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Course Description

The collapse of the USSR along national lines surprised most contemporary observers in 1991. Over the next twenty years, as cultural, political, and military conflicts shook Eastern Europe and Central Asia, they raised troubling questions about the reach and claims of national identities and nationalisms in the region. A historical and transnational approach is crucial for understanding these issues, for key associations and overlapping fault lines were established in the late Soviet period. By examining how the nominally socialist Soviet state dealt with its multi-ethnic population, this course illuminates key aspects of post-communist transformations in Ukraine and other countries of the former USSR.

The course is divided into three thematic sections: state building and modernisation; centre-periphery dynamics; and interethnic conflict and violence. In the first few weeks, we will explore the relationship between national identities, nationalisms and state building in the former USSR: How did the Soviet state use nationalism to control and transform its vast territory? To what extent did nationalism pose a challenge to the Soviet state? How far have post-Soviet states mobilised national sentiment to gain legitimacy? The second part of the course explores the evolving notions of ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’ in the former USSR: What was the extent of Russification in the former USSR? Has the idea of a ‘Soviet people’ survived the collapse of the USSR, and is Russia still the centre of the post-Soviet world? What is the relationship between regional and national identities in Soviet successor states? Finally, in the third part of the course, we will concentrate on national conflict and interethnic violence: What are the roots of far right ideologies in the region? To what extent do separatist movements threaten Soviet successor states? Why has the collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in so much bloodshed in the Caucasus?

Engaging with history and political science literature, students will gain experience in handling a wide range of sources. More broadly, by exploring particular case studies and relevant theories, they will reflect upon the origins and the meaning of nations and nationalisms in the modern world.

Course Objectives:

- To analyse the scope and claims of national identities and nationalisms in the former USSR
- To examine Russian and Soviet history through the prism of the nationalities question
- To acquire an understanding of theoretical issues surrounding national identities and nationalisms
- To adopt interdisciplinary approaches to the study of the former USSR
- To gain experience handling a wide range of primary and secondary sources
- To improve research and analytical skills
- To improve written and oral communication skills

Seminar Schedule

- 1) Introduction: What is a nation? (11 January)

Section I: State-building and modernisation

- 2) The USSR as a Communal Apartment (18 January)
- 3) State and Socialism in Central Asia (25 January)
- 4) Ukrainian Roads to Independence (1 February)

Section II: Centres and peripheries

- 5) Where are the Russians? (8 February)
- 6) The 'Near Abroad' (15 February)
- 7) The Western Borderlands (29 February)
- 8) No class/Individual essay meetings (week beginning 5 March, times to be arranged)

Section III: Conflict and violence

- 9) The Far Right (14 March)
- 10) Separatism (21 March)
- 11) Inter-Ethnic Violence in the Caucasus (28 March)

- 12) Conclusions: Nationalism, Soviet Patriotism and Communist Nostalgia (4 April)

Assessment

- FOR UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS ONLY. 3 position papers, each worth 10% of the final mark. Students will be divided into three groups, and will produce position papers by the following deadlines:

Group 1: 18 January, 8 February, 14 March

Group 2: 25 January, 15 February, 21 March

Group 3: 1 February, 29 February, 28 March

In other words, each student will write 3 position papers. In a position paper, you should outline a clear answer to the question set for the class when your deadline falls (see questions below). Position papers should not exceed 750 words. Of course, your argument will not be as carefully considered as it would be in an essay, but writing position papers will help you develop opinions about the kinds of issues which you will later discuss in class. You should hand in your position papers to me in class. I will then read them and give you feedback the next week.

- FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS ONLY. Book review due on **15 February, to be handed in during class** (no more than 2,000 words, including footnotes). 30% of the final mark.

You need to write a review of one of the books listed below. You should not just aim to summarise the argument, but also to assess how the book contributes to wider literature and our understanding of nations and nationalism in the USSR and its successor states. You should adopt a critical approach, analysing the author's methodology and use of evidence, providing illustrative examples. Your reviews will be structured like an essay, with a strong introduction and conclusion. You must make sure that they contain an argument of your own.

Please choose from one of the following texts:

J. Breuilly, *Nationalism and the state* (1993)

G. Hosking, *Rulers and victims: the Russians in the Soviet Union* (2006)

W.J. Risch, *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv* (2011)

C. Wanner, *Burden of dreams: history and identity in post-Soviet Ukraine* (1998)

A. Wilson, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the 1990s: A Minority Faith* (1997)

S. Yekelchuk, *Stalin's empire of memory: Russian-Ukrainian relations in the Soviet historical imagination* (2004)

- Analytical Essay due on **4 April, to be handed in during class** (no more than 5,000 words for undergraduates, no more than 8,000 words for graduates. The word count includes footnotes). 70% of the final mark.

You will choose your own questions in consultation with me. Please send me your questions by email by 4 March. I will hold individual meetings with all students in the week beginning 5 March.

* Please submit hard copies of all written work to me during class. Please also submit an electronic copy to Turnitin.

