

REINVENTING RUSSIA

RUSSIAN
NATIONALISM
AND THE
SOVIET STATE

1953-1991

YITZHAK M. BRUDNY

Reinventing Russia Russian Nationalism And The Soviet State 1953 1991

Maxim Shrayer



Reinventing Russia Russian Nationalism And The Soviet State 1953 1991:

Reinventing Russia Yitzhak M. BRUDNY, Yitzhak M Brudny, 2009-06-30 What caused the emergence of nationalist movements in many post communist states What role did communist regimes play in fostering these movements Why have some been more successful than others To address these questions Yitzhak Brudny traces the Russian nationalist movement from its origins within the Russian intellectual elite of the 1950s to its institutionalization in electoral alliances parliamentary factions and political movements of the early 1990s Brudny argues that the rise of the Russian nationalist movement was a combined result of the reinvention of Russian national identity by a group of intellectuals and the Communist Party's active support of this reinvention in order to gain greater political legitimacy The author meticulously reconstructs the development of the Russian nationalist thought from Khrushchev to Yeltsin as well as the nature of the Communist Party response to Russian nationalist ideas Through analysis of major Russian literary political and historical writings the recently published memoirs of the Russian nationalist intellectuals and Communist Party officials and documents discovered in the Communist Party archives Brudny sheds new light on social intellectual and political origins of Russian nationalism and emphasizes the importance of ideas in explaining the fate of the Russian nationalist movement during late communist and early post communist periods Table of Contents Acknowledgments 1 Russian Nationalists in Soviet Politics 2 The Emergence of Politics by Culture 1953 1964 3 The First Phase of Inclusionary Politics 1965 1970 4 The Rise and Fall of Inclusionary Politics 1971 1985 5 What Went Wrong with the Politics of Inclusion 6 What Is Russia and Where Should It Go Political Debates 1971 1985 7 The Zenith of Politics by Culture 1985 1989 8 The Demise of Politics by Culture 1989 1991 Epilogue Russian Nationalism in Postcommunist Russia Notes Index Reviews of this book Mr Brudny provides a salient background to understanding one of the great phenomena of post 1945 history how Russians arrive at their view of the West Ron Laurenzo Washington Times Reviews of this book Brudny is a good guide to the origins of what probably lies ahead Geoffrey A Hosking Times Literary Supplement Reviews of this book If readers think that today's anti Western antimarket antisemitic variety of Russian nationalism is simply the fallout from the country's current misery they should think again With care and intelligence Brudny traces its lineage back to the Khrushchev years What began among the so called village prose writers as a lament for a rural past ravaged by Stalin's experimentation gradually accumulated further grievances the devastation of Russian culture and monuments the infiltration of corrupting Western values and ultimately under Gorbachev the criminal destruction of Russian power Much of the book concentrates on how Khrushchev and Brezhnev tried but ultimately failed to harness this discontent for their own purposes Robert Legvold Foreign Affairs Reviews of this book Brudny's survey of relations between Russian nationalism and the Soviet state provides an in depth insight into one of the most complicated aspects of the Soviet multinational state Taras Kuzio International Affairs Reviews of this book A thought provoking book Virginia Quarterly Reviews of this book Brudny shows that Russian cultural nationalism was a powerful force in the post Stalin years with ultimate political

