MARTÍN BAÑA

RUSSIAN HISTORY STUDIES
IN LATIN AMERICA AND SPAIN (2001–2021)

The study of Russian history in Latin America and Spain is still poorly developed. However, over the last three decades, books and articles about the Eurasian region have begun to appear in Spanish, in most cases incorporating documents in the Russian language and including the latest publications in the international field. Although this interest in Russian history arose, in many cases, from political motivations—where the topic of the Russian Revolution was central—research soon turned towards other dimensions and chronologies, addressing cultural, economic and social issues not only about the 20th, but also the 19th century, and even a few centuries before that. Research development is not uniform throughout the region and depends on institutional contexts, which are not always stable, and do not always have the necessary monetary funds. However, some production centers such as Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Spain stand out in the field. The spatial distance from Latin America to Russia can be a detriment in terms of access to documentation and bibliography. But, at the same time, it is an advantage for these countries to distance themselves from the object of study and to propose other explanations that can complement or even challenge the dominant ones in order to make original contributions to the international field of study of Russian history.

Keywords: Russian history, Spain, Latin America, Russian studies abroad, the Russian Revolution.

Martín Baña – Adjunct Professor at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) and the National University of San Martín (UNSAM). Adjunct Researcher at the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET). E-mail: mbana@unsam.edu.ar

1 Citation: MARTÍN BAÑA, “Russian History Studies in Latin America and Spain (2001–2021)”, RussianStudiesHu 4, no. 1 (2022): pp. 18. DOI: 10.38210/RUSTUDH.2022.4.4

DOI: 10.38210/RUSTUDH.2022.4.4
The following article aims to present a very briefly commented list of the main studies on Russian history in Latin America and Spain from the last 20 years. Despite the spatial distance, the difficulty of accessing bibliography and primary sources, and the development of language needs—forcing researchers in these regions to handle both Russian and English, the latter being the primary language into which publications are usually translated from Russian and, at the same time, the lingua franca of international scientific community—for almost a century there has been a growing interest in the history of that region. This is evidenced by articles published in specialized journals, but also books, research trips and, more recently, bachelor’s degrees and PhDs. What path have these studies followed over the last 20 years? More importantly, what are their purposes? And last, but not least, what is the point of studying Russian history in Latin America and Spain today?

A first response to these questions has to do with simply the continuity of the tradition of what we could call “International Studies” in the region. From very early on, Latin American historians were concerned with studying historical events that happened beyond their borders, especially those that were linked to European history, in all its periods. These efforts were realized in different works that, on the one hand, try to explain Latin American events within a broader framework such as the world system, seeing the links between these phenomena and those that happened in Latin America. On the other hand, historians devoted themselves entirely to the study of universal history in order to give their own description of events that were remote in time and space from Latin America itself. All these attempts today represent a vast body of works that help to understand global history in an increasingly connected world. If we take the Spanish case, links were closer at different times in the history of this country and Russia, as for example was evidenced during the 20th century with the case of the Spanish Civil War. In that sense, Russian studies are more closely linked to issues that are still being felt in the present.

A second response has to do precisely with the possibility of studying other experiences in order to establish comparisons, explanations, and conclusions that can help us to a better understanding of several historical phenomena. Due to its history and its positioning within the capitalist world-economy, Latin America shares similar characteristics and problems with other peripheral countries. The history of this condition has been
studied in Latin America in order to improve the understanding of issues such as joining a world market as a producer of primary products for export, or massive European immigration, just to cite a couple of examples. In the particular case of Russia, study of its historical experience could help us to a better understanding of several problems, since Latin American countries share some similarities with Russia such as the difficulties of industrialization in an underdeveloped country, or the transition towards a democratic political system. Development of this type of research, especially in relation to Russia, has yet to be done.

The international situation was a very special influence that kept the study of Russian history significant. The aggravation of the Cold War in the mid-1980s and the subsequent fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 forced Latin American researchers to pay attention to what Russian history could still contribute to the understanding of an already globalized world. Furthermore, the current repositioning of Russia as an actor that aspires to be taken into account in decision-making at the global level, and to intervene strongly in the world system—as demonstrated by vaccine diplomacy during the Covid-19 pandemic—shows the need for local specialists on the history of that country. In this sense, several institutions were developed to shelter not only research but also teaching positions in Russian history, although the institutional contexts of the region vary according to the country in which the focus is placed.

