

# HI131 Ukraine Since 1986: History of a Post-Communist Transformation

Seminar Leader: Ostap Sereda

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Office Hours: Tuesday (17.30-19.00) and Thursday (17.30-19.00) or by appointment

## Course Description

This course will focus on the history of Ukraine since the official beginning of the *perestroika* policy and the Chornobyl disaster. Although it is an exercise in contemporary historical analysis, it will not be structured chronologically. Instead, it will explore multi-layered dynamic of Ukraine's society, politics and culture through the discussion on the changing role of such key factors of Ukrainian recent history as war, revolution, civil society, nation-building, decommunization, historical memory, regionalism, minorities, political violence, democratization, deindustrialization, displacement, post-coloniality and other. The course will also examine the main conceptual frameworks of the post-Communist transition in Eastern and Central Europe and offer analytical tools for analyzing a war-torn society of the 21st century.

## Requirements

### Academic Integrity

Bard College Berlin maintains the highest standards of academic integrity and expects students to adhere to these standards at all times. Instances in which students fail to meet the expected standards of academic integrity will be dealt with under the Code of Student Conduct, Section 14.3 (Academic Misconduct) in the Student Handbook.

### Accommodations

Bard College Berlin is committed to inclusion and providing equal access to all students; we uphold and maintain all aspects of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and the ADA Amendments Act of 2008, and Section 3 of the German Disability Equality Act of April 27, 2002 (Federal Law Gazette I p. 1468). If you have a disability, or think you may have a disability, please contact the Disability Accommodation Coordinator, Atticus Kleen, ([accommodations@berlin.bard.edu](mailto:accommodations@berlin.bard.edu)) to request an official accommodation.

Requests for accommodations should be made as early as possible to ensure adequate time for coordination and planning. Please note that accommodations are not retroactive and may require advance notice to implement.

If you have already been approved for accommodations with the Disability Accommodation Coordinator, please arrange to meet with me outside of class so that we can develop an implementation plan.

Students may face extenuating circumstances related to various personal or external factors, which impact their academic performance. While these circumstances often do not fall within the legal framework of Disability Accommodations, Bard College Berlin is committed to supporting students experiencing such circumstances. A student needing a short extension or a replacement assignment because of an extenuating circumstance is encouraged to make arrangements directly with instructors if possible. If further support is needed, please visit the [Bard College Berlin Accessibility page](#). Questions about this process can be directed to James Harker (j.harker@berlin.bard.edu) or Maria Anderson-Long (m.andersonlong@berlin.bard.edu).

### **Attendance**

Attendance at all classes is a crucial part of the education offered by Bard College Berlin. To account for minor circumstances, two absences from twice-per-week courses or the equivalent (e.g. one absence from a once-per-week course) should not affect the participation grade or require documentation.

Bard College Berlin may not offer credit for any course in which a student has missed more than 30% of classes, regardless of the reasons for the absences. The full Bard College Berlin attendance policy can be found in the Student Handbook, Section 2.8.

### **Assessment**

Every student is expected:

to read texts listed as the main readings and take active part in the discussions in classroom;

to write a mid-semester response paper to a text selected from the list of further readings (1000 words long);

to work on a small research project and to make a presentation during one of sessions, or, alternatively, at the end of semester research seminar (group presentations are allowed);

to write an end of semester essay (4000 words long).

### **Assignments**

The mid-term written assignment is a response paper to a text selected from the list of further readings (1000 words long).

At the end of the course students are expected to write an essay (4000 words long). The final essay can be based on a small research project undertaken and presented during the semester. Students should choose the topic of their final paper and discuss it with the instructor **by 2 October**.

### **Policy on Late Submission of Papers**

Essays that are up to 24 hours late can be downgraded up to one full grade (from B+ to C+, for example). Instructors are not obliged to accept essays that are more than 24 hours late. Where a professor agrees to accept a late assignment, it should be submitted by the new

deadline agreed upon by both parties. Thereafter, the student will receive a failing grade for the assignment. Grades and comments will be returned to students in a timely fashion. Students are also entitled to make an appointment to discuss essay assignments and feedback during \_\_\_\_\_ instructors' \_\_\_\_\_ office \_\_\_\_\_ hours.

