



IEiAK UW

Why Russia is not Poland? Or Holland...

Georgi Derluguian

Георгий Матвеевич Дерлугьян

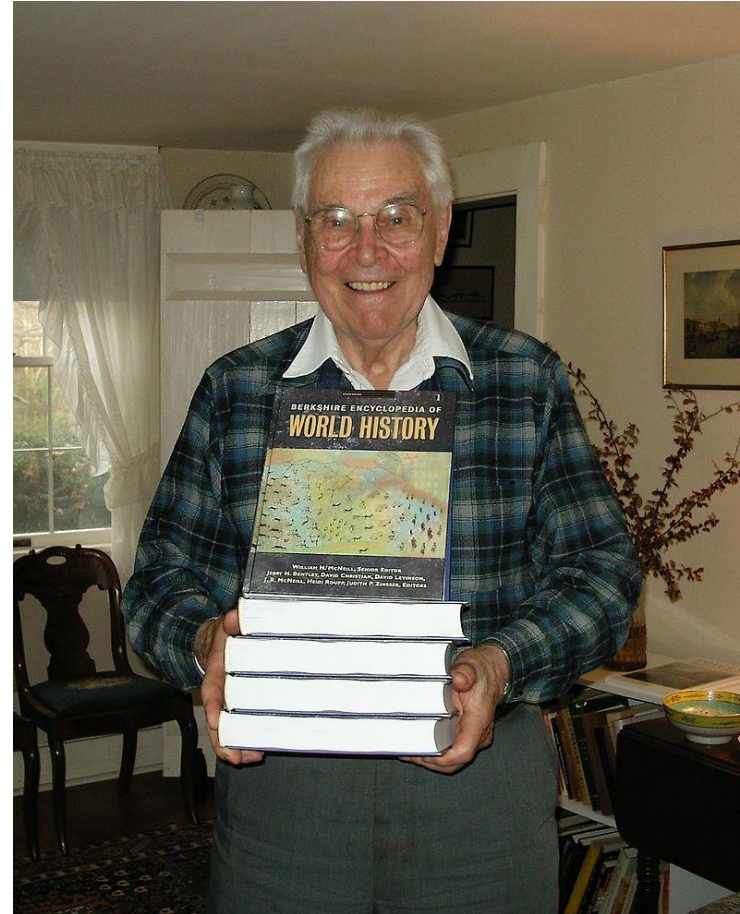
Գեորգի Դերլուգյան

New York University Abu Dhabi

“The Mega-Historians” (Randall Collins)



Fernand Braudel



William McNeill

Marian Małowist



The world-systems lineage

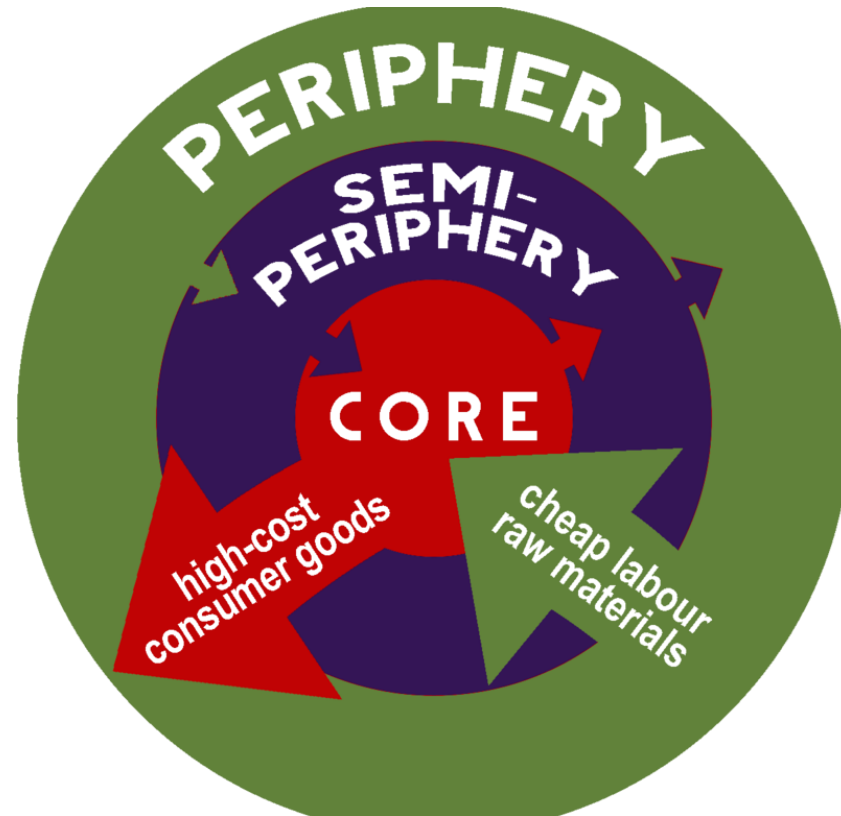


Braudel and Wallerstein, 1974



Oleksandr Fisun, Beatrice and Immanuel Wallerstein, Derluguian, Sergei Nefedov. Saint Petersburg, 2009

Modern world-system in the simplest:
cheap labor/commodity from periphery,
expensive skilled labor in the core,
semiperiphery of dirigiste developmental states



Ancient world-systems?

- Ruling political centers
- Military power range
- Trade range
- Cultural influence sphere