consequences In meticulous detail Brudny sets out the various strains of Russian nationalism and points to the regime's encouragement of a certain kind of nationalism as a means of bolstering legitimacy through the politics of inclusion This volume is a significant contribution to the literature R J Mitchell Choice Reviews of this book In Reinventing Russia situated at the intersection of culture specifically the literature of the village prose movement and politics Brudny has managed admirably to draw out the wider implications of his inquiry and provided an extremely useful set of orientation points in the current seemingly so chaotic political debate in Russia Hans J Rindisbacher European Legacy Reviews of this book Brudny's book paints a fascinating picture It delineates a rich Soviet culture and society one that is much more varied than has been previously depicted by most Western researchers The overriding importance of the book derives from its argument that the post Stalinist cultural debate in the Soviet Union is what created the infrastructure for the seemingly odd alliance between communist ideology and the nationalist intelligentsia today's red brown alliance It's a significant contribution to our understanding of the history of the nationalist idea Reinventing Russia provides an enthralling overview of a historic development that has been neglected by most Western researchers His book proves once more that anyone who seeks to understand developments in Eastern Europe cannot do so by merely analyzing the economic policy of the political maneuvers of the governing elite Shlomo Avineri Ha aretz Book Review Yitzhak Brudny offers us a most persuasive attempt to explain the intricate often puzzling relation between Soviet political and cultural bureaucracy and the rise of Russian nationalism in the post Stalin era His analysis of Russian nationalist ideology and its role in the corrosion of the official Soviet dogmas is uniquely insightful and provocative Students of Soviet and post Soviet affairs will find in Brudny's splendidly researched book an indispensable instrument to grasp the meaning of the still perplexing developments that led to the breakdown of the Leninist state In the growing body of literature dealing with nationalism and national identity this one stands out as boldly innovative theoretically challenging and culturally sophisticated Vladimir Tismaneanu University of Maryland College Park author of Fantasies of Salvation Yitzhak Brudny has produced an impressive and scholarly account of the divisions within the Russian political and cultural elite during the last four decades of the Soviet Union's existence His book is important both for the fresh light it throws on that period and as essential context for interpreting the debates on nationhood and statehood which rage in Russia today Archie Brown University of Oxford Reinventing Russia provides us with a vivid portrayal of the politics behind the rise of Russian nationalism in post Stalinist Russia It is a finely detailed study of not only the relationship of political authority to the spread of nationalist ideas but also reciprocally of the role played by these ideas in shaping the political Mark Beissinger University of Wisconsin Madison Rival nationalists literally shook the Soviet Union apart The very structure of the Soviet state encouraged all major ethnic groups including the Russians to view battles over resources in terms of ethnic and national conflict Brudny in this important study explores precisely how rival nationalist claims emerged during the years following Stalin's death and why they proved to be simultaneously so robust and pernicious Blair Ruble