Students receive end-of-semester grades for their seminar work. Students are entitled to make an appointment with an instructor to discuss seminar participation, or may be asked to meet with the instructor at any stage in the semester regarding class progress.

## **Grade Breakdown**

The final grade will be based on the assessment of

classroom participation – 30 % of final grade;

seminar presentation – 20 % of final grade;

response paper – 20 % of final grade;

end of semester essay - 30% of final grade.

## **Schedule**

### **2 and 4 September**

#### **Sessions 1-2. Introduction: post-communist transformation in Eastern Europe and how to analyze it**

Anders Aslund, *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Eastern and Central Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia* (Cambridge 2012), 1-13 (Introduction);

Kristen Rogheh Ghodsee, Mitchell A. Orenstein, *Taking Stock of Shock: Social Consequences of the 1989 Revolutions* (Oxford 2021), 1-17 ("Introduction: Transition from Communism – Qualified Success or Utter Catastrophe?"), 183-205 (Conclusions);  
<https://www.takingstockofshock.com/>

Philipp Ther, "Ukraine in Postcommunist Transformation: The Problems of Regional Divergence in Historical Perspective," in Y.Hrytsak and M.Schulze Wessel (eds.), *Revolution and War. Ukraine and the Great Transformation of Modern Europe* (Leipzig 2024), 111-129.

#### **Further readings:**

Mikhail Minakov, *Development and Dystopia. Studies in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Europe* (Stuttgart 2018), 19-42 (chapter "Eastern Europe between Progress and Demodernization");

Philipp Ther, *How the West Lost the Peace: The Great Transformation Since the Cold War* (Cambridge 2023), selected chapters.

## **9 and 11 September**

### **Sessions 3-4. Historical background: Soviet Ukraine reconsidered**

#### ***Introductory reading:***

Serhii Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine* (New York 2015), 291-305.

#### ***Main readings:***

Mark R. Beissinger, "Nationalism and the Collapse of Soviet Communism," *Contemporary European History*, 18/3 (2009), 331–347;

Nataliya Kibita, *The Institutional Foundations of Ukrainian Democracy: Power Sharing, Regionalism, and Authoritarianism* (Oxford 2024), 198-226 (chapter 6: "Shcherbytsky's Leadership between Moscow and the Regions").

#### ***Further readings:***

Roman Szporluk, *Russia, Ukraine, and the Breakup of the Soviet Union* (Stanford 2000), selected chapters.

## **16 and 18 September**

### **Sessions 5-6. From Chernobyl to Independence**

#### ***Introductory reading:***

Serhii Plokhy, *The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine*, 308-323.

#### ***Main readings:***

Nataliya Kibita, *The Institutional Foundations of Ukrainian Democracy: Power Sharing, Regionalism, and Authoritarianism*, 227-255 (chapter 7: "The Ukrainian Leadership's Experiment with *Diktat*");

Serhii Plokhy, *The Last Empire. The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (New York 2014), chapter "The Ukrainian Referendum";

Anna Veronika Wendland, "Nuclearizing Ukraine – Ukrainizing the Atom. Soviet Nuclear Technopolitics, Crisis, and Resilience at the Imperial Periphery," *Cahiers du Monde Russe* vol. 60, nos. 2-3. (2019): 335–367.

**Further readings:**

Kate Brown. *Manual for Survival: A Chernobyl Guide to the Future* (Allen Lane, 2019), selected chapters;

Jane I. Dawson, "Anti-Nuclear Activism in the USSR and Its Successor State: A Surrogate for Nationalism?," *Environmental Politics* vol. 4, no. 3 (1995): 441-466;

Serhii Plokhyy, *Chernobyl. The History of a Nuclear Catastrophe* (New York 2018), selected chapters;

Roman Solchanyk (ed), *Ukraine: From Chernobyl to Sovereignty. A Collection of Interviews* (London: Macmillan, 1992);

Catherine Wanner, *Burden of Dreams. History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), selected chapters.

**23 and 25 September**

**Sessions 7-8. Political transformation: elections and revolutions, pluralism and democracy?**

**Introductory reading:**

Serhii Plokhyy, *The Gates of Europe. A History of Ukraine*, 332-339.

