Charles Shaw/Philipp Ther

The Budapest-Vienna Special Seminar:

**Making and Writing Revolution: 1789, 1917, 1989, and Beyond**

(Note: for the CEU registrar, the course is listed as “**1917: Revolution and Reverberation**”)

Prof. Charles Shaw Fall 2017

[shawc@ceu.edu](mailto:shawc@ceu.edu) Mon., Wed. 3:30-5:10pm

Department of History Nador #15, 104

Central European History 4 credits

Office hours: TBD

**Course description:**

To paraphrase one of the historians on our syllabus, this class is about making and writing revolutions in modern Europe. That is, the course asks how revolutions were both enacted and interpreted, focusing on classic arguments, critiques, and statements of faith from the French, Russian, and late 20th century Eastern European revolutions. The anniversary year impels us – especially at CEU, where we meet twice per week – to make the Russian revolution the centerpiece, though without losing sight of its French antecedents and East European reprimands. The focus will be on the causes and courses of the revolutions, their internal and external dynamics, major agents and ideological ingredients and outlooks. The seminar deals with the social forces that make revolutions; with socio-psychological dynamism that fuels the radicalization, or, conversely, slows down the revolutionary activism; as well as with the forces of counter-revolution. It addresses the problem of political religions in relation to revolutionary movements. On a meta-level the seminar intends to pose a question about general features of revolution as a social/ political/anthropological phenomenon that can be studied in the long temporal perspective and whether, in fact, the revolution is over.

This seminar is the result of our cooperation with the Department of History at the University of Vienna. The course will be offered simultaneously at both universities with the frequent participation of the corresponding instructor. At Vienna it will be Prof. Philipp Ther, a specialist of Central European history and author of books including *Europe Since 1989: A History* (Princeton University Press, 2016), *The Dark Side of Nation States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe* (Berghahn Pres, 2014), and *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in 19th Century Europe* (Purdue University Press, 2014). The seminar will be concluded with a joint graduate student workshop in January 2018 in which students will present and discuss “conference paper” versions of their final papers.

**Course requirements and grading:**

- Regular and lively class participation, along with careful reading. Additionally, each student will be responsible for introducing the readings and asking guiding questions for one class meeting. **(20%)**

- Two short response papers (3-4 pages). These can either be in the form of a book review, a thoughtful engagement with a primary source, or by responding to an essay prompt. **(30%)**

- Final paper (10-12 pages). Students will write a historiographical or research paper on the subject of their choosing, upon consultation with the instructor. **(45%)**

- Vienna-Budapest Seminar participation and paper presentation. **(5%)**

**Learning outcomes:**

- Mastery of key questions and debates of the history and historiography of the French, Russian, and late 20th century European revolutions.

- Ability to discuss historical problems and present opinions in written and oral form.

- Understanding the uses – and limitations – of a comparative approach in historiography.

***Class Attendance:***

*Regular attendance is mandatory in all classes. A student who misses more than two units (two 100-minute sessions) in any 2 or 4 credit class without a verified reason beyond the student's control must submit an 8-10 page paper assigned by the professor, which as a rule covers the material in the class missed. The paper is due no later than 3 weeks after the missed class.*

**Recommended for reference:**

Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States*, 2nd ed. (2011)

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (2nd edition or later)

Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power: The Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd* (1976, 2017)

[**bold text –** obligatory texts for both CEU and Vienna students]

[non-bold text – obligatory texts for CEU students]

Week 1:

Monday, September 18: Introductions

Wednesday, September 20**: Revolution in Theory and in History**

**- Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (1963)*,* Ch. 1 “The Meaning of Revolution.”**

**- Charles Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492-1992* (1993), Ch. 2.**

*French Revolution*

Week 2:

Monday, September 25: **The French Revolution**

**- Davies, Norman: *Europe: A History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 675-703 (recommended also 704-757).**

***Optional reading:***

**Furet, François: *Revolutionary France, 1770-1880*, London: Blackwell, 1992, IX-X, 3-150.**

Wednesday, September 27: **Classic Reflections**

**- Burke, Edmund: *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in certain Societies in London Relative to that Event*, London: Penguin Books, 1968.**

**- Tocqueville, Alexis de: *The Ancien Régime and the French Revolution*, Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Ed. with an Introduction by John Elster, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 160-185.**

Week 3:

Monday, October 2:The Cultural Turn

- Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (1984), Ch. 1 “The Rhetoric of Revolution,” pp. 19-51.

