

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Course Description: This course offers an overview of the history of Russia and Eastern Europe, with special attention to the interplay among the various Slavic (and to a lesser extent, Turkic and Finno-Ugric) people groups who have shaped the region. The units will address broad conceptual issues like folklore or nationalism, will introduce regimes like the Romanovs and the Habsburgs, and will trace individual national histories over time. These varied units will help student understand the complex issues, sources, languages and priorities historians must balance in this region. The course will enable students to appreciate the diverse elements of Eastern Europe's grand panorama, while giving them a firm foundation in major political and cultural figures and events. Students will gain greater insight into current events in Russia and Eastern Europe through an understanding of history.

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Main Texts

Bideleux, Robert and Ian Jeffries. *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change*. Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Sixsmith, Martin. *Russia: a 1,000-year chronicle of the Wild East*. New York: Overlook Press, 2012.

Additional Texts:

These required texts will serve to supplement the Main Text in weekly reading or as reference works. The starred (*) texts indicate books which will be read in entirety and reviewed for the course. At least 3 books will be read and reviewed in common, to provide a jumping-off point for class discussion and understanding.

Anisimov, Evgenii. *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress through coercion in Russia*. John T. Alexander, translator. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.*

Daniel Chirot, *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*. Berkeley: University of California, 1991.*

Hupchick, Denis and Harold E. Cox. *The Palgrave Concise Historical Atlas of Eastern Europe*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Snyder, Timothy. *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999*. New Haven: Yale University, 2003.*

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Introduction

Topics: Geopolitical Definitions: Eastern Europe/East Central Europe/Baltics/Balkans/East Bloc
Cultural Definitions: East Slavs/South Slavs/West Slavs/Non-Slavic peoples, Linguistic
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UNIT: Eastern Europe

Question One is WHO is Eastern Europe?

When we talk about Slavic languages can be divided into two categories, WEST SLAVIC and EAST SLAVIC, with SOUTH SLAVIC being a sub-set of EAST SLAVIC, for our purposes today. The most basic distinction between the two is the use of the LATIN or the CYRILLIC alphabets. WEST SLAVIC languages include Polish, Czech and Slovak. These languages all use the Latin alphabet, just like we do, and diacritics, marks to indicate sounds.

Here is the Library of Congress standard system for transliteration/Romanization of Cyrillic languages. See if you can find more.

Bulgarian: <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsol/romanization/bulgarian.pdf>

Russian: <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsol/romanization/russian.pdf>

Ukrainian: <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpsol/romanization/ukrainia.pdf>

You might also enjoy exploring the website *Omniglot: the online encyclopedia of writing systems and languages* at <http://www.omniglot.com/>

Okay, we have left out Hungary. Hungarian (Magyar) is unique among Europe's languages. It is related to Estonian, and is a cousin to Finnish. All of these are Finno-Ugric languages, of the Uralic-Altaic family, of which Mongolian and Japanese are also a part. Magyar/Hungarian came into East Central Europe when Finno-Ugric tribes from the Eastern steppes were trapped after crossing the Carpathians, settling between 896 and 955. One easy way to remember the confessional similarities in East Central Europe is to think "Latin" – because another thing these states have in common is Roman Catholicism. Of these four states, Poland is the strongest Catholic country. The Lutheran and Reformed traditions are strong in Hungary and the Czech Republic. A sizeable Jewish minority was long a strong element in the societies of East Central Europe, although the Jewish population is small in this region today.

Question Two is "What is Eastern European history?"

Eastern Europe's history is inextricably interwoven in the experiences of four Empires: the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire, the Russian/Soviet Empire, and the German Empire. We will learn that individual East European states have been sovereign at various times and that they have been incorporated into empires at others. We will also talk about the re-emergence of East European nations states between the two world wars, WWII and the Cold War, and the post-Cold War era.

Question Three is "Where is Eastern Europe?"

"Eastern Europe" is just one term used to express a geographical or regional idea about a place with some commonalities of language, culture, religion and history. Let's look at some of the terms historians and others use to identify more clearly the various parts of Eastern Europe.

The Balkans

This region is named for the peninsula on which it are found: The Balkan Peninsula., and consists of **Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)**. For the most part, the peoples of the Balkan countries speak Eastern and Southern Slavic languages, which use the Cyrillic alphabet. You would recognize Russian as a Cyrillic-based language. If you speak Russian, you would understand other Eastern Slavic languages, like Serbo-Croatian. Croatian uses the Latin alphabet, but Serbo-Croatian,

the official language of Yugoslavia, relied on Cyrillic and is more closely related to Russian, than, say, Polish. Romania is our exception to the norm in the Balkans. Romanian itself has its roots in the Romance languages. It is very easy for a Romanian to learn French, for example. Just as in East Central Europe, you can remember the confessional affiliations of the various states in the Balkans by using the dominant language groups as a shortcut. If you remember that Cyrillic and Greek are related, you can remember that Eastern and Southern Slavs are more likely to be EASTERN ORTHODOX than Roman Catholic. They are of the Byzantine tradition. The **Muslim** presence in the Balkans is still strong, due to the long rule of the Ottoman Turks in the region. You should be familiar with this from the discussions of events in Kosovo, Albania, and Serbia in the late 1990s.

East Central Europe

This term usually refers to the area covered by **Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia**. These countries have a number of characteristics in common, not the least of which being they are among the most successful post-Communist societies to emerge after the Cold War. They are recovering well, three of them (Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic) have been integrated into NATO and they are all high on the list for future EU membership.

The Baltic States

Like the Balkans, the Baltic States are named after their geographical location, on the Baltic Sea (gesture to map). These three countries have that in common, and a common fate; they were subject to the Russian and Soviet Empires, but they are quite different from one another. Latvians are closest culturally and linguistically to Russians, have struggled with having a large Russian minority, and having little experience as an independent state. Lithuanians have the most in common with Poles culturally, having been a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and nominally Roman Catholic. Both Latvians and Lithuanians speak Baltic languages, which are Indo-European. Estonians we might say have the most in common with Finland, since they do not speak a Slavic language, but a unique language more like Hungarian or Finnish.

Russia and Empire

Russia is the "Elephant in the Parlor" when it comes to discussing Eastern Europe. Either all of Eastern Europe begins with Russia, or Europe ends where Russia begins. Thus, in this course, we will echo the debates about American Exceptionalism with our own Russian Exceptionalism, exploring ways in which Russia exemplifies and distinguishes itself from Europe, from Kievan Rus to the Romanovs to the Soviets and today.

Question Four is "When" is East European history?

Eastern Europe's history is inextricably interwoven in the experiences of four Empires: the Ottoman Empire, which encompassed much of the **Balkans**; the Habsburg Empire, which encompassed part of the **Balkans** and of **East Central Europe**; the Russian/Soviet Empire, which included **Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltics**, and part of **Poland (East Central)**, **and** the Prussian/German Empire, which contained part of **Poland** and **the Baltics**. Thus, *where* and *who* also define *when*. Several eras define Eastern Europe in ways which are different from Western Europe. For instance, the tenth century is critical in Eastern Europe, as it marks the conversions to Christianity, both Roman and Eastern, for many peoples. The timelines which dominate are informed by Ottoman, (Austrian) Habsburg, and Romanov dynasties, rather than Bourbons or Tudors. The siege of Vienna has as much or more value to the *When* of Eastern Europe as the Peace of Westphalia. While the Reformation and

Renaissance touch Eastern Europe, they do not transform it, but the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 resonated across the Continent, and nationalism became a vital force in the modern era. Finally, and for us, perhaps most important, the Cold War defined East and West in a way which cannot be undone.

“Question Five is “Why is it important to define Eastern Europe?”

Finally, this course will investigate the ways we can distinguish one place from another, reviewing how *where* and *when* have influenced the *what* of the nations which now comprise the region we call Eastern Europe. What is at stake, in essence, is the very identity and self-definition of these nations in our world today.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Preface, Chronologies, Introduction

Hupchick: Preface, Introductory Maps

Unit Questions to Consider

- What sort of assumptions do you bring to the terms “east” and “west” when applied to Europe?
- How do language and geography contribute to the various definitions of eastern Europe?
- Is it fair to say that Eastern Europe is predominantly Slavic? Why or why not?

Unit Assignment: Response Essay (2-3 pages)

Which of the regional descriptions you’ve read about appeals to you most? Why? What is the purpose of distinguishing West, East, South, and Central Europe? Integrate at least 3 arguments from the reading into your answer (ex. Hupchick, Havel, Szucs).

Section I: Ancient History

Topics: Origin stories and legends, Religion and Region, Conversion to Christianity, What makes Russia unique?

UNIT: Byzantium

How did the Byzantine Empire shape Eastern Europe?

The mark of the Byzantine Empire on the Balkans has endured the centuries. Its beginning is hard to place either geographically or historically. Byzantium, the Eastern Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, is both unknowable and ever-present. Even the images which remain, in mosaic tiles, conjure a mystical, rather than classical, past. The Byzantines are Eastern Europe and Western Asia: touching Slavdom and the Mediterranean but also the Caucasus and Persia. On this terrain many languages have been spoken: Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Egyptian, Syriac (Christian Palestinian Aramaic)¹ and tongues of Turkish and Slavic extraction. It is in Eastern Europe that, again, East touches West, and the definitions expand to the Urals, and contract at the Vistula. Do Roman Catholic Poles belong to the East? What about the Czechlands, solidly posited within the Holy Roman Empire? Nevertheless, the reach of the Byzantines goes far beyond time, and even geography, spreading as a cultural phenomenon with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. Byzantium has been variously praised for defending the West against Asiatic incursions and in contrast, absorbing all manner of cultures and ethnicities and religions – Judaism, Orthodoxy, Islam. Just as the Church and the State were blended in the person of the Emperor, so too was Byzantine society a blended one. Individual identity was not as important as worship or the social good. Mosaic artists were anonymous. The very opposites which provided a kind of energy for moving forward in the West were nonexistent in the East.

What is the importance of Constantinople?

Constantine the Great chose Byzantium as his residence and capitol, renaming it *Constantinopolis nova Roma*, the New Rome, in 324. Constantinople became not only Constantine's city, but a city of culture, trade, empire and religion for eleven centuries, but its influence extended beyond even that. Even when the hinterlands fell in the 8th century, Constantinople remained as a bastion of scholarship, religion, and art. Constantine's successors maintained their claim to be the inheritors and successors of Rome, and their subjects were Rhomaioi/Romaioi long after they forgot their Latin.

What does the term "Byzantine" mean to historians?

Separated by theology, East and West debated the authority of the Pope, celibacy for clergy, iconoclasm and purgatory. The question was not *whether* the East was the inheritor of Rome, but more the debate over what constituted Roman Christianity at all. Separating this empire out from the Greeks, which had come to be synonymous with ancient history,

¹ Rautman, *Daily Life in the Byzantine Empire*, 2006, xiv.

the term "Byzantine" was used by George Finlay in *History of the Byzantine Empire from 716 to 1057* (1853).² The term came to imply something which lacked culture or was inherently alien to Western values. Arnold Toynbee offered an interpretation of Byzantium which defines it as a culture and civilization, not just a state. Thus, it lived on, including any place that practiced Orthodox Christianity.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapters 1-5

Hupchick: Part I

Unit Questions to Consider

1. Make a chronology of Byzantium. When did it begin? Remember that the choices you make about dates go beyond assigning years to events. Dates are the superstructure upon which historians construct their interpretation of cause and effect. So, if you begin with Diocletian in AD 284 or with the founding of Constantinople in 324 or the adoption of Christianity in 380, you are making a clear choice.
2. When did Byzantium end? Was it defined by the break into East and West in 395 or with the collapse of the Roman West at the hands of barbarians? Did it begin in the 8th century, when an Arab expedition threatened Constantinople? With the Crusades? With the fall to the Turks in 1453?
3. How did the differences between Western and Eastern clergy affect the larger scheme of life in Western and Eastern Europe?
4. Mark Mazower has said "many languages, one Church was the secret of Byzantine Orthodoxy." Discuss.
5. Is the argument that Orthodoxy supports authoritarianism specious? Why or why not?
6. Were Byzantines literate? Discuss.
7. Compare and contrast the Julian and Gregorian calendars.
8. Cyril and Methodius were from Salonika. Who were they? What effect did they have on the region?