Director Kennan Institute Woodrow Wilson Center Die Frontlinie Serhii Plokhyy, 2022-05-19 In Die Frontlinie analysiert der Historiker Serhii Plokhyy die entscheidenden Entwicklungen in der Geschichte der Ukraine und ihrer Beziehung zu Russland und dem Westen Russlands Angriffskrieg kommt nicht aus dem Nichts Die Begründung des Krieges und das dahinterstehende Narrativ greifen auf jahrhundertealte Großmachtsansprüche Russlands zurück die es in der Vergangenheit immer wieder gestellt hat In kenntnisreichen Essays zeigt er wie viel umfassender sich der gegenwärtige Konflikt verstehen lässt wenn man die historischen Wurzeln kennt und die Region in ihrer Vielschichtigkeit erfassen kann Das ist so erhellend wie erschreckend **Der Fluch des Imperiums** Martin Schulze Wessel, 2023-03-16 Russlands imperiale Vergangenheit ist der Schlüssel um Putins Verfall auf die Ukraine und seine anitwestlichen Obsessionen zu verstehen Der renommierte Osteuropa Historiker Martin Schulze Wessel stellt den Krieg in den langen Kontext der russischen Expansion nach Westen und beschreibt wie das Ausgreifen in die Ukraine und die Teilung Polens seit dem 18. Jahrhundert einen Irrweg in der russischen Geschichte begründeten der als Fluch des Imperiums bis heute fortwirkt Dabei zeigt er wie eine fatale Ideenwelt entstehen konnte die noch im 21. Jahrhundert in den Köpfen der Moskauer Führung spukt Deutschland hat sich nach 1945 von seinem Fluch des Imperiums befreit und sich in Richtung Westen geöffnet Russland steht dieser Weg noch bevor Vor dem 24. Februar 2022 schien Putins Regime vielen Beobachtern vor allem am eigenen Machterhalt und der persönlichen Bereicherung interessiert zu sein Doch der neuerliche Angriff auf die Ukraine die Brutalität der Kriegsführung und die Hasspropaganda in den Staatsmedien lassen sich damit nicht wirklich erklären Putin operiert in seinen Reden mit irritierenden historischen Narrativen und Argumenten Wer seine Motivation entschlüsseln will muss auch ein ungelöstes Identitätsproblem Russlands in den Blick nehmen das sich aus seiner imperialen Vergangenheit speist den Fluch des Imperiums Daher erzählt dieses Buch die eng verflochtene Geschichte Russlands Polens und der Ukraine seit Peter dem Großen im Kontext der internationalen Politik Es zeigt wie das russische Ausgreifen in die Ukraine und die Teilung Polens Pfadabhängigkeiten produzierten die als strukturelles Erbe bis heute prägend sind Dabei geht es nicht nur um imperiale Herrschaftsansprüche sondern auch um einen ideologisch aufgeladenen Ost-West-Konflikt der sich bereits im 19. Jahrhundert herausbildete und in dem Deutschland lange auf Seiten Russlands stand Was Deutschland nach 1945 gelang steht Russland noch bevor die Abkehr vom Imperium Das Buch der Laster Wolfgang Sofsky, 2009 **Mitwirken in der Diktatur** Katharina Schwinde, 2024-02-12 In der russischen Denkmalschutzorganisation engagierten sich weit über zehn Millionen Menschen Ausgelöst durch die Großreformen der ausgehenden 1950er und beginnenden 1960er Jahre die Abrisse von historischer Architektur zur Folge hatten versuchten Denkmalschützerinnen zunächst in Eigenregie und später im Rahmen der Freiwilligenorganisation zum Schutz von Geschichts- und Kulturdenkmalen die Schicksale von Baudenkmalen ihrer Region mitzubestimmen Wie aber sah ihr gesellschaftliches Engagement im Rahmen der sowjetischen Kulturpolitik konkret aus Und wie gestaltete sich die Aneignung des vorrevolutionären Kulturerbes an einem Ort der als Bastion altrussischer Frömmigkeit und als Keimzelle des sowjetischen

Zwangsarbeitslagersystems Gulag Berhmtheit erlangte **Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands: 1945-1991. Vom Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs bis zum Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion**, 1976 Eine neue „Zeit der Wirren“? **Der spät- und postsowjetische Systemwandel 1985-2000 im Spiegel russischer gesellschaftspolitischer Diskurse** Eva Zabka, 2011-05-01 Russische Publizisten und Wissenschaftler befassen sich seit jeher mit der Frage nach der kulturellen und politischen Selbstdefinition und dem Entwicklungspfad ihres Landes Diese Diskurse wurden bereits vor der Sowjetzeit ausgetragen schwelten in der UdSSR unter der Oberflche weiter und traten mit Glasnost wieder offen zutage Denn zum einen waren die Gorbatschow und Jelzin ra die in der Presse oftmals als eine neue Zeit der Wirren beschrieben wurden von weitgehenden b rgerlichen Freiheiten gekennzeichnet Zum anderen zog das Chaos in dieser Periode einen tiefen Identit tsverlust nach sich der den Boden f r Kontroversen um eine politische Neuorientierung bereitete Eva Zabka ordnet und interpretiert in ihrer Studie die Debatten die in der Liberalisierungs und Demokratisierungsphase zwischen 1985 und 2000 in den sowjetischen und russischen Printmedien gef hrt wurden Die Eigent mlichkeit der russischen Standpunkte zum Systemwandel fand in der internationalen politologischen Forschung bisher wenig Beachtung Daher wurden in der vorliegenden Diskursanalyse zahlreiche Textbeispiele aus Zeitungen Zeitschriften und aus wissenschaftlichen Publikationen n her untersucht Dabei lag ein Schwerpunkt auf den Kontinuit ten und Ver nderungen in den medialen Auseinandersetzungen So wurden Stereotype und tradierte Denkschemata aufgedeckt die in den Diskursen dominierten Ein besonderes Augenmerk galt ferner den Regimebezeichnungen der russischen Publizisten die in kreativer Weise das Schwanken des Landes zwischen Demokratie und Autoritarismus auf den Punkt brachten **Die "Russische Partei"** Nikolaj Mitrochin, 2014-10-01 Nikolay Mitrokhins Pionierarbeit zeichnet die Geschichte der russischen Nationalisten in der Sowjetunion nach Stalins Tod und basiert in erster Linie auf den Erinnerungen ehemaliger Teilnehmer der Bewegung russischer Nationalisten sowie deren pers nlichem Archivmaterial Mitrokhin identifiziert auf Grundlage von erstmals erschlossenen Prim rquellen eine russische Partei in der Nachkriegs UdSSR ein Ph nomen dass ber viele Jahrzehnte der Sowjetologie verborgen geblieben ist Insbesondere werden die Kontakte russischer Nationalisten zum ZK der KPdSU und zum Komsomol sowie das Problem des Antisemitismus im Partei und Staatsapparat w hrend der Stagnationsperiode ausf hrlich beleuchtet Weiterhin untersucht Mitrokhin die Verbindungen russischer Nationalisten mit Gleichgesinnten in der Dissidentenbewegung sowie der Russisch Orthodoxen Kirche **Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands: 1945-1991 : Vom Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs bis zum Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion (Lfg. 1-7**, 2002 The SAGE *Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* Gerard Delanty, Krishan Kumar, 2006-06-14 With its list of distinguished contributors and its wide range of topics the handbook is surely destined to become an invaluable resource for all serious students of nationalism Michael Billig Professor of Social Sciences at Loughborough University and author of Banal Nationalism SAGE 1995 The persistence some would say revival of nationalism across the recent history of modernity in particular the past two