- Keith Michael Baker, “Inventing the French Revolution,” in *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the 18th Century* (1990), pp. 203-223.

*Russian Revolution*

Wednesday, October 4: Roots, Origins, or Context? Questions of inevitability

- Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (2nd edition or later), Ch. 1 “The Setting,” pp. 15-39.

- Leon Trotsky, *The History of The Russian Revolution* (1932), “A note about the author” (ix-xvi), preface (xvii-xxii), Ch. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8.

For the presenter:

- Leon Trotsky, *The History of The Russian Revolution* (1932), Ch. 2, 7, 9, 10, 11.

Week 4:

Monday, October 9:Lenin and Leninism: History’s Laws vs. Great Men

- Vladimir Lenin, *What is to be Done?* (1903), Ch. 1, 2, 3 (section C, D, E), 4 (section C).

- Anatoly Lunacharsky, “Vladimir Ilyich Lenin” (orig. publ. 1919), *Revolutionary Silhouettes* (1923). Available at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lunachar/works/silhouet/lenin.htm>.

For the presenter:

- Vladimir Lenin, *State and Revolution* (August 1917), esp. chs. 1, 2, 5.

Suggested readings:

- Orlando Figes, “The 'Harmless Drunk': Lenin and the October Insurrection - October 1917,” Tony Brenton (Ed.) *Historically Inevitable? Turning Points of the Russian Revolution* (London: Profile, 2016), pp. 123-141.

- Dominic Lieven, “Foreign Intervention: The Long View - 1900-1920,” Tony Brenton (Ed.) *Historically Inevitable? Turning Points of the Russian Revolution* (London: Profile, 2016, pp. 11-28.

- Lars Lih, “Lenin and the Great Awakening,” in Sebastian Budgen, Stathis Kouvelakis, and Slavoy Žižek, (Eds.),*Lenin Reloaded. Toward a Politics of Truth.*(Durham, NC: Duke University press, 2007), 283-96.

Wednesday, October 11: **October: Social revolution, Bolshevik coup, or utopian tragedy?**

**Obligatory reading:**

**- Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (2nd edition or later), Ch. 2, 3, pp. 41-92.**

**Read ONE of the following (your choice):**

**- Martin Malia, “Red October: The Revolution to End All Revolutions,” in Terence Emmons, *History’s Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 253-278.**

**- Richard Pipes, *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution* (1995), Introduction, ch. 6, “The October Coup,” pp. xiii-xvii, 113-149. (\**Suggested:* Conclusion, “Reflections on the Russian Revolution,” pp. 382-406).**

**Suggested readings:**

**- Ronald Suny, “Toward a Social history of the October Revolution,” *The American Historical Review* 88 (Feb. 1983): 31-52.**

**- Ronald Suny, “Revision and Retreat in the Historiography of 1917: Social History and its Critics,” *The Russian Review* 53 (April 1994): 165-82.**

**- Boris Mironov, “Cannon Fodder for the Revolution: The Russian Proletariat in 1917.” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18, no. 2 (2017): 351-370.**

**- Diane P. Koenker. "Talkin' about Class Formation." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18, no. 2 (2017): 377-388.**

**- Boris Kolonitskii, “’Democracy’ in the Political Consciousness of the February Revolution,” *Slavic Review* 57, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 95-106.**

**- Orlando Figes, “The Russian Revolution of 1917 and Its Language in the Village,” *The Russian Review* 56, no. 3 (`997): 323-345.**

Week 5

Monday, October 16: Building Revolutionary Culture

Obligatory reading:

- Rene Fulop Muller, *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism: An Examination of Cultural Life in Soviet Russia* (1927), Ch. 10 “The Revolutionizing of Everyday Life,” 185-222. (\*Suggested: Ch. 1 “The Collective Man,” Ch. 7 “Theatricalized Life,” 1-26, 133-151).

- Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (1989), Introduction, Ch. 3, 4, 12. pp. 3-10, 61-100, 242-253.

For the presenter (choose one):

- Steven Lee, *The Ethnic Avant-Garde: Minority Cultures and World Revolution*(2015), Introduction, pp. 1-47.