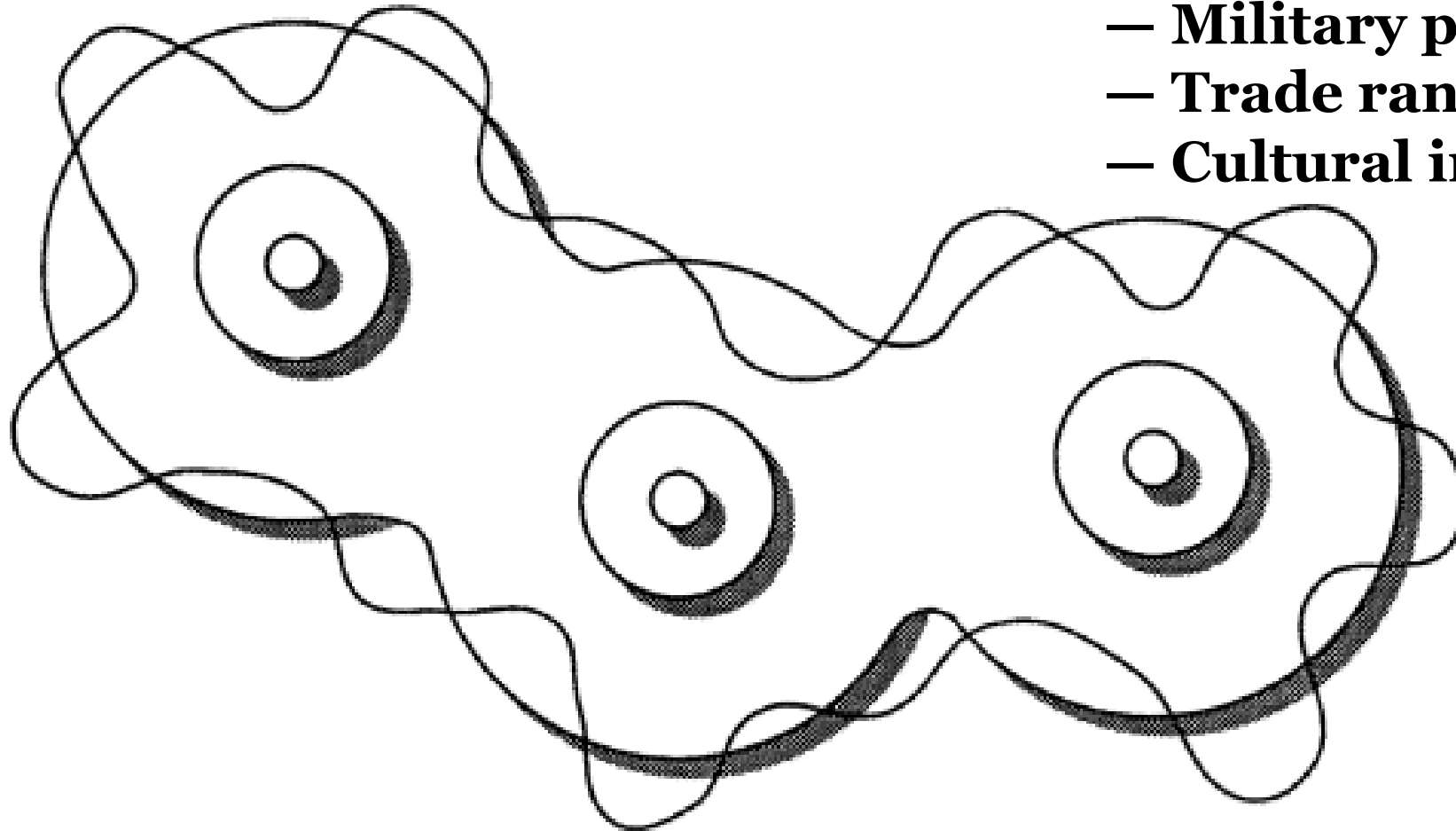
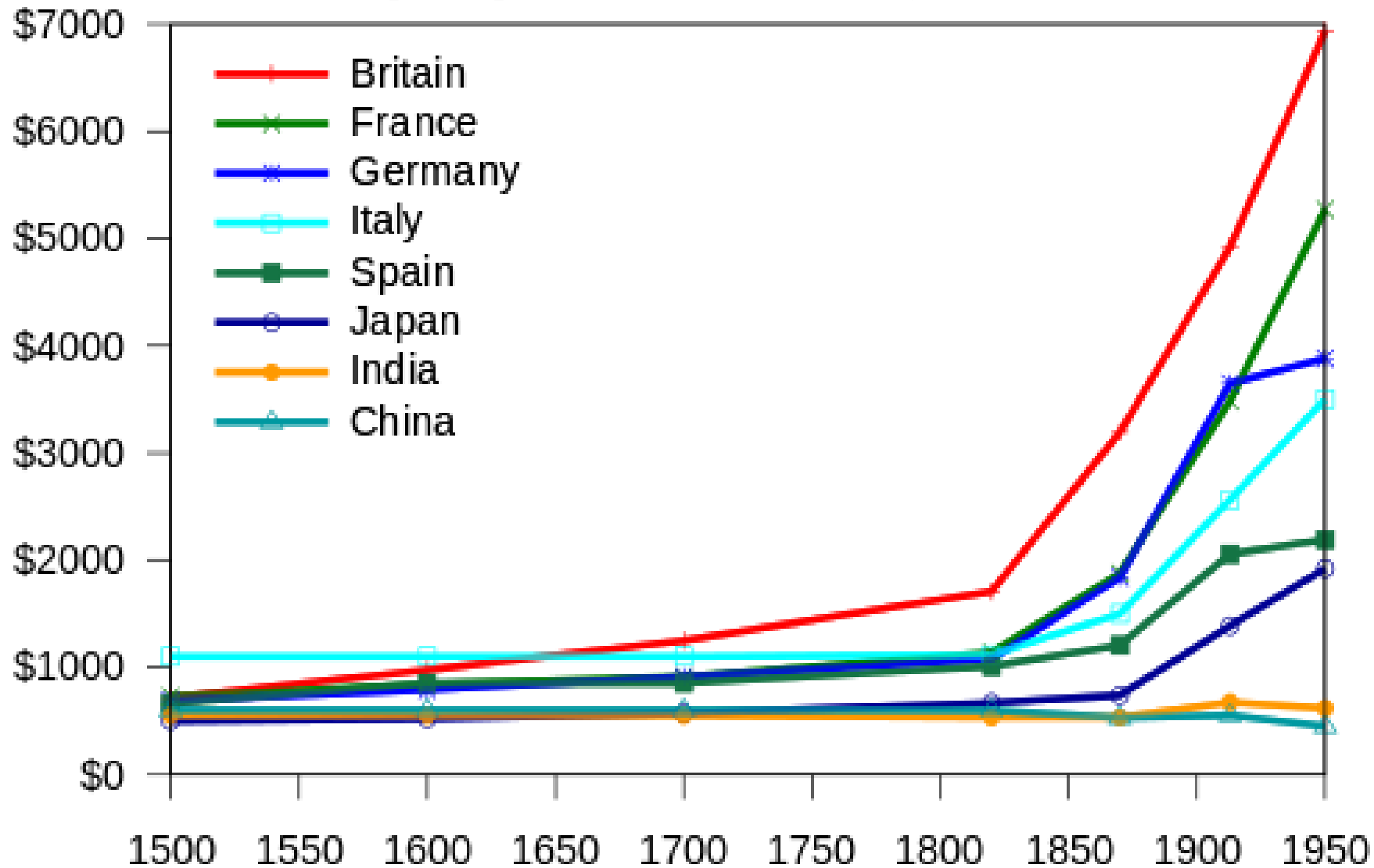


FIGURE 4.2 Three World-Systems Merged at Prestige-Goods and Information Networks

Something has happened after 1600...

