

LEGACIES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND SOVIET UNION

Harriman Institute Core Colloquium

History/Political Science G8445, Spring 2013

Mondays 6:10 – 8pm, Room 1219 IAB

Prof. Alexander Motyl and Prof. Rebecca Stanton

ajmotyl@andromeda.rutgers.edu; rjs19@columbia.edu

Office hours: Motyl: M 5-6, Harriman Institute; Stanton: Tu 2-3, 226 Milbank Hall (Barnard)

Course Description

“Legacies of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union” is an interdisciplinary course that examines some of the major issues surrounding the changes experienced by the countries that once comprised the Soviet bloc—Russia, the non-Russian republics of the former USSR, and East Central Europe—in light of the legacies of the imperial and Soviet traditions and in relation to the conceptual, methodological, and theoretical developments undergone by Soviet studies and related disciplines.

Course Requirements

1. Students are expected to attend all sessions and participate in class discussions. At least one comment per class is expected.
2. Each student must present his or her research-in-progress at one of the weekly class meetings in the form of a coherent 20-minute presentation that directly engages the readings from that week’s class.
3. Each student must write a substantive research paper (exactly 15 pages, 12-point font, double-spaced) on the topic of his or her presentation in class. Papers are due on the last day of class.

Grading

Participation in class discussions	33.3%
Class presentation	33.3%
Paper	33.3%

Readings

All students should read Michael Karpovich, *Imperial Russia 1801-1917* and Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Revenge of the Past* in preparation for the course. The Karpovich book (out of print) is on reserve at Butler Library. The Suny book is available at Book Culture for purchase.

All the class readings are available on www.courseworks.columbia.edu.

Schedule

January 28: Sovietology, Post-Sovietology, and Politics

David Engerman, "Jihadology: How the Creation of Sovietology Should Guide the Study of Today's Threats," *Foreign Affairs*, December 8, 2009. <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/node/65670>

Catharine Nepomnyashchy, "The Russian Institute: The Formative Years."

Mark von Hagen, "Empires, Borderlands, and Diasporas: Eurasia as Anti-Paradigm for the Post-Soviet Era," *American Historical Review*, April 2004, pp. 445-468.

February 4: Interdisciplinarity, Narratives, and Evidence

Nancy Condee, "Body Graphics: Tattooing the Fall of Communism," in Adele Marie Barker, ed., *Consuming Russia*, pp. 339-361.

Stanley Fish, "The Old Order Changeth," *The New York Times*, December 26, 2011.
<http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/12/26/the-old-order-changeth/?scp=1&sq=stanley%20fish%20mla&st=cse>

Michael Johnson, "Kennan, Warts and All," *The American Spectator*.
<http://spectator.org/archives/2011/12/12/kennan-warts-and-all>

David D. Laitin, *Identity in Formation*, chap. 1.

Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman, "A Normal Country," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2004.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, Preface.

February 11: History and Memory as Fields of Contention

Anna Akhmatova, "Requiem." <http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/requiem/>

Milan Kundera, "The Tragedy of Central Europe," in G. Stokes, ed., *From Stalinism to Pluralism*, pp. 217-223.

Alexander Motyl, "Why Is the KGB Bar Possible?" *Nationalities Papers*, Sept. 2010, pp. 671-687.

Thomas Sherlock, *Historical Narratives in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Russia*, pp. 149-168.

Timothy Snyder, "Holocaust: The Ignored Reality," *NY Review of Books*, July 16, 2009.
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/22875>

Mark von Hagen, "Does Ukraine Have a History?" *Slavic Review*, autumn 1995, pp. 658-673.
5'nizza, "Gimn SSSR." http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZOKG3m8Z_Rg

February 18: Totalitarianism and Its Discontents

Hannah Arendt, *Totalitarianism*. <http://nickcooper.com/origins.htm>

Stephen Cohen, "Sovietology as a Vocation," *Rethinking the Soviet Experience*, chap. 1.

Karl Deutsch, "Cracks in the Monolith: Possibilities and Patterns of Disintegration in Totalitarian Systems," in Harry Eckstein and David E. Apter, eds., *Comparative Politics: A Reader*, pp. 497-508.