**Main readings:**

Paul D'Anieri, "The Evolution of Ukrainian Politics, 1989–2006," in *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (Armonk, N.Y. 2007), 84-112;

Serhiy Kudelia and Georgiy Kasianov, "Ukraine's Political Development after Independence," in M. Rojansky, G. Kasianov and M. Minakov (eds), *From the Ukraine to Ukraine: A Contemporary History, 1991-2021* (Stuttgart 2021), 9-52;

Mykhailo Minakov and Matthew Rojansky, "Democracy in Ukraine," in *From the Ukraine to Ukraine: A Contemporary History, 1991-2021*, 321-358.

**Further readings:**

Oleksandra Keudel, "Transforming Patronal Democracy Bottom-Up: Two Logics of Local Governance in Ukraine," in B. Madlovics and B. Magyar (eds.), *Ukraine's Patronal Democracy and the Russian Invasion*, vol.1 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2023), 373-394;

Olga Mashtaler, "The 2019 Presidential Election in Ukraine: Populism, the Influence of the Media, and the Victory of the Virtual Candidate," in Ch. Kohl et al (eds), *The Politics of Authenticity and Populist Discourses. Media and Education in Brazil, India and Ukraine* (Cham 2021), 127-160;

Mykhailo Minakov, *The Post-Soviet Human. Philosophical Reflections on Social History after the End of Communism* (Hannover 2024), 43-112 (Chapters 2 and 3);

Anton Shekhovtsov, "From Para-Militarism to Radical Right-Wing Populism: The Rise of the

Ukrainian Far-Right Party Svoboda," in Ruth Wodak et al (eds), *Right-Wing Populism in Europe. Politics and Discourse* (London 2013), 249-263.

### **30 September and 2 October**

#### **Sessions 9-10. Economic transformation: privatization and oligarchs, poverty and corruption?**

Kristen Rogheh Ghodsee, Mitchell A. Orenstein, *Taking Stock of Shock: Social Consequences of the 1989 Revolutions*, 67-92;

Mikhail Minakov, *Development and Dystopia. Studies in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Europe*, 43-56 (chapter "Systemic Corruption and the East European Social Contract"), 122-150 ("The Evolution of Ukrainian Oligarchy");

Tymofiy Mylovanov and Ilona Sologub, "The Development of Ukraine's Private Sector," in *From the Ukraine to Ukraine: A Contemporary History, 1991-2021*, 53-94.

#### **Further readings:**

J.David Brown, John S. Earle, Solomiya Shpak, and Volodymyr Vakhitov, "Is Privatization Working in Ukraine? New Estimates from Comprehensive Manufacturing Firm Data, 1989-2013," *Comparative Economic Studies* 61 (2019): 1-35;

Igor Burakovsky and Stanislav Yukhymenko, "Ukrainian Oligarchs: The War as a Challenge," *Ukraine's Patronal Democracy and the Russian Invasion*, vol.1, 169-192;

Tetiana Kostiuchenko and Inna Melnykovska, "Sustaining Business-State Symbiosis in Times of Political Turmoil: the Case of Ukraine 2007-2018," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte / Economic History Yearbook*, vol. 60, no. 2 (2019): 363-376;

Károly Attila Soós, *Politics and Policies in Post-Communist Transition: Primary and Secondary Privatisation in Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011), selected chapters.

### **7 and 9 October**

#### **Sessions 11-12. Orange Revolution, the Euromaidan, and civil society**

Emily Channell-Justice, *Without the State. Self-Organization and Political Activism in Ukraine* (Toronto 2022), 78-103;

Olena Nikolayenko, "Mapping Support for a Revolution: Evidence from Ukraine," *International Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 3 (2021): 218-248;

Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine's Orange Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 198-205 (chapter 10 "Conclusions: Revolution Number 5")

Susann Worschech, "New Civic Activism in Ukraine: Building Society from Scratch?" *Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal. Special Issue: Civil Society in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine* (2017): 23-45.

