

HI328 East European Studies and Exiled Scholars During the Cold War

Seminar Leader: Ostap Sereda
Email: o.sereda@berlin.bard.edu
Office Hours: Thursday, 16.00-18.00, or by appointment

Course Description

This course aims at exploring academic culture and identity politics of East European exile scholarship in the West after the WWII, institutional and intellectual history of emerging East European studies in North American and West European universities, and the influence of the “Cold War university” on academic mapping and conceptual understanding of Eastern Europe. The course will highlight scholars, public activists and academic projects of various backgrounds that concentrated on Ukraine, Russia, Poland, and Baltic countries. In this course their role and inner dynamic will be analyzed in transnational perspective, with special attention to those exiled East European scholars who belonged to several national spheres and were key communicators between Western academia and their migrant communities. We will analyze how displacement influenced individual trajectories of academic careers and research paths and pay attention to contested past of selected exiled scholars. We will trace down the Cold War growth of Russian, Slavic and Soviet studies in the Western academia, and then concentrate on the alternative projects of institutionalization of East European studies and their schools and paradigms. The course will highlight how academic communication across the Iron Curtain contributed to international academic exchange and projects, and how the East European migrant communities tried to influence academic politics and the politics of history in the West. In the concluding part of the course, we will discuss whether and how the exiled East European scholars changed a paradigm of Western studies on Eastern Europe and offered an alternative to the Soviet academic projects.

Difference and Justice Requirements: the course explores contested role of exiled scholars of various ethnic origins and religious backgrounds who represented the diverse intellectual migration from Eastern Europe on the eve, during, and in the aftermath of the WWII. It examines the impact of exile scholarship on the knowledge production and political life during the Cold War by highlighting its complex relationship with mainstream Western academia, respective immigrant communities, and academic and political dissent in the home countries.

Requirements

Academic Integrity

Bard College Berlin maintains the highest standards of academic integrity and expects students to adhere to these standards at all times. Instances in which students fail to meet the expected standards of academic integrity will be dealt with under the Code of Student Conduct, Section 14.3 (Academic Misconduct) in the Student Handbook.

Accommodations

Bard College Berlin is committed to inclusion and providing equal access to all students; we uphold and maintain all aspects of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the

Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, and the ADA Amendments Act of 2008, and Section 3 of the German Disability Equality Act of April 27, 2002 (Federal Law Gazette I p. 1468). If you have a disability, or think you may have a disability, please contact the Disability Accommodation Coordinator, Atticus Kleen, (accommodations@berlin.bard.edu) to request an official accommodation.

Requests for accommodations should be made as early as possible to ensure adequate time for coordination and planning. Please note that accommodations are not retroactive and may require advance notice to implement.

If you have already been approved for accommodations with the Disability Accommodation Coordinator, please arrange to meet with me outside of class so that we can develop an implementation plan.

Students may face extenuating circumstances related to various personal or external factors, which impact their academic performance. While these circumstances often do not fall within the legal framework of Disability Accommodations, Bard College Berlin is committed to supporting students experiencing such circumstances. A student needing a short extension or a replacement assignment because of an extenuating circumstance is encouraged to make arrangements directly with instructors if possible. If further support is needed, please visit the [Bard College Berlin Accessibility page](#). Questions about this process can be directed to James Harker (j.harker@berlin.bard.edu) or Maria Anderson-Long (m.andersonlong@berlin.bard.edu).

Attendance

Attendance at all classes is a crucial part of the education offered by Bard College Berlin. To account for minor circumstances, two absences from twice-per-week courses or the equivalent (e.g. one absence from a once-per-week course) should not affect the participation grade or require documentation.

Bard College Berlin may not offer credit for any course in which a student has missed more than 30% of classes, regardless of the reasons for the absences. The full Bard College Berlin attendance policy can be found in the Student Handbook, Section 2.8.

Assessment

Every student is expected:

to read texts listed as the mandatory readings and take active part in the discussions in classroom;

to make a presentation on a selected exiled scholar (group presentations are allowed);

to write a response paper to a text selected from the list of further readings (1000 words long);

to write an end of semester essay (4000 words long).

Assignments

The mid-term written assignment is a response paper to a text selected from the list of further readings (1000 words long).