In this sense, the case of Argentina is emblematic. In this country, the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Buenos Aires, one of the largest institutions dealing with social sciences and humanistic studies in the country and Latin America, was part of the process of democratization in 1984, after the military government was defeated. As a result, many fields of study were modified, among them, History. The new subjects sought to update the content they taught to students, echoing changes introduced in the main historiographies of international scholarship. Within this framework, the creation of a Chair of Russian History was proposed, which was the first chair in any of the country’s universities and one of the few—if not the only one at that moment—in Latin America which dedicated itself to the scientific study and teaching of Russian history. At this moment, this Chair is in my charge, and it has a staff of 4 teachers and researchers in the field. In turn, the Center for Study of the Slavic Worlds (CEMECH) was founded in 2009 as a dependent institution of the School of Humanities of the National University of San Martín (UNSAM). CEMECH is a research center entirely dedicated to the Russian and Eurasian space.
There, postgraduate courses are offered for doctoral students, research is carried out, and human resources are trained on the subject, both for academic institutions, and for civil and governmental institutions. The center also has a specialized library about Russia, the only one in Argentina and one of the few in Latin America, with the majority of books and documentary sources in the Russian language. Currently the Center is directed by Dr. Claudio Ingerflom, and since the beginning of its activities CEMECH has established contacts with research centers and researchers in Russia, receiving some of them in its facilities to give lectures and engage in discussion of them.

Two more institutions are part of the Argentine network of institutions that address the history of Russia in some way. One is the Russian Chair of the Institute of International Relations of the National University of La Plata, the other the Rosario Study Group on Russia (GERR), which depends on the Faculty of Political Science and International Relations of the National University of Rosario (UNR). The latter seeks to assert itself, as it maintains on its web page, “como un espacio de investigación y participación que contribuya a la reflexión y el debate sobre temas de actualidad respecto de Rusia, cuestiones que impactan de manera directa o indirecta en el escenario internacional” [as a space for research and participation that contributes to reflection and debate on current issues regarding Russia, issues that directly or indirectly impact on the international scene].

We take the Argentine case because it is emblematic of the situation of Russian studies in Latin America and Spain. In the rest of the countries, the situation is a little more uneven, but efforts to investigate the history of Russia continue to be made in different institutional contexts and with diverse results.

Before we continue to the article, we must make some important clarifications. In carrying out this weighing-up of the production of Latin America and Spain on Russian history during the last 20 years, only scientific works published by researchers from the region—whose institutions are located there—were taken into account, regardless of whether their publications appeared in Spanish or in other languages such as English or Russian. It is also worth clarifying that only books and articles published in scientific journals were taken into account, as undergraduate and graduate theses have been set aside, as well as the abundant production of public

---

history and presentations to congresses or conferences, both national and international. In this sense, although scrutiny of the publications was as exhaustive as possible, it is a vast object of study. As not all countries have the same degree of development of Russian studies or the same opportunity to publish, it is possible that some works may have been left unreviewed and, for that very reason, not covered by this article. We must also clarify here that only works related to history were taken into account. Other publications that have been working very well in relation to Russia, such as literature, were set aside. The list is divided into chronological periods: Ancient and Modern Russia, the 19th century, and the 20th century and later. Within each section, the publications were grouped following an alphabetical order of the authors and, when there was more than one publication per author, following the chronological order of publication.