Percentage	Grade	GPA Value	Grade Definition
90-100 85-89 80-84	A+ A A-	4.0	A- class work will be distinguished in some or all of the following ways: originality of thought or interpretation; independence of judgement; wide-ranging reading, often beyond that recommended; intelligent use of primary sources; historiographical awareness and criticism; clarity and rigour of argument and structure, well directed at the title; clarity and elegance of style; unusual and apt examples; comparison e.g. with themes and topics covered in other modules.
77-79 73-76 70-72	B+ B B-	3.3 3 2.7	B-class work will be distinguished in some or all of the following ways: clarity and rigour of argument and structure, well directed at the title; thorough coverage of recommended reading; intelligent use of primary sources; historiographical awareness; well chosen examples; comparison e.g. with themes and topics covered in other modules; clarity of style.
67-69 63-66 60-62	C+ C C-	2.3 2.0 1.7	C-class work will have some of the following features: some evidence of knowledge and understanding, but limitations in clarity and rigour of argument and structure; restricted coverage of recommended reading; restricted use of primary sources; weaknesses of style; failure to address the title set.
57-59 53-56 50-52	D+ D D-	1.3 1.0 0.7	D-class work will have some of the following features: very limited knowledge and understanding; confusion in argument or structure; insufficient reading; confused style; failure to address the title set.
0-49	F	0	Work with very serious deficiencies that falls below the required standard, failing to address the literature with the seriousness required and with an inadequate grasp of the subject matter and of historical analysis

Academic Policies

Please note that 3 points per day of lateness reduction in mark will apply to both written assignments.

It is essential that you write your papers using your own original thoughts and words, and that you quote every secondary source that you use. Plagiarism is a serious offence. To learn about the University of Toronto's policy on academic integrity and plagiarism, go to <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

If you need to request special consideration (for example, late submission of an assignment or a make-up for missed class), please e-mail me in advance at your earliest convenience. Supporting documentation may be required, so be sure to obtain medical or other relevant certificates. Special consideration may be granted only in cases of serious medical situations

Please keep all your rough notes and a second copy of your paper on file until your graded paper is returned to you.

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

Background Reading

- The following texts provide an overview of the history of nationalism in Eastern Europe

Peter Brock, *Folk Culture and Little Peoples: Aspects of National Awakening in East-Central Europe* (1992)

Józef Chlebowczyk, *On Small and Young Nations in Europe: Nation-Forming Processes in Ethnic Borderlands in East-Central Europe* (1980)

Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of a National Revival in Europe* (1985)

Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (1945)

George Schöpflin, *Nations, Identity, Power* (2000)

- The following texts provide useful overviews of the nationalities question in the USSR and its successor states

Dominic Lieven, 'The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union as Imperial Polities', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 30 (1995), pp. 607-36

Terry Martin, 'The Soviet Union as Empire: Salvaging a Dubious Analytical Category', *Ab Imperio*, no. 2, 2002

Graham Smith (ed.), *The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States*

- The following texts provide an overview of political, economic, social and cultural developments in the USSR.

G. Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union* (1991)

J. Keep, *Last of the Empires. A History of the Soviet Union 1945-1991* (1996)

M. Lewin, *The Soviet Century* (2005)

S. Lovell, *The Shadow of War: Russia and the USSR: 1941 to the Present* (2010)

R. Service, *A History of Modern Russia* (2003, 2009)

R. Suny, *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States* (1998)

R. Suny (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Russia*, vol. 3 (2006)

I. Introduction: What is a nation?

Questions for Discussion:

What is a nation?

What is nationalism?

When did nations arise?

Is there a specifically East European form of nationalism?

Required Reading:

John Breuilly, 'Introduction' in E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (2006)

OR

Oliver Zimmer, *Nationalism in Europe, 1890-1940* (2003) [the theoretical chapters]

OR

John Plamenatz, 'Two Types of Nationalism' in Kamenka (ed.) *Nationalism: The History and Evolution of an Idea* (1976)

Further Reading:

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1983)

Berch Berberoglu, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Class, State and Nation in the Age of Globalization*, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004)

J. Breuilly, *Nationalism and the state* (1993)

Michael Brown (ed.), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (2001)

Graham Day and Andrew Thompson, *Theorising Nationalism* (2004)

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (1983, 2006)

Atsuko Ichijo and Gordon Uzelac (eds.), *When is the Nation? Towards an Understanding of Theories of Nationalism* (2005)

Neil Lazarus, *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World* (1999)

A. Smith, *The ethnic origins of nations* (1986)

A. Smith, *Nationalism and modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism* (1998)

Section One: State Building and Modernisation

II. The USSR as a Communal Apartment

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: Why did the Soviet state promote non-Russian national cultures?

How useful is Yuri Slezkine's metaphor of the USSR as a 'communal apartment'?

In what ways does the history of *korenizatsiia* inform our understanding of what nations and nationalisms are?

To what extent can the USSR be seen as an empire?

