
Spatial dimensions of Russian and Soviet Imperial Ideologies and Practices (1689–2023)



Przestrzenie rosyjskich i sowieckich ideologii oraz praktyk imperialnych (1689–2023)

11 & 12 December 2023, Warsaw
11–12 grudnia 2023 r., Warszawa

PROGRAMME / PROGRAM

DAY I / DZIEŃ I

Monday 11 December, The Royal Castle in Warsaw / poniedziałek, 11 grudnia, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie

9.45 – 19.30

9.45 – 10.00 WELCOME / POWITANIE

Wojciech Fałkowski (Director of the Royal Castle in Warsaw / Dyrektor Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie)

Maciej Janowski (Director of the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences / Dyrektor Instytutu Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla Polskiej Akademii Nauk)

Andrzej Nowak (Chief of the Project / Kierownik projektu)

10.00 – 12.20 PANEL 1: *Russian “Great Space” and its Enemies / Rosyjska „wielka przestrzeń” i jej wrogowie*

Chair / moderator: Darius Staliunas

Mark Bassin (Södertörn University / Uniwersytet Södertörn, Stockholm): *From Grossraum to Bol'shoje Prostranstvo: Geopolitics and the Neo-Imperial Imagination / Od Grossraum do bol'shogo prostranstva: geopolityka i neoimperialna wyobraźnia*

Andrzej Nowak (Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, PAS / Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN): *“Eastern Europe”: When it Was Formed and How it Works as an Imperial Concept (1672–2022) / „Europa Wschodnia”: Kiedy powstała i jak działa jako koncepcja imperialna (1672–2022)*

Oleksandr Zaitsev (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv / Ukraiński Uniwersytet Katolicki we Lwowie): *“Europe” and “the West” as Enemy Spaces in the Imagined Geography of Russian Imperialism / „Europa” i „Zachód” jako wrogie przestrzenie w wyobrażonej geografii rosyjskiego imperializmu*

Alexander Etkind (Central European University, Vienna / Uniwersytet Środkowoeuropejski, Wiedeń): *Spatial Aspects of Nemesis / Przestrzenne aspekty Nemezis*

12.20 – 12.50 Coffee break / przerwa na kawę

12.50 – 14.30 PANEL 2: *Not only Europe: Colonial and Imperial Perspectives / Nie tylko Europa: Perspektywy kolonialne i imperialne*

Chair / moderator: Marek Kornat

Hiroaki Kuromiya (Indiana University / Uniwersytet Indiany): *Vladei Vostokom and Russia’s Imperial Rivals in the East / Vladei Vostokom i imperialni rywale Rosji na Wschodzie*

Zaur Gasimov (University of Bonn / Uniwersytet w Bonn): *Russkij Mir Revisited: Geopolitics, Geopoetics, and Reality / Russkij Mir raz jeszcze: geopolityka, geopoetyka i rzeczywistość*

Curtis Murphy (Nazarbayev University, Astana / Uniwersytet Nazarbajewa, Astana): *Exiles, Colonists, and Natives: The Organisation of Territory and People during Russia’s Imperial Expansion into Central Asia in the Nineteenth Century / Wygnanci, koloniści i tubylcy: Organizacja terytorium i ludzi podczas imperialnej ekspansji Rosji w Azji Środkowej w XIX wieku*

14.00 – 15.30 Lunch break / przerwa na lunch

15.30 – 17.50 PANEL 3: *Space, Politics, and Imagination / Przestrzeń, polityka i wyobraźnia*

Chair / moderator: Andrzej Nowak

Volodymyr Sklokin (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv / Ukraiński Uniwersytet Katolicki we Lwowie): *The Enlightenment Mapping of the Russian Imperial Space: The Case of Vasili Zuev / Oświeceniowe mapowanie rosyjskiej przestrzeni imperialnej: Przypadek Wasilija Zujewa*

Andrei Zorin (Oxford University / Uniwersytet Oksfordzki): *Leo Tolstoy's Spatial Imagination / Przestrzenna wyobraźnia Lwa Tołstoja*

Oleksandr Zabirko (University of Regensburg / Uniwersytet w Ratyzbonie): *From "New America" to "New Russia": Exploring Russian Poetic Colonization of the Donbas(s) / Od „Nowej Ameryki” do „Nowej Rosji”: odkrywanie rosyjskiej poetyckiej kolonizacji Donbasu*