The Differentiation of World Regions

GDP per capita in 1990 dollars (Angus Maddison)



MODERNITY as the HIGHEST STAGE of PROGRESS
SMITH, MALTHUS, MARX, DURKHEIM, WEBER

MARKETS AND INDUSTRY

NEW DEMOGRAPHICS

CAPITALISM

VALUES OF INDIVIDUATION

EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE

RATIONAL BUREAUCRACY

ORGANIC SOLIDARITY OF DEMOCRACY

**GENERAL, LAW-LIKE,
UNIVERSALIST
SCHEME OF PROGRESS**

MODERNIZATION THEORIES

Cold War, 1950-1980: (Liberal–Marxist consensus)

Overcoming

- traditional society/feudal relics феодальные пережитки,
- middle/working class

leads all countries to the triumph of

- market/planned economy
- liberal/people's democracy
- consumer society/people's wellbeing всенародное благосостояние
- urbanization/смычка города и деревни
- end of ideology/не-антагонистические противоречия
- globalization/пролетарский интернационализм
- post-industrial/эпоха научно-технической революции
- advanced capitalism/развитой социализм
- democratic peace/мирное сосуществование

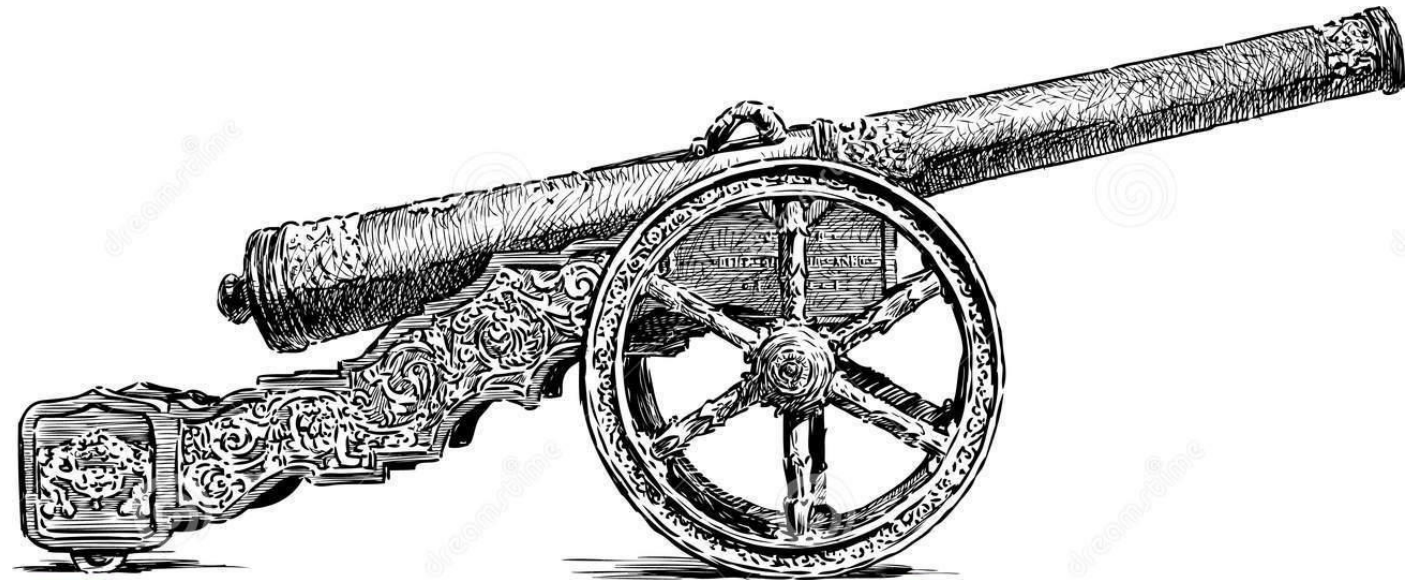
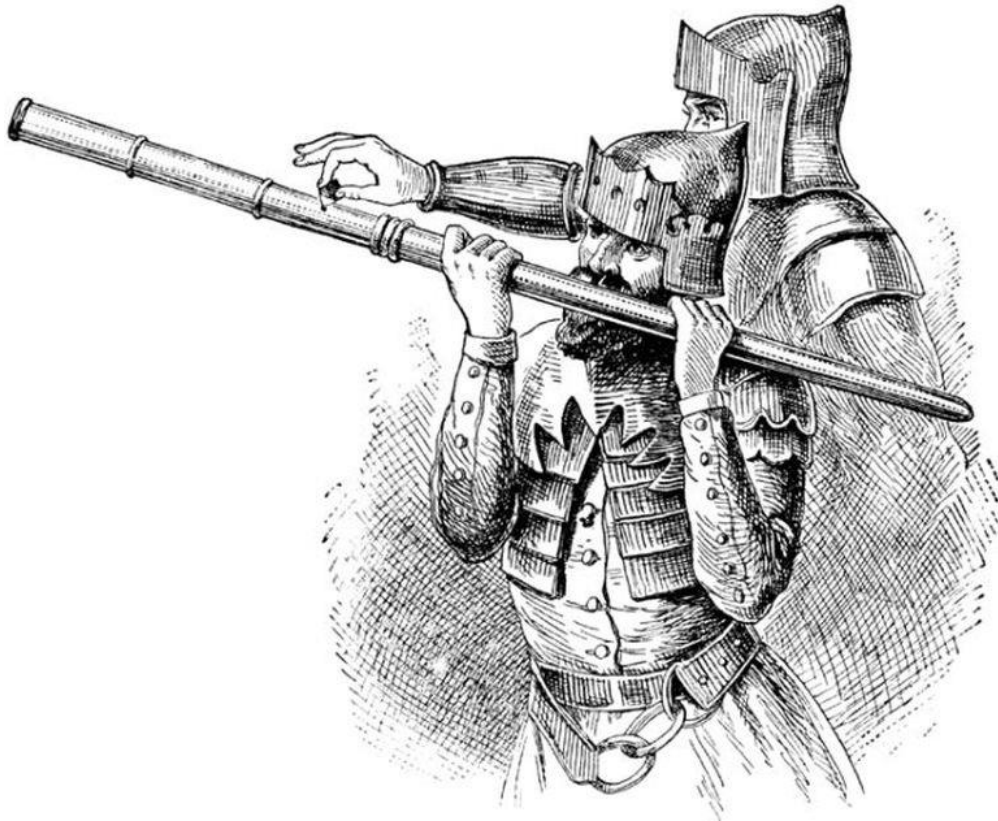
Stress the desired/желаемое подчеркнуть

Modernization as Geopolitical Imperative

You must have steel industry, scientists, and all that they need: universities, career paths, modern lifestyles. Otherwise, those who already have this would come to you uninvited.