² *Oxford History of Byzantium*, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 2.

UNIT: Central Europe

What was the Holy Roman Empire?

It has been said that the Holy Roman Empire was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. Nevertheless, it is of critical importance in seeking to define and clarify Slavic culture. The establishment of the Holy Roman Empire made clear that there was a real division between the Eastern and Western Churches, that the Byzantine Empire did not speak for one faith. For East Europeanists, it is important to note that the Czechlands belonged to the HRE. This reinforced a relationship with Germans that lasted and lasts into the current century.

Who was Charlemagne?

Charlemagne was named Emperor and Augustus of the Holy Roman Empire in the year 800, when he visited Rome on Christmas day. The story of his crowning is that the pope approached him and placed a golden crown on his head, with a blessing, and all the people called out "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans." Thus, it seemed a great Roman Empire in the West was reborn. Charlemagne was tall, determined, intelligent, and focused on organizing a new order. The size of his empire was only matched by Napoleon. He was a Frankish (German) king, shaping a new civilization, an agrarian system that would give way to a new, decentralized, political order. He believed in education, good editing, and good administration.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Part II, Chapters 10, 11

Unit Questions to Consider

- What is the link between converting to the Western branch of Christianity and regional identity?
- What role did the Hanseatic League play in the links between Eastern and Western Europe?
- Compare and contrast the cities of Prague, Kraków, and Vienna.
- Why is Jan Hus important in Reformation history?
- Einhard wrote a life of Charlemagne from firsthand experience. What does his account reveal to you about the character and importance of Charlemagne? Would you have wanted to meet Charlemagne? The full text of Einhard's *The Life of Charlemagne* is available on the Medieval History Sourcebook at Purdue: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/einhard.asp>
- For more information about Charlemagne crown, see: http://pirate.shu.edu/~wisterro/cdi/crown_of_charlemagne.htm. Compare it to St. Stephen's crown at: <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/museum/crown.phtml>

UNIT: Early Russia

The origin of Russia – Kievan Rus vs. Varangian myth

Our knowledge of early slavs, like that of most peoples in their pre-literary development, is sketchy. One of the most vital sources of the early history of the slavs is *Povest Vremennykh Let* – the Tale of Bygone Years, also known as the *Nachalnaia Letopis* – Primary Chronicle. It was compiled between 1060 and 1073 by monks of the Kievan Crypt monastery. The *Primary Chronicle* is a mix of religious writings, legend, fact, history and fiction. One contested idea about the early Kievan days is based on the settlement of Kiev by the Normans (Norsemen), or the Vikings, whom the Greeks called Varangians. According to the Chronicle, this group was firmly established in northeast Europe around 862. From there, under the leadership of Riurik, they encompassed the entire Dnieper Basin, including Kiev. This became Kiev's destiny and then the destiny of Moscow, until 1598, when Feodor, the son of Ivan the Terrible, died without an heir.

Myths and Legends of Russia

We can understand Russia by understanding the context in which Russians have lived and do live. One way to do this is to study the folk beliefs of the region. What is folklore? Folk culture is defined as a rural, conservative culture having customs in common, a strong family or clan structure, and highly developed rituals, for instance, in religion. We often consider folk life as describing a traditional social pattern. Folk cultures are made up of both material and non-material aspects. Folklore is a part of the non-material aspects of folk culture – it includes folk tales, dance and music, myths, legends and proverbs.

Even though Russia has a thousand years of Christian heritage, pagan beliefs are deeply imbedded in the population. Certainly at the local level, the Christian veneer did not go very deep. It is therefore often impossible to separate the pagan past from the Orthodox influence.

The term most often used to describe the interweaving of pre-Christian and Christian elements of belief among Russian peasants is *Dvoeverie*, or "double faith". The "Double Faith" of Christians addicted to pagan rites was a topic of sermons from sermons in the 1st century of Russian Christianity and when ethnographers collected stories in 19th and 20th centuries, this was confirmed. The individual divinities we now know from early Russian culture actually come from the pagan pantheon set up for rejection by Prince Vladimir of Kiev. Slavic Spirits had a strong hold on a peasant's consciousness:

House spirit (domovoi) – benevolent protector of the family. Occasionally capricious, but also often, like a brownie, did tasks for the master. Would try to please the domovoi – color of animals, etc.

Forest and water spirits (leshii and vodianoii – from les and voda). Beings that belonged to the outside and a hostile environment – malevolent.

The Field spirit – closer to home (polevoi).

Rusalka – airy female, spirit fantasy of poets and writers.

Peasants attributed bad things to sorcerers and witches – they spoiled things and were responsible for such curses as: Crop failure, drought, infertility, epidemics, and illness. Nobles and the clergy and even the tsar's household, also attributed power to sorcery. But, punishment for witches or sorcerers was not on the same scale as in Western Europe – there was some torture and burning at the stake, but often also imprisonment, exile,

confinement to a monastery. To balance the fear of the sorcerer, there were also *Znakhari* – wise people that peasants sought out for cures, assistance and protection.

Christian personages/saints and also demons are featured strongly in Russian folklore. For instance, St. Nicholas has a high place in peasant hierarchy. He enjoys two feast days – December 6 and May 9 – and is the image of a kind and merciful helper, acts of charity. Nicholas rarely punishes. In contrast, St. George was for the upper classes and was known as Egorii, Iurii, or Georgii. He was a holy warrior and martyr, saving the Christian maiden, Iizaveta, from a dragon. His feast days were in November and April, this second was the day when cattle were put to pasture – peasants imagined that George rode about on a white horse protecting animals turned out on this day. In Northern Russia and Siberia, where in April there was still snow, there would be a feast on George's day, but animals were released on Nicholas Day. Common saying "Egorii s vodoi, a Nikola s travois" – if there's water on George there'll be grass on Nicholas. Such calendar rituals were seasonal celebrations of Russian peasants were certainly influenced by agrarian life and pre-Christian practices. In some cases, Christmas for instance, coincided with the pagan holiday, and so changed very little. Easter, however, pushed the ancient celebrations off by several weeks. The religious aspects of these holidays included church attendance and processions with icons and holy water, while the actual festivities took place in the village, without any particular Christian motifs. Often, practices overlapped, such as using pussy willows blessed in church on Palm Sunday, keeping them above a home icon, then using them to drive out the cattle come spring.

Unit Reading

Sixsmith: Preface, Introduction, Part One (Kiev and Proto-democracy)

Unit Questions to Consider

- What are the most important factors distinguishing Russia from the rest of Europe?
- How does the geography of Russia inform its differences?
- How does Russian Exceptionalism both support and contradict the idea of a split between Eastern and Western Europe?
- Is Russia Oriental or Occidental?
- Are the roots of Russian Exceptionalism in Orthodoxy?
- How do the legends of Russia's peasants reflect a unique perspective on authority and community?
- Does Sixsmith accept the presumption that Russia is destined to be ruled by autocrats?

Unit Assignment: Required Review (5pp)

Daniel Chirot, *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*

Section II: Medieval Empires

Topics: Serfdom and land use in Eastern Europe, Dynasties, role of religion, perception of the West, Social customs

Unit: Bulgaria

What sets Bulgaria apart?

Bulgaria is a country most think of as Balkan, but its ethnic origins are not necessarily Slavic – some even say they were Turkic peoples, but certainly they crossed the Danube into the region in the late 7th century and were Christian, like most of Eastern Europe, by the 9th century.

- They were a major power in the region until the Byzantines conquered them in 1018. From the 12th-late 14th century they rose again as a medieval empire, but then fell to the Ottomans.
- As was often the case, the Ottomans replaced civic, but not cultural or religious, institutions, so the nascent nation lived on in the language and the Bulgarian (orthodox) Church. When a 19c. nationalist uprising took place, the Ottomans crushed it, but the Russians stepped in. March 3 is Bulgaria's Day of National Liberation – 1878! In any country, dates matter, years matter, they become like an echo through time. For Bulgaria, this is one of those.
- Slavophilism has long informed Russia's interest in the region and an historical/cultural sense of "responsibility" or even possession which specially came into play in 19c. ethnic politics and was re-ified in post WWI independence, and then post-WWII security issues in the Warsaw Pact.

Why, you may rightly ask, does it matter to me whether some 19c. nationalist staged an uprising? Or whether in response, the Russians went to war with the Ottoman empire?

Well, it resulted in this: an independent Bulgaria in 1878, but one WITHOUT Macedonia.

- Macedonia is a contested region, with portions claimed by Bulgaria and Greece, but it is a country in its own right. As I'm sure you know, it's a "Yugoslav successor state." A small country, about 2 million, it's called the "Republic of Macedonia." The provisional designation used by the EU and NATO is "FYROM." Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.
- Macedonia is an important factor in past Bulgarian policies – it was because Germany promised Bulgaria Macedonia that Bulgaria allied with the Germans in both world wars. That said, Bulgaria is perhaps unique in WWII for having *not* deported its Jewish population, something of which Bulgarians are rightfully proud.
- Size: 100,000+ sq km -- Tennessee. Population: 7 million; life expectancy for men is 69, women is 77 – better than Ukraine. 82% orthodox/ 12% muslim

What happened in Bulgaria in 1989?

- 1989/1991: Throughout the late 1980s, Bulgaria's longtime Communist leader, Todor Zhivkov, had resisted the reformist message coming from Moscow.
- As with other East European states, Bulgaria faced a combination of growing economic problems, international criticism for its discriminatory policies targeting Bulgarians of Turkish descent, and rising dissent among the general population. In an attempt to retain a monopoly on power, leading figures in the Bulgarian Communist Party forced Zhivkov to resign on November 10, 1989, the day after the fall of the Berlin Wall.
- Ecoglasnost, one of the first opposition parties promoting environmental activism, was given full legal status by the Communist Party on December 11, 1989. "Because the Communists gradually recognized these alternative political parties, they managed to retain power for another 18 months, at which point free elections and a new constitution marked real change. Change moved more slowly in Bulgaria than in some of the northern countries, but the path was similar." (Elizabeth Clark, *Making the History of 1989* Introductory Essay, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/>)

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapters 5 (review), 6-7

Hupchick: Part II

Also: Review materials related to above content for: *Making the History of 1989*
<http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/>

Unit Questions to Consider

- Compare and Contrast the impact of The Treaty of San Stefano (1877-78) [<http://pages.uoregon.edu/kimball/1878mr17.SanStef.trt.htm>] with the Congress of Berlin (1878) [<http://groong.usc.edu/treaties/berlin.html>] . What do they show about the condition of the Great Power system?
- Compare and Contrast the results of the first two Balkan Wars for Bulgaria.
- What is the importance of the Danube in Bulgarian history?