Required Reading:

F. Hirsch, 'Towards an Empire of Nations: Bordermaking and the Formation of Soviet National Identities', *Russian Review* 59:2

Y. Slezkine, 'The USSR as communal apartment, or how a socialist state promoted ethnic particularism', *Slavic Review* 53 (1994)

T. Martin, *The affirmative action empire: nations and nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (2001) [introduction and conclusion] OR Terry Martin, 'The Soviet Union as Empire: Salvaging a Dubious Analytical Category', *Ab Imperio*, no. 2, 2002

Iosif Stalin, Report at the Fourth Conference of the Central Committee with Nationalities Officials on the Practical Measures for Applying the Resolution on the National Question of the Twelfth Party Congress. June 10, 1923 [extracts] (page 1 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

S. Blank, *The Sorcerer as Apprentice: Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities, 1917-1924* (1994)

F. Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (2005)

F. Hirsch, 'The Soviet Union as a Work-in-Progress; Ethnographers and the Category *Nationality* in the 1926, 1937 and 1939 censuses' *Slavic Review* 56 1997

F. Hirsch, 'Getting to Know "The Peoples of the USSR": Ethnographic Exhibits as Soviet Virtual Tourism, 1923-1934' *Slavic Review*, 62/4, 2003

R. Kaiser, *The geography of nationalism in Russia and the USSR* (1994)

W. Kemp, *Nationalism and communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: a basic contradiction?* (1999)

G. Liber, 'Language, Literacy, and Book Publishing in the Ukrainian SSSR, 1923-1928' *Slavic Review*, 41/4, 1982

T. Martin, *The affirmative action empire: nations and nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (2001)

T. Martin, 'Modernization or Neo-Tribalism? Ascribed Nationality and Soviet Primordialism' in Sheila Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Stalinism: New Directions*, (London: Routledge, 2000)

- G. Simon, *Nationalism and Policy Towards the Nationalities in the Soviet Union* (1991)
- G. Smith, 'The Soviet State and Nationalities Policy', chapter one in Smith (ed.), *The Nationalities Question in the Post-Soviet States* (1996)
- M. Smith, *Language and Power in the Creation of the USSR, 1917-1953* (1998)
- R. Suny and T. Martin (eds.), *A State of Nations. Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (2001), especially chapters 1-3
- V. Tolz, 'Imperial Scholars and Minority Nationalisms in Late Imperial and Early Soviet Russia', *Kritika* 10:2
- Jakab Zejmis, 'Belarus in the 1920s: Ambiguities of National Formation', *Nationalities Papers* 25:2

Forum: 'The Multiethnic Soviet Union in Comparative Perspective' *Slavic Review* 65/2, 2006

III. State and Socialism in Central Asia

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: How far did the Soviet state succeed in creating new national cultures in Central Asia?

What were the sources of nationalism in Soviet Central Asia in the late Soviet period?

What role did Islam play in fuelling nationalism in Soviet Central Asia?

What factors help to fuel inter-ethnic tensions in Central Asia?

How useful is it to view Central Asian states as nationalising regimes?

Did nationalism undermine the socialist project in Soviet Central Asia? Is there a basic contradiction between nationalism and communism?

Required Reading:

A. Edgar, 'Bolshevism, Patriarchy and the Nation: The Soviet 'Emancipation of Muslim Women in Pan-Islamic Perspective', *Slavic Review*, 65/2, 2006

R. Kaiser, *The geography of nationalism in Russia and the USSR* (1994), pp.325-408

Annette Bohr 'The Central Asian States as Nationalising Regimes' in Smith et al, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands* (1998) AND/OR Bhavne Dave, 'Management of Ethnic Relations in Kazakhstan: Stability Without Success' in Wilson and Slater (eds.), *The Legacy of The Soviet Union* (Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2003)

M. Sultan-Galiev, 'Methods of Anti-Religious Propaganda Among the Moslems', 1922 (page 2 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

Shirin Akiner, 'Melting pot, salad bowl - cauldron? Manipulation and mobilization of ethnic and religious identities in Central Asia', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 20:2 (April 1997)

Rafis Abazov, 'Central Asia's Conflicting Legacy and Ethnic Policies: Revisiting a Crisis Zone in the Former USSR', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 5:2 (Summer 1999)

Shahran Akborzedel, 'Why did Nationalism fail in Tajikistan?' *Europe-Asia Studies* 48:7 (1996) pp. 1105-30

Touraj Atabaki and John O'Kane, *Post-Soviet Central Asia*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998)

Annette Bohr, 'Language politics and ethnic relations in Uzbekistan' in Smith et al, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands* (1998)

A.R. Bond and N.R. Koch, 'Interethnic tensions in Kyrgyzstan', *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 51:4

Helen Carrere d'Encausse, *Decline of an Empire: The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt*, (Haper Colophon, 1981) [for the old 'Islamic time bomb' thesis]

A. Cooley, 'Kyrgyzstan on the Brink', *Current History* 109:729

Robert Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Havard UP, 2006)

Sally Cummings, 'Legitimation and Identification in Kazakhstan', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 12:2 (Summer 2006)