ANCIENT RUSSIA AND MODERN RUSSIA

Works on this historical period are really scarce, and the works of Claudio Ingerflom, Director of the Center for Slavic Studies (CEMECH) in Argentina, stand out above all, linked to two central questions within Russian history: the place of “autonomization” [samozvanchestvo] in Russian political history and the difficulties of applying the Western concept of “state” instead of gosudarstvo to Russian realities prior to the 20th century. Both topics were addressed in different articles and books, both in Spanish and other languages such as French, Russian, and English. For the rest, two publications by Mexican researchers that address issues of political history stand out. Below, please find the list of works published on Ancient and Modern Russia in the field of Russian studies in Latin America and Spain over the last 20 years:


Claudio Ingerflom, “Was there Loyalty to the State under Peter the Great?”, in Loyalties, Solidarities, and Identities in Russian Society, History


Claudio Ingerflom, El zar soy yo. La impostura permanente de Iván el Terrible a Vladímir Putin (Madrid: Guillermo Escolar Editor, 2017).


THE 19TH CENTURY

The publications that address 19th century issues are a bit broader and include more authors than those mentioned in the previous section. In this sense, the works of Argentine historian Ezequiel Adamovsky regarding the construction of the image of Russia in France and many others related to the Russian national identity, and my own works about the Russian intelligentsia and the links between music, society and politics stand out. Another line of my research, linked to one of the intellectual currents of the philosophical history of Russia born at the end of the 19th century, such as Russian Cosmism, is also listed. Other publications by the aforementioned Ingerflom also appear, linked to the study of the Russian roots of Leninism, and also by the aforementioned Meyer, on the “empires of Russia”.

We can add here a work on cultural history by Chilean researcher Olga Ulianova regarding Anton Chekhov, two works about Russian international hegemony by the Peruvian researcher Javier Alcalde Cardoza, and a work
focusing on Zasulich’s critique of “neopopulism”, by Argentine historians Daniel Gaido and Constanza Boch Alessio. Below, please find the list of works published on 19th-century Russia in the field of Russian studies in Latin America and Spain over the last 20 years:


EZEQUIEL ADAMOVSKY, “Russian Culture under the French Eyes: Stigma, Civilization and Violence”, in *La Russie et le monde francophone*, ed. DOUGLAS CLAYTON (Ottawa: Université d’Ottawa, 2007), 115–137.


JAVIER ALCALDE CARDOZA, *De Pedro el Grande a Putin: un ensayo sobre la búsqueda rusa de dominio y hegemonía* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, 2015).


OLGA ULIANOVA, Un Chejov desconocido (Santiago de Chile: Editorial RIL, 2000).

THE 20TH CENTURY AND BEYOND

There is a broader range of scientific works on Russian history in Latin America and Spain when we come to the 20th century. In these publications a clear preference can be observed: the central topic for Russian—and World—history is the Russian Revolution. The approach is multiple: the Russian Revolution has not only been studied as an event that occurred in Russian territory, but also as a phenomenon that spread across the world. In that sense, research has intended to study the multiple receptions and influences that this episode exerted on the different Latin American countries and Spain. That is why this section presents, first, publications related to this revolutionary event, which were multiplied by the effect of its centennial, celebrated in 2017. Second, it presents publications related to the history of the Soviet Union and the post-Soviet space. In that section, a variety of approaches and thematic issues are revealed, especially two outstanding ones: on the one hand, those related to the politics of the Communist Party and its possible connections with the Latin American and Spanish spaces, and on the other, questions related to the cultural history of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Revolution

In the case of the Russian Revolution, the works published and reviewed here show a clear tendency: to propose historiographical and theoretical reflections on that event and its projection onto the societies of the present, not only the Russian one but also Latin American and Spanish ones. These publications attempt to offer interpretative syntheses of the historical process that try to overcome the main historiographical views: both those that condemn the Revolution, proposed by a historiography inspired by the postulates of Liberalism, and those that celebrate it, inspired by more traditional Marxism. By contrast, these interpretative syntheses attempt to recover the multiplicity of voices that participated in the Russian Revolution and the multiplicity of causes and dimensions that were part of it: in addition to politics, dimensions that have to do
with culture and the arts, everyday life, gender issues and a revision of the coordinates of space and time to frame the event. In this way, these works not only seek to be part of the outstanding historiographical regeneration that could be observed in recent years regarding this issue, but they also try to contribute to making a topic that had been characterized by reductionist explanations and traversed—for a very long time—by ideological and political interests into a more complex object of study.