Stephen Kotkin, **STALIN**, Vol. I (Princeton, 2014)

Gunpowder empires (McNeill)



Asia in the lead, so far

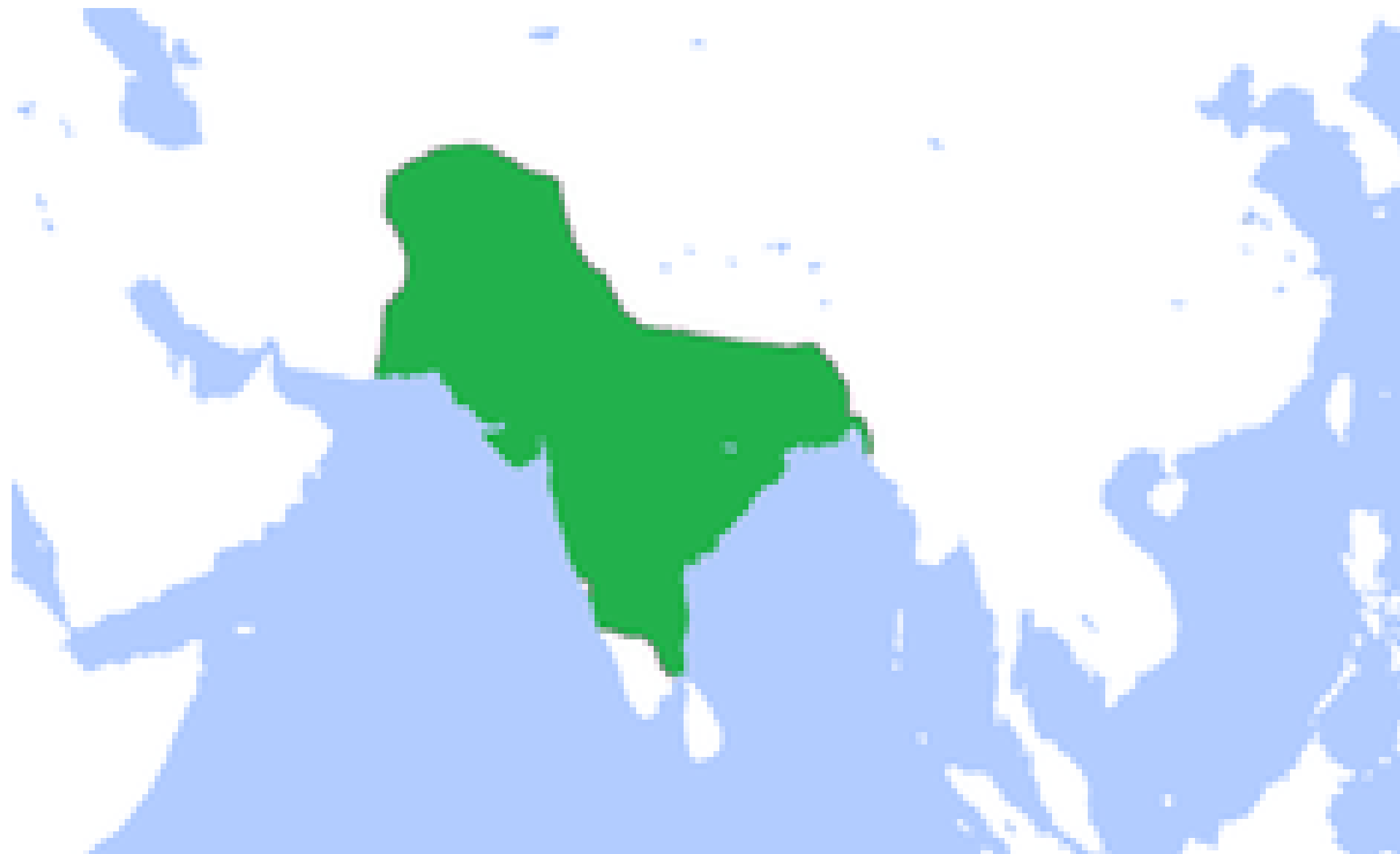


China, Ming dynasty

Population ca. 500 million, army 1 million strong



