.
- Peter Pomerantsev. *Nothing is True and Everything is Possible: The Surreal Heart of the New Russia*. Public Affairs, 2014.

#### **Week 06, September 30: Ukraine: Three Revolutions and a War I**

- Serhy Yekelchuk. *Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, 2020. Chapters 1,2, 5.
- Bukkavoll T. Off the Cuff Politics – Explaining Russia’s Lack of a Ukraine Strategy. *Europe-Asia Studies*. Vol. 53, 8 (2001), 1141–1157.
- Kuzio T. Nationalism, Identity and Civil Society in Ukraine: Understanding the Orange Revolution. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43.3 (2010), 285-96.

Optional:

- Wilson A. *Ukraine's Orange Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University. Press, 2005. Chapters 5-10.
- Marci Shore. *The Ukrainian Night: An Intimate History of Revolution*. Yale University Press, 2018.

#### **Week 07, October 7: Ukraine: Three Revolutions and a War II**

- Serhy Yekelchuk. *Ukraine: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press, 2020. Chapter 6-7.
- Aslund A. *How Ukraine Became a Market Economy and Democracy*. Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2009. Chapters 8, 9.
- Wynnckij M. *A Chronicle and Analysis of the Revolution of Dignity*. Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2019. Chapters 7- 11.

#### **Week 08, October 14: No classes.**

Fall Break.

#### **Week 09, October 21: Mid-Term Presentations.**

**Students’ presentations and Q&A.**

#### **Week 10, October 28: U.S. Policy and Security Interests in the Region**

- Eugene M. Fishel. *The Moscow Factor: U.S. Policy toward Sovereign Ukraine and the Kremlin*. HURI, 2002. Introduction, Chapters 5-6.
- Herbst J. E., Åslund A., Kramer D.J., Alexander Vershbow A., Whitmore B. *Global Strategy 2022: Thwarting Kremlin aggression today for constructive relations tomorrow*. Atlantic Council, 2022.
- Welt C. *Ukraine: Background, Conflict with Russia, and U.S. Policy*. Congressional Research Service. Report R45008, October 5, 2021.

- Pifer S. The Eagle and the Trident: U.S.-Ukraine Relations in Turbulent Times, Brookings Institution, Brookings Institution Press, 2017. Chapters 1-2, 4, 8.

**Week 11, November 4: A New Cold War or Demise of the Rules-Based Order? The War Dynamic & Regional Security Landscape Between 2014-2022.**

- D'Anieri, Paul J. Ukraine and Russia: From Civilized Divorce to Uncivil War. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Chapters 7-8.
- Zabrodskyi M., Watling J., Danylyuk O.V., and Reynolds N. Preliminary Lessons in Conventional Warfighting from Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: February–July 2022. The Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security. November 2022. <https://www.rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/special-resources/preliminary-lessons-conventional-warfighting-russias-invasion-ukraine-february-july-2022>

Optional:

- Wilson A. Ukraine Crisis: What it Means for the West. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014. Chapters 6 - 10.
- Snyder T. Integration and Disintegration: Europe, Ukraine, and the World, Slavic Review, Vol. 74, No. 4 (Winter 2015), pp. 695–707.
- DeBenedictis, Kent. Russian 'Hybrid Warfare' and the Annexation of Crimea: The Modern Application of Soviet Political Warfare (I. B. Tauris, 2022)

**Week 12, November 11: Political Dynamic in the Neighborhood: Belarus, Georgia, and Moldova**

- Bedford S. The 2020 Presidential Election in Belarus: Erosion of Authoritarian Stability and Re-Politicization of Society. Nationalities Papers 49, no. 5 (2021): 808–19.
- Marples D.R. Changing Belarus, Canadian Slavonic Papers, 63:3-4 (2021), 278-295.
- Cornell S. E., Starr S. F., eds., The Guns of August 2008: Russia's War in Georgia. M.E. Sharpe, 2009. Chapters 1, 6, 10, 11.
- Kakachia K, Minesashvili S. Identity politics: Exploring Georgian foreign policy behavior. Journal of Eurasian Studies. 2015; 6(2):171-180.
- Cristian Cantir C., Ryan Kennedy R. Balancing on the Shoulders of Giants: Moldova's Foreign Policy toward Russia and the European Union. Foreign Policy Analysis, Volume 11, Issue 4. (2015), 397–416.