Among other productions that revolve around the Russian Revolution, stand out those that try to analyze and explain the impact that the event generated in the different regions of the continent, such as Argentina and Chile, and also those that seek to give an account of some particular dimensions, such as the performance of Anarchism during the Revolution or the role played by Factory Committees. Below, please find the list of works published on the Russian Revolution in the field of Russian studies in Latin America and Spain over the last 20 years:

EZEQUIEL ADAMOVSKY, MARTÍN BAÑA, PABLO FONTANA (comps.), **Octubre Rojo. La Revolución rusa noventa años después** (Buenos Aires: Libros del Rojas, 2008).


SANTIAGO ARÁNGUIZ PINTO, **Chile, la Rusia de América: la revolución Bolchevique y el mundo obrero socialista-comunista Chileno (1917–1927)** (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2019).

MARTÍN BAÑA, ROMINA VELIZ, LUCIANO ZDROJEWSKI, PABLO ROTÉS, ANA GUERRA, EZEQUIEL ADAMOVSKY, ALDO CHIARAVIGLIO, **Tiempo de Insurgencia: experiencias comunistas en la Revolución rusa**, editado como folleto (Buenos Aires: edición de los autores, 2006).

MARTÍN BAÑA, PABLO STEFANONI, **Todo lo que necesitás saber sobre la Revolución rusa** (Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2017).


---

3 See, for example, the dossier published in *Kritika: Explorations on Russian and Eurasian History* 16, (2015): 4. In the Russian language, the works of Aleksandr Shubin can be explored. For instance, *Velikaya Rossiyskaya Revolyutsya: ot febralya k oktyabryu 1917 goda* (Moscow: Rodina-Media, 2014); *Start Strany Sovietov: Revolyutsya. Oktyabr 1917* (St. Petersburg: Piter, 2017).
Soviet History and Beyond

The rest of the works that are framed within the 20th century are broader and more diverse in terms of their topics and objects of study. A prominent theme has to do with studies on migration and publications of the Russian community in countries such as Argentina. Also noteworthy are works that investigate the links between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and local communist parties, especially in the case of Argentina, Chile and Spain. Undoubtedly, an outstanding aspect of these productions is the one that tries to incorporate artistic disciplines—such as cinema, photography and...
music—into historical analysis, especially in relation to the Russian avant-garde and Socialist Realism. Research also included questions related to political and economic history, particularly in relation to the years previous to the Russian Revolution and the first years of the Bolshevik government. Finally, works that attempt to take a global approach to Soviet history are highlighted, as well as those that focus on the recent past and that attempt to carry out a preliminary analysis of post-Soviet Russia. Below, please find the list of works published on 20th-century Russia in the field of Russian studies in Latin America and Spain over the last 20 years:


MARTÍN BAÑA, Quien no extraña al comunismo no tiene corazón. De la disolución de la Unión Soviética a la Rusia de Putin (Buenos Aires: Crítica, 2021).
Martín Baña, “¿Quién extraña el comunismo? Rusia a 30 años de la disolución de la Unión Soviética”, Revista Nueva Sociedad no. 296 (2021): 145–155

Jaime Canales Garrido, Génesis, vida y destrucción de la Unión Soviética (Buenos Aires: Cienflores Editorial, 2019).


Pablo Fontana, Cine y colectivización: La representación cinematográfica del proceso de colectivización soviético (Ciudad Evita: Zeit, 2012).


PABLO FONTANA, “Los fantasmas de Iván: Memoria traumática sobre el exterminio nacional-socialista en el cine soviético del Deshielo”, Aletheia 8, no. 17 (2017):


MÁXIMO LIRA, El fin de la URSS: crisis, transformación y perspectivas de los pueblos pos-soviéticos (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones B, 2005).


RAINER MATOS FRANCO, Limbos rojizos. La nostalgia por el socialismo en Rusia y en el mundo poscomunista (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 2017).


JOSEP PUIGSECH FARRÀS, “El triángulo de la propaganda soviética en la


JOSEP PUIGSECH FARRÀS, “Claves sobre la presencia militar y diplomática soviética. El Kremlin nunca quiso dominar España”, in *En el combate por la historia. La República, la Guerra Civil, el franquismo*, ed. ÁNGEL VIÑAS MARTIN (Lisboa: Pasado y Presente, 2020), 235–249.