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, Introduction.

Valentyn Moroz, *Report from the Beria Reserve* ("An Empire of Cogs," "An Orgy on the Ruins of Individuality").

George Orwell, *1984*, part 1, chap. I. <http://www.george-orwell.org/1984/0.html>

Elizabeth Valkenier, "The Totalitarian Model and Me," *The Harriman Review*, Nov. 2002.
<http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/MEDIA/01277.pdf>

February 25: The Mechanisms of Communist Rule

- Seweryn Bialer, *Stalin's Successors*, chap. 8.
Evgeny Dobrenko, "The Disaster of Middlebrow Taste, or, Who 'Invented' Socialist Realism?" *South Atlantic Quarterly*, summer 1995, pp. 773-806.
Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon*, pp. 146-167.
Norman Naimark, *Soviet Genocides*, Introduction.
John Scott, *Behind the Urals*, part 5.
Katherine Verdery, "The 'Etatization' of Time in Ceausescu's Romania," in *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* pp. 39-58.
Rachel Walker, "Marxism-Leninism as Discourse: The Politics of the Empty Signifier and the Double Bind," *British Journal of Political Science*, no. 2, 1989, pp. 161-189.

March 4: Living under Stalinism

- Anne Applebaum, "How the Communists Inexorably Changed Life," *NY Review of Books*, November 22, 2012, pp. 37-39.
Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, "Conversations and Listeners."
Aileen Kelly, "Why They Believed in Stalin," *NY Review of Books*, April 26, 2007, pp. 58-62.
Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization*, pp. 198-237.
Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind*, preface, chap. 1.
Andrei Sinyavsky, *Soviet Civilization*, "The New Man."
Teresa Toranska, *"Them": Stalin's Polish Puppets*, pp. 15-29.

March 11: The Dynamics of Soviet-type Economies

- Keith Darden, "The Integrity of Corrupt States: Graft as an Informal State Institution," *Politics and Society*, March 2008, pp. 35-60.
Padma Desai, "Discovering Russia," *The Harriman Review*, June 2011.
<http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/MEDIA/02058.pdf>
Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika*, chap. 1.
Gregory Grossman, "The Second Economy of the USSR," in Morris Bornstein, ed., *The Soviet Economy: Continuity and Change*.
Janos Kornai, *The Socialist System*, chaps. 15-16, 24.
Dean C. Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies," *Comparative Studies of Society and History*, no. 2, 1973, pp. 199-226.
Vladimir Voinovich, *Ivankiada*, part 1.

March 18: No Class

March 25: Sex, Gender, and Power

- Isaac Babel, *Red Cavalry*, "Salt." In Russian: <http://lib.ru/PROZA/BABEL/konarmia.txt>
Adrienne Edgar, "Bolshevism, Patriarchy, and the Nation: The Soviet 'Emancipation' of Muslim Women in Pan-Islamic Perspective," *Slavic Review*, summer 2006, pp. 252-72.

Gail Warshofsky Lapidus, "Political Mobilization, Participation, and Leadership: Women in Soviet Politics," *Comparative Politics*, Oct. 1975, pp. 90-118.

Vera Malakhova, "Four Years as a Frontline Physician," in Engel and Posadskaia Vanderbeck, *A Revolution of Their Own*, pp. 175-218.

C. Nepomnyashchy, "Man in Black." [See: "Khoroshii, khoroshii, khoroshii!" Aug. 1, 2008.
<http://www.russia.ru/video/putin/>]

Nancy Ries, *Russia Talk*, pp. 1-41.

A. Solzhenitsyn, "The Right Hand," in *Stories and Prose Poems*.

April 1: Opposition and Dissent

Hélène Carrere d'Encausse, *Decline of an Empire*, chap. 8.

Petro Grigorenko, *Memoirs*, chap. 17.

Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless."

http://www.vaclavhavel.cz/showtrans.php?cat=clanky&val=72_aj_clanky.html&typ=HTML

Slawomir Mrozek, "Children."

Hedrick Smith, *The Russians*, chap. 17.