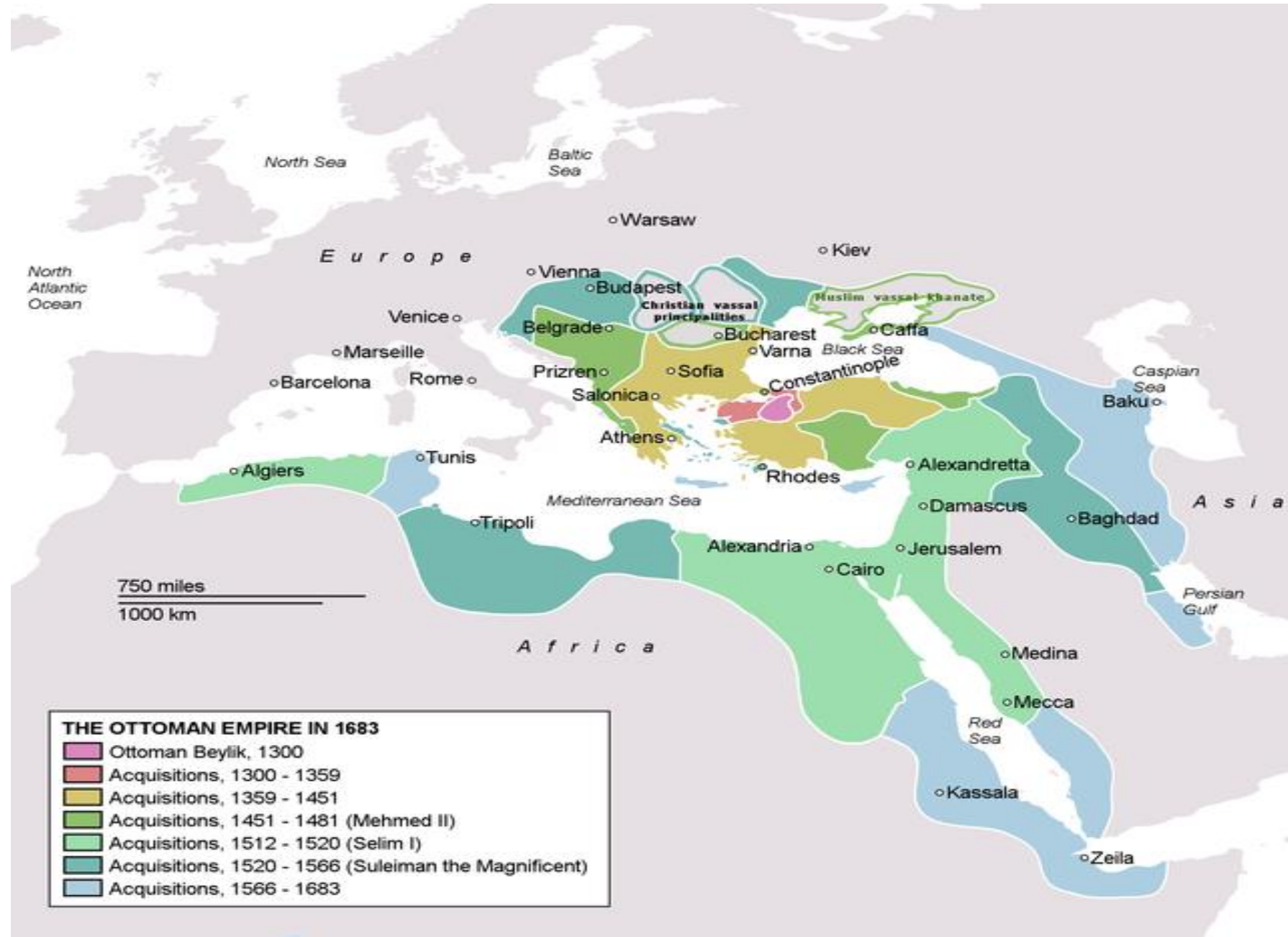
Great Mughal India



Safavi (Shi'a) IRAN



The Ottomans

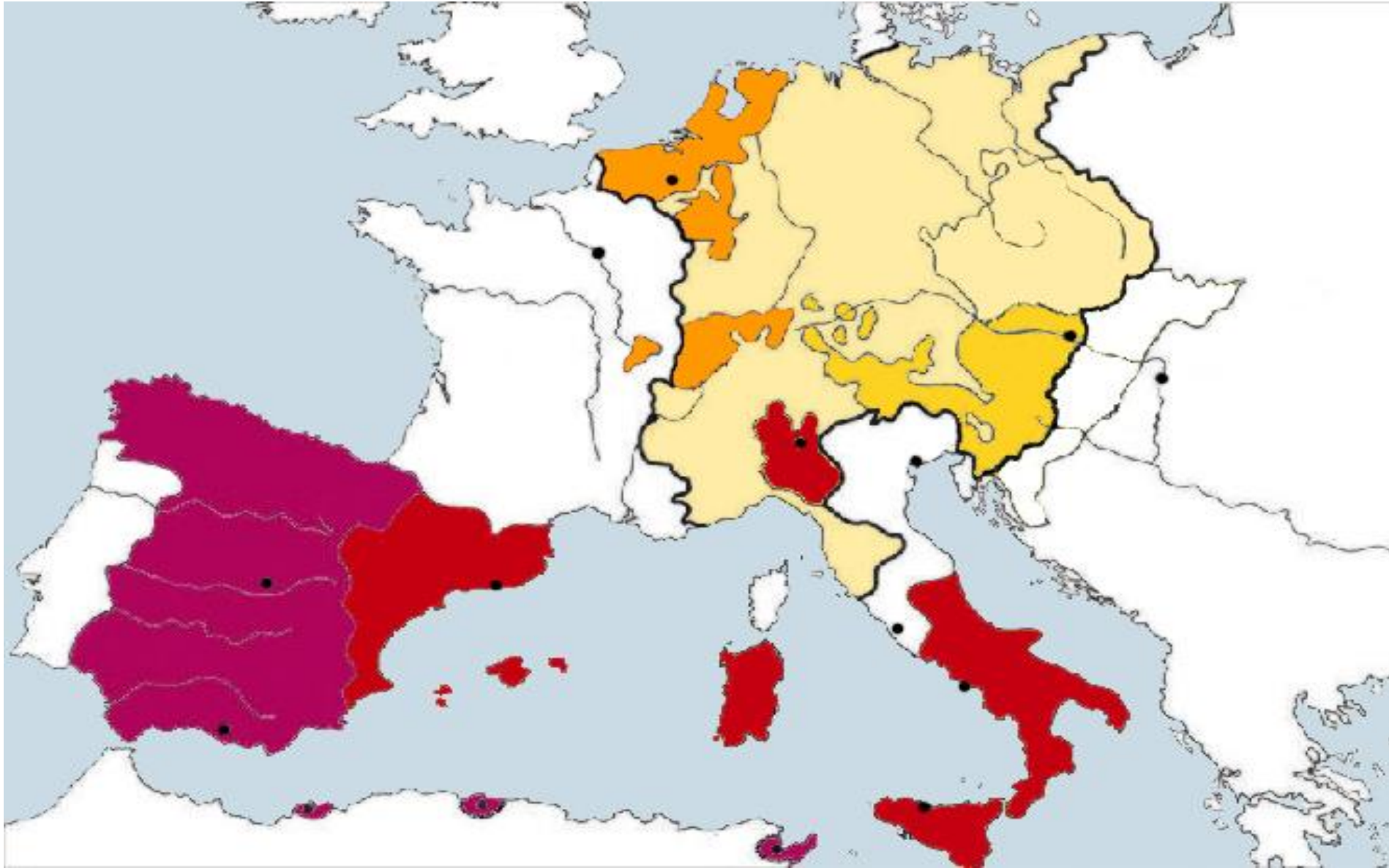


The Pivotal Year 1500



The Hapsburg Spain

(minus overseas colonies; +Portugal after 1582)