UNIT: Ivan and Peter

Defining the Russian Tsar

The peasant and the Tsar

The peasant commune, or *mir*, is essential to Russian exceptionalism. The *obshchina* had to do with how land was allotted to members of the community. The *mir* divided land among its members and ensured state obligations were met. The glorification of the *mir* can be compared with the glorification of the *tsar*, who was a father to Russia's peasant children. The term *tsar* was first used by Ivan III. This is fitting, as he married a Byzantine Princess, Sophia, in 1472, adopting both the Byzantine double-headed eagle into the family crest featuring St. George, and taking a title which conjured up images of an ancient *caesar*. Ivan established a tradition of strong central control in Russia. Peter the Great and Catherine the Great each built upon that tradition, using it to impose Western ideas on this Eastern Empire.

Peter's Grand Embassy

Peter I was a busy, practical man. Caught in the middle of a succession crisis, he spent much of his youth in the so-called "German Suburb" of Moscow (German being the word Russians used to identify foreigners). Initially, Peter shared power with his half-brother Ivan under a regency, but it was his half-sister Sophia who was the biggest challenge, proving that a woman on the throne was a real possibility for Russia.

Peter's drive to Westernize was inspired by an inquisitive mind, and an unwillingness to be controlled by traditional beliefs, the Patriarchate, or Court and was epitomized by the Grand Embassy. This was the last stage of Peter's self-education as tsar. His deep desire to learn and to acquire new skills drove him to seek out foreigners as a youth, and now, when he could do so, he wanted to travel and learn from the West. This decision was critical to the development of the tsar's Westernizing and modernizing priorities. Before he left, Peter had himself a seal engraved that said "I am a pupil and need to be taught."³ His engineer's mind also was searching for knowledge about building a navy for Russia. Peter visited Konigsberg, Warsaw, London, Amsterdam and Zaandam, the most elite shipbuilding location in Holland.

Peter wanted to send the message that Russia could be Western, but those who would meet him abroad were looking for exoticism, mystery, the oriental. His ambassadors who traveled with him understood that, and would dress in long furs, high boots, jewels and other traditional wear in order to make a big impression. In Amsterdam he was called "Carpenter Peter" and in England, an Anglican churchman said he was "... a man of very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his passion . . . He wants not capacity and has a larger measure of knowledge than might be expected from his education. . . . He is mechanically turned and seems designed by nature rather to be a ship-carpenter than a great prince. I could not but adore the depth of the providence of God, that had raised up such a furious man to so absolute authority over so great a part of the world."⁴ Despite some characterizations of the entourage, Peter did prove to Europe that Russians didn't eat

³ Robert Massie, *Peter the Great* p. 156.

⁴ Massie, p. 211. This is the era in which Christopher Wren's St. Paul's Cathedral was being built – 1675-1710.

raw meat and wear only bearskins.⁵ Peter translated the Grand Embassy into inspiration for a Westernizing campaign that was directed both outward and inward.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapters 10-11 (review), 12

Sixsmith: Part Two (Expansion and Empire)

Unit Questions to Consider

- Was Ivan Terrible?
- What was the purpose of the
- Did Peter Westernize Russia?
- It is time to begin thinking about Siberia. What is the role of Siberia in Russian history in the age of expansion?
- Who were the Old Believers?
- Find productions of Modest Mussorgsky's opera *Boris Godunov* or *Khovanshchina* or Mikhail Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar (Ivan Susanin)* on YouTube (available August 2012), at your local library or via <http://www.classiconline.com>. Consider the legends they portray, and the role they played, both when they were first produced, and later in the Soviet era.
- Imagine you are a Dutch shipbuilder in the late 17c. What would you have thought of the tall Russian who appeared in your midst?

Unit Assignment: Book Review (5pp)

Evegenii Anisimov, *The Reforms of Peter the Great*.

⁵ Massie, p. 232.

Section III: Early Modern

East European Expansion

Topics : The Renaissance and the Reformation in East Central Europe, Expansion of Empires, Enlightened Absolutism, development of modern national consciousness

Unit: The Commonwealth

Polish-Lithuanian Encounters with Germans and Russians

Out of One, Many: The multiple Polands

Poland, at its height, stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Polish contemporary identity is still caught up in the greatness of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The twentieth-century rivalries between Jozef Pilsudski and Roman Dmowski encapsulated the divided idea of Poland. One, the Commonwealth ideal, focuses on Poland as a large multi-ethnic society, independent of control by neighboring powers, a bastion of freedom and nobility, tolerant of religious difference, welcoming to Jewish migrations, a center of knowledge, the arts, of science. The other favors a smaller, more homogenous Poland, practical in its attitude toward the Great Powers, suspicious of the democratic and often fractious traditions which weakened Poland in the early modern era. Norman Davies uses the Latin example of a man who, as a 17c cleric described himself as "*canoicus cracoviensis, natione Polonus, gente Ruthenus, origine Judaeus*" or "A Canon of Cracow, a member of the Polish nation, one of the Ruthenian people, of Jewish origin."⁶

Is Poland an epic battleground between East and West?

The stereotype of Polish historical experience has been defined by the 18c. Partitions – that Poland's fate has been to be divided among stronger neighbors, overrun, subjected to more dominant racial or ideological extremes from Germany and Russia. The infamous *Drang nach Osten* (Push to the West) which presumes an eternal German threat (or destiny) began in the tenth century. Norman Davies has argued that the push East was not just German, but that the French pressed on the Rhine, while the Germans moved to the Elbe, the Poles to the Dnieper, the Russians to Siberia. The effects of mingled populations and "colonization" is still evident in the very earth, patterns of land use, architecture of cities with different ethnic populations than the countryside, and so on.

What about the Teutonic Knights?

The most obvious early encounter with Germans with Poles concerns the settlement of the Teutonic Knights in the northern border territories in the 1220s (see Hupchick Map 19). Poland, which adopted Roman Catholicism in the 10th century, was ruled by the Piasts until , a legendary line, prophesied to rule over the "Polonians" the West Slavic tribes between the

⁶ Davies, *God's Playground* Vol 1, p. 12.

Odra and the Vistula and doing so for half a millennium.⁷ Conrad of Mazovia, who invited the Teutonic Knights to help Christianize the pagan Prussians was of this line, as was Casimir the Great, remembered for opening Poland's doors to Jews fleeing persecutions to the West, but who was the last of the Piasts when he died in 1370. This was followed by the Hungarian interlude, when the Anjou dynasty ruled both Poland and Hungary, which covered more territory than any other political entity in Europe. Louis Anjou's daughter (and grandniece to Casimir the Great), Jadwiga (Hedwig). Initially betrothed to a Habsburg, after she was chosen by the powerful Polish barons as an acceptable successor to the Polish throne, they convinced her to transfer her allegiance to Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, a vast pagan land (Hupchick Map 23). Marrying Jadwiga in 1386, Jagiello converted, not just personally, but on behalf of his entire land, and the Polish-Lithuanian marriage became the foundation for a lasting Commonwealth. Jadwiga, who herself had been crowned King of Poland, became, with the Virgin Mary, the reigning queen of the hearts of Poles. She lived a life of piety, died young, and left her personal fortune to re-found an institution in Cracow which bears the name of her dynasty: Jagiellonian University. It comes as no surprise that her canonization came in 1997, recognized by the Polish Pope John Paul II.

The Jagiellonian Dynasty challenged the Teutonic Knights, who had established themselves firmly on the Baltic coast, threatening/controlling trade at the mouth of the Vistula. In August 1409, Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen declared war on the Polish-Lithuanian state. Jagiello and his cousin Vytautas reached out to the "Tatars" (Mongols), who sent 1500 cavalry, and to Bohemia, who sent 3000. On July 9, 1410, these and others met at the Battle of Grunwald (known as the Battle of Zalgiris by Lithuanians and the Battle of Tannenberg by the Germans). Popular legend attributes to Jagiello great strategic foresight in this battle. He waited in the cool forest while the Teutonic Knights and their allies occupied the battlefield. Thirst and heat took their toll, and superior Polish numbers took the day. By 1466, the Order had ceded western Prussia to Poland, including the city of Gdansk/Danzig, which remained true to its Polish hinterland even through the Partitions.

Poland as the Bastion of

Poland considered itself not only a bastion against German incursion, but also the last defence of (Roman Catholic) Christianity against a wild East, a kind of Christ-figure and martyr of nations. Poland's elected kings set a standard of democracy and noble freedoms that sharply contrasted with the autocratic nature of her neighbor to the East. In 1683, when King Jan III Sobieski rode to the defense of Vienna against Turkish invasion, backed by his cavalry of "winged hussars" it seemed the credibility of Poland as a bastion of freedom in all senses was secure. The famous Polish nobility held to the slogan "*Nic o nas bez nas*" (Nothing about us without us). The "Golden Freedoms" of Poland-Lithuania were ahead of their time: elected kings, right to resist, even the right of an individual to resist in the legislature, the famous *Liberum Veto*. Over the centuries, however, the Polish *szlachta* faced successive challenges, dwindling estates (in some regions, not practicing primogeniture). In the Saxon era, larger powers began to manipulate Polish politics from the outside, buying votes and encouraging chaos or infighting succumbing to what Davies

⁷ Davies, *God's Playground* Vol 1., p. 61.

reports to through Voltaire's wit as: "One Pole – a charmer, two Poles – a brawl; three Poles – ah, that's the Polish Question."⁸

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapter 14

Unit Questions to Consider

- How did the unique character of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth affect the response to the Reformation by the state?
- Who was Jadwiga? What is her importance to Medieval Poland and to Polish identity today (hint: she has recently been recognized as a Roman Catholic Saint)?
- Watch Sergei Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky* (1938, Russian) and compare it to Aleksander Ford's *Krzyżacy* (1960, Polish). What do these two films reveal about the contemporary power of a legendary rivalry between Germans and Slavs?
- The document *History of Friedrich II. Of Prussia, Vol XXI*, by Thomas Carlyle can be found at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2121/2121-h/2121-h.htm> provides interesting contemporary insight into 18c. Polish politics and the disdain felt for the condition of Poland and her beloved institutions. What do you think of this quote?

"No reader who has made acquaintance with Polish History can well doubt but Poland was now dead or moribund, and had well deserved to die. Anarchies are not permitted in this world. Under fine names, they are grateful to the Populaces, and to the Editors of Newspapers; but to the Maker of this Universe they are eternally abhorrent; and from the beginning have been forbidden to be."
- Watch the You Tube video "Polish History in 10 minutes." Many of the images come from paintings by Jan Matejko. Who was he?
- This is an image of the outside of Wawel Cathedral at Wawel Castle in Krakow, seat of Polish kings until the modern age. The Cathedral was the site for the coronation of kings. The brick walls date from the 1300s but all around chapels were added and objects of devotional art, sarcophagi in the crypts below, reflect the passage of time. The golden dome on the right tops the Sigismund Chapel and is a beautiful example of Renaissance architecture. Find two more examples of Polish architecture and compare them (for our purposes, Malbork counts as Polish!).

⁸ Davies, Vol 2, p. 511.



UNIT: The Czechlands

Are the Czechlands an historical phenomenon?

The historical lands of BOHEMIA (Česky), MORAVIA (Morava) and the southern part of Silesia (Slezsko), Czechia (Česko) have belonged together for centuries. The Czechlands are the epitome of "Central" Europe – part of the Holy Roman Empire. The Amber Road which connected the Baltic to the Mediterranean ran right through the Czechlands. Legends tell of brothers Lech and Czech being the progenitors of Poland and the Czechs (the third brother being Rus – who established Ruthenia). Early to experience the Reformation and rich in natural resources needed for industrialization, the Czechlands are evidence that "Eastern" and "Slavic" are not synonymous with "backward."

What was Moravia?