- Anne O’Donnell, “A Revolutionary Settlement: Personal possession and the Legal Closure of the Russian Revolution, 1917-1923,” pp. 1-13. (conference paper: not for circulation)

Wednesday, October 18: **Classic Reflections**

**- Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1934)**

**- Nicholas Timasheff, *The Great Retreat* (1946), Ch. 1 “The Russian Miracle,” Ch. 13 “The Outcome of Revolution,” pp. 13-21, 372-402.**

For the presenter:

Nicholas Timasheff, *The Great Retreat* (1946), Ch. 8, “The Family, The School, the Church,” pp. 192-240.

Week 6:

Monday, October 23

*No Class – Hungarian National Holiday*

Wednesday, October 25**: Millenarianism and Revolution**

**- Yuri Slezkine, *The House of Government: A Saga of the Russian Revolution* (2017), preface, Ch. 1 “The Prophets,” Ch. 2 “The Faith” (skim, focus on pp. 113-119), Ch. 4 “The Real Day,” Ch. 7 “The Great disappointment,” Ch. 14 “The New Life,” Ch. 24 “The Admission of Guilt,” Ch. 33 “The End.”**

**For the presenter:**

**- The other chapters! Especially *Book Two: At Home***

Week 7

Monday, October 30: Terror and Revolution

- Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 3rd edition* (2008). Chapter 6 “Ending the Revolution” (pp. 149-172)

- J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, tr. Benjamin Sher, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (1999). Chapter 10 “Party Discipline and the Fall of Bukharin” (pp. 364-419) and Document #198 (pp. 556-560).

(\* Skim Chapter 10 but focus on Getty and Naumov’s text and documents concerning Bukharin, esp. #118, 138, 141-143)

For the presenter:

- J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, tr. Benjamin Sher, *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (1999). “Introduction: Party Documents and Bolshevik Mentality,” pp. 1-29.

*Suggested reading:*

- Arno Mayer, *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (2001).

Wednesday, November 1

*No Class – All Saints’ Day*

Week 8:

Monday, November 6**: World Revolution**

**- Brigitte Studer, *The Transnational World of the Cominternians* (2015), Introduction, pp. 1-21.**

**-** Fred Halliday, *Revolution and World Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Sixth Great Power* (1999), Ch. 4 “Internationalism in Practice: Export of Revolution.” (\* Suggested: Ch. 3 “Internationalism in Theory”)

- Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1901-1941* (1963), selections.

For the presenter (choose one):

- Silvio Pons, *The Global Revolution: A History of International Communism, 1917-1991* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 1-64.

- Steven Lee, *The Ethnic Avant-Garde: Minority Cultures and World Revolution*(2015), Introduction, pp. 1-47.

Suggested readings:

- Jawaharlal Nehru, *Soviet Russia: Some Random Sketches and Impressions* (1929), especially Ch. 3 “Impressions of Moscow,” Ch. 7 “Lenin,” Ch. 12 “The Problem of Minorities,” and Ch. 15 “Women and Marriage,” pp. 11-17, 39-48, 79-84, 11-124.

- Masha Kirasirova. "The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration: The Arab Section of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 18, no. 1 (2017): 7-34

Wednesday, November 8: Nation, Empire, and Revolution

- Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (2001). Introduction, pp. 1-28.

- **Adeeb Khalid, *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR*(2015), Ch. 3 “Nationalizing the Revolution,” pp. 90-116. (\* Suggested: Ch. 6, “A Revolution of the Mind,” pp. 178-218**.

For the presenter:

**-** Joshua Sanborn “War of Decolonization: The Russian Empire in the Great War,” in Eric Lohr, Vera Tolz, Alexander Semyonov, and Mark von Hagen eds., *The Empire and Nationalism at War: Russia’s Great War and Revolution* (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2014): 49-72

Suggested:

- Marianne Kamp, "Debating Sharia: the 1917 Women's Congress in Russia," *Journal of Women's History*, 2015, 27 (4): 13-37.

- Daniel E. Schafer, “Bashkir Loyalists and the Question of Autonomy: Gabdulkhai Kurbangaliev in the Russian Revolution and Civil War,” in Sarah Badcock, Liudmila G. Novikova, and Aaron B. Retish eds. *Russia’s Home Front in War and Revolution, 1914-1922: Book 1: Russia’s Revolution in Regional Perspective* (2015), pp. 215-246.