Jan Szumski (Institute for the History of Science, PAS / Instytut Historii Nauki PAN): *“A Friendly Family of Slavic Nations”: The Soviet Historical View on Nation-Building of Slavic Nations (Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians) and the Post-Soviet Transition / „Przyjazna rodzina narodów słowiańskich”: Sowiecki pogląd historyczny na budowanie narodów słowiańskich (Rosjan, Ukraińców, Białorusinów) i transformację postsowiecką*

18.00 – 19.30 Dinner / Obiad

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DAY II / DZIEŃ II

Tuesday 12 December, Bellotto Hotel, Miodowa Street, Warsaw / wtorek 12 grudnia, Hotel Bellotto, ul. Miodowa, Warszawa

9.40 – 17.30

Parallel panels / Panele równoczesne

9.40 – 11.50 **PANEL 1** (Hall 1): *Modelling Space and Emotions / Modelowanie przestrzeni i emocji*

Chair / moderator: **Dorota Dukwicz**

Paweł Krokosz (Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow / Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie): *Shaping the Attitudes and Consciousness of Russian Soldiers in the Army of Peter I / Formowanie postaw i świadomości żołnierzy rosyjskich w armii Piotra I*

Adam Danilczyk (Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, PAS / Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN): *“New Russia”: The Colonization of Lands Conquered by Russia in the Second half of the 18th Century on the Example of Grigory Potemkin's Settlement of Crimea / „Nowa Rosja” – kolonizacja podbitej przez Rosję ziemi w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku na przykładzie zasiedlania Krymu przez Grigorija Potiomkina*

Henryk Głębocki (Jagiellonian University / Uniwersytet Jagielloński): *Geopolitics of Space and Emotion. The Confrontation between the Empire and the Polish Question (1861–1863) in the Diary by Alexander Kireev, Aide-de-Camp of Grand Duke Constantine / Geopolityka przestrzeni i emocji. Konfrontacja imperium z kwestią polską (1861–1863) na kartach dziennika Aleksandra Kirejewa, adiutanta cesarzewicza Konstantego*

Stanisław Wiech (Jan Kochanowski University of Kielce / Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego w Kielcach): *The Third Western Committee – the Third Wave of De-Polonisation of the Taken Lands (1914) / Trzeci Komitet Zachodni – trzecia fala depolonizacji Ziemi Zabranych (1914)*

9.40 – 11.50 **PANEL 2** (Hall 2): *Partitions and Emigrations / Rozbiory i emigracja*

Chair / moderator: **Jan Szumski**

Oleksandr Avramchuk (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin / Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II): *Limits of Liberal Nationalism. Russian Émigré Intellectuals and Ukraine during the Cold War / Granice liberalnego nacjonalizmu. Rosyjscy emigranci intelektualiści i Ukraina w czasach zimnej wojny*

Gennadii Korolov (Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, PAS / Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN): *“Historical Poland”, the “Russian World” and “Ethnographic Ukraine”: Reconstructing Spatial Concepts in Ukrainian Intellectual Thought (1848–1918) / „Historyczna Polska”, „rosyjski świat” i „etnograficzna Ukraina”. Rekonstrukcja koncepcji przestrzennych w ukraińskiej myśli intelektualnej (1848–1918)*

Łukasz Dryblak (Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, PAS / Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN): *The Limits of Empire, or Russian Territory and Spheres of Influence in the Thought of the Main Centres of Russian Emigration from the 1930s to the 1950s / Granice imperium, czyli o rosyjskim terytorium i strefach wpływów w myśl głównych ośrodków emigracji rosyjskiej od lat 30. do 50. XX wieku*

Sławomir Łukasiewicz (John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin / Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II): *“Expansion and Coexistence”: Adam Ulam’s Reflections on the Spatial Vectors of Soviet Foreign Policy / „Ekspansja i koegzystencja”: Refleksje Adama Ulama na temat przestrzennych wektorów sowieckiej polityki zagranicznej*

11.50 – 12.20 Coffee break / przerwa na kawę

Parallel panels / Panele równoczesne

12.20 – 14.10 **PANEL 1 (Hall 1): *Imagining Peripheries / Peryferie wyobrażone***

Chair / moderator: Oleksandr Avramchuk

Karsten Brueggemann (Tallinn University / Uniwersytet Talliński): *The Baltic “Our Abroad” in Russian Imperial Imagination: Continuity and Change from the Late Russian Empire to the Soviet Union / Bałtycka „nasza zagranica” w rosyjskiej wizji imperialnej: Ciągłość i zmiana od późnego imperium rosyjskiego do Związku Sowieckiego*