The old definitions of Great Moravia -- *Velka Morava* date back to the 9th century. It reached all the way into Serbian tribal territory after 883. Mostly what is known about it is from archeological sources as we have no clear map drawn of the area. Power shifted to Bohemia by 935 under Boleslav I, when the territory reached into Silesia and up to Cracow. The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa signed the territory over to Conrad Otto in 1182 and in 1187 Barbarossa raised Prague from bishopric to imperial principality, presaging the centrality of the city in coming years. But by 1189, Conrad Otto ascended the throne in Prague as well, and rejoined the two regions.

Americans understand Moravia through immigration. A strong Moravian population settled in the coal mining and steel counties of eastern Pennsylvania in the 18th century, even before industrialization. They came seeking religious refuge, being followers of Jan Hus.

What was Bohemia?

Known as the Bohemian Crownlands this region forms the second half of the Czechlands. Termed the Bohemian Principality (Ceske Knizectvi) from 9th-12th centuries and the Bohemian Kingdom (Ceske kralovstvi) – from the end of the 12th century, by the 14th century, the term Crown became *Koruna Kralovstvi ceskeho* or *ceska koruna*. The lands were joined to Habsburg territory in 1506, when

With the Luxembourg dynasty on Bohemian throne, John of Luxembourg used the term first in writings in 1329. The crown of St. Wenceslas became the symbol of these regions.

Jan Hus was born in 1369 and earned his degree at the University in Prague. His support of Wyclif's ideals, criticizing clergy for greed that distracted them from God's work, plunged Bohemia into turmoil that lasted generations. Hus himself was martyred – burned as a heretic, which literally fed the fire of resistance against the Church. Czech nobles who opposed his condemnation called for a Czech Church and took arms against King and Pope. Prague itself changed hands, throwing its own weight behind the Hussites. In 1419 the hostilities reached a peak, and radicals seized anti-Hussite magistrates in the Prague Town Hall, throwing many out a window – beginning, as Bideleux notes, a sort of Czech tradition of "defenestration" an opening act in the Hussite wars. One can argue that, through Hus, Czechs can also claim a kind of martyr status, looking to reforms that could free many. Presaging Luther by generations, Hus, like his German counterpart, had hoped to improve a respected and beloved church, but both inspired a larger response. The Hussite Wars won temporary gains for Czechs, but losses for Prague as a center for European learning (Krakow would outshine it in the Renaissance) and isolating Czechs from the West. In 1526, in the aftermath of the Battle of Mohacs in which the Ottomans claimed Hungary, the Habsburgs solidified their claim to Bohemia. The Czechlands would spend the next

centuries with the Habsburgs, occupying both a place of submission and of privilege. Prague is, after all, even further West than Vienna.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapters 13, 15

Hupchick: Part III

Unit Questions to Consider

- What was the effect of the Thirty Years' War on Bohemia? On East Central Europe?
- Did the integration of Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary into an Austrian Habsburg empire contribute to the modernization or the decline of these kingdoms?
- Based on your reading of Bideleux, how does the ethnic heritage of an historian affect his or her interpretation of imperial histories?
- Try this fun trivia quiz about Czech history!
<http://www.funtrivia.com/playquiz/quiz115060d2e368.html>
- Research the history of Moravians in Bethlehem Pennsylvania on this government website:
<http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/59bethlehem/59bethlehem.htm>
- Apply what you learn about picture analysis to another image related to the Czechlands. Use this site: <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/PHOTOANA.HTM>
- Debate: the Czechlands are the exception to the rule that Eastern Europe is "backwards."
- Using Bideleux, make a chart comparing and contrasting Luther and Hus, the German and the Czech Reformation.

UNIT: Catherine II

Catherine the Great: Enlightened Absolutist

Character of Catherine

Catherine, born Sophia, was a German princess brought to Russia to marry Peter III. The ranking woman in Russia was Elizabeth, Peter's aunt, who controlled everything in Sophia's life, from her servants to her friends, to, eventually her own children. Moved to integrate into society, even if she found her intended unlovable, Sophia was re-christened as Ekaterina Alexeevna in the Orthodox Church, using a firm tone to declare her faith in newly-learned Russian. This endeared her to the court and the common people alike. Portraits show her to have thick hair, open blue eyes, charm, long nose, adored by her servants; she didn't have to bribe them for their loyalty. She is reputed to have looked her best in masculine attire, perhaps because it reflected her drive and commitment to rule. But she was not lacking in feminine charms. She worked day and night and gave her personal attention to all matters, not interested just in holding on to power but to excel in all things. Catherine's era has been called the "Golden Age" of the Nobility for, although she sought to meet the needs of the common people and rationalize her government, she bought support through reduced obligations and consolidated power. She expanded the empire to the south and the west, fighting wars with Turkey, funding the exploration of Siberia and expeditions to Alaska. Unlike Peter I Catherine was not *only* interested in the practical, but also the beautiful. She collected art, built palaces (including Peterhof), and left a legacy not appreciated, truly, until after fall of Communism.

Delicate hand, iron fist

Catherine was displeased with the French Revolution. As a monarch, she almost had to be. When she heard that a French Constitution had been promulgated in September 1791, she flew into a terrible temper, "I stamped my foot with rage while reading of those. . . horrors," she wrote.⁹ Catherine was facing a Revolution much closer to home, in the lands of partitioned Poland, where, on May 3, 1791, a Constitution had also been declared, the *first* European constitution, Poles would be quick to remind us. She had established her erstwhile lover, Stanislaw Poniatowski, as king of Poland in 1764. Poniatowski had hoped that Russia would join those who looked favorably on the Constitution, but this was in vain. One of the provisions of the Constitution was to give peasants who emigrated from outside Poland their freedom (since many peasants in Poland and all of them in were still under serfdom) – and this, Catherine rightly expected, would attract migration out of Russia, and would stir up unrest against the tsarina. Of Stanislaw, she had this to say, "He is either led or he has fallen into imbecility to have allowed himself to be drawn into actions so nefarious and so contrary to the well being of Poland, to probity, to gratitude."¹⁰ She made it her business to overthrow the Polish Constitution. In 1795, the final Partition of Poland also marked the end of an Enlightened approach to Empire. Catherine proved herself an Empress above all.

Unit Reading

Sixsmith: Chapter 10

⁹ Adam Zamoyski, *Last King of Poland*, p. 355.

¹⁰ Zamoyski, p. 347.

Unit Questions to Consider

- Consider the Russian tradition of the Palace Coup. What does it indicate about the structure of Power in Russia?
- Compare Catherine and Peter and their attitudes toward Russia. For each, what did it mean to be "Russian"?
- Did Catherine embody the principles of the enlightened monarch? How?
- Consider the similarities and differences between Peter's Table of Ranks and Catherine's *Nakaz*.

Unit Assignment: Required Review (5pp)

Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*

Section IV: Nationalism

Topics: Civic Nationalism vs. Ethnic Nationalism, Theories of Gellner, Anderson, Smith, and Hobsbawm, Education, Uprisings, Modernity and Modernization

UNIT: Nationalism

Comparing Ethnic and Civic Nationalism

Why study Nationalism?

Nationalism is a modern phenomenon, very critical to understanding Eastern Europe and Slavic History. The historical experiences of ethnic groups in Eastern Europe have been influenced by multi-ethnic empires. At some times, ethnicity was much less relevant than religion or class, but moving into the modern age, ethnic identity became an organizing idea which shaped presumptions about how states ought to be organized and governed. Thus, one moved from an Ottoman Empire, in which subsets of Orthodoxy and ethnicity were less important than larger religious identities and privilege within imperial administration, to, for instance, a modern Serbian identity within or contradictory to an Ottoman one, defined on linguistic and geographical terms. Nevertheless, concepts of belonging and use of the term nation precedes Serbian independence by more than a century. Below we will address the chronological and ideological differences between two types of nationalism that affect Eastern Europe.

What is Civic Nationalism?

Civic nationalism is a unifying force which develops either before or parallel to the rise of a centralized state which imposes an identity on its citizens. By being citizens of that state, they belong to the nation. One example of civic nationalism would be **France**, a homogenous country, after a fashion, but also divided into provinces whose residents identified themselves locally, not nationally. The idea of being **French** arose as much from the idea of being a citizen of France, a state which already existed and had existed, as it did from a sense of commonality with other people who spoke French, were Roman Catholic, and so on. You could read about this process in *Peasants into Frenchmen*. But civic nationalism does not just belong to Western Europe. Poland also enjoyed a long medieval and early modern state identity, as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Other civic identities also prevailed in Eastern Europe, such as pride in belonging to an empire like Russia or Austria-Hungary. Typically this sort of pride was felt in a civic sense most keenly by those belonging to the dominant ethnic group. Thus, one could be proud of the Russian Empire if one was Russian, spoke Russian (the official language of the empire), and was Orthodox (language and religion are also elements of Ethnic Nationalism). Despite the division of the Ausgleich in 1867, the Austro-Hungarian empire still united behind the imperial family. It has been argued that loyalty to and admiration for Franz Jozef was one of the last things keeping the empire together.

Civic nationalism is characterized by a state preceding the nation.

- Common geography
- Common history
- Citizenship and sovereignty
- Symbols (flags, postage stamps, anthems)
- Constitutions/legal documents

What is Ethnic Nationalism?

Ethnic nationalism can be used to describe the feeling a group of people have which arises out of their common experiences: language, culture, and history. It does not presuppose the existence of a state or nation-state. In the modern era, the assumption has grown that by being members of a distinct ethnic group, or nation, a people may form a state. This has been called **National self-determination**, a term we associate with **Woodrow Wilson** and the Paris Peace Conference negotiations after World War One. A good example of ethnic nationalism would be the feeling which unifies **Czechs** as members of the Czech Republic. **Czechs** existed as a nationality group within the Habsburg Empire, and they were often a thorn in the side of the Austrians, always seeking more autonomy and rights, seeking their freedom, but until the 20th Century, they had no nation. Their nationhood preceded their statehood. The *where* and *when* of the Czechlands was "inside the Habsburg Empire." This situation influenced *what* Czechs have become, meaning *sovereign*.

Ethnic nationalism is characterized by a nation preceding a state.

- Language
- Religion
- Common history
- Geography/place
- Political and social institutions
- Culture/literature/folk traditions

Who is Ernst Gellner?

Ernst Gellner (1925-1995) was an anthropologist whose theories on modernization and nationalism have reverberated across the social sciences. Gellner argued that nations did not exist intrinsically outside of culture, that nations are not pre-existing forms, but agreed-upon categories, defined by mutual human agreement. The idea of nation, Gellner says, emerges with industrialization.

Who is Eric Hobsbawm?

Eric Hobsbawm (1911-) is arguably one of the most interesting, potentially most controversial and most renowned historians of our era. As an avowed Marxist and card-carrying Communist Party member (until 1991), Hobsbawm represents a firmly modernist view of nationalism, linking it, as he does many other critical elements of European experience, with the French Revolution. According to Hobsbawm, the early nationalist movements in the 1830s grew out of disillusionment after the 1815 Congress of Vienna. For Hobsbawm, the nation was the people, and the people were paramount.

Who is Anthony Smith?

Anthony Smith is a well known scholar on n. A sociologist who maintains that understanding *ethnies* provide a bridge between premodern and modern nationalism and ethnic politics. Groups rely on preexisting *ethnies* to define common characteristics, social

memory, myths and values. (See "The origins of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12, 3 (July 1989), pp. 340-67.

Who is Benedict Anderson?