At the end of the course students are expected to write an essay (4000 words long). Students should choose the topic of their final paper and discuss it with the instructor by 1 April. The essay might be based on the materials discussed during the oral presentation in the class.

Policy on Late Submission of Papers

Essays that are up to 24 hours late can be downgraded up to one full grade (from B+ to C+, for example). Instructors are not obliged to accept essays that are more than 24 hours late. Where a professor agrees to accept a late assignment, it should be submitted by the new deadline agreed upon by both parties. Thereafter, the student will receive a failing grade for the assignment. Grades and comments will be returned to students in a timely fashion. Students are also entitled to make an appointment to discuss essay assignments and feedback during instructors' office hours.

Students receive mid- and end-of-semester grades for their seminar work. Students are entitled to make an appointment with an instructor to discuss seminar participation, or may be asked to meet with the instructor at any stage in the semester regarding class progress.

Grade Breakdown

The final grade will be based on the assessment of

class participation – 30 % of final grade;

seminar presentation – 20 % of final grade;

a response paper – 10 % of final grade;

end of semester essay - 40% of final grade.

Schedule

28 and 30 January.

Classes 1-2. Introduction. Exiled scholarship and intellectual migration in the modern age

Class One

Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile* (<https://granta.com/reflections-on-exile/>)

Further readings:

Philipp Ther, *The Outsiders. Refugees in Europe since 1492* (Princeton 2019), 1-21 ("Introduction: Flight and Refugees in Historical Perspective").

Class Two

Stefan Berger and Philipp Müller, "Introduction. Dynamics of Émigré Scholarship in the Age of Extreme," in *Dynamics of Emigration: Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20th Century* (New York 2022), 1-22;

Bronislava Volkova, *Forms of Exile in Jewish Literature and Thought: Twentieth-Century Central Europe and Movement to America* (Boston 2021), 11-19 ("Introduction: A General History of Concepts of Exile").

Further readings:

Herman Paul, "The Émigré Historian. A Scholarly Persona?" in *Dynamics of Emigration: Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20th Century*, 45-57;

Ludger Pries, "Scientists as Forced Migrants and Refugees: What Can We Learn from 1930s and 2010s?" *Social Research* 84/4 (2017): 857-872.

4 February.

Class 3. Eastern and Central European exiled scholars in the interwar period

Claus-Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile. Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press 1993), 11-38;

Philipp Ther, *The Outsiders. Refugees in Europe since 1492* (Princeton 2019), 158-169.

6 February.

Class 4. The "Cold War": historical dynamic and legacies. Soviet defectors, spies, and the anti-Communist craze

David S. Foglesong, *The American Mission and the "Evil Empire." The Crusade for a "Free Russia" since 1881* (Cambridge 2007), 107-128.

Further readings:

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York 2005), excerpts;

John Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (1999), excerpts.

11 and 13 February

Classes 5-6. East European displaced communities in the aftermath of the WWII

Class One

Philipp Ther, *The Outsiders. Refugees in Europe since 1492*, 173-184.

Further readings:

Jan-Hinnerk Antons, "The Nation in a Nutshell? Ukrainian Displaced Persons Camps in Postwar Germany," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* vol. 37 no. 1/2 (2020): 177-212:

Anna Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany* (Ann Arbor 2011), 81-119 (chapter 3: "The Repatriation Debate and the anticommunist 'Political Explanation'").

Class Two

Benjamin Tromly, *Cold War Exiles and the CIA: Plotting to Free Russia* (Oxford, 2019), 121-143.

Further readings:

Simo Mikkonen, "Exploiting the Exiles," *Journal of Cold War Studies* vol. 14 no 2 (2012): 98-127.

18 February

Class 7. The "Cold War University" revisited

David C. Engerman, "The Ironies of the Iron Curtain: The Cold War and the Rise of Russian Studies in the United States," *Cahiers du Monde russe* vol. 45 no ¾ (2004): 465-496.

Further readings:

Sigmund Diamond, *Compromised Campus. The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955* (New York 1992), 65-110.

20 February

Class 8. Studies on Soviet society and the "totalitarian school"

David C. Engerman, *Know Your Enemy. The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts*, 180-205.