**Further readings:**

Serhiy Kudelia, *Seize the City, Undo the State: The Inception of Russia's War on Ukraine* (Oxford 2025), 113-137 (chapter 4 "The Russian Spring' and Its Discontents");

Mikhail Minakov, *Development and Dystopia. Studies in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Europe*, 175-192 (chapter "Images of the West and Russia among Supporters and Opponents of the Euromaidan"); 95-102 (chapter "Post-Soviet parliamentarism")

Olena Nikolayenko, "Invisible Revolutionaries: Women's Participation in the Revolution of Dignity," *Comparative Politics* vol.52, no.3 (2020): 451–472;

Mychailo Wynnyckyj, *Ukraine's Maidan, Russia's War. A Chronicle and Analysis of the Revolution of Dignity* (Stuttgart 2020), selected chapters.

**14 and 16 October**

**Sessions 13-14. Euro-Atlantic integration and Russian expansionism**

**Introductory reading:**

Philipp Ther, *Europe since 1989. A History* (Princeton 2016), 314-328.

**Main readings:**

Anders Aslund, *How Capitalism Was Built: The Transformation of Eastern and Central Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia*, 301-325 (chapter 10: "The Importance of the European Union");

Margarita Balmaceda, *Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (Toronto 2013), 93-153;

Olga Burlyuk, and Natalia Shapovalova, "'Veni, Vidi, ... Vici?'" EU Performance and Two Faces of Conditionality Towards Ukraine," *East European Politics* vol.33 no.1 (2017): 36–55.

**Further readings:**

Maria Popova and Oxana Shevel, *Russia and Ukraine: Entangled Histories, Diverging States* (Cambridge, UK 2024), chapter "Ukraine, Russia, and the West";

M. Rabinovych and A. Pintsch (eds), *Ukraine's Thorny Path to the EU. From "Integration Without Membership" to "Integration Through War"* (Cham 2014), selected chapters.

**20-26 October – Fall Break**

**28 and 30 October**

**Sessions 15-16. Deindustrialization, social inequality and labor migration**



Kristen Rogheh Ghodsee, Mitchell A. Orenstein, *Taking Stock of Shock: Social Consequences of the 1989 Revolutions*, 93-104 (chapter 8: "The Out-Migration Crisis");

Ella Libanova, "Labor migration from Ukraine: Key features, drivers, and impact," *Economics and Sociology* 12/1 (2019): 313–328;

Yuliya Yurchenko, Pavlo Kutuev, Maksym Yenin, and Hennadiy Korzhov, "Class Division and Social Inequality in Independent Ukraine," in *From the Ukraine to Ukraine : A Contemporary History, 1991-2021*, 95-136.

### **Further readings:**

Denys Gorbach, *The Making and Unmaking of the Ukrainian Working Class: Everyday Politics and Moral Economy in a Post-Soviet City* (New York 2024), selected chapters;

Mark Kramer, "Blue-collar workers and the post-communist transitions in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine," *Communist and post-communist studies* vol.28 (1995): 3-11;

## **4 and 6 November**

### **Sessions 17-18. Nation-building, language, and historical memory**

Volodymyr Kulyk, "Identity in Transformation: Russian-Speakers in Post-Soviet Ukraine," *Europa-Asia Studies* (2017): 1-23;

Daria Mattingly, "Enforcing National Memory, Remembering Famine's Victims. The National Museum "Holodomor Victims Memorial"," in S.M.Norris (ed.), *Museums of Communism. New Memory Sites in Central and Eastern Europe*, (Indiana University Press, 2020), 189-213;

Oksana Mikheieva and Oxana Shevel, "The Development of National Identities in Ukraine," in *From the Ukraine to Ukraine: A Contemporary History, 1991-2021*, 283-320;

Andriy Portnov, "The Soviet Past in Ukrainian Politics of Memory (1991-2017)," in *Revolution and War. Ukraine and the Great Transformation of Modern Europe*, 130-164;

### **Further readings:**

Mykola Riabchuk, "Ukraine's 'Muddling Through'," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* vol. 45 no. 3/4 (2012): 439-446;

Oxana Shevel, "No Way Out? Post-Soviet Ukraine's Memory Wars in Comparative Perspective," in H.Halle and R.Ortung (eds.), *Beyond the Euromaidan: Comparative Perspectives on Advancing Reform in Ukraine* (Stanford 2016), 21-40;

Yuliya Yurchuk, "Reclaiming the Past, Confronting the Past: OUN-UPA Memory Politics and Nation-Building in Ukraine (1991-2016)," in J.Fedor et al (eds.), *War and Memory in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cham 2017), 107-137.