1600bigfonts

Poland-Lithuania,
ca1600

401.029m
Scale: 3073.49 meters per pixel

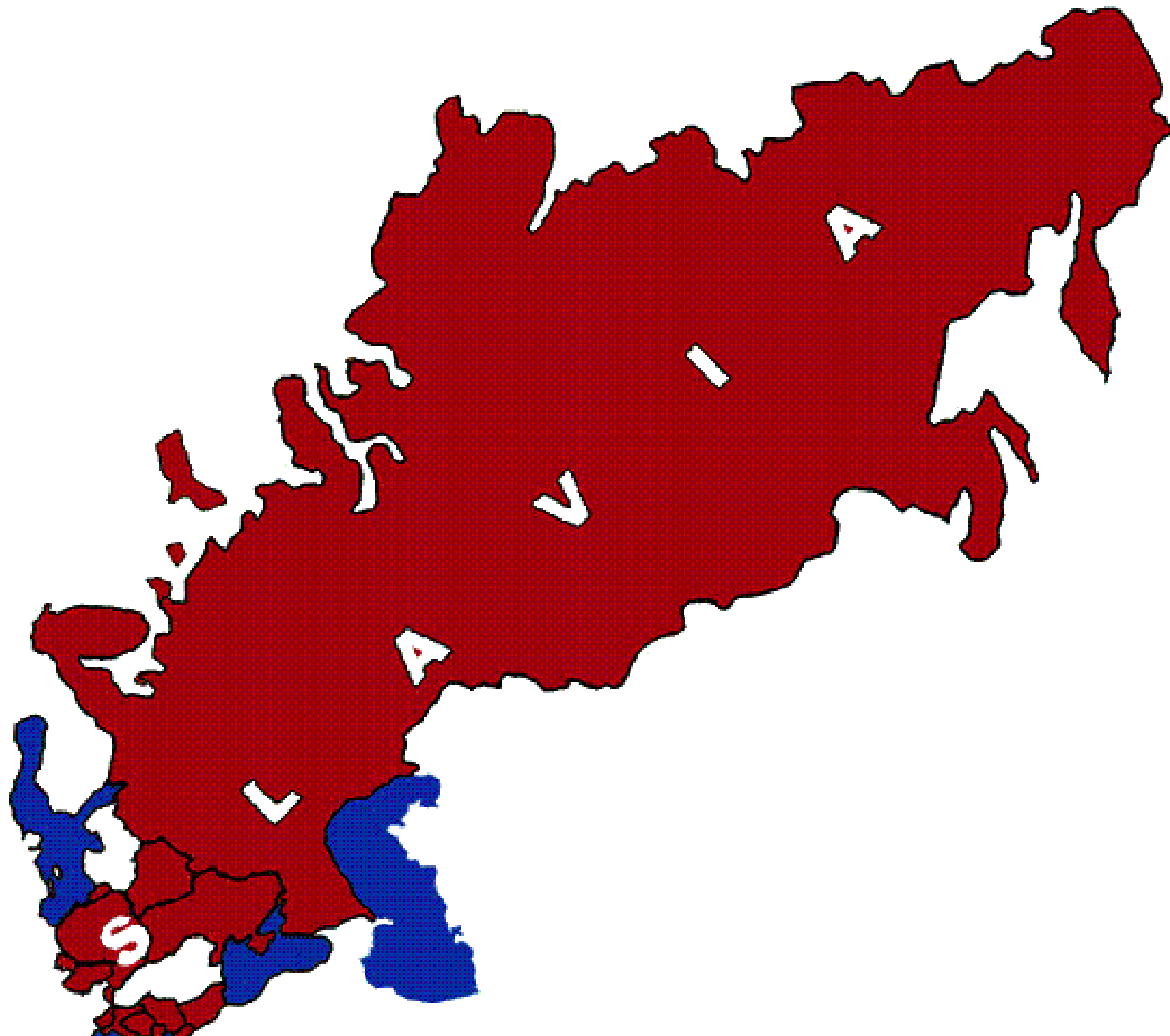
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The Steppe nomads defeated



V.I. Surikov (1895) **Yermak's Conquest of Siberia**

Naïve
question:
Why is
Russia so
BIG?



THE GREAT DIVERGENCE

Where are all these empires of
Early Modernity by 1900?!

Poland — everything that Russia is NOT



- ✓ BORDERS ON THE WEST;
- ✓ LATIN ALPHABET, CATHOLIC;
- ✓ COPERNICUS
- ✓ FORCE IN EUROPEAN GEOPOLITICS: Grunwald, 1410; Vienna, 1683; USA, 1770s
- ✓ HUGE PROPORTION OF ELITES (10%?)
- ✓ LIBERTATIAN POLITICS
- ✓ MASSIVE TRADE WITH HOLLAND;



**Si Deus Nobiscum
quis contra nos**

THE RESOURCE CURSE



*Poland produces nothing but wheat which
so abundantly grows from its soil.
Truly, had nothing grown in Poland, its
people would be happier.*

Charles de Montesquieu, 1748



THE PERIPHERY – CORE COMMODITY CHAIN

- Serf peasants, Slavs, cultivate fields with primitive tools
- Polish lord
- Jewish estate-manager
- German wholesalers in Baltic ports
- Swedish navy secures sea lanes
- Dutch global freight and entrepôt trade, banking

CORE: high profits, high taxes, skilled labor, technology, balance of elites, political tolerance, effective states

PERIPHERY: low profits, primitive technology, coercive labor controls (serfdom) — but fabulous elite consumption, low taxes, weak states

The Nordic Bypass



(Mark Raeff)

“A well-ordered police state” (Mark Raeff)
Аракчеевщина

External pre-modernization shock: Napoleonic wars and Prussian reforms



Wilhelm von Humboldt:

First research university in Berlin and mandatory credentials for all military and civilian officers, 1810.

The Siemens family: army, science, business



THE PRUSSIAN ROAD

- NATIONAL BANK SYSTEM
- STATE-DIRECTED INDUSTRY
- PROTECTIVE TARIFFS
- NATIONAL RAILROADS
- MASS LITERACY; RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES
- The SCIENCE-MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Robert Allen, *Global Economic History: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, 2011



List versus Smith



BUT WHERE DID THE PRUSSIAN ROAD LEAD?

The most famous Mitsubishi before 1945:

Mitsubishi-Zero



The most famous Porsche before 1945:
Tiger Panzer



The apex of brutally rational planning Nazi 'Hungerplan', 1941



Reich's Minister of Agriculture Obergruppenführer **Herbert Backe**
(*Batum, 1896 — Nurnberg, 1947*)

US General George Marshall to Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau:
'How many German POWs would you order me to shoot?'



George Marshall

The Marshall Plan:
17 billion dollars (around 120 bln today) in 1948 – 1952
Charity or hegemonic vision?

Geographic isolation: Russia's freak luck?

- Compare to Poland

*English ambassadors
evaluate investment
opportunities at the court
of Ivan the Terrible*



The first Russian modernization: *a-la Turca*

- New infantry (streltsy = janissaries) and the cavalry of state noblemen (pomeshchiki = timariot)
- Bureaucracy (prikaz system = divan)
- Provinces (voevodstva = pashalik)
- Official church
- Toleration of conquered religious communities (= Ottoman millet)
- Elite control/promotion via terror (also Ottoman practice)



Ivan IV

And the first dissidents...