A. Danilovich, 'Kazakhs: A Nation of Two Identities', *Problems of Post-Communism* 57:1

- Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, *Conflict, Cleavage and Change in Central Asia and the Caucasus*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Shams-ud-Din, *Nationalism in Russia and Central Asian Republics: Unfinished Democratic Revolution* (1999)
- Ainura Elebayeva et al, 'The Shifting Identities and Loyalties in Kyrgyzstan: The Evidence From the Field', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 28, no. 2 (June 2000)
- A. Edgar, *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan* (2004)
- A. Edgar, 'Genealogy, Class and "Tribal Policy" in Turkmenistan, 1924-1934' *Slavic Review*, 60/2, 2001
- Fierman, 'Kazakh Language and Prospects for its Role in Kazakh "Groupness"', *Ab Imperio*, no. 2, 2005
- Richard Foltz, 'Islam and Identity in Post-Soviet Central Asia', *The Harriman Review*, vol. 11, no. 3 (April 1999), pp. 39-43.
- Henry Hale, 'Cause without a Rebel: Kazakhstan's Unionist Nationalism in the USSR and CIS', *Nationalities Papers* 37:1
- Reuel Henks, 'A Separate Space? Karakalpak Nationalism and Decentralisation in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan', *Europe-Asia Studies* 52:5
- Rico Isaacs, 'Papa – Nursultan Nazarbayev and the Discourse of Charismatic Leadership and Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan', *Ethnicity and Nationalism* 10:3
- A. Khaleed, 'Backwardness and the Quest for Civilisation: Early Soviet Central Asia in Comparative Perspective' *Slavic Review*, 65/2, 2006
- L.P. Markowitz, 'How master frames mislead: the division and eclipse of nationalist movements in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32:4
- Kirill Nourzhanov, *Tajikistan: The History of an Ethnic State*
- D. Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (2004)
- Andrew Phillips and Paul James, 'National Identity Between Tradition and Reflexive Modernization: The Contradictions of Central Asia', *National Identities*, vol. 3, no. 1 (March 2001), 23-36
- Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia. The Creation of Nations*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2000)
- Anita Sengupta, *The Formation of the Uzbek Nation-State: A Study in Transition* (2003)
- Edward Schatz, 'The Politics of Multiple Identities: Lineage and Ethnicity in Kazakhstan', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 52, no. 3 (May 2000)
- Edward Schatz, 'Framing Strategies and Non-Conflict in Multi-Ethnic Kazakhstan', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Summer 2000)
- Edward Schatz, *Modern Clan Politics And Beyond: The Power Of Blood In Kazakhstan*, (University of Washington Press, 2004)
- P. Stronski, *Tashkent: Forging a Soviet City* (2010)
- Berna Turan, 'A bargain between the secular state and Turkish Islam: politics of ethnicity in Central Asia', *Nations and Nationalism* vol. 10, no. 3 (July 2004)

The issue of *Ab Imperio*, no. 4, 2005 on Uzbekistan, especially Marianne Kamp, 'A Statement Concerning the Consolidation of Uzbek Identity', pp. 301-12; and Adeeb Khalid, 'Theories and Politics of Central Asian Identities', pp. 313-26

IV. Ukrainian Roads to Independence

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: To what extent did inhabitants of Ukraine support the cause of independence in 1991?

Why did 'national communism' arise in Soviet Ukraine by 1991?

How 'Ukrainian' is eastern and southern Ukraine?

What are the dilemmas of state-led nation building in Ukraine?

How far can nationalism foster the rise of civil society?

Do nations create nationalisms, or do nationalisms create nations?

Required Reading:

M. Beissinger, *Nationalist mobilisation and the collapse of the Soviet state* (2002), pp.147-199

T. Kuzio and A. Wilson *Ukraine: Perestroika to independence* (1994, 2000), pp.99-121 and 152-170

Peter Rodgers, 'Understanding Regionalism and the Politics of Identity in Ukraine's Eastern Borderlands', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 34, no. 2 (May 2006)

The Minsk Agreement. December 8, 1991 (page 4 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

Dominique Arel, 'Language politics in Independent Ukraine: Towards One or Two State Languages?' *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1995)

Ben Fowkes, *The Disintegration of the Soviet Union. A Study in the Rise and Triumph of Nationalism* (1997)

Charles F. Furtado, Jr and Michael Hechter, 'The Emergence of Nationalist Politics in the USSR: A Comparison of Estonia and the Ukraine', in Alexander J. Motyl (ed.), *Thinking Theoretically About Soviet Nationalities: History and Comparison in the Study of the USSR* (1992)

S. Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted. The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* (2003)

Taras Kuzio, 'Kravchuk to the Orange Revolution: The Victory of Civic Nationalism in Post-Soviet Ukraine', in Barrington (ed.), *After Independence* (2006)

Taras Kuzio and Paul D'Anieri (eds.), *Dilemmas of State-led Nation Building in Ukraine* (2002)

B. Nahaylo, *The Ukrainian resurgence* (1999)

Paul Pirie, 'National Identity and Politics in Southern and Eastern Ukraine', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 48, no. 7 (November 1996)

Phillip G Roeder, 'Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization', *World Politics*, vol. 43

Blair Ruble, Nancy Popson and Dominique Arel (eds.), *Rebounding Identities: The Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine*, (2006)

R. Suny, *The revenge of the past: nationalism, revolution, and the collapse of the Soviet Union* (1993)

A. Wilson, 'Redefining ethnic and linguistic boundaries in Ukraine: Indigenes, settlers and Russophone Ukrainians', in Smith et al, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands* , (1998)

A. Wilson, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the 1990s: A Minority Faith* (1997)

Section Two: Centres and Peripheries

V. Where are the Russians?

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: Do you agree with Geoffrey Hosking's conclusion that ethnic Russians were both 'rulers and victims' in the USSR?