## **11 November**



## **Session 19. Regionalism without regions?**

Oksana Myshlovska, Ulrich Schmid, and Tatjana Hofmann, "Introduction," in *Regionalism without Regions: Reconceptualizing Ukraine's Heterogeneity* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2019), 3-24;

Nataliya Kibita, *The Institutional Foundations of Ukrainian Democracy: Power Sharing, Regionalism, and Authoritarianism*, 256-286 (chapter 8: "The More We Centralize, The Less Order There Is in the State").

### **Further readings:**

Roman Szporluk, "The Strange Politics of Lviv: An Essay in Search of an Explanation," in *Russia, Ukraine, and the Breakup of the Soviet Union*, 299-314.

Tatiana Zhurzhenko, "Eastern Borderlands: The End of Ambiguity?" in A. Wilson (ed.), *What Does Ukraine Think?* (European Council on Foreign Relations, 2015), 45-52.

### Sources:

"The MAPA: Digital Atlas of Ukraine" by the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University  
<https://www.gis.huri.harvard.edu/>

"Region, nation and beyond". Comparative results of 2013, 2015 and 2017 surveys  
<https://www.uaregio.org/en/surveys/data-visualisations/survey-infographics/>

## **13 November**

## **Session 20. Religious pluralism, minorities and indigenous peoples**

Tymofii Brik and Jose Kasanova, "Thirty Years of Religious Pluralism in Ukraine," in *From the Ukraine to Ukraine: A Contemporary History, 1991-2021*, 249-282;

Martin-Oleksandr Kisly, "Crimean Tatars: Claiming the Homeland" In *Ukraine's Many Faces: Land, People, and Culture Revisited* edited by Olena Palko and Manuel Férez Gil, (Bielefeld 2023), 247-262.

### **Further readings:**

Elmira Muratova and Nadia Zasanska (eds.), *Minorities at War: Cultural Identity and Resilience in Ukraine* (New York 2025), selected chapters;

Viktoriya Sereda, Mykola Homanyuk, "Consequences of War-Induced Displacement and the Shifting Cartography of Belonging of Ukraine's Ahiska (Meskhetian) Turks, Crimean Tatars, and Roma since 2014," *European Yearbook of Minority Issues Online* 21/1 (2024): 99-127;

Catherine Wanner, *Everyday Religiosity and the Politics of Belonging in Ukraine* (Cornell University Press, 2022), selected chapters;

Emine Ziyatdinova, "Reclaiming the History of Crimea and the Crimean Tatars through One Family Story," in V. Sereda (ed.), *War, Migration, Memory. Perspective on Russia's War against Ukraine* (Bielefeld 2025), 367-380.

**18 November**

**Session 21. Gender discrimination and protest**

Tamara Martsenyuk, "The State of the LGBT Community and Homophobia in Ukraine," *Problems of Post-Communism* 59/2 (2012): 51-62;

Olga Onuch and Tamara Martsenyuk, "Mothers and Daughters of the Maidan: Gender, Repertoires of Violence, and the Division of Labour in Ukrainian Protests," *Social, Health, and Communication Studies Journal* 1/1 (2014): 105-126.

**Further readings:**

Olena Strelnyk, "A Mom Who Has Time for Everything": Mothers Between Work and Family in Contemporary Ukraine," in Y.Gradskova, I.A.Morell (eds.), *Gendering Postsocialism. Old Legacies and New Hierarchies* (New York 2018), 105-120.

**20, 25 and 27 November**

**Sessions 22-24. Post-colonial culture(s): literature, music, visual arts**

Class One:

Vitaly Chernetsky, "Identity Quests: Postcolonial Journeys in Contemporary Ukrainian Writing," in K.Smola, D.Uffermann (eds.), *Postcolonial Slavic Literatures after Communism* (Frankfurt am Main 2016), 327-346

Tamara Hundorova, *The Post-Chornobyl Library. Ukrainian Postmodernism of the 1990s* (Boston 2019), 129-189.