Prince Andrei Kurbsky,
Émigré liberal Westernizer Западник



Протопопе Аввакум, fundamentalist patriot,
почвенник



The Pre-modernization shock: Times of Trouble, **СМЫТА** 1600 – 1613

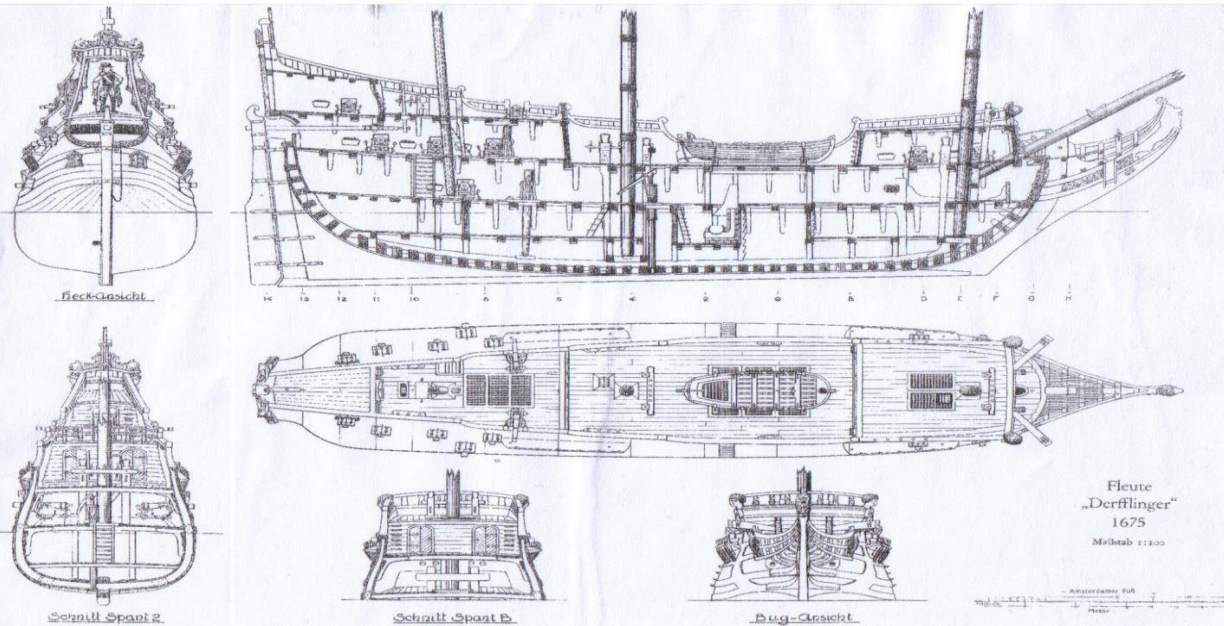
Russian civil society strikes back: Prince Pozharsky and citizen Minin



Peter I: a self-styled Dutchman for the tsar

Massive borrowings:

- Russian flag (Dutch)
- Gubernias (Sweden)
- Table of Ranks (Denmark)
- Navy (Holland)
- Holy Synod (Protestant)
- Sankt Petersburg, new capital



Western merchants and experts could be brought in. But colonial markets?

The Persian expedition of Peter I, 1722-23



Franz Roubaud, Peter in Tarki, Dagestan

Elites overpopulation: intelligentsia



**Failure of Prussian Road in Tsarist Russia,
despite very capable conservative reformers:
Witte, Stolypin, Durnovo**

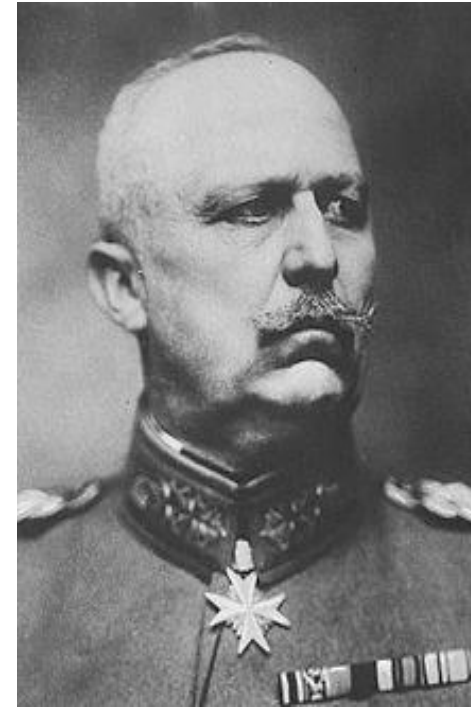


Stalin turned out to be Witte today...

(Georgy Fedotov, a Russian émigré philosopher in Paris 1931)



Inspired by Marx ...
But learning state-building from other Germans:



Otto von Bismarck — geopolitics of empire
Walther Rathenau — industrial planning
Erich Ludendorff — military mobilization

The German Road by Leninist Party

Little wonder than in 1917 the Bolsheviks took power;

but how did they keep it still a year later?

Herrschaft beyond Max Weber himself:

CHARISMATIC BUREAUCRACY

The Soviet Love of American Progress



Chicago Mercantile Exchange



Yuri Pimenov, New Moscow, 1937

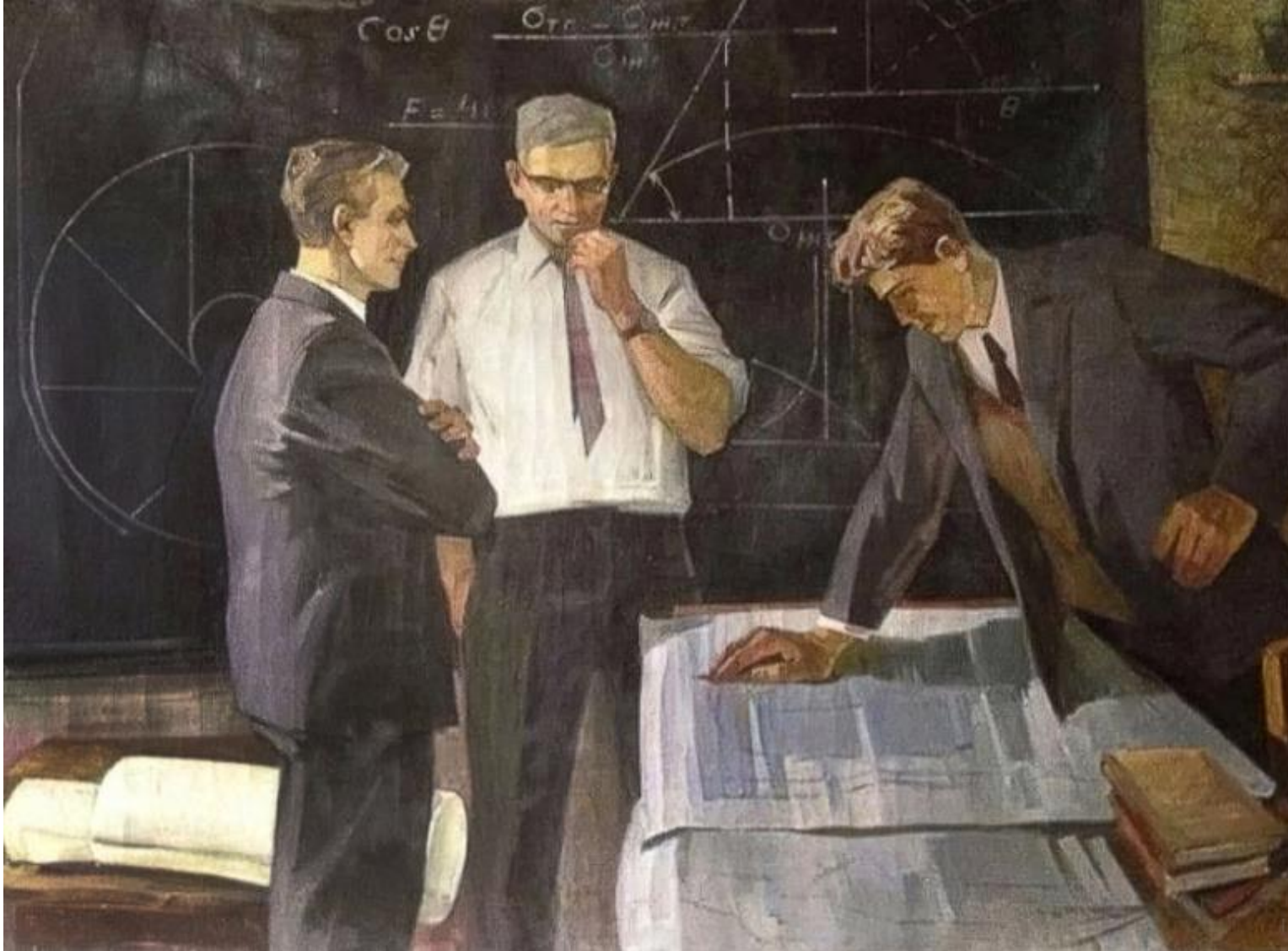
State Duma, the former Gosplan



DISMANTLING DESPOTISM: Bureaucracy from top



DISMANTLING DESPOTISM: Intelligentsia from the middle



DISMANTLING DESPOTISM: Workers from below

*Ну, а если станет больше,
Будет то, что было
В Польше*

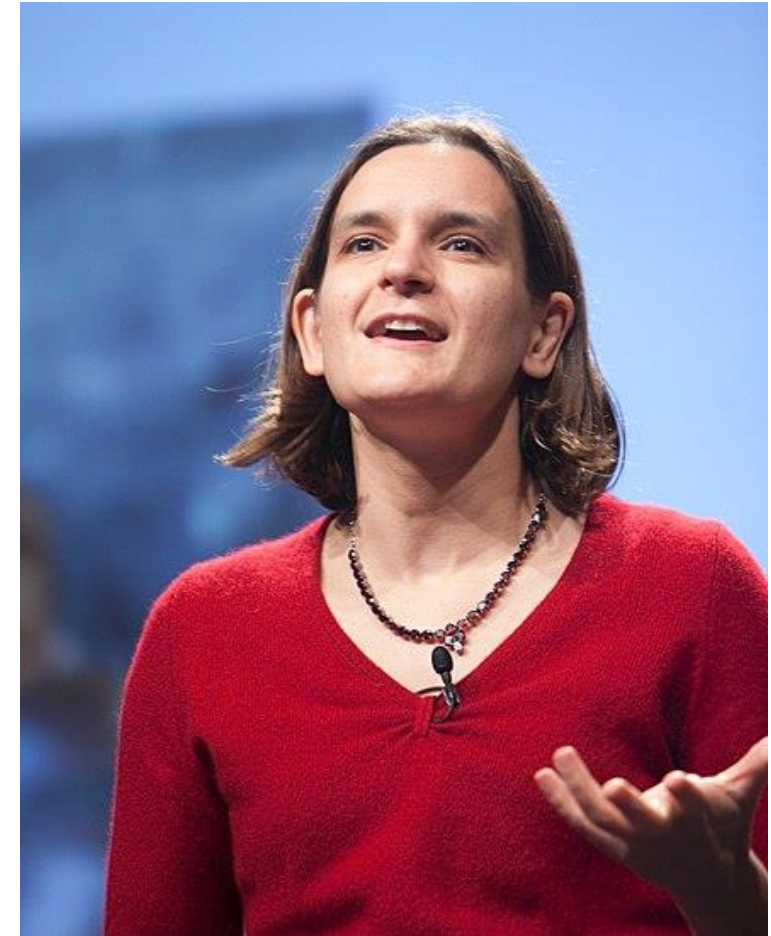
*Passive resistance: You pretend to
pay, we pretend to work*



The Youth, global 1968



Esther Duflo: Moscow in August 1991 and Nobel prize in economics, 2019



“The East European reformers will reach the promised shore of America — only South, not Northn America.”

Giovanni Arrighi and Immanuel Wallerstein,
“1989 as Continuation of 1968”,
July 1991

RECOIL TO PERIPHERY



Andrei Logvin, LIFE'S BEEN A SUCCESS
Awards-winning poster, 1997

State Prize, 2001

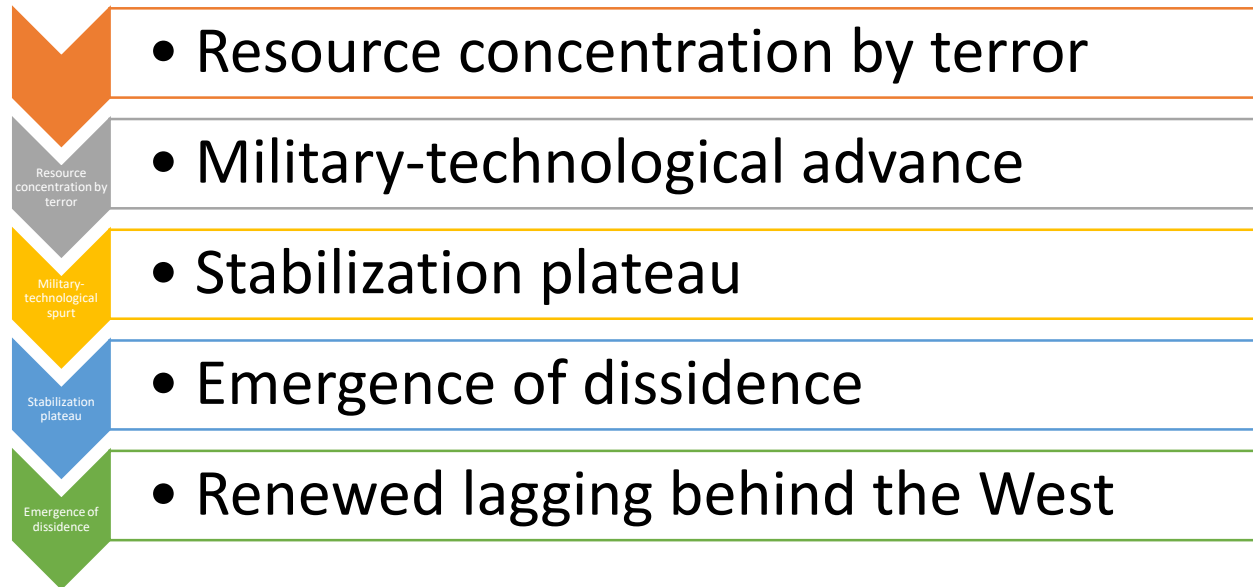


POSTMODERNITY? NEOLIBERALISMS?



The world is flat — and it floats in the sea of Coca-Cola

THREE CYCLES: IVAN THE TERRIBLE — PETER I — LENIN AND STALIN



DOOMED TO REPEAT?
PUTIN ...

SEMIPERIPHERIES OF ALL WORLD, UNITE?



THE CRISIS OF WORLD HEGEMONY