Further readings:

Udi Greenberg, *The Weimar Century. German Emigres and the Ideological Foundation of the Cold War* (Princeton 2015), 25-75 (Chapter 1: "The Search for "Responsible Elites". Carl J. Friedrich and the Reform of Higher Education");

Andrzej Nowak, "A Polish Connection in American Sovietology, Or the Old Homeland Enmities in the New Host Countries Humanities," in *East and Central European History Writing in Exile 1939-1989*. Edited by Maria Zadencka, Andrejs Plakans, Andreas Lawaty (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 375-395.

25 February.

Class 9. The exiled scholars and the origins of the East European studies in the Western academia

Jonathan Daly, "The Pleiade: Five Scholars Who Founded Russian Historical Studies in the United States," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 18, no.4 (2017): 785-826.

Further readings:

Steven J. Zipperstein, "Underground Man: The Curious Case of Mark Zborowski and the Writing of a Modern Jewish Classic," *Jewish Review of Books* (Summer 2010)

<https://jewishreviewofbooks.com/articles/275/underground-man-the-curious-case-of-mark-zborowski-and-the-writing-of-a-modern-jewish-classic/#>

27 February

Class 10. Soviet-American academic exchange and Eastern Europe

Gordon Johnson, "Revisiting the Cultural Cold War," *Social History* vol. 35 no. 3 (2010): 290-307.

Further Readings:

Robert F. Byrnes, *Soviet-American Academic Exchanges, 1958–1975* (Indiana University Press, 1976), excerpts;

Ieva Zake, "Controversies of US-USSR Cultural Contacts During the Cold War: The Perspective of Latvian Refugees," *Historical Sociology* vol. 21 no. 1 (2008): 55-81;

Sergei Zhuk, "Academic Détente": IREX Files, Academic Reports, and "American" Adventures of Soviet Americanists during the Brezhnev Era," *Cahiers du Monde russe* vol. 54, nos. 1-2 (2013): 297-328.

4 March

Class 11. Anti-Communist minorities: East European migrant communities in the post-DP era

Philipp Ther, *The Outsiders. Refugees in Europe since 1492*, 185-215.

Further Readings:

A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe, vol. 2, pt. 2 (New York 2018), 42-76 (ch.12: "Political Thought in Exile");
Ieva Zake, *American Latvians: Politics of a Refugee Community* (New Brunswick 2010), 49-87.

6 March

Class 12. The academic politics of the émigré academic institutions

Andrejs Plakans, "Remaining Loyal: Latvian Historians in Exile 1945-1991," in *East and Central European History Writing in Exile 1939-1989*, 68-92.

Further Readings:

Thomas Prymak, "Lubomyr Wynar and the Ukrainian Historical Association in the United States and Canada," in *Gathering a Heritage: Ukrainian, Slavonic, and Ethnic Canada and the USA* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 157-168;

Kai Johann Willms, "Between Integration and Institutional Self-Organization. Polish Émigré Scholarship in the United States, 1939-1989," in *Dynamics of Emigration. Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20th Century*, 124-134.

11 and 13 March

Classes 13-14. East European research in the West since the 1960s: new institutions and academic schools

David C. Engerman, *Know Your Enemy. The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts*, 235-260 (ch.9: "The Dual Crisis of Russian Studies");

Volodymyr Kravchenko, "Ukrainian Historical Writing in North America during the "Cold War": Striving for Normalcy", *East and Central European History Writing in Exile 1939-1989*, 93-119;

Toivo Raun, "Transnational Contacts and Cross-Fertilization among Baltic Historians in Exile, 1968-1991," *East and Central European History Writing in Exile 1939-1989*, 30-45.

Further Readings:

Volodymyr Kravchenko, "The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies: Foundations," *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* vol. 6, no. 1 (2019): 9-49;

Frank Sysyn, "Omeljan Pritsak and the Establishment of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard: the Vision and the Actuality," *Ab Imperio*, 2020, no. 1, pp. 277-300.

Donald Treadgold, "When Russian Studies Were Taking Off," *Russian History* vol. 15 no 1 (1988): 115-127.

18 and 20 March

Class 15-16. Western academia between émigré memorial projects and revisionism in Soviet studies

Robert Conquest, "Revisionizing Stalin's Russia," *Russian Review* vol. 46 no 4 (1987): 386-390;

David C. Engerman, *Know Your Enemy. The Rise and Fall of America's Soviet Experts*, 261-308;

Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Revisionism in Retrospect: A Personal View," *Slavic Review* Vol. 67, No. 3 (2008): 682-704.