How did the Soviet state transform the Russian Far North?

To what extent is Russian national identity based on ethnicity?

How strong are non-Russian ethnic identities in the Russian Federation?

Is Russia really a federation?

In what ways can Russia be seen as a nation state?

Required Reading:

Geoffrey Hosking, 'The Russian People and the Soviet Union', in Geoffrey Hosking and Robert Service (eds.), *Reinterpreting Russia* (1999) OR G. Hosking, *Rulers and victims: the Russians in the Soviet Union* (2006)

Yuri Slezkine, 'From Savages to Citizens: The Cultural Revolution in the Soviet Far North, 1928-1938,' *Slavic Review*, 51:1

Vera Tolz, 'A Future Russia: A Nation-State or a Multi-National Federation?', in Wilson and Slater (eds.), *The Legacy of The Soviet Union*, (Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2003) OR Vera Tolz, 'Forging the Nation: National Identity and Nation-Building in Post-Communist Russia', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 50, no. 6 (September 1998)

Boris Yeltsin, 'There Won't be a Civil War', 23 March 1991 (page 7 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

Mikhail Alexseev (ed.), *Centre-Periphery Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia: A Federation Imperilled* (1999)

MM Balzer and UA Vonokurova, 'Nationalism, Interethnic Relations and Federalism: The Case of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia)', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 48, no. 1 (1996)

D. Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian Identity, 1931-1956* (2002)

Yitzhak Brudny, *Reinventing Russia: Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953-1991*, (1998)

Joan Chevelier, 'Language Policy in the Russian Federation', Russian as the "State" Language', *Ab Imperio* no. 1, 2005

Simon Franklin and Emma Widdis, *National Identity in Russian Culture: an Introduction* (2004)

D. Gorenburg, 'Soviet Nationalities Policy and Assimilation', in Dominique Arel and Blair A. Ruble (eds.), *Rebounding Identities: The Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine* (2006)

- Geoffrey Hosking, 'Can Russia Become a Nation-State?' *Nations and Nationalisms* 4:4 (October 1998)
- Geoffrey Hosking, 'The Russian peasant rediscovered: village prose of the 1960s', *Slavic Review*, 32:4
- Pål Kolstø and Helge Blakkisrud (eds.), *Nation-Building and Common Values in Russia*, (2004)
- Anatol Lieven, 'Russia's Passive Fury. The Weakness of Russian Nationalism', *Survival* 41:2 (Summer 1999)
- T. Martin, 'The Russification of the USSR' *Cahiers du monde russe*, 39/1-2, 1998
- Kevin O'Connor, *The Intellectuals and the Apparatchiks: Russian Nationalism and the Gorbachev Revolution*, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005)
- Stephen Shenfield, 'Post-Soviet Russia in Search of Identity', in Douglas Blum, *Russia's Future: Consolidation or Disintegration?* (1994)
- Victor Shnirelman, *Who Gets the Past? Competition for Ancestors Among Non-Russian Intellectuals in Russia* (1996)
- Graham Smith, 'Federation, Refederation, Defederation. From the Soviet Union to Russian Statehood', in Smith (ed.), *Federalism: The Multiethnic Challenge*, (London: Longman, 1995)
- Steven Solnick, 'Will Russia Survive? Centre and Periphery in the Russian Federation', in Rubin and Snyder (eds.), *Post-Soviet Political Order* (1998)
- D. Weiner, *A Little Corner of Freedom: Russian Nature Protection from Stalin to Gorbachev* (1999)

VI. The 'Near Abroad'?

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: To what extent can Ukraine be described as Russia's 'near abroad'?

Who shaped cultural production in Soviet Ukraine?

Why was historical memory so important in Brezhnev-era USSR?

How far did myths of national history in Ukraine and Belarus undermine the legitimacy of the Soviet regime? How important are they for the Belarusian and Ukrainian states today?

What challenges do ethnic Russians face in the Russian 'Near Abroad'?

What is the relationship between national identity and foreign policy?