Andrei Cusco (Ion Creangă State Pedagogical University of Chișinău, Imre Kertész Kolleg Jena / Państwowy Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny im. Iona Creangă w Kisyniowie, Kolegium im. Imre Kertésza w Jenie): *Imagining Bessarabia: Multi-Ethnicity, (Internal) Colonization, and Province-Building on the Russian Imperial Periphery / Wyobrażając sobie Besarabię. Wieloetniczność, (wewnętrzna) kolonizacja i budowanie prowincji na rosyjskich peryferiach imperialnych*

Igor Cașu (National Archives Agency, State University of Moldova / Narodowa Agencja Archiwalna, Państwowy Uniwersytet Mołdawski): *Famines in Tsarist and Soviet Context, 1892–1947: Ideology, Space, and Environment / Głód w kontekście carskim i sowieckim, 1892–1947: ideologia, przestrzeń i środowisko*

12.20 – 14.10 **PANEL 2 (Hall 2): *Interpretations of Imperial Expansion and Its Failures / Interpretacje ekspansji imperialnej i jej niepowodzeń***

Chair / moderator: Sławomir Łukasiewicz

Tomasz Zarycki (University of Warsaw / Uniwersytet Warszawski): *An Unmodern Empire? Modernisation Failures of the Russian Imperial Project in the late 19th and 20th centuries / Nienowoczesne imperium? Porażki modernizacyjne rosyjskiego projektu imperialnego w końcu XIX i XX wieku*

Kristo Nurmis (Tallinn University / Uniwersytet Talliński): *Spatial Rhetoric and Temporal Constructs in Soviet Annexation of the Baltic States in the 1940s / Retoryka przestrzenna i konstrukcje czasowe w sowieckiej aneksji państw bałtyckich w latach 40. XX wieku*

Andrii Portnov (European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) / Uniwersytet Europejski Viadrina we Frankfurcie nad Odrą) & **Tetiana Portnova** (University of Potsdam / Uniwersytet Poczdamski): *The Russian Colonial Politics in Ukraine as Depicted in Modern Ukrainian Historiography / Rosyjska polityka kolonialna na Ukrainie we współczesnej historiografii ukraińskiej*

14.10 – 15.00 Lunch break / przerwa na lunch

Final plenary session / końcowa sesja plenarna

15.00 – 17.30 *Imperial Metamorphoses / Metamorfozy imperialne*

Chair / moderator: Andrzej Nowak

Darius Staliūnas (Lithuanian Institute of History, Vilnius / Instytut Historii Litwy, Wilno):
Imagined Geographies and Nationality Policy: The Case of Late Imperial Russia / Geografie wyobrażone i polityka narodowościowa. Przypadek późnej carskiej Rosji

Guido Hausmann (University of Regensburg / Uniwersytet w Ratyzbonie): *The End of the Empire? Soviet Russian Territorial Strategies and Concessions at Brest-Litovsk 1917/18 / Koniec imperium? Sowiecko-rosyjskie strategie terytorialne i koncesje w Brześciu Litewskim w 1917/1918 r.*

David Brandenberger (University of Richmond / Uniwersytet w Richmond): *Empire 2.0? Soviet Russocentrism's Place in the Party Leadership's Official Plans for the Communist Future, 1938–1961 / Imperium 2.0? Miejsce sowieckiego rusocentryzmu w oficjalnych planach kierownictwa partii dotyczących komunistycznej przyszłości, 1938–1961*

Liliya Berezhnaya (Austrian Academy of Sciences, KU Leuven / Austriacka Akademia Nauk, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven): *Religious Memories in Mapping of Russian Post-Communist Space / Religijne wspomnienia w mapowaniu rosyjskiej przestrzeni postkomunistycznej*

Closing remarks / Uwagi końcowe

CONTRIBUTORS

Oleksandr Avramchuk – PhD in history, a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and Warsaw University.

His areas of interest include Polish-Ukrainian relations, the history of political thought in Central and Eastern Europe, the history of émigré intellectuals from the region, and US public diplomacy towards the Socialist Bloc during the Cold War. Commissioned by the Polish-American Fulbright Commission, he prepared a monographic study on the programme's history in Poland. Since 2022, he has been a post-doc in the Department of History and Historiography of East Central and Eastern Europe of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. He is a research team member financed by the National Science Centre (NCN) grant under the title "Diffused Experts' Networks: the Fate and Achievements of Sovietologists from Poland in Exile during the Cold War".