Further Readings:

Vladimir Brovkin, "Robert Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow*: A Challenge to the Revisionists," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* vol. 11 no 1/2 (1987): 234-245;

Famine in the Soviet Ukraine: 1932-1933. A Memorial Exhibition. Widener Library, Harvard University (Cambridge MA 1986);

Rein Taagepera, "The Struggle for Baltic History," *Journal of Baltic Studies* vol. 40 no. 4 (2009): 451-464;

Lynne Viola, "The Cold War in American Soviet Historiography and the End of the Soviet Union," *Russian Review* vol. 61 no 1 (2002): 25-34.

25 March

Class 17. Reexamining East European modernity: the Ukrainian case

Serhy Yekelchuk, *Writing the Nation: The Ukrainian Historical Profession in Independent Ukraine and the Diaspora* (Stuttgart 2023), 105-136.

27 March

Class 18. Transnationality in exile scholarship. The mental construction of the Center and East of Europe

Jessie Labov, *Transatlantic Central Europe: Contesting Geography and Redefining Culture Beyond the Nation* (Budapest 2015), 65-84.

Source text:

Milan Kundera, *The Kidnapped West, or the Tragedy of Central Europe* (1983).

1 April.

Class 19. Confronting the compromised past. The Nazi hunt during the Cold War

Ieva Zake, *American Latvians: Politics of a Refugee Community*, 89-124.

Further Readings:

John-Paul Himka, "A Central European Diaspora under the Shadow of World War II: the Galician Ukrainians in North America," *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006): 17-31;

3 April

Class 20. Post-Holocaust world and the post-memory in the émigré communities

Marianne Hirsch, "Past Lives: Post Memories in Exile," in Susan Rubin Suleiman (ed.), *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances* (Duke University Press, 1998), 418-446.

8 April; 10 April; 22 April

Classes 21-23. Individual trajectories of selected academic biographies

Oleksandr Avramchuk, "The Paradoxes of Eurasianism. George Vernadsky, Exile Networks, and the Origins of American Ukrainian Studies," *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 59 (2024): 87-111.

Jonathan Daly, "A Scholar with a Sense of Mission. Academic, Cold Warrior, Public Intellectual [Richard Pipes]," *Cahiers du Monde russe* vol. 59, no. 4 (2018): 553-566;

George Grabowicz, "The Magocsi Problem: A Preliminary Deconstruction and Contextualization," *Nationalities Papers* vol. 39, no. 1 (2011): 111-116;

Marko Robert Stech, "One of the Galician Cohort of 1919: George Luckyj's Contribution to Ukrainian Studies in North America," *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2020): 253-276;

Jo Tollebeek, "'A Private Perch.' Cosmopolitanism, Nostalgia and Commitment in the Émigré Historian's Persona," *Dynamics of Emigration: Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20th Century*, 23-44.

Sources (ego-documents) for analysis:

Richard Pipes, *Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger* (New Haven 2003);

Adam B Ulam, *Understanding the Cold War: a Historian's Personal Reflections* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2002).

14-20 April – Spring Break

24 and 29 April

Classes 24-25. The legacy of the exiled scholarship in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989/91

Maciej Janowski, "Jedwabne, July 10, 1941: Debating the History of a Single Day," in *The Convolutions of Historical Politics* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2012), 59-89.

Andriy Zayarnyuk, "On the Importance of Location and the Dangers of Self-Recognition," *Ab Imperio* 2 (2003): 477-490.

1 May – Federal Holiday

6 May

Class 26. The Western academia and the conflicted East European optics after 1989/91

Andriy Zayarnyuk, "Historians as Enablers? Historiography, Imperialism, and the Legitimization of Russian Aggression," *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies* vol. 9, no 2 (2022): 191-212.

8 May

Class 27. Concluding discussion

12-16 May – Completion Week

Essay Deadlines

The deadline for the mid-term assignment (a response paper) is **17 March 2025**.

The deadline for the end of semester essay is **10 May 2025**.

Grades Submission

- Midterm grades are due **21 March 2025**.
- Final grades for all students are due on **12 May 2025** (for fourth year graduating students) or **30 May 2025**.

Library and Book Purchase Policies

Most of the readings will be uploaded in electronic format in the Google Classroom. Some other texts will be available in the library reserve collection.