Required Reading:

S. Yekelchik, 'Diktat and Dialogue in Stalinist Culture: Staging Patriotic Historical Opera in Soviet Ukraine, 1936-1954', *Slavic Review* 59:3 (Autumn, 2000)

Lowell Barrington, 'The Motherland Is Calling: Views of Homeland among Russians in the Near Abroad', *World Politics*, 55:2 AND/OR Nataliia Leshchenko, 'A Fine Instrument. Two Nation-Building Strategies in Post-Soviet Belarus', *Nations and Nationalism* 10:3

Ilya Prizel, *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and leadership in Poland, Russia and Ukraine* (Cambridge, 1998) [introduction and chapter 9]

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, 'Letter to the Soviet Leaders', 1974 (page 11 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

K. Farmer, *Ukrainian nationalism in the post-Stalin era: myth, symbols, and ideology in Soviet nationalities policy* (1980)

Steven Guthrie, 'The Belorussians: national identification and assimilation, 1897-1970' *Soviet Studies* 26:1-2 (January and April, 1977)

A. Kappeler, '"Great Russians" and "Little Russians": Russian-Ukrainian relations and perceptions in historical perspective', *Kritika* 6:3 (Summer 2005)

Elena Korosteleva et al (eds.), *Contemporary Belarus: Between Democracy and Dictatorship* (2003), especially the chapter by Jan Zaprudnik, 'Belarus: In Search of National Identity Between 1988 and 2000'

Y. A. Kurnusov, 'The Ukrainian Intelligentsia: The Process of Formation and Development', *East European Quarterly* 24:2

George S. N. Luckyj, 'Polarity in Ukrainian Intellectual Dissent', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 14:2

S. Plokhy, *Ukraine and Russia: Representations of the Past* (2008)

Graham Smith and Andrew Wilson, 'Rethinking Russia's Post-Soviet Diaspora: The Potential for Political Mobilisation in Eastern Ukraine and North-East Estonia', *Europe-Asia Studies* 49:5

Benjamin Tromly, 'An Unlikely National Revival: Soviet Higher Learning and the Ukrainian Sixties, 1953-65', *Russian Review* 68:4

S. Yekelchik, *Stalin's empire of memory: Russian-Ukrainian relations in the Soviet historical imagination* (2004)

S. Yekelchik, 'Stalinist Patriotism as Imperial Discourse: Reconciling the Ukrainian and Russian "Heroic Pasts" (1939-1945)', *Kritika* 3:1 (2002)

Andrew Wilson, 'Myths of National History in Belarus and Ukraine', in Geoffrey Hosking and George Schöpflin (eds.), *Myths and Nationhood* (1997)

Igor Zevelev, *Russia and its New Diasporas* (2001)

D. Zisserman-Brodsky, *Constructing Ethnopolitics in the Soviet Union: Samizdat, Deprivation, and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism* (2003)

The famine of the 1930s occupies a prominent role in modern-day Ukrainian national discourses. While debates about the national character of the famine continue, they shape Ukrainian-Russian relations today. For history of the famine see, for example:

Halyna Hryn, *Hunger by Design: The Great Ukrainian Famine and its Soviet context* (2008)

Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands*

VII. The western borderlands

Questions for discussion:

Position paper: How distinctive was the Soviet west from the rest of the USSR after 1945?

Why have the Baltic States been described as the USSR's 'window on Europe'?

Do you agree with Andrew Wilson's description of Ukrainian nationalism as a 'minority faith'?

Can Galicia still be seen as 'Ukraine's Piedmont'?

How did the Soviet state approach the issue of ethnic diversity in the west? In what ways do post-Soviet states deal with ethnic diversity?

How would you define 'borderlands'? What conceptual problems do scholars face when studying borderlands?

Required Reading:

W.J. Risch, *The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv* (2011) [chapter 7]

A. Weiner, 'The Empires Pay a Visit: Gulag Returnees, East European Rebellions, and Soviet Frontier Politics', *The Journal of Modern History* 78:2 (June 2006)

A. Wilson, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the 1990s: A Minority Faith* (1997) [chapter 5]

AND/OR Y. Hrytsak, 'National Identities in Post-Soviet Ukraine: The Case of L'viv and Donetsk', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 22

Stenogram of a Session of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia, 10 November 1968 (page 16 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

Aadne Aasland, 'The Russian Population of Latvia: An Integrated Minority?' *The Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, vol. 10, no. 22 (June 1994)

T. Amar, 'Sovietisation as a Civilising Mission in the West' in Balazs Apor et al, *The Sovietisation of Eastern Europe*

K. Brown, *A biography of no place: from ethnic borderland to Soviet heartland* (2004)

Terry Clark, 'Nationalism in Post-Soviet Lithuania: New Approaches for the Nation of "Innocent Sufferers"', in Barrington, (ed.), *After Independence*, (2006)

Merje Feldman, 'European Integration and the Discourse of National Identity in Estonia', *National Identities*, vol. 3, no. 1 (March 2001)

S. Frunchak, 'Commemorating the Future in Postwar Chernivtsi', *East European Politics and Societies* 24:3

Ivan Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries: Regional Political Divisions and Cultures in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Moldova*, (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2006)

Charles King, *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture* (2000)

Charles King, *Post-Soviet Moldova: Borderland in Transition* (1995)