David Brandenberger – received his PhD in History from Harvard University in 1999; he has taught at the University of Richmond since 2003. Brandenberger has published on Stalin-era propaganda, ideology and nationality policy in journals like *Russian Review*, *Slavic Review*, *Kritika*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* and *Noveishaya istoriya Rossii*. Brandenberger has written or edited nearly a dozen books including *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931–1956* (Harvard University Press, 2002); *Epic Revisionism: Russian History and Literature as Stalinist Propaganda*, co-edited with Kevin M.F. Platt (University of Wisconsin Press, 2006); *Propaganda State in Crisis: Soviet Ideology, Indoctrination and Terror under Stalin, 1928–1941* (Yale University Press, 2011); and a critical edition of the *Short Course* on party history entitled *Stalin's Master Narrative* (Yale University Press, 2019) co-edited with M. V. Zelenov. Brandenberger's newest book – *Stalin's Usable Past* – is under contract with Stanford University Press and will be published in 2024.

Igor Cașu – director of the National Agency for Archives (since April 2022) and a lecturer at the State University of Moldova, Chișinău, since 1998. In 2016, he was a Fulbright Scholar at Stanford University, giving talks on postwar famine at Toronto University, Yale, Harvard, and Stanford. His recent publications include "The Benefits of Comparison: Famine in Kazakhstan in the Early 1930s in Soviet Context" (*Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 22, no. 3, 2020), and "Do Starving People Rebel? Hunger Riots as Bab'y Bunty in Spring 1946 Soviet Moldavia" (*New Europe College's Yearbook*, 2020), and "Police vs. Party? Institutional Hierarchies and Agency in Soviet Moldavia, 1944–1952" (*Contemporary European History*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2022). He is working on a book on the postwar famine in Soviet Moldavia in the European context, 1946–1947.

Andrei Cusco – PhD, researcher at the "A.D. Xenopol" Institute of History, Romanian Academy, Iași Branch. His research interests include: empire studies (comparative history of the modern Eurasian empires); Romanian and Russian intellectual history (19th and early 20th century); Russian-Romanian relations in the late 19th and early 20th century; history of Bessarabia as a part of the Russian Empire (1812–1917); the Russian-Romanian borderlands during World War I.

Adam Danilczyk – research fellow at the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (Department of the History of the 20th Century / Section for the History of Eastern Europe and the Empires of the 19th and 20th Centuries). Author of source editions and scientific monographs on the second half of the 18th century. His research interests cover: Polish-Russian relations in the 18th century, European diplomacy and military affairs in the 18th century.

Łukasz Dryblak – graduate of the Institute of History, University of Warsaw, obtained his PhD from the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History Polish Academy of Sciences. He is a researcher at the Institute's Department of the History of the 20th Century and a member of the Imperialism of Russia Study Group. He specialises in modern history, especially of the Second Polish Republic, the history of Russian émigrés, Polish political thought, and Soviet studies; the author of several dozen papers on history and security as well as the book *Pozyskać przeciwnika. Stosunki polityczne między państwem polskim a mniejszością i emigracją rosyjską w latach 1926–1935* (Warsaw, 2021).

Henryk Głobocki – PhD with habilitation, lecturer at the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and employee of the Institute of National Remembrance. His research interests include: history of Eastern Europe; Russian and Soviet empires and their policies towards the multinational peripheries (Russia towards the subordinated nations and the "borderlands" of the empire, Russification, nationalisms, development of national consciousness, situation of the contemporary Russian Federation and the countries of the former USSR); Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations; the policy of Russia and then the Soviet Union towards Poland, Poles and the Polish question, and the influence of the latter on Russia itself.

Guido Hausmann – since 2016, professor of history of East and Southeast Europe, in particular the history of Russia/Soviet Union, and Ukraine, at the University of Regensburg; head of the department of history at the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg; Co-spokesman of the German-Ukrainian Historical Commission (German side). Related publications: jointly with Dietmar Neutatz (eds), *Das Erbe des Imperiums: Multinationale und regionale Aspekte der Ukrainischen Revolution 1917–1921* [The Legacy of Empire: Multinational and regional aspects of the Ukrainian Revolution 1917–1921]. NordostArchiv 2023 (=Special Issue); “Between Complicity in Imperial Politics and Exclusion: Politico-Geographical Sciences in the Tsarist Empire and the early Soviet Union”, in Jan Arend (ed.), *Science and Empire* (Göttingen, 2020), “Brest-Litowsk 1918: Zwei Friedensschlüsse und zwei Historiographien”, *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (no. 5/6, 2019, 271–290).

Paweł Krokosz – PhD, historian, employee of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, secretary of the Commission on the History of Wars and Military Science of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. His research interests cover military, economic, political, cultural and religious issues of Central and Eastern European states. In addition, he explores the history of salt mining and the town of Wieliczka.