Benedict Anderson's path-breaking work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* rocked intellectuals on its release in 1983, but its reprint in 1992 signaled what any study of nationalism must imply – that the end of Communism meant a desire to redefine and reorganize Europe. Key concepts in Anderson's work include his argument for "creole nationalism" and "official nationalism," which reveal his emphasis on understanding center-periphery relationships and print culture.

Unit Questions to Consider

- Is nationalism an essentially constructive or a destructive force?
- How can perceptions of nationalism from the 18c and 19c be said to affect Slavic history?
- Is there an argument for the Russian Empire and the Habsburg Empire exhibiting civic nationalism? Why or why not?
- Consider the intellectuals above and compare their interpretations of nationalism. Who else can you find who has influenced the definition of modern nationhood? (Ex. Miroslav Hroch, Karl Deutsch, Eduard Benes, Geoff Ely, Woodrow Wilson) You may want to use the *Nationalism Project* website at: <http://www.nationalismproject.org/about.htm> .
- Make a list of the main works by intellectuals on nationalism. Find reviews of these works. Are they still relevant today? Why or why not?
- Look at this stamp. From just looking at it, what can you tell about the nationality of the person it celebrates? What would you presume about his religion, language, and residence? Discuss your impressions.



UNIT: Polish Partition

Before 1772, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and, even more importantly, incorporated multiple ethnicities within one state. The Polish Crownlands themselves included Germans and Jews, while further East Lithuanians (Grand Duchy of Lithuania), Byelorussians and Ukrainians comprised the rest. Poland had become known as the “Republic of Anarchy,” a result of its admirable but silent representative body, the Sejm, its elected kings, and the infamous *liberum veto*. Thus, Poland, with hardly any army, and little in the way of a central budget, found herself the victim of three bordering empires: Prussia, Russia and Austria. In the first Partition, the Commonwealth lost 35% of its population and 29% of territory. (Bideleux, p. 194) While Poland did not lose the city of Gdansk/Danzig, so crucial to the grain trade, it did lose control of the Vistula, its main artery. The first partition took place in 1772. In 1792-93 the Russians and Poles battled in the War of the Second Partition. The third took place after an insurrection, led by a trans-Atlantic hero.

There is a direct link between Poland and the United States in the person of Tadeusz Kosciuszko. Thaddeus Kosciuszko was one of the first European volunteers to aid the American revolutionary cause in 1776. A brilliant Polish military engineer, Kosciuszko designed and constructed fortifications to help defeat the British, most notably at Saratoga and West Point in New York. Kosciuszko returned to Poland and led his own countrymen in a failed attempt to free them from foreign oppression. Polish revolutionary thinkers favored using America as a model, saying “those great and virtuous souls Franklin and Washington, to whom America owes her liberty, and the entire world owes honour and admiration, have set Poland a great example.”¹¹ Tadeusz Kosciuszko led the rebellion that followed the second partition and inspired Catherine to crack down one last time. After Catherine’s death, Poland remained a thorn in Russia’s side. Under Napoleon, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw formed around 1807, also the first Free City of Danzig about same time – a presage to his invasion of Russia in 1812. Afterwards, Alexander I tried to alleviate his grandmother’s actions by granting a constitution to the Congress Kingdom. This was short-lived, however, and Poland remained partitioned until the Treaty of Versailles brought her back to the map of Europe. The period between 1795 and 1918 was, therefore, one during which modern Polish nationalism grew while Poland was in effect, stateless. Unique among the East European nations, Poland experienced the effects of both ethnic and civic nationalism.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapter 14 (review)

Snyder: Review

Unit Questions to Consider

- Bideleux relies on Piotr Wandycz’s *Lands of Partitioned Poland* and Norman Davies’ *God’s Playground: A History of Poland*. Find biographies of these two historians and/or reviews of their work and compare their approaches to Polish history.
- In what ways does Poland exemplify the experience of civic nationalism?

¹¹ Zamoyski, p. 330.

- Bideleux criticizes scholars for overlooking Lithuania in discussions about the Partitions. What drives his argument?
- Find websites and memorials to Pulaski and Kosciuszko in the US and in Poland. Compare commemorations and memorial sites. What do they teach us about Enlightenment ideologies? About Polish-Americans?
- Review this essay on the Polish National Anthem: http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/reperto/dabrowski.html . Can you find the song performed online? What does it show you about the importance of Napoleon and the Partitions in Polish history?
- Review Maps 26 and 29 in Hupchick. What does Hupchick argue regarding the reasons behind the partitions of Poland? Compare these maps with a contemporary map.

Unit Assignment: Book Review (5pp)

Using the booklist provided and the bibliographies in the required review books, choose a book to review related to Slavic History. You must obtain permission to review the book from your instructor. You must also find and attach a professional book review along with your own review.

UNIT: 1848

Spring of Nations

Where did the 1848 revolutions begin?

By mid century an economic depression was spread throughout Europe. It was marked by rising food prices after a poor harvest and the recession that followed the industrial expansion of the early 1840s. In 1848, France sparked a larger conflagration, in the name of high ideals. Though Louis Philippe had epitomized the ideals of Liberalism in France since becoming the Bourgeois King in 1830, it counted for little by February of 1848. He abdicated and a constitutional committee met, adopting an even more liberal Constitution by November. This backlash against those who seemed to accept the *status quo* in Europe inspired others whose aspirations were even higher.

What did role did German or Italian nationalism play?

It is important to remember that there was no unified Germany or Italy in 1848. While some might argue that Rome or the Holy Roman Empire constituted some sort of noble unified past for these peoples, both Germany and Italy experienced the throes of Romantic Ethnic Nationalism. In the meantime, inspired by early successes in France, German liberals proposed a German national parliament in Marcy 1848. Calling for universal manhood suffrage and unification, delegates met in Frankfurt and called for a national assembly, universal manhood suffrage, and a unified Germany. Frederick Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia, initially agreed to liberal demands for reform, but later turned his back on the assembly. When he was offered the crown of a united Germany, he replied "I will not accept a crown from the gutter."

The 1848 revolutions in Italy brought the great leaders of Italian Unification together for the first time: Mazzini and Garibaldi each participated in challenges against the Pope's control of the Papal States and the counter-revolutionaries of Austria. Garibaldi fled Italy when the Revolution collapsed and went to America. He returned as the strong arm of Italian unification and became known as a Hero of Two Worlds.

Austria and 1848

The biggest challenge to the Habsburgs in 1848 came from the Hungarians. Nationalism was seeping into the souls of the subject peoples in this land dominated by German-speaking Austrians. While Czechs were chafing against the demands of an Empire, the Hungarians had something more on their side – geography (size, distance, strategic proximity to enemies), a rival capital at Buda/Pest, not to mention Bratislava (Slovakia), ethnic cohesion (being neither Slavic nor Germanic), a history of independence (which made Hungary behave both in response to civil as well as ethnic nationalism), and a strong noble class around which to rally. On March 3, 1848, Lajos Kossuth stood before the Hungarian Diet in Pressburg (Bratislava) called for a representative government. By March 11 Czechs and Germans in Prague rose up demanding the same for Bohemia, conjuring up a centuries-old identity. A Slav Congress met in Prague in June 1848, and though Russians were present (one of the representatives anarchist Bakunin), it seemed an awkward position. The Russian Big Brother was not likely to back all the smaller Slav nations, especially Poles, in a bid for independence. The empire's first response was to jettison Klemens von

Metternich, mastermind of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and now scapegoat. The so-called April Laws transformed Hungary, creating a constitutional government, reforming suffrage laws, and abolishing serfdom.

End Days of 1848

Kossuth's Hungary faced multiple challenges, however, and the power of nationalist unrest spread to Croats, who initiated a military offensive against the Magyars (Hungarians). When this escalated into war between Austria and Hungary, Kossuth's Republic could not stand. Ethnic unrest and demands for constitutional liberation threatened the very heart of the multi-ethnic empires in Eastern Europe. Russia threw her support to Vienna. Poles across the Partitions were inspired, though mobilizing in support of the ideals of 1848 presented many challenges. Instead, Poles abroad organized Legions. Adam Mickiewicz rallied Legions from Italy, but even he is overshadowed by Jozef Bem, who had fought after the 1830 insurrection against Russia. His contributions kept Kossuth going, despite Bideleux' argument to the contrary. Bem used the slogan "For Your Freedom and Ours," first seen during the November Rising of 1830, a phrase which surfaces over and over again when Poles have stepped forward to fight, reiterating the above discussed theme of Poland's role as the Christ of Nations.

What was the long term result of the 1848 Revolutions?

The end result of the 1848 revolutions was not to be found in the actual gains, which were lost in war with Austria and Russia, but in the smaller national movements, echoes in Romania, and the evidence that ethnic nationalism would inform the fate of the peoples of Eastern Europe for the next century, perhaps the next 150 years. IN the immediate aftermath, Hungary had to cede its gains to Austria. In the long term, the Hungarian challenge waited in the wings, emerging again after the Six Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia in 1866. Thus, in 1867, the *Ausgleich* signaled the real "beginning of the end" for the Habsburgs in Eastern Europe. Sharing power with Hungary, Austria tried to maintain its old role as benevolent ruler, but the foment of the nations was just below the surface.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapters 16-18

Hupchick: Part IV

Unit Questions to Consider

- Who was Simeon Barnuti?
- Compare and contrast maps of the Austrian Empire in 1847, 1848, 1867, 1878 and 1908. What do you see happening? Does it make sense?
- What is "Magyarization"?
- Does the abolition of serfdom in 1848 prove that the Austrian empire was a progressive or a regressive state?
- Imagine you are an advisor to Emperor Ferdinand. How would you recommend he proceed on March 12, 1848? Does your ethnicity inform your advice? How?

UNIT: Slavophilism

Whither Russia? Slavophiles vs. Westernizers

Essentially a Russian concept, the Slavophile-Westernizer divide can be traced to the early modern era, though the vocabulary is a nineteenth century phenomenon. Whereas one might liken Westernizers to civic nationalism or inheritors of a Liberal Enlightenment, Slavophiles are of the Romantic era. Like the nationalisms of the smaller nation-states in Eastern Europe, Russian nationalism continues to influence historical interpretation and contemporary politics. For instance, such reformist Communist leaders as Bukharin, Lenin, Khrushchev and Gorbachev can be squeezed into the “Westernizer” category, while Stalin, Brezhnev and even Vladimir Putin could all be said to exhibit “Slavophile” characteristics. Just looking at the vocabulary of the “Great Patriotic War” (as WWII is called) reveals the propensity for Slavophile types to conjure a larger, martyrological ideal associated with a unique Russian identity.

Who were the Westernizers?

Westernizers followed the traditions of Peter the Great, as they interpreted them, and sought Western style parliamentary institutions and social reforms for Russia. Catherine the Great conscientiously fell into this category. Alexander I sought to correct her late-life anti-democratic actions, like the Polish Partitions, with a cobbled-together ideology blending Constitutionalism and mysticism. Alexander II, the Great Reformer, realized the ultimate goal of the modernizing Russian – eliminating serfdom. Russian intellectuals like Alexander Herzen and Peter Chaadayev often wrote their critiques from exile, from Siberia or from centers of Western thought and culture, like Paris. While Westernizers looked to Europe to define progress, they often put a special Slavic “twist” on the concept. While it might seem ironic, Russian Socialists, especially Mensheviks, fell into the Westernizer category, looking to Marx and German thinkers as their guides. Even Vladimir Lenin, who, compared to Stalin, would fall into a more Western category, argued that Russia would be the “weakest link” that would set off Socialist revolution across Europe in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Westernizers were associated with modernization, church reform (even anti-Orthodox or atheist ideas), the middle classes and educated gentry, parliamentary governments, and free press.