Class Two:

Maria Sonevsky, *Wild Music: Sound and Sovereignty in Ukraine* (Middletown, CT 2019), 54-86 (chapter "One Wild Dances. Ethnic Intimacy, Auto-Exoticism, and Infrastructural Activism");

Tatiana Zhurzhenko "Fighting Empire, Weaponising Culture: The Conflict with Russia and the Restrictions on Russian Mass Culture in Post-Maidan Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies* 73/8 (2021): 1441-1466.

Class Three:

Kateryna Botanova, "Artist as a Virus. Political Transformations and Art in Ukraine after 1991," in S.Biedarieva (ed.), *Contemporary Ukrainian and Baltic Art. Political and Social Perspectives, 1991–2021* (Stuttgart 2021), 79-102;

Helen Ferguson, "Silence and Shrieks: Language in Three Films by Kira Muratova," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 83/1 (2005): 38-70.

**Further readings:**

Oksana Barshynova and Olena Martynyuk, "Ukrainian Art of the Independence Era: Transitions and Aspirations," in *From the Ukraine to Ukraine: A Contemporary History, 1991-2021*, 207-248;

Ola Hnatiuk, "Nativists versus Westernizers. Problems of Cultural Identity in Ukrainian Literature of the 1990s," in L.Zaleska Onyshkevych and M.Rewakowicz (eds), *Contemporary Ukraine on the Cultural Map of Europe* (Armonk, New York: M.E.Sharpe, 2009), 203-218

Yaroslav Hrytsak, "The Postcolonial Is Not Enough," *Slavic Review* 74/4 (2015): 732-737;

Eleonora Narvselius, *Ukrainian Intelligentsia in post-Soviet L'viv. Narratives, Identity and Power* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012), selected chapters.

## **2 and 4 December**

### **Sessions 25-26. War and the mobilization of society. Russian occupation of Crimea and the intervention in Donbas**

Michael Kofman, Katya Migacheva, Brian Nichiporuk, Andrew Radin, Olesya Tkacheva, Jenny Oberholtzer, "The Annexation of Crimea," in *Lessons from Russia's Operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine* (RAND, 2017), 5–33;

Oksana Mikheieva, Viktoriya Sereda, Lidia Kuzemska, "Internal and external migration during the war," in B.Madlovics and B.Magyar (eds.), *Russia's Imperial Endeavor and Its Geopolitical Consequences: The Russia-Ukraine War*, vol. 2 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2023), 199-220.

Oksana Mikheieva "Motivations of Pro-Russian and Pro-Ukrainian Combatants in the Context of the Russian Military Intervention in the Donbas" in D.R.Marples (ed.), *The War in Ukraine's Donbas: Origins, Contexts, and the Future* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2022), 67–83;

Kateryna Zarembo, "Substituting for the State: The Role of Volunteers in Defense Reform in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine," *Kyiv-Mohyla Law and Politics Journal. Special Issue: Civil Society in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine* (2017): 47-70.

#### **Further readings:**

Kristian Åtland, "Destined for Deadlock? Russia, Ukraine, and the Unfulfilled Minsk Agreements," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 36, no. 2 (2020): 122–39

Stanislav Aseyev, "Who Has Joined the DPR Militants and What Are They Fighting For?," in *In Isolation: Dispatches from Occupied Donbas* (Harvard University Press, 2022), 14–21;

Serhiy Kudelia, *Seize the City, Undo the State: The Inception of Russia's War on Ukraine*, 244-270 (chapter 9 "Beyond Donbas. Why Separatism Failed in Kharkiv and Odesa");

Mikhail Minakov, *Development and Dystopia. Studies in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Europe*, 203-211;

Serhii Plokhyy, *The Russo-Ukrainian War. The Return of History* (New York 2023), chapters "Putin's War"; "The Gates of Kyiv".

**9 December**

**Session 27. Student research seminar**

**11 December**

**Session 28. Concluding discussion**

## **Essay Deadlines**

The deadline for the mid-term assignment (a response paper) is **19 October 2025**.

The deadline for the end of semester essay is **19 December 2025**.

## **Grades Submission**

- Midterm grades are due 31 October 2025
- Final grades for graduating students are due 12 December 2025
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- Final grades for all students are due on 2 January 2026.

## **Library and Book Purchase Policies**

Most of the readings will be uploaded in electronic format in the Google Classroom. Some other texts will be available in the library reserve collection.