Yevgeni Yevtushenko, "Babii Yar."

http://famouspoetsandpoems.com/poets/yevgeny_yevtushenko/poems/22483

April 8: Russians, Non-Russians, and Empire

Edward Allworth, "Introduction," in E. Allworth, ed., *Ethnic Russia: The Dilemma of Dominance*.

Mark Beissinger, "Soviet Empire as 'Family Resemblance'," *Slavic Review*, summer 2006, pp. 294-303.

Gregory Gleason, "The 'National Factor' and the Logic of Sovietology," in A. Motyl, ed., *The Post-Soviet Nations*.

Kurban Said, *Ali and Nino*, chap. 1.

Dominic Lieven, *Empire: The Russian Empire and Its Rivals*, chap. 9.

Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as Communal Apartment," *Slavic Review*, summer 1994.

Nicolas Werth, "The Great Ukrainian Famine of 1932-33," *Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*, April 18, 2008. <http://www.massviolence.org/The-1932-1933-Great-Famine-in-Ukraine>

April 15: The Collapse of Communism

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Failure*, chaps. 21-23.

Valerie Bunce, *Subversive Institutions*, chap. 7.

George Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947.

<http://www.historyguide.org/europe/kennan.html>

Moshe Lewin, *Russia/USSR/Russia*, "Autopsy Report."

M. Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chap. 13.

Evgenii Zamyatin, *We*, record 24-25.

Viktor Zaslavsky, *The Neo-Stalinist State*, chap. 3.

April 22: Russia, Europe, and the West

Marc Bassin, "Russia between Europe and Asia: The Ideological Construction of Geography," *Slavic Review*, spring 1991, pp. 1-17.

Aleksandr Blok, "Scythians."

http://web.mmlc.northwestern.edu/~mdenner/Demo/texts/scythians_blok.html

Elemer Hankiss, "European Paradigms: East and West, 1945-1994," *Daedalus*, summer 1994.

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, summer 1993, pp. 22-49.

Vladimir Putin, "Speech at Munich Conference on Security Policy," Feb. 10, 2007.

www.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2007/02/10/0138_type82912type82914type82917type84779_118135.shtml

Alfred Rieber, "Persistent Factors in Russian Foreign Policy," in Hugh Ragsdale, ed., *Imperial Russian Foreign Policy*.

Sergei Stankevich, "Russia in Search of Itself," *National Interest*, summer 1992.

April 29: Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Former Soviet Bloc

V. Bunce, "The Political Economy of Postsocialism," *Slavic Review*, winter 1999, pp. 756-793.

Adrian Karatnycky and Peter Ackerman, *How Freedom Is Won: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy*. http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/special_report/29.pdf

Edward Keenan, "Muscovite Political Folkways," *Russian Review*, 1986, pp. 158-181.

M. Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, Epilogue, pp. 505-513.

Saparmurat Niyazov, *Ruhnama*, section 1. <http://www.turkmenistan.gov.tm/ruhnama/ruhnama-eng.html>

David Remnick, "The Civil Archipelago," *The New Yorker*, December 19, 2011.

http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/12/19/111219fa_fact_remnick?printable=true¤tPage=all

Viktor Yanukovych, *Opportunity Ukraine*, chap. 13.

May 6: Stability and Instability in Russia

Anders Aslund, *Putin's Decline and America's Response*, Carnegie Endowment Policy Brief, no. 41, August 2005.

Murray Feshbach, "Potential Social Disarray in Russia due to Health Factors."

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/docs/staff/Feshbach_socialdisarray.pdf

Emily Johnson, "Putin and Emptiness," *The Harriman Review*, April 2009.

<http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/MEDIA/01383.pdf>

Vladimir Kara-Murza, <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/blogs/vladimir-kara-murza>

Charles King and Rajan Menon, "Prisoners of the Caucasus: Russia's Invisible Civil War," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2010.

Amy Knight, "Finally, We Know About the Moscow Bombings," *NY Review of Books*, November 22, 2012, pp. 56-59.

A.Motyl, "Fascistoid Russia: Whither Putin's Brittle Realm?"

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/fascistoid-russia-whither-putin%E2%80%99s-brittle-realm>

Vladimir Putin, "Address to the Federal Assembly," December 12, 2012, <http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/4739>