Who were the Slavophiles?

The Slavophile movement emphasized the importance of Russian character and culture. Let by such thinkers as Konstantin Aksakov, they emphasized *sobornost* (unity) and idealized rural culture as well as imperial legacy. They wanted Russia to keep to its traditions, relying on the Orthodox Church, the “natural” fraternalism of the *mir* (peasant commune) and the mystic paternal tsar. Nicholas I, who took power in the wake of unrest, declared the doctrine of *Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality*, which thereafter linked Slavophilism to conservative or reactionary ideas. Nicholas I himself preferred to stifle these questions, and himself leaned more in the Slavophile direction, but the questions continued to plague Russia’s tsars at the end of the nineteenth century. Slavophiles valued the unique character of Russianness, of Eastern or Slavic identity, over adopted Western ideals. Slavophiles criticized Westernizers for abandoning the true faith and culture which shaped Russia and her satellites. Slavophiles were also the inspiration for the Pan-Slavic movement that applied the principles of nationalism broadly to all Russia’s “Little Brothers.” This is most evident in Russian policies related to Slavic groups within the Ottoman and Austro-

Hungarian empires. Slavophiles were associated with reaction, religious devotion, peasant culture and the nobility, authoritarianism and censorship.

Unit Reading

Sixsmith, Chs 12-18 (review)

Unit Questions to Consider

- **Using Sixsmith, find 3 examples of Slavophilism and 3 of Westernizer ideologies. Make a chart comparing and contrasting them.**
- **When you think of Russian culture, what composers, artists, or authors come first to mind. Research two and determine – are they Slavophiles or Westernizers?**
- **Find pictures of the tsars. Can you find a link between how they look in their portraits and whether they are considered more Liberal or more Conservative (Western/Slavophilic)?**
- **Is Slavophilism just a romantic word for Russian nationalism? Why or why not?**

Unit Assignment: Response Essay (2-3pp)

Has nationalism been a constructive or destructive force in Slavic History? Defend your answer with examples from at least 3 countries and/or authors.

Section V: The World Wars

The Great War, the Great Patriotic War, the Cold War

Topics: Diplomatic history, Bolshevik Revolution, Fascism and the Holocaust, and Brest-Litovsk vs. New Democracies and The Paris Peace Conference

Units: Historiography

Writing the History of Outbreak means writing the History of Blame

There are those who would argue that the Second World War and the First World War in Europe were completely different, that the First World War may have been the first truly modern war (though one can argue that this was actually the Russo-Japanese war), and the Second World War an ideological war. And this is true. It can also be said that the First World War saw the breakdown of the European empires and the Second World War the initiation of completely new, totalitarian systems. In contrast, some historians would argue that the period from 1914 to 1945 was actually a Thirty Years' War, that the interwar period was simply a long cease-fire in a war that continued to be about the same things – nations, states, nationalism, violent competition for empires, competition for resources in or by a waning Europe. Certainly, the Nazi phenomenon can be seen as having its immediate roots in the post WWI world of resentment, foiled German ambitions, worldwide depression, and fear.

One of the most important skills an historian must develop is the ability to discern cause and effect. History is more than facts and truth, though of course, historians rely on sources and experience to discern their validity. But, just as there will be contradictory testimony at a crime scene, so too is the historian in many ways a kind of backwards witness. The discipline of historiography, or the study of history itself, is something we have been practicing throughout this course, as we ask questions which have multiple answers. The history of the outbreak of World War One is a good example of a topic for which there are multiple valid explanations. Each one points back to the larger moral question about the wars – who is to blame for so much suffering, and if someone is to blame, how does that blame get assigned? Through reparations? Apologies? Territory? Trials? The tone of WWI and WWII in the Slavic world changed profoundly – these were ideological wars – wars against imperialism, wars for the common man, wars against racism, wars against totalitarianism, but the right and wrong side was often unclear, with a single exception: Nazi Germany. The difference between World War One and World War Two is just this: the clear moral prerogative for both Western (including the United States) and Eastern Europe was the defeat of German fascism. That unified the West and the East in a way unprecedented in History.

Below you will find a chart tracing 3 historical arguments regarding the outbreak of WWI. Consider the ramifications for each one as you study this unit. I have phrased these as arguments, if you take every one as a fact, you will be confused. ☺

Argument 1: Germany did it.

- The Tirpitz Plan – racing to build a navy 2/3 the size of the Royal Navy indicated Germany considered Britain a rival.
- The Schlieffen Plan – since the actual invasion of France looked a lot like this early strategic plan, which involved moving through Belgium, capturing Paris, then

heading East to Russia, it seems to be evidence of a buildup of strategy as well as arms.

- Aggressive political rhetoric and diplomacy: Wilhelm II not only called for Germany to gain her rightful "Place in the Sun" (*Platz an der Sonne*), but also let a longstanding Reinsurance Treaty with Russia expire, isolating a weak ally.
- By offering Austria the so-called "Blank Check" the Germans knew they were offering to back their ally without question, and they intentionally emboldened Austria against the Serbs in 1914.
- The Germans knew that Russia was not mobilizing in 1914, but simply maneuvering troops over its vast territory, and used Russia's troop movements as an excuse to declare war.
- As Fritz Fischer argued in Germany in the 1960s, Germans were nationalistic and expansionist in 1914 and also in 1945, and a German should know.
- The War Guilt Clause – since the Germans signed Article 231 of the Versailles Treaty, it must mean they really were guilty of starting the war.

Argument 2: The Alliance System was to blame.

- The old Balance of Power relied on high level diplomacy not possible in the industrial age of mass politics.
- The alliances as they existed in 1914 forced European powers to take sides:
 - Dual Alliance/Triple Alliance brought Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy into conflict with the East because of longstanding rivalries with Russia and France.
 - The Franco-Russian alliance emerged when the Reinsurance Treaty expired. The Russians needed a Western Ally, and the French Republic was willing to offer loans in return for a counterbalance to Germany.
 - The Entente Cordiale and the Triple Alliance brought Britain into Continental politics in spite of traditional reluctance to get involved, because British imperial interests in their colonies were best served by cooperating with France and her allies.
- The only possible result of Continental alliances was a domino effect, which is how every nation in Europe ended up at war, and how colonies and Pacific powers also got involved.

Argument 3: The Old Empires were dissolving, and their internal collapse brought on war.

- The Ottoman, Austrian and Russian empires were ancient, each dating to the 16c. Because they did not modernize, they were bound to be weak and targets for strong powers like Germany.
- The multi-ethnic nature of the Ottoman, Austrian and Russian empires was a source of weakness. Smaller (Slavic) nationalisms were bound to chip away at the stability of Europe. Just look what independence inspired the Serbians to do.
- Nationalism, that is, ethnic nationalism, was a powerful force within empires. Ethnic nationalism is an essentially destructive force.
- Empires, even the British Empire, were waning. New class warfare was on the horizon, but the First World War was the last gasp of the great empires.

Naturally, the assassination of Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria Hungary on June 28, 1914 can be called the spark for World War One, but the historian is nevertheless faced with the question – Why in 1914, why not in 1912 and 1913, when the previous 2 conflicts raged in the same part of the world? Slavic historians sometimes refer to World War One (the Great War, the War to End all Wars) as the "Third Balkan War" to emphasize this very point.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Chapters 18 (review), 19-22

Hupchick: Part V

Sixsmith, Part III

Unit Questions to Consider

- **Was the Russian Revolution a people's revolution?**
- **Which concept was stronger in 1914, socialism or nationalism?**
- **How was the Eastern Front a completely separate war from the Western Front?**
- **Should the United States have remained in Russia longer supporting the Whites in the Civil War?**
- **Was there a way to have prevented the outbreak of WWI through diplomacy? If so, where did that diplomacy break down?**
- **Which of the 3 arguments I've offered you is most convincing about World War One?**
- **Make a chart comparing the terms of the Versailles Treaty and the Treaty of Brest Litovsk (hint – Yale Avalon Project has many legal documents online). What do they reveal about Germany's position in 1917 vs. 1919?**
- **Do you accept the argument that the War Guilt Clause was a prime motivator for German revanchism in WWII?**
- **Look at the maps of Eastern Europe in your texts. What new countries emerged? Discuss the relative importance of these new boundaries.**
- **"The Serbs got what they wanted out of World War One." Debate.**

UNIT: World War Two

When did WWII begin in Europe?

As with any origin question, the date one assigns to the outbreak of WWII in Europe may depend on an historian's intent. The most straightforward answer is: September 1, 1939, the day of the German invasion of Poland, marks the beginning of the war. Unlike World War One, the initiation of hostilities is much easier to trace in 1939. The escalation came slowly, and with many disappointments. In 1936, Germany realized its longstanding revisionist goals, "correcting" the injustices of the Versailles Treaty by remilitarizing the Rhineland and annexing Austria. In 1938, the Munich Conference gave Germany the Sudetenland, removing an ethnic, geographical and military boundary and exposing the Czechoslovaks to a German threat. By March 1939, the Germans had taken the Czechlands and Slovakia gained independence in a client state. In August 1939, the Soviets agreed to a non-aggression pact with a secret clause: when (not if) Germany invaded Poland, the Soviets would cross Poland's eastern boundary, and effect a Fourth Partition. This did happen. As Germany was taking Warsaw, the Soviets entered Poland September 17, 1939 to "protect" her. Much of this territory was retained by the Soviets as a result of compromises among the "Big Three" – FDR, Churchill and Stalin.

What role did nationalism play in the Second World War?

Nationalism is at the heart of the world wars, but manifested itself in the worst possible ways during the Second World War. Fascism as a political ideology emerged and, many argue, existed exclusively between the wars. In the early 1920s, disappointment, resentment, territorial loss and economic hardship plagued Germany, so that the emergent far right scrambled for pride in some aspect of German culture. National Socialism grew out of this, promising economic rebirth and a revived national pride to to the German working classes, the middle and the naturally conservative upper classes. Incipient German anti-Semitism became a convenient tool for Nazis to manipulate in order to mobilize Germans in the name of nationalism. In fact, this manifestation of nationalism was simply put racism. The National Socialists created a hierarchy of races, placing the so-called Aryan race at the top. Jews and Slavs, the predominant ethnic groups to Germany's East, were less than human, fit only to be excluded from society or used for their labor. This also dovetailed with the idea that Germany had the right to expand into any available space and use the agricultural and industrial resources of a place based on the principles of extreme social Darwinism – the strongest survive. The German race, in the Nazi ideology, deserved to survive and to use whatever land or resources they could to do so. Thus was born the idea of *Lebensraum* – living space, which became the impetus for invading to the East. Fascism as a political ideology stands at the exact opposite end of the spectrum from Communism, so that the twin enmities of race and ideology drove the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Why are Stalingrad and Kursk more important to the war's result than Dunkirk and D-Day?

