Sovereignty and Identity in the Former Soviet Space
58370 - DAFF 2265A

Spring 2015
Sciences-Po Paris
Instructor: Brittany Pheiffer Noble
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Classes meet every Wednesday from 12:30-14:30. Office hours are by appointment.

Students will be evaluated based on four major criteria: participation (10%); in class presentation (25%); midterm exam (25%) and a final paper (40%).

Students will be provided with presentation prompts on the first day of class. All presentations will take place during Weeks Two through Eleven and should last approximately fifteen minutes.

The midterm exam will be a take-home essay.

A hard copy of your final paper will be due Friday, May 8th by 6pm.

**Week 1: Basic Theories of Nationalism and how nations are built; introduction to Tsarist Multi-Ethnic Projects**

Readings:
- Smith, Nationalim and Modernism, page 1-7

No presentations this week

**Week 2: Tranformation of Tsarist categories into the creation of the Soviet Union; Legacy of these states at the end of the USSR**

Presentation Topics:
- Treaty on the Creation of the USSR or the 1936 Soviet Constitution and Creation of Republics
- WWII annexation of the Baltic zone and Moldova

Readings:
- J. Cadiot, 'Searching for Nationality: Statistics and National Categories at the End of the Russian Empire (1897–1917)'
• T. Martin, The affirmative action empire: nations and nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939 (2001) [introduction and conclusion]
• Y. Slezkine, The USSR as communal apartment, or how a socialist state promoted ethnic particularism, Slavic Review 53 (1994) (optional)

Week 3: The fall of the Soviet Union

Presentation Topics:
• 1991 Declaration of Ukrainian Independence (August)
• Belavezha Accords and/or the Alma Ata Protocol

Readings:
• ”The Rebirth of Religion and Ethnonationalism in the Soviet Union and Successor States” Chapter 4 from Religion, Ethnicity, and Self-Identity edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby.

Week 4: The Baltic States. Uncontested nationalism: historical alliances, linguistic identity and “Europeanness”

Presentation Topics:
• NATO enlargement and the Baltics
• Language Policy in Estonia: 1990-2010 (feel free to compare to Latvia or Lithuania)

Readings:
• A. Alexiev, “Dissent and Nationalism in the Soviet Baltic,” online
• G. Hartman, “The Origins and Growth of Baltic Nationalism as a Force for Independence” (optional), online

Week 5: Central Asia: Islam, the creation of nationalism, and the invention of Eurasian Republics

Presentation Topics:
• Soviet Policies towards Nomads or Soviet Literacy Policies in Central Asia
• Pan-Turkism in Central Asia

Readings:
• Kappeler, The Russian Empire: A Multi-Ethnic History: A Multi-ethnic History, Chapter 5.4, 6.4

**Week 6: Central Asia. Post-Soviet fault lines in nationalism: disputed identities and legitimacy**

**Presentation Topics:**
- Tajiks in Uzbekistan
- Turkmenbashi and Ataturk: Nation-building through Cult of Personality

**Readings:**

**Week 7: The Caucasus: Ancient Identities, Religious Autonomy and National Elites**

**Presentations:**
- Armenians in and out of Armenia: the Power of the Diaspora
- The Orthodox Church in Georgia as Sovereign Actor

**Readings:**

**Week 8: The Caucasus intersecting with Russia: Chechnya, Abkhazia and South Ossetia**

**Presentations:**
- Rise of Radical Islam in Chechnya
- Abkhazia: Independence, or Union with Russia?

**Readings:**
• Zürcher, Christoph, The Post-Soviet Wars: Rebellion, Ethnic Conflict, and Nationhood in the Caucasus, NY: New York University Press, 2007, Chapters 2, 4 and 5; chap. 8 optional

Week 9: Moldova, Romania and Transnitsria

Presentation Topics:
• The Gagauz: between Turkey and Moldova
• România Mare: Why no Greater Romania?
• Limba moldovenească: debates of official language in Moldova

Readings:
• Pal Kolsto, ‘Two Romanias, Two Moldovas’ in Political Construction Sites: Nation-Building in Russia and the post-Soviet States, pp.138-151

Week 10: Ukraine

Presentation Topics:
• The rise of public religion in Ukraine: new religions, new churches, new patriarchs
• Holodomor and National Memory

Readings:
• "Religion and Nationalism in Ukraine" from Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics ed. by Pedro Ramet.

Week 11: Belarus as a Satellite and Russia as a multi-ethnic society

Presentations:
• Economic Unions between Russia and Belarus
• Russian national identity under Putin

Readings:


• Vera Tolz, ‘Forging the Nation: National Identity and Nation-Building in Post-Communist Russia’, *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 50, no. 6 (September 1998)


Week 12: Ongoing unresolved issues: Western intervention; Can a nation lose its autonomy? Crimea, NATO and the EU

Readings TBD