Optional:

- Eke, S., & Kuzio, T. (2000). Sultanism in Eastern Europe: The Socio-Political Roots of Authoritarian Populism in Belarus. Europe-Asia Studies, 52(3), 523-547.
- Balmaceda M. M., Clem J. I., Tarlow L. L. (Eds.), Independent Belarus: domestic determinants, regional dynamics, and implications for the West. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2002. Chapters 3, 6, 7, 10.
- Charles King C. Marking time in the middle ground: Contested identities and Moldovan foreign policy, Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 19:3 (2003), 60-82.

**Week 13, November 18: 2022-2025 Dynamic of the War. Internal, Regional & Global Implications**

- Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Michael Kofman, "Putin's Point of No Return." Foreign Affairs, December 18, 2024. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/russia/putins-point-no-return>
- Greminger T., Vestner T. 2022. The Russia-Ukraine War's Implications for Global Security: A First Multi-Issue Analysis. Geneva Centre for Security Policy. Chapter 2. <https://www.gcsp.ch/publications/russia-ukraine-wars-implications-global-security>
- Krastev I., Leonard M. The Crisis of European Security: What Europeans Think About the War in Ukraine, Policy Brief from the European Council on Foreign Relations, February 2022.

**Week 14, November 25: Re-Setting the Scene: Potential Endgame and the Global Outcomes**

- Christian Molling et. Al. Sea Change for Europe's Security Order. Three Future Scenarios (DGAP, 2022)
- Peter Jones CMG. European Security Architecture: Against Russia, or With It? (RUSI, 2022)
- Stefan Lehne. After Russia's War Against Ukraine: What Kind of World Order? (Carnegie Europe, 2023)
- Charap, S. (2023). An Unwinnable War: Washington needs an endgame in Ukraine. Foreign Affairs. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ukraine/unwinnable-war-washington-endgame>

Optional:

- Feltman, J. (2023). War, peace, and the international system after Ukraine. Brookings. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/war-peace-and-the-international-system-after-ukraine/>
- Walt, S. M. (2023). Ukraine and Russia need a Great-Power Peace Plan. Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/ukraine-and-russia-need-great-power-peace-plan>

**Week 15, December 2: Final Presentations**

**Students' presentations and Q&A Concluding discussion.**

## University Policies

### Attendance Policy

The university views class attendance and participation as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about excused absences, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

## Makeup Work Policy

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to [Student Rule 7](#) in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor" ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1](#)).

"The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence" ([Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2](#)).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See [Student Rule 24](#).)

## Academic Integrity Statement and Policy

"An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate those who do."

"Texas A&M University students are responsible for authenticating all work submitted to an instructor. If asked, students must be able to produce proof that the item submitted is indeed the work of that student. Students must keep appropriate records at all times. The inability to authenticate one's work, should the instructor request it, may be sufficient grounds to initiate an academic misconduct case" ([Section 20.1.2.3, Student Rule 20](#)).

You can learn more about the Aggie Honor System Office Rules and Procedures, academic integrity, and your rights and responsibilities at [aggiehonor.tamu.edu](http://aggiehonor.tamu.edu).

## Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy

Texas A&M University is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. If you experience barriers to your education due to a disability or think you may have a disability, please contact the Disability Resources office on your campus (resources listed below) Disabilities may include, but are not limited to attentional, learning, mental health, sensory, physical, or chronic health conditions. All students are encouraged to discuss their disability related needs with Disability Resources and their instructors as soon as possible.

Disability Resources is located in the Student Services Building or at (979) 845-1637 or visit [disability.tamu.edu](http://disability.tamu.edu).



## Title IX and Statement on Limits to Confidentiality

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see [University Rule 08.01.01.M1](#)):

- The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.
- The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, a person who is subjected to the alleged conduct will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with [Counseling and Psychological Services](#) (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's [Title IX webpage](#).

## Statement on Mental Health and Wellness

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in healthy self-care by utilizing available resources and services on your campus

Students who need someone to talk to can contact Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) or call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at [suicidepreventionlifeline.org](https://suicidepreventionlifeline.org).