decades has taken many scholars in the social sciences by surprise. In response, interest in the analysis of nationalism has increased and given rise to a great variety of new angles under which to study the phenomenon. What was missing in the cacophony of voices addressing nationalism was a volume that brought them together and confronted them with each other. This handbook does just that. It deserves particular praise for the wide range of approaches and topics included and for the systematic attempt at studying nationalism as a phenomenon of our time, not a remnant from the past.

Peter Wagner, Professor of Social and Political Theory, European University Institute and Professor of Sociology, University of Warwick. For students concerned with the contemporary study of nationalism, this will be an invaluable publication. The three-fold division into approaches, themes, and cases is a very solid and sensible one. The editors have commissioned essays from leading scholars in the field, and this handbook provides the best single volume overview of contemporary nationalism.

John Breuilly, Professor of Nationalism and Ethnicity, London School of Economics. Nationalism has long excited debate in political, social, and cultural theory and remains a key field of enquiry among historians, anthropologists, sociologists, as well as political scientists. It is also one of the critical media issues of our time. There are, however, surprisingly few volumes that bring together the best of this intellectual diversity into one collection. This Handbook gives readers a critical survey of the latest theories and debates and provides a glimpse of the issues that will shape their future. Its three sections guide the reader through the theoretical approaches to this field of study, its major themes from modernity to memory, migration, and genocide, and the diversity of nationalisms found around the globe. The overall aim of this Handbook is to relate theories and debates within and across a range of disciplines, illuminate themes and issues of central importance in both historical and contemporary contexts, and show how nationalism has impacted upon and interacted with other political and social forms and forces. This book provides a much needed resource for scholars in international relations, political science, social theory, and sociology.

Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives on Nationalism Taras Kuzio, 2007-12-17. This volume brings together 15 articles divided into four sections: on the role of nationalism in transitions to democracy; the application of theory to country case studies; and the role played by history and myths in the forging of national identities and nationalisms. The book develops new theories and frameworks through engaging with leading scholars of nationalism.