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Curtis G. Murphy – associate professor of History at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. He is the author of *From Citizens to Subjects: City, State and the Enlightenment in Poland, Ukraine and Belarus* (Pittsburgh, 2018) and academic articles on Jewish-Catholic relations, urban history, and Polish exiles in Central Asia.

Andrzej Nowak – historian and publicist, professor, employee of the Jagiellonian University and the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. He specialises in Eastern Europe’s political and intellectual history, European memory studies and comparative studies of empires. He has taught Polish and Russian history at American universities (Columbia, Harvard, Rice, Duke, University of Virginia, of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), English universities (Cambridge, University College London), Canadian universities (Toronto, Simon Fraser, McGill, University of Alberta), and many others (for example in Brno, Tokyo, Dublin). Since 2016, he has been lecturing at the College of Europe in Natolin.

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Andrii Portnov – PhD, professor of entangled history of Ukraine, director of the Viadrina Center of Polish and Ukrainian Studies (Frankfurt am Oder).

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Darius Staliūnas – Lithuanian Institute of History, Vilnius, the author of *Making Russians: Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863* (Amsterdam, 2007), *Enemies for a Day: Antisemitism and Anti-Jewish Violence in Lithuania under the Tsars* (Budapest, 2015), and, with Dangiras Mačiulis, *Lithuanian Nationalism and the Vilnius Question, 1883–1940* (Marburg, 2015).

Jan Szumski – PhD with habilitation, historian, professor of the Institute of History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences, chief specialist at the Historical Research Office of the Institute of National Remembrance; coordinator of the Central Research Project of the Institute of National Remembrance “Poles in Russia and the Soviet Union and in the Eastern Provinces of the Second Republic of Poland (The Lost Eastern Borderlands)”. For years, he has been involved in issues related to the history of Polish-Soviet relations with a special focus on scientific policy and the history of Poles in the USSR.

Stanisław Wiech – professor, employee of the Institute of History at Jan Kochanowski University in Kielce; head of the Department of 19th-Century History; his research interests include socio-political history of the Polish lands and Russia in the 19th century, history of the Taken Lands, Russian bureaucracy and police services (gendarmerie, *okhrana*), religious and national minorities. Manager of research projects financed by the National Science Centre (NCN): “The Kingdom of Poland and Its Inhabitants in the Light of Russian Memoirs, Journals, Accounts, and Diaries. A Bibliographic Collection” 2012–2015 – NCN, Opus 21 “De-Polonisation of the Taken Lands (1864–1914). Concepts – Decision – Making Mechanism – Realization” 2015–2018 – NCN, Opus 7, “The Struggle for Land, Souls and Nationhood. Central and Eastern Europe under the pressure of Russia and Orthodoxy (1864–1914)”, 2016–2018 – Foundation for Polish Science – Master Programme.

Oleksandr Zabirko – completed his studies in Literature and Linguistics at the University of Luhansk (Ukraine) and the University of Duisburg-Essen (Germany). He earned his PhD in Slavic Literatures and Cultures from the University of Münster and is currently affiliated with the Slavic Department at the University of Regensburg. His primary research interests encompass literary models of spatial and political order, contemporary literatures from Russia and Ukraine, and fantastic literature as a whole. Notable among his recent publications are *Literary Forms of Geopolitics: The Modeling of Spatial and Political Order in Contemporary Russian and Ukrainian Literature* (in German, 2021), and *Figurations of the East* (in German, co-edited, 2022).

Tomasz Zarycki – PhD, sociologist and social geographer, professor at the University of Warsaw and deputy director of the Robert Zajonc Institute for Social Studies (ISS UW). His publications include *Ideologies of Eastness in Central and Eastern Europe* (Routledge, 2014), and *The Polish Elite and Language Sciences A Perspective of Global Historical Sociology* (Palgrave, 2022).

Andrei Zorin – professor, specialising in literature and history of culture; employee at the Chair of Russian at the University of Oxford since 2004. Earned his PhD and habilitation at Moscow State University, taught at the Russian State University for Humanities, Moscow School of Social Economic Sciences (Shaninka), and many US Universities, including Harvard, Stanford, and NYU. The author of more than 200 works on Russian culture and literature history, including *The Emergence of a Hero. The Tale of Romantic Love in Russia around 1800* (OUP, 2023); *Leo Tolstoy. A Critical Life* (London, 2020); *On the Periphery of Europe: The Self-Invention of the Russian Elite, 1762–1825* (De Kalb, 2018, with A. Schönle); *By Fables Alone. Russian Literature and State Ideology of the Last Third of the Eighteenth Century – First Third of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston, 2014). Awarded a Gamov Prize by the Russian American Science Association (RASA) 2023.



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