- Moshe Lewin, *The Soviet Century* (2005), Ch. 2 “’Autonomization versus Federation’ (1922-23),” pp. 19-31.

- Terry Martin, “Modernization or Neo-traditionalism? Ascribed Nationality and Soviet Primordialism,” in David Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis (eds.), *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices, 1800-1950* (2000), pp. 161-182.

Week 9:

Monday, November 13: Telling October

- film: Sergei Eisenstein, *Oktiabr’* (1927), 1 hr. 42 min. (Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YVuf3T3k-W0)>

- James Corney, *Telling October: Memory and the Making of the Bolshevik Revolution* (2004), Ch. 7 “Truth and Poetry: The Tenth Anniversary of October,” pp. 175-199.

For the presenter:

- Nina Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia* (1997), Ch. 6 “The Body and the Shrine,” pp. 165-206.

Wednesday, November 15: Extending, Nullifying Revolution: Legacies and Alternate Chronologies

- Peter Holquist, “What’s so Revolutionary about the Russian Revolution? State Practices and the New-Style Politics, 1914-1921,” in David Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis (eds.), *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices, 1800-1950* (2000), pp. 87-111.

- Source reading: Nikita Khrushchev, *The Secret Speech at the 20th CPSU Congress*.

For the presenter (Choose one):

- Jan T. Gross, “War as Revolution,” In Norman Naimark and Leonid Gibianskii (eds.), *The*

*Establishment of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe, 1944-1949* (1997), 17-40.

- Denis Kozlov and Eleonory Gilburd, “The Thaw as an Event in Russian History,” in Kozlov and Gilburd (eds.) The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s (2013), pp. 18-59.

*Late Socialism and Beyond: Revolutions or Dissolutions?*

Week 10:

Monday, November 20**: the Self-Limiting Revolution**

**Obligatory reading:**

**Staniszkis, Jadwiga: *Poland's Self-Limiting Revolution*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, 73-110, 313-318.**

**Sources:**

**“Pope John Paul II Speaks in Victory Square, Warsaw, June 2, 1979”, in: Gale Stokes (ed.), *From Stalinism to Pluralism. A documentary history of Eastern Europe since 1945*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 200-203.**

**“Solidarity´s Program, October 16, 1981”, in: Gale Stokes (ed.), *From Stalinism to Pluralism. A documentary history of Eastern Europe since 1945*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, 208-213.**

**Optional Film: Wajda, Andrzej: *Człowiek z żelaza/The Man of Iron* (Poland, 1981).**

Wednesday, November 22: **The Revolutions of 1989**

**Obligatory reading:**

**Krapfl, James: *Revolution With a Human Face: Politics, Culture, and Community in Czechoslovakia, 1989–1992*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013, 11-34, 74-110.**

**Bauman, Zygmunt: “A Revolution in the Theory of Revolutions?”, in: *International Political Science Review* 15 (1994), 15-24.**

**For the presenter:**

**Garton Ash, Timothy: *We the People. The Revolution of ’89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest*, Berlin & Prague, Cambridge: Granta Books, 1990, 25-130.**

Week 11:

Monday, November 27: The End of the Soviet Union: Revolution or Collapse?

Obligatory reading:

Stephen Kotkin, *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* (2001).

Wednesday, November 29**: The Colored Revolutions and the Ukrainian Revolution**

**Obligatory reading:**

**Ther, Philipp: *Europe since 1989: A History*, Princeton: PUP, 2016, 314-329.**

Week 12:

Monday, December 4: Commemoration and Counterrevolution

Obligatory reading:

- Mark Edele, “Putin, memory wars and the 100th anniversary of the Russian revolution,” *theconversation.com* (February 9, 2017). At <http://theconversation.com/friday-essay-putin-memory-wars-and-the-100th-anniversary-of-the-russian-revolution-72477>.

- Paul Berman, “The Counterrevolution,” *tabletmag.com* (March 7, 2017). At <http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/226761/the-counterrevolution>

**Wednesday, December 6:** **Preparation for Workshop**

**\*\* Vienna/Budapest Workshop January 11-12, 2018 at CEU \*\***