The racial and political nature of the Nazi onslaught meant that the Soviet response was equally driven by nationalism and ideology. Russians still call the Second World War the

“Great Patriotic War.” When Hitler planned the invasion of the Soviet Union for summer 1941, he fully expected that the principles of *Blitzkrieg* would apply in Russia just as they had elsewhere. The innovative use of armor and tanks to drive through enemy lines had been nearly unstoppable. But the Russians had two things on their side, the same two things that Russia always has: population and space. The vastness of the Soviet Union was itself a weapon. The Germans could not resist the triple goals of conquering Leningrad, Stalingrad and Moscow. The ideological value alone was important to Hitler. Many errors plagued the Germans: long supply lines, Russian partisans, putting ideology ahead of strategy and not least, a harsh winter. Confident that they would achieve their goals by September, many troops had not even been given winter gear or proper boots. Rather than secure the oil fields of the Caucasus, Army Group South pressed on to Stalingrad, then met the dual challenge of crossing the river then having to take the city street by street. The Soviet troops drew the Nazis into urban combat, sacrificing their city and its citizens to wearing down the Germans, and in this, they won. Combined with the brilliant strategies of Chiukov and Zhukov, the Soviets defeated *Blitzkrieg*. While American historiography privileges U.S. intervention in Europe’s war, Slavic historians consider the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad to be the “beginning of the end” for the Nazi menace. After Stalingrad, the German Army withdrew, and kilometer by kilometer the Red Army retook Russia, then laid claim to Eastern Europe, bolstering Stalin’s claims at the Yalta conference.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Part III

Hupchick: Maps 48, 49

Sixsmith, Part III

Unit Questions to Consider

1. Historians like George Mosse wrestle endlessly with the question – can we find the roots of Nazism in the deeper German past? Is nationalism to blame?
2. Is the Nazi evil we associate with Hitler something unique to him, or was Hitler simply the embodiment of a German sentiment that had long waited to come out?
3. If Hitler was a unique phenomenon, how do we explain the Nazi war machine? How do we explain popular support? How do we talk about the Second World War, about the Nazi Party, or even about Germany, without addressing the core question – WHO DID THIS?
4. Much is known about the French Resistance, less about the Polish resistance. What is missing?
5. Find references in Sixsmith to female combatants in the Second World War. What can you learn about Soviet society from these references?

6. Find 2 films about WWII made in Slavic-Speaking countries. Watch them. How is the story they tell similar to or different from Hollywood movies? (Recommend: *Closely Watched Trains* and *Shop on Main Street* for Czechoslovak views; *Korczak* or *Ashes and Diamonds* for Polish views; *Aleksander Nevsky* or *The Cranes are Flying* for USSR. Interesting Hollywood comparisons: *Casablanca*, *Best Years of our Lives*)
7. What is the difference between the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the Warsaw Uprising?
8. What were the consequences of WWII for the Slavic World?

Unit Assignment: Book Review (5pp)

Using the booklist provided and the bibliographies in the required review books, choose a book to review related to Slavic History. You must obtain permission to review the book from your instructor. You must also find and attach a professional book review along with your own review.

Section VI: Since 1945

Topics: Spheres of Influence, Stalinism in Eastern Europe, Hungarian Revolution, Prague Spring, Solidarity, European Union and Current Events

UNIT: Everyday life

Everyday Communism

What was everyday life like in the East Bloc?

People feared going to Siberian labor camps like the one author Alexander Solzhenitsyn was sent to. They feared Lubyanka Prison and its infamous cellars. Physicist Andrei Sakharov was a prominent dissident in the Soviet Union. He was persecuted and arrested. What was his crime? Having a conscience about the Soviet nuclear program, testing weapons near non-Russian civilian populations (ex. Kazakhs). The problem was, anyone could be accused of harming the interests of society or the Soviet state. The media was controlled by the state. There were two major Soviet Newspapers *Pravda* (truth) and *Izvestiya* (news). There was a joke in the Soviet Union that there was no news in Pravda and no truth in Izvestiya. Crises like airplane crashes were sometimes not reported on in the Soviet Union. I know from my years in Poland that Poles were afraid after 1989 that crime had gone up (describe apartment doors) but actually, it was probably just that crime statistics had never truthfully been reported in the news.

Western music, American culture, literature and art were all considered a threat to communist ideology. Still, they were popular. I heard a story that during the Cold War, shipments of consumer goods would result in long lines -- bras, swimsuits and jeans were especially popular -- one time the only department store in Warsaw got in a stock of pink jeans and the "in" thing among young women that year was to have a pair -- all over the capital city, there were fashionable young ladies wearing pink jeans. Everyday life in Communist Countries meant getting in line first, and finding out what was at the other end later. It could be toilet paper, or cheese, or a sign-up sheet for a television set.

It was also risky for people to make friends with Americans. You would often know that people were being followed by the KGB. KGB stands for Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti in Russian, in English -- Committee for State Security. It was formed in 1954, sort of CIA and FBI in one -- Soviet Security agency. They could bug your home, hotel room, restaurants, and office, and asked your friends, family and neighbors questions. Equivalent agencies in Eastern Europe included the STASI (Stasi was short for "Staatssicherheit", meaning "State Security") in East Germany. When I lived in Gdynia, Poland in 1994, new friends were slightly insulted when I invited them to join us at a nice restaurant in return for a favor they had done us. Why? Because a restaurant was less safe than your home, even if your apartment might be bugged, you could not control the flower arrangement at your restaurant table, or the people one table over. The old Slavic hospitality still existed as well, and that was best expressed at home. Of course, in 1994, we did not need to be afraid of a spy agency, but old habits were hard to break.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Part IV

Hupchick: Map 50

Sixsmith, Part IV

Unit Questions to Consider

- Imagine you are living in the East Bloc. What would be the hardest shortages for you to face? Housing? Automobiles? Having to wait five years for a telephone? Why?
- Read Slavenka Drakulic's short essay titled "In Zoe's Bathroom," <http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/eehistory/H200Readings/topic1-r3.html> . What is the author experiencing?
- Is having access to consumer goods a human right? Is being able to speak freely at home a human right? Is being able to publicize controversial opinions or anti-government opinions a human right?
- Postwar East European households were multigenerational for several reasons: tradition, economics, and housing shortages. Do you think that East European households are still multigenerational? Why? Support your answer with articles you find online.

UNIT: Resistance/1989

Revolutions and Resistance: 1956-1989

Why was Berlin so important during the Cold War?

In accordance with the agreements of the Big Three and also the peace treaties, Germany was divided into 4 occupation zones -- American, British, French and Soviet. The Soviets occupied a large portion of Eastern Germany, the portion which surrounded Berlin. Berlin itself, as the former capital, was also divided into 4 occupation zones. One of the biggest questions after the war was: *Should Germany be strong or weak?* Not only was territory returned to Poland, but land which had not been Polish before W.W.II (and some that had never been Polish) was also assigned to Poland. In the meantime, the Soviets swallowed the Baltic States, and a greater part of Ukraine and Byelorussia (Belarus), which had been part of Poland. The Sudetenland was taken back by Czechoslovakia. Look at the maps in your book closely and compare them to maps after W.W.I, and also before W.W.I. Though the city was badly shattered by the war, it was still the symbol of Germany and it seems that Stalin decided to produce a crisis there to test the resolve of the W. Powers. On March 20 1948, the Soviets on the Allied Control Commission in Berlin protested against the fusion of the western zones of the city, and Soviet harassment of traffic from the West began. After more disagreements, the Soviet delegates walked out again on June 18, and on June 24 Soviet forces began a blockade of W. Berlin. President Harry S. Truman decided to counter this with an airlift, so U.S., British and other Western planes flew supplies into W. Berlin. The Berlin Blockade led directly to the establishment of NATO in Washington D.C. on April 4 1949. Also, the Federal Republic of Germany was established on May 8, out of the Western zones of occupation. Four days later, on May 12, Stalin lifted the blockade of W. Berlin. He had lost his bid for Germany and perhaps for influence in much of W. Europe as well. One of the best sites about the Berlin Airlift is the U.S. Air Forces in Europe site at: <http://www.usafe.af.mil/berlin/berlin.htm>. Still this was not the end of Berlin's symbolic power. The increased flight of citizens from the East through West Berlin led to the Berlin Wall being built in 1961. See this website for stunning images of the Berlin Wall: <http://www.dailysoft.com/berlinwall/index.html>. Read the text of the diplomatic exchange between the US and The USSR regarding the Berlin wall at this site. (Required) <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1961berlin-usa-ussr.html>

What was the Hungarian Revolution?

On the evening of October 23, 1956, in the wake of demonstrations which had begun among students in Poznan, Poland and had spread to Hungary, a large crowd gathered as students prepared to announce their demands over the radio, demanding a withdrawal of Soviet troops and a new democratic government. On October 24, Imre Nagy became Prime Minister again, and on October 25, Janos Kadar -who had been a purge victim -replaced the hated Erno Gero as Secretary General of the Party. However, the revolt in Budapest continued and spread to the rest of the country. Therefore, the Hungarian Party promised to work for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. At the same time, Imre Nagy restored the multi party system by admitting members of the Smallholders Party into his Cabinet. SOVIET TANKS moved into Hungary. Even though Radio Free Europe had been advocating resistance against the communists, the Hungarian Revolution took the West by surprise. They ran the risk of escalating nuclear conflict with the USSR over socialist reform. In addition, the Suez Canal Crisis was going on at the same time – eventually to be resolved in

favor of United States – backed Egypt. It was hard for the West to understand that in Hungary, the desire was for increased economic freedoms, not necessarily to leave socialist ideology. The fact that the West did not intervene was proof of the solidity of the East-West Divide (again in 1968, political freedom demonstrations in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and in Poland in 1980 – Solidarity and martial law), despite rhetoric from the West about supporting democracy.

What happened in 1989 and why?

Alexis de Tocqueville once said that the most dangerous time for an oppressive regime is the moment when it loosens its hold and tries to reform itself. It is then, not before, that the people realize that there is an alternative to the oppression under which they live, and they rise up.

Path of Revolutions in Eastern Europe

- New Openness in Soviet Union also loosened its grip on Eastern Europe
- Mikhail Gorbachev, Soviet leader from 1985-1992 had much to do with this, or everything to do with this! When Gorbachev's spokesman, Gennady I. Gerasimov (b.1931) was asked in a TV interview during the visit what was the difference between Dubcek's program and Gorbachev's "perestroika," he answered simply: "Twenty Years."
- Gorbachev's policies for the USSR were based on a need for economic reform -- and for economic reform to be realized, cultural reform was also needed.
- Glasnost -- openness
- Perestroika – reform/re-building
- This had a profound effect on Eastern Europe -- Gorbachev said that Eastern Europe had to go its own way and he pledged to remove Soviet troops from East European territory.

Response from Eastern European states

- In 1988 and 1989, different countries and leaders responded either by allowing more reformist organizations or by cracking down even more on reformers or protesters.
- In the East Central European states of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, gradually society was becoming more open. Protests against food prices, open discussion of economic reform, and of history were tolerated by the government.
- By allowing people to address historical questions and to commemorate anniversaries associated with the beginning of the Second World War, the Communist governments in this part of Europe were also allowing their own history to be investigated.
- In a 24 year period, Poland experienced three workers' revolts: December 1970, June 1976, and July-August 1980. The last revolt led to the establishment of the Free Trade Union "Solidarity," and to the Solidarity Era, August 1980-December 1981. Solidarity was crushed in mid-December 1981, when General Wojciech Jaruzelski (b.1923) imposed Martial Law. Nevertheless, Solidarity continued to exist both in the underground and in the hearts and minds of the Polish people to re-emerge in 1989. Thus, Solidarity heralded the collapse of communism in the Soviet bloc and in the USSR. Church support (Karol Wojtyla becomes Pope John Paul II

1978 – war hero and cardinal from Krakow. . .) His visit in 1989 had an influence on confidence to build Solidarity.