Hans Kohn's propositions are discussed in relation to the applicability of the term 'civic' with no ethno-cultural connotations to liberal democracies. Rogers Brubaker over the usefulness of dividing European states into civic and nationalizing states when the former have historically been nationalizers. Will Kymlicka on the applicability of multiculturalism to post-communist states, and Paul Robert Magocsi on the lack of data to support claims of revivals by national minorities in Ukraine. The book also engages with transitology over the usefulness of comparative studies of transitions in regions that underwent only political reforms and those that had quadruple transitions implying simultaneous democratic and market reforms as well as state and nation building. A comparative study of Serbian and Russian diasporas focuses on why ethnic Serbs and Russians living outside Serbia and

Russia reacted differently to the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the USSR. The book dissects the writing of Russian and Soviet history that continues to utilize imperial frameworks of history, analyzes the re-writing of Ukrainian history within post-colonial theories, and discusses the forging of Ukraine's identity within theories of Others as central to the shaping of identities. The collection of articles proposes a new framework for the study of Ukrainian nationalism as a broader research phenomenon by placing nationalism in Ukraine within a theoretical and comparative perspective. Nationalist Imaginings of the Russian Past Konstantin Sheiko, Stephen Brown, 2009. Anatolii Fomenko is a distinguished Russian mathematician turned popular history writer, founder of the so-called New Chronology school and part of the explosion of alternative historical writing that has emerged in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Among his more startling claims are that the Old Testament was written after the New Testament, that Russia is older than Greece and Rome, and that the medieval Mongol Empire was in fact a Slav-Turk world empire, a Russian Horde to which Western and Eastern powers paid tribute. While academic historians dismiss Fomenko as a dangerous ethno-nationalist or post-modern clown, Fomenko's publications invariably outsell his conventional rivals. Just as Putin has restored Russia's faith in its future, Fomenko and an army of fellow alternative historians are determined to restore Russia's faith in its past. For Fomenko, the key to Russia's greatness in the future lies in ensuring that Russians understand the true greatness of their past. Fomenko and other pseudo-historians have built upon existing Russian notions of identity, specifically the widespread belief in the positive qualities of empire and the special mission of Russia. He has drawn upon previous attempts to establish a Russian identity ranging from Slavophilism through Stalinism to Eurasianism. While fantastic, Fomenko's pseudo-history strikes many Russian readers as no less legitimate than the lies and distortions peddled by Communist propagandists, Tsarist historians, and church chroniclers.

Russische Schriftsteller und Nationalismus, 1986-1995 Alexandra Mey, 2004. Das traditionelle gesellschaftspolitische Engagement der russischen Literatur erlebte Ende der achtziger Jahre mit dem Zerfall des Kommunismus einen Höhepunkt. Als Schriftsteller, die entstehende ideologische Lücke in der öffentlichen Diskussion mit ihren Deutungsangeboten zu füllen versuchten, dabei fiel eine breite Hinwendung zum Nationalen auf. Der Versuch, neue Werte und Orientierungen in der Kollektividentität der russischen Nation zu verankern, bei deren Ausprägung man sich noch verstimmen musste. Vladimir Solouchin, Valentin Rasputin, Aleksandr Prochanov und Eduard Limonov sind vier Protagonisten dieser nationalistischen Strömung, die ihre Vorstellung von der russischen Nation nicht nur in der Literatur, sondern auch im Bereich der Politik vertreten haben. In detaillierten Einzelanalysen werden ihre höchst heterogenen Russlandentwürfe sowie ihre jeweiligen Literaturauffassungen, in denen ihr politisches Handeln begründet liegt, beschrieben und kritisch bewertet.

Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands Manfred Hellmann, Stefan Plaggenborg, 2002. **Europa im Ost-West-Konflikt 1945-1991** Jost Dülffer, 2004. Considerably revised. Previously published München: Oldenbourg, 1981, under the title *Europa in der Weltpolitik der Nachkriegszeit 1945-1963* von Andreas Hillgruber. **Die eurasische Bewegung** Stefan