- William Crowther, 'The Construction of Moldovan National Consciousness', in Lázló Kürti and Juliet Langman (eds.), *Beyond Borders: Remaking Cultural Identities in the New Central and Eastern Europe*, (Boulder: Westview, 1997)
- Ann Engelking, 'The *natsyas* of the Grodno Region of Belarus: A Field Study', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 5, no. 2 (April 1999)
- Vello Pettai, 'Narratives and Political Development in the Baltic States: History Revised and Improvised' *Ab Imperio*, no. 1, 2004
- Chris Hann, 'Intellectuals, Ethnic Groups and Nations: Two Late-twentieth-century cases', in Sukumar Periwai (ed.), *Notions of Nationalism* (1995)
- W.J. Risch, 'Soviet "Flower Children": Hippies and the Youth Counter-Culture in 1970s L'viv', *Journal of Contemporary History* 40:3 (July 2005)
- Graham Smith, 'Nation-rebuilding and the political discourse of identity politics in the Baltic States', in Smith et al, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands*
- G. Smith (ed.), *The Baltic States. The National Self-Determination of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania*, (London: Macmillan, 1994)
- Graham Smith, 'The Ethnic Democracy Thesis and the Citizenship Question in Estonia and Latvia', *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 24, no 2
- A. Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands*
- R. Szporluk, 'The Soviet West- or Far Eastern Europe?', *East European Politics and Societies* 3 (Autumn 1991)
- R. Szporluk, 'The Strange Politics of Lviv: An Essay in Search of an Explanation', in Zvi Gitelman (ed.), *The Politics of Nationality and the Erosion of the USSR: Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Harrogate, 1990* (1992)

VIII. Essay Consultations (work-in-progress)

There will be no class this week, but I will meet individually with all students to discuss their final essays. You will be expected to give a short, 5-minute presentation on your research topic. Please also print out a bibliography for your project, and come prepared with any questions or concerns that you might have.

Section Three: Conflict and Violence

IX. The Far Right

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: Why was xenophobia on the rise in the USSR after 1945?

What factors helped to fuel far right Russian nationalism in the USSR?

How do you account for the differences between the Russian and Ukrainian far right?

What kind of threat do Russian and Ukrainian far right groups pose today?

What is far right nationalism?

Required Reading:

Konstantin Azadovskii and Boris Egorov, 'From Anti-Westernism to Anti-Semitism: Stalin and the impact of the "anti-cosmopolitan" campaigns on Soviet culture', *Journal of Cold War Studies* 4:1

Carlo Gallo, 'The Extreme Nationalist Threat in Russia: The Growing Influence of Western Rightist Ideas', *Nations and Nationalism* 12:3 (July 2006)

Mikhail Molchanov, 'Post-Communist Nationalism as a Power Resource: A Russian-Ukrainian Comparison', *Nationalities Papers* 28:2

Ilia Ehrenburg, *Memoirs, 1921-1941* (1963) [extracts] (page 19 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

James Gregor, 'Fascism and the New Russian Nationalism', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31:1

Walter Laqueur, *Black Hundred: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia* (1993)

M. Pauly, 'Soviet polonophobia and the formulation of nationalities policy in the Ukrainian SSR 1927-1934' in David Ransel and Bozena Shallcross (eds.), *Polish encounters, Russian identity* (2005)

Stephen Shenfield, *Russian Fascism: Traditions, Tendencies, Movements* (2001)

Andreas Umland, 'The Post-Soviet Russian Extreme Right', *Problems of Post-Communism* 44:4

Alexander Yanov, *The Russian New Right: Right-Wing Ideologies in the Contemporary USSR* (Berkeley: University of California, 1978)

X. Separatism

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: To what extent can the conflicts in Chechnya and Transdnistria be seen as a legacy of the Soviet nationalities policy?

Account for the relative weakness of Tatar separatism in Tatarstan.

How have post-Soviet states dealt with the problem of separatism?

What is the importance of language and religion in driving separatist movements?

Required Reading:

Dov Lynch, 'Separatist States and Post-Soviet Conflicts', in Wilson and Slater (eds.), *The Legacy of The Soviet Union*, (Houndsmills: Palgrave, 2003)

Richard Sakwa, *Chechnya: From Past to Future* (2005) [introduction] AND/OR B.G.

Williams, 'Commemorating "The Deportation" in Post-Soviet Chechnya', *History and Memory* 12:1

Stefan Troebst, "'We are Transnistrians!'" Post-Soviet Identity Management in the Dniester Valley', *Ab Imperio*, no. 1, 2003, pp. 437-66.