- In 1989, historical traditions and experiences became powerful symbols in Eastern Europe. In Czechoslovakia – Alexander Dubcek gave his first interview in 20 years in 1988 to the Italian Communist newspaper L'Unita. He had been silent, having been ejected from the Party after the 1968 Prague Spring. He had been working as a forester, literally chopping wood, for 2 decades.
- Poland – open discussion of the massacre of Polish officers in the forest of Katyn by the Soviets during the time of W.W.II was finally allowed. Solidarity emerged as a legal party, and Lech Walesa became President!! On September 1, 1989, commemorative concerts were held in Warsaw and also in East Germany, recalling the 50th anniversary of the invasion of Poland.
- East Germany – demonstrations against a commemoration honoring Communist leader Rosa Luxembourg (W.W.I) led to a crackdown by police. Eastern Germany wasn't ready for reform yet! East Germany was one of the last of the East Bloc countries to ease off on its citizens. This is one reason that our memory of the Berlin Wall going down is so dramatic.
- Romania -- Communist leaders sought to quench any beginning of reform, economic, social, cultural, religious, everything.

Unit Reading

Bideleux: Part V

Sixsmith, Part V

Unit Questions to Consider

- Do national histories continue to be relevant in the Communist era?
- Was the Soviet Union a dangerous monolith or the shell of a foe by 1989?
- Find NYT Reports from October 27, 1956. What do they tell you about whether it was possible for Americans to know what was happening in Hungary?
- Compare Poland and the Czech Republic in 1956, 1968 and 1989. What are the similarities or differences?
- Review the NEH Making the History of 1989 at George Mason: <http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/> -- find examples of other scholars and countries and what they consider the most important moments in that revolutionary year. Make a chronology of the year 1989 in the Slavic world.
- Is Slavic History still a viable category? Is Russia still the exception?

Final Assignment: Your final assignment is to write a 12-15 page research paper using at least 3 primary sources, at least 3 historical monographs (provide reviews) and 3 articles from professional journals. The choice of your topic is up to you, but must be submitted to your instructor at least 3 weeks before you intend to submit the paper. Other requirements related to the structure of the paper can be added at the instructor's discretion.

Recommended Course writing requirements

- 5 book reviews, 5 pages each

- 2 response essays, 2-3 pages each
- Short research paper, 15 pages min. (12 must be text)
 - 3 primary sources
 - 3 monographs
 - 3 articles

Recommended Writing conventions

- Chicago Manual of Style citations
- 12 point font
- Double spacing
- One inch margins
- Paper title and student Name in running header, ex. "Review 2: Why Nationalism?
Amy Smith"

Slavic History Online Resources

History of Poland – Timeline:

http://www.galiciajewishmuseum.org/public/file/page/file/935_plansze-edu.pdf

Dr. Anna Cienciala's Lecture notes, University of Kansas (STRONGLY recommended)

<http://web.ku.edu/~eceurope/hist557/>

Polish Partitions

<http://cassian.memphis.edu/history/dunowsky/4050/Czaykowski.html#1>

Metternich

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1820metternich.asp>

Polish Nationalism

<http://cassian.memphis.edu/history/dunowsky/4050/Czaykowski.html#mickiewicz>

Life of a Polish Peasant

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1900polishpeasant.asp>

Ausgleich

<http://cassian.memphis.edu/history/dunowsky/4050/Czaykowski.html#ausgleich>

Mark Twain on Austria

<http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/~habsweb/sourcetexts/twain1.htm>

The Prospects of Democratization in Russia

<http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/97-99/czajowski.pdf>

Department of State Background notes

http://www.state.gov/www/background_notes/eurbgnhp.html

Global Perspectives Remote Sensing

<http://www.cotf.edu/earthinfo/balkans/BKmain.html>

University of Texas Historical Maps

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_europe.html

United Nations Maps

<http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/easteuro.pdf>

Library of Congress Resources

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/pltoc.html>

[http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field\(DOCID+cs0025\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field(DOCID+cs0025)) (Czechs and Slovaks in the Dual Monarchy)

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/rutoc.html> (Russia)

Cultural links

http://www.czechtourism.cz/files/edice/brozury/kuchyne_web_a.pdf (food)

Recommended books

- Alexander, John T. *Catherine the Great : life and legend*. Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Anisimov, Evgenii V. *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress through Coercion in Russia*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.
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Syllabus

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this course, students should be able to do the following:

1. Discuss the major developments and texts found in the subject of the course.
2. Identify unique theoretical underpinnings and influential thinkers in the course topic.
3. Analyze the relationship between historical texts and the particular social, cultural, and biographical contexts of their production.
4. Research and critically evaluate historical, social, cultural, or biographical criticism relevant to the analysis of specific events.
5. Use secondary sources and close reading skills to produce a substantive critical essay relating a one or more specific historical texts to the economic, social, cultural, or biographical contexts of its production.
6. Demonstrate a balanced perspective and a deepened understanding of the cultures, times, people, and situations that produce these works.
7. Write coherent historical arguments that explore the relationships of various concepts and texts, and which provide a clear synthesis.

Course Goals:

1. To provide students with a broad perspective of approaches to world history and an understanding of the various ways in which they manifest themselves and to assess students' ability to express their perspectives through exams and essays.
2. To provide students with a deeper understanding of diverse historical and interdisciplinary traditions the course focus and to express this deepened understanding in written tests and a critical essay.
3. To provide an overview of historical analysis and interpretation methods and help students apply these skills in writing essay examinations and a critical essay.
4. To read widely and critically in a variety of historiographic and historical texts and to demonstrate the depth and breadth of this reading in essay examinations and a critical essay.
5. To do library research on a particular trend, event, concept, an individual theorist, or an issue in the area of history studies and to write a critical essay which incorporates this research.

Course Content:

1. Historical events and texts that have been designated as being produced within the category of the course topic.
2. Discussion of the theoretical, social, cultural and biographical contexts in which those works were produced.
3. Historical movements in various periods.
4. Discussion of the historical issues and questions related to theoretical, social,

- cultural, and biographical approaches to the study of the course topic.
5. Key ideas about how to evaluate and interpret historical events, texts, and approaches.
 6. Criticism and reflection upon political and economic systems as reflected in literature.
 7. Discussion of the relevance of course readings to the understanding of contemporary global issues.
 8. Critical analysis and interpretation of history.
 9. Conducting scholarly research on and off-line.

Course Outline:

For the detailed course outline, please see the study guide.

Course Readings:

The course readings for this course will be available through the Online Library, which will provide students access to selected journal articles, book chapters, and reference materials.

Course Preparedness:

This course is a history course which requires analysis, research, and writing. It assumes the mastery of prerequisite college-level skills in spelling, grammar, punctuation, paragraphing, and essay writing. It also assumes the ability to read and analyze literary texts. This course provides instruction in history and does not address remedial writing issues at the sentence, paragraph, or essay level. The California Department of Education "English-Language Arts Content Standards for California Public Schools" offers context for understanding the standard for writing at the college level. Students who do not meet the standards outlined in the "English-Language Arts Content Standards" will not pass this course.

In short, this course assumes that students already "write with a command of standard English conventions, write coherent and focused texts that convey a well-defined perspective and tightly reasoned argument, and use clear research questions and creative and critical research strategies" (California Standards, Grades Nine and Ten). This course focuses on texts and analysis and requires college-level writing skills that exceed those required at the secondary level.

Course Workload:

In accordance with accreditation standards, requires approximately two hours of outside work for every contact hour. For a 3-hour course, there are 48 contact hours, plus a minimum of 96 hours outside work. For a sixteen-week course, students can expect to devote a minimum of 6 hours of independent study per week in order to complete the coursework.

Grading Factors:

Discussion Board (20%)

The Discussion Board provides the learner a place to respond to questions on the topic and to exchange ideas, reactions and analyses of the texts. Discussion questions concentrate on ideas, themes, and characters in literary works. There will be one question per week. Discussion Board questions will be responded to by all learners in the course and will be evaluated by the instructor. The Discussion Board is not available for OCW courses.

Journal (20%)

Your journal consists of your responses to questions in the Study Guide. These questions require you to reflect on the material and to write a one to two-paragraph response. At the end of the course, you will gather together all of your Study Guide responses and will turn them in as a final portfolio.

Essay (20%)

You will write an essay on one of the topics provided to you by your instructor in which you apply a critical paradigm from theorists or issues raised by the Study Guide questions. You should start your paper with a succinct thesis statement, describe the critical paradigm and the text(s) being analyzed. Be sure to cite critical passages to demonstrate support for your argument.

Length: 1,000—1,500 words. Essay topics will be assigned by the instructor and will reflect material covered in the Study Guide and the readings.

Exam (40%)

Students must complete the assignments, submit them, and take the proctored exam.

Definition of Grades:

Graduate Courses

- A** Outstanding Achievement
- B** Commendable Achievement
- C** Marginal Achievement
- D** Unsatisfactory *
- F** Failing *

* Students receiving this grade in a course that is required for his/her degree program must repeat the course.

- I Incomplete** A grade given at the discretion of the instructor when a student who has completed **at least two-thirds of the course class sessions** and is unable to complete the requirements of the course because of uncontrollable and unforeseen circumstances. The student must convey these circumstances (preferably in writing) to the instructor prior to the final day of the course. If an instructor decides that an "Incomplete" is warranted, the instructor must convey the conditions for removal of the "Incomplete" to the student in writing. A copy must also be placed on file with the Office of the Registrar until the "Incomplete" is removed or the time limit for removal has passed. An "Incomplete" is not assigned when the only way the student could make up the work would be to attend a major portion of the class when next offered.

An "I" that is not removed within the stipulated time becomes an "F." No grade points are assigned. The "F" is calculated in the grade point average.

- W Withdrawal** Signifies that a student has withdrawn from a course after beginning the third class session. **Students who wish to withdraw must notify their admissions advisor before the beginning of the sixth class session in the case of graduate courses, or before the seventh class session in the case of undergraduate courses.** Instructors are not authorized to issue a "W" grade.

Plagiarism:

Plagiarism is the presentation of someone else's ideas or work as one's own. Students must give credit for any information that is not either the result of original research or common knowledge. If a student borrows ideas or information from another author, he/she must acknowledge the author in the body of the text and on the reference page. Students found plagiarizing are subject to the penalties outlined in the Policies and Procedures section of the Catalog, which may include a failing grade for the work in question or for the entire course. The following is one of many websites that provide helpful information concerning plagiarism for both students and faculty:

<http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml>

Ethics:

Ethical behavior in the classroom is required of every student. The course will identify ethical policies and practices relevant to course topics.

Technology:

Students are expected to be competent in using current technology appropriate for this discipline. Such technology may include word processing, spreadsheet, and presentation software. Use of the internet and e-mail may also be required.

Diversity:

Learning to work with and value diversity is essential in every class. Students are expected to exhibit an appreciation for multinational and gender diversity in the classroom.

Civility:

As a diverse community of learners, students must strive to work together in a setting of civility, tolerance, and respect for each other and for the instructor. Rules of classroom

behavior (which apply to online as well as onsite courses) include but are not limited to the following:

- Conflicting opinions among members of a class are to be respected and responded to in a professional manner.
- Side conversations or other distracting behaviors are not to be engaged in during lectures, class discussions or presentations
- There are to be no offensive comments, language, or gestures

Students with Disabilities:

Students seeking special accommodations due to a disability must submit an application with supporting documentation, as explained under this subject heading in the General Catalog. Instructors are required to provide such accommodations if they receive written notification from the University.

Writing Across the Curriculum:

Students are expected to demonstrate writing skills in describing, analyzing and evaluating ideas and experiences. Written reports and research papers must follow specific standards regarding citations of an author's work within the text and references at the end of the paper. Students are encouraged to use the services of the University's Writing Center when preparing materials.

The following website provides information on APA, MLA, and other writing and citation styles that may be required for term papers.

Online Library:

Our Online Library supports academic rigor and student academic success by providing access to scholarly books and journals electronically.