Wiederkehr, 2007 Seit der Transformationskrise des ausgehenden 20. Jahrhunderts erlebt die Ideologie des Eurasismus *evrazijskvo* in Russland eine unerwartete Renaissance. Die Vertreter der eurasischen Bewegung behaupten, Russland stelle aufgrund geographischer, kultureller, historischer und sprachlicher Kriterien einen eigenständigen dritten Kontinent zwischen Europa und Asien dar. Aus der angeblichen Existenz Eurasiens in diesem Sinne leiten sie eine pseudowissenschaftliche Begründung dafür ab, dass in Russland auch in Zukunft weder Demokratie noch Marktwirtschaft herrschen konnten. Statt dessen propagieren sie einen dritten Weg zwischen Kapitalismus und Sozialismus mit stark planwirtschaftlichen Zügen und einem autoritären politischen System. Das Buch behandelt die Bewegung von ihren Anfängen im Kreis prominenter Wissenschaftler des antibolschewistischen Exils der 1920er Jahre bis hin zu ihrer Auffächerung in verschiedene Richtungen im heutigen Russland. Dabei wird gezeigt, dass der Antiokeizidentalismus der Eurasier eine Variante der aufklärungskritischen und antimodernistischen Strömungen darstellt, die seit der Romantik mit konjunkturellen Schwankungen in ganz Europa verbreitet sind.

An Anthology of Jewish-Russian Literature: 1953-2001 Maxim Shrager, 2007 Gathers stories, essays, memoirs, excerpts from novels and poems by more than 130 Jewish writers who worked in the Russian language. This two-volume set is organized chronologically. The first volume spans the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century. The second volume covers the period from the death of Stalin.

Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, 2005 Russia and the Russians Geoffrey Hosking, 2001 From the Carpathians in the west to the Greater Khingan range in the east, a huge flat expanse dominates the Eurasian continent. Here, over more than a thousand years, the history and destiny of Russia have unfolded. In a sweeping narrative, one of the English-speaking world's leading historians of Russia follows this story from the first emergence of the Slavs in the historical record in the 6th century to the Russians' persistent appearances in today's headlines. Hosking's is a monumental story of competing legacies of an enormous power, uneasily balanced between the ideas and realities of Asian empire, European culture, and Byzantine religion, of a constantly shifting identity from Kievan Rus to Muscovy to Russian Empire to Soviet Union to Russian Federation, and of tsars and leaders struggling over the centuries to articulate that identity.

Eine neue "Zeit der Wirren"? Eva Zabka, 2011 Russische Publizisten und Wissenschaftler befassen sich seit jeher mit der Frage nach der kulturellen und politischen Selbstdefinition und dem Entwicklungspfad ihres Landes. Diese Diskurse wurden bereits vor der Sowjetzeit ausgetragen, schwelten in der UdSSR unter der Oberfläche weiter und traten mit Glasnost wieder offen zutage. Denn zum einen waren die Gorbatschow- und Jelzin-Ära in der Presse oftmals als eine neue Zeit der Wirren beschrieben worden, von weitgehenden bürgerlichen Freiheiten gekennzeichnet. Zum anderen zog das Chaos in dieser Periode einen tiefen Identitätsverlust nach sich, der den Boden für Kontroversen um eine politische Neuorientierung bereitete. Eva Zabka ordnet und interpretiert in ihrer Studie die Debatten, die in der Liberalisierungs- und Demokratisierungsphase zwischen 1985 und 2000 in den sowjetischen und russischen Printmedien geführt wurden. Die Eigentümlichkeit der russischen Standpunkte zum Systemwandel fand in der internationalen

politologischen Forschung bisher wenig Beachtung. Daher wurden in der vorliegenden Diskursanalyse zahlreiche Textbeispiele aus Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und aus wissenschaftlichen Publikationen näher untersucht. Dabei lag ein Schwerpunkt auf den Kontinuitäten und Veränderungen in den medialen Auseinandersetzungen. So wurden Stereotype und tradierte Denkschemata aufgedeckt, die in den Diskursen dominierten. Ein besonderes Augenmerk galt ferner den Regimebezeichnungen der russischen Publizisten, die in kreativer Weise das Schwanken des Landes zwischen Demokratie und Autoritarismus auf den Punkt brachten.

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