Jorge Rojas Flores, Manuel Loyola (eds.), *Por un rojo amanecer. Hacia una historia de los comunistas chilenos* (Santiago de Chile: Impresora Vals, 2000).


CARLOS TAIBO, La Rusia contemporánea y el mundo. Entre la rusofobia y la rusofilía (Madrid: Los libros de la Catarata, 2017).

OLGA ULIANOVA, CARMEN NORABUENA (eds.), Viajeros rusos al sur del mundo (Santiago de Chile: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, LOM Ediciones, 2000).

OLGA ULIANOVA, “El caso de Manuel Hidalgo en el PC chileno a partir de los documentos de Komintern”, in Por un rojo amanecer. Hacia una historia de los comunistas chilenos, ed. JORGE ROJAS FLORES, MANUEL LOYOLA (Santiago de Chile: Impresora Vals, 2000).


OLGA ULIANOVA (ed.), Chile en los archivos soviéticos, Tomo 4, Los años ’60 (Santiago de Chile: Ariadna ediciones, 2020).

FINAL WORDS

Despite clear and good progress, research on Russian history in Latin America and Spain remains at a low level compared to the rest of the historiographies of the global north. The reasons are diverse. In the first place, the largest research positions and the scarce resources allocated to finance research are destined for history issues linked to each of the countries of origin, instead of European history, for example. In the second place, the difficulties that are generated by language differences and physical distance prevent direct contact with archives and libraries.
Finally, the remarkable interest focused by local historians on the historical problems of each of their countries of origin, among many other factors.

Despite this, we believe that studies on Russian history are necessary and should continue to be deepened in the region. We believe this for several reasons: firstly, because a good historiography needs to develop works that could not only be linked to its own countries but to the space that countries inhabit, which is the world. Secondly, because having local researchers who can produce works about Russia would help to develop a better understanding of the history and reality of that country, without having intermediaries or obstacles—such as idiomatic issues. This, in turn, would allow historians that are specialized in other areas, but also interested in such matters, to have access to research results. Finally, studies on Russia developed in Latin America and Spain can be essential not only for these countries but also for Russia itself. As the philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin argued, a fundamental element for the understanding of any culture is the need to place oneself outside of it, in a place of “extraposition” to creatively understand that culture, since the true appearance of people “solo la pueden ver y comprender las otras personas, gracias a su ubicación extrapuesta en el espacio y gracias al hecho de ser otros” [can only be seen and understood by other people, thanks to their extraposed location in space and thanks to the fact of their being others]. In this sense, Bakhtin argues, “extraposición viene a ser el instrumento más poderoso para la comprensión” [extraposition becomes the most powerful instrument for understanding] since “la cultura ajena se manifiesta más completa y profundamente solo a los ojos de otra cultura” [foreign culture manifests itself more fully and profoundly only in the eyes of another culture]. Hence, this dialogical encounter can help to overcome the closed nature of cultures so that, through questions, interpretations and above all dialogue, they can enrich each other. In this sense, the interpretations and observations that are made in Latin America and Spain in relation to the history of Russia can help us not only to have a better understanding of the Russian history but also benefit Russia, as that country can have a better understanding of itself through interventions made from other cultures, such interventions thereby completing it in a Bakhtinian way.

5 Bajtín, “Respuesta a la pregunta...”, 352.
In this way, we hope that these last 20 years of research and production can be considered not as a point of arrival for studies about Russian history from Latin America and Spain, but merely as a starting point for current researchers and for future generations who will continue developing and expanding a field of study that is important not only to the region but also to the world as a whole.

References

MIJAL M. BAJTÍN, “Respuesta a la pregunta hecha por la Revista Novy Mir” [Answer to the Question Asked by the Novy Mir Magazine], in MIJAL M. BAJTÍN, Estética de la creación verbal (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002), 352.
Kritika: Explorations on Russian and Eurasian History 16, no. 4 (2015)