Supreme Soviet of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic (Tatar SSR), 'Act of State Sovereignty of the Republic of Tatarstan', 24 October 1990 (page 22 of the sources booklet)

Further Reading:

Alexseev (ed.), *Centre-Periphery Conflict in Post-Soviet Russia*, (1999) [chapter by Gail Lapidus]

Svante Cornell, *Small Nations and Great Powers. A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus*, (London: Curzon, 2001)

M. David-Fox et al (eds), *Orientalism and Empire in Russia* (2006)

John Dunlop, *Russia Confronts Chechnia: Roots of a Separatist Conflict*, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Elise Giuliano, 'Islamic Identity and Political Mobilization in Russia: Chechnia and Dagestan Compared', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 11, no. 2

Susan Lehmann, 'Islam and Ethnicity in the Republics of Russia', *Post-Soviet Affairs*, vol. 13, no. 1 (1997)

Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya. Tombstone of Russian Power* (1998)

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, 'Chechnya Versus Tatarstan: Understanding Ethnopolitics in Post-Communist Russia', *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 47, no. 2

Howard Davis et al, 'Modelling Political and Cultural Change in Tatarstan: Historic and Pragmatic Claims to Nationhood', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6, no. 2

Paul Kolsto, Andrei Edemsky and Natalya Kalashnikova, 'The Dniester Conflict. Between Irredentism and Separatism', *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 45, no. 6 (1993), pp. 973-1000

Pal Kolsto (ed.), *National Integration and Violent Conflict in Post-Soviet Societies: The Cases of Estonia and Moldova* (NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002)

- Vladimir Solonari, 'Creating a "People": A Case Study in Post-Soviet History-Writing', *Kritika* , vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 411-38
- Dmitry Gorenburg, 'Tatar Language Policies in Comparative Perspective: Why Some Revivals Fail and Some Succeed', *Ab Imperio* , no. 1, 2005
- Sergei Kondrashov, *Nationalism and the Drive for Sovereignty in Tatarstan, 1988-92: Origins and Development* (2000)
- George Hewitt (ed.), *The Abkhazians* , (London: Curzon, 1999)

XI. Inter-ethnic violence in the Caucasus

Questions for Discussion:

Position paper: Why has there been so much violence in the Caucasus after 1991?

What forces shape historical memory in Azerbaijan and Armenia?

How have Caucasian definitions of national identity and nationalism changed since 1991?

Is the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh still explosive today? Why?

Required Reading:

Yasmin Kilit Aklar, 'The Teaching of History in Azerbaijan and Nationalism', *Ab Imperio*, no. 2, 2005

Razmik Panossian, 'Post-Soviet Armenia: Nationalism and its (Dis)contents', in Barrington (ed.), *After Independence* (2006)

Ceylan Tokluoglu, 'Definitions of national identity, nationalism and ethnicity in post-Soviet Azerbaijan in the 1990s' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28:4

Further Reading:

Bruno Coppieters (ed.), *Contested Borders in the Caucasus* (1996)

Edmund Herzig, *The New Caucasus: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia* (1999)

Stephen Jones, 'Georgia: Nationalism from under the Rubble', in Barrington (ed.), *After Independence* (2006)

Levon Chorbajian (ed.), *The Making of Nagorno-Karabakh: From Secession to Republic*, (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001)

Levon Chorbajian, Patrick Donabedian and Claudia Mutafiaan, *Caucasian Knot: The History and Geo-Politics of Nagorno-Karabagh*, (London: Zed, 1994)

Viktor Shnirelman, 'National identity and myths of ethnogenesis in Transcaucasia', in Smith et al, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities* (1998)

XII. Conclusions: National Identities, Soviet Patriotism and Communist Nostalgia

Questions for Discussion:

Did a 'Soviet nation' ever exist?

Why does Zvi Gitelman write about a 'century of ambivalence' with regards to the Jews of Russia and the USSR?

How strong is Soviet nostalgia in the former USSR? How does it affect the domestic and foreign policies of the former Soviet republics?

What is the relationship between national identities, nationalisms and state building in the former USSR?

Where are the 'centres' and where are the 'peripheries' in the former USSR?

To what extent has nationalism fuelled conflict and violence in the former USSR?

Required Reading:

B. Tromly, 'Soviet Patriotism and its Discontents among Higher Education Students in Khrushchev-Era Russia and Ukraine', *Nationalities Papers* 37:3

Catherine Wanner, *Burden of dreams: history and identity in post-Soviet Ukraine* (1998), pp. 3-22 and 79-120

D. Gorenburg, 'The Politics of History in the Former Soviet Union', *Russian Politics and Law* 48:5

Further Reading:

K. Clark, 'Changing Historical Paradigms in Soviet culture', in T. Lahusen and G. Kuperman (eds.), *Late Soviet culture: from perestroika to novostroika* (1993)

E.R. Drachman, *Challenging the Kremlin: The Soviet Jewish Movement for Freedom, 1967-1990* (New York, 1991)

Z. Gitelman, *A century of ambivalence: The Jews of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1881 to the Present*

Z. Gitelman, 'Are Nations Merging in the USSR?' *Problems of Communism*, 32, 1983

G. Hosking, *Rulers and victims: the Russians in the Soviet Union* (2006)

D. Kozlov, 'The Historical Turn in late Soviet Culture: Retrospectivism, Factography, Doubt,' *Kritika* 2:3 (2001)

D. Marples, *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (2007)

S. Oushakine, *Patriotism of Despair: Nation, War, and Loss in Russia* (2009)

N. Tumarkin, *The Living and the Dead: the Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War Two in Russia* (1994)