Modern societies undergo radical social, economic, political, and cultural transformations. The development of technology and organizational systems causes the changes in the structure of space and time. Knowledge becomes the main factor of production. The societies are making the transition from the modern and industrial paradigm towards a new condition, called post-industrialism, informationalism, the network society, and postmodernity.

The aim of this course is to define the main parameters of these changes and their influence upon politics, state and international relations. The course is multidisciplinary and combines the methods of political economy, sociology, political science, and theories of international relations, as well as political history, political philosophy, cultural studies, and anthropology.

The course starts with defining the political, philosophical, geographical, and cultural foundations of Modernity and its political institutions: the modern nation-state, sovereignty, the Westphalian system, international law. It then proceeds to explore the transformations of these institutions in the age of Postmodernity, the emergence of transnational and supranational institutions, the role of non-state actors, and the ideas of ‘desovereignization’. It pays special attention to the changes in the forms of governance, from localization and devolution to global government and global democracy.

A key place in the course belongs to examining the case of Russia. The course raises the questions about Modernity in Russian history and the development of the USSR as a Modern project, the “Modern Enlightenment”. Nowadays Russia seeks its own exits from the paradigm of Modernity to the postindustrial society, while at the same time it seeks to introduce the projects of re-modernization and re-sovereignization of the state.

The course also explores the social, cultural and anthropological aspects of postindustrial transit, the problems of identity in politics and international relations, and the new virtual, and networked forms of life and communication. It examines postmodernism as the culture of late capitalism, while also exploring the culture of globalization and different resistance projects.

The readings for the course include the texts by the key authors of the postmodern theory and the concept of late Modernity: Anthony Giddens, Zygmunt Bauman, David Harvey, Fredric Jameson, Saskia Sassen, Susan Strange, Jean Baudrillard, Paul Virilio, Manuel Castells, and Jurgen Habermas. There are also some texts by Russian authors, namely by Boris Groys and Boris Kapustin. All texts are in English. The course is given in English and its target audience are the Russian and foreign students of the HSE.

Requirements and Grading

The course is structured around lectures and seminars, with a large impact on independent work and class discussion. Each student is supposed to read required literature, to make a presentation in class, and to write an essay. The final grade consists of four parts:
• Class attendance (20%)
• Active participation (20%)
• Presentation in class (30%)
• Essay/Final examination (30%)

Plan of Meetings

Part I. Introduction. Modernity and Postmodernity

(2 lectures, 1 seminar)

Technology, space and society. The role of technology in historical change. Traditional society, Modernity, Postmodernity.


Readings
• Habermas, Jürgen and Seyla Ben-Habib, “Modernity versus Postmodernity”, New German Critique, No. 22, Special Issue on Modernism (Winter 1981), pp. 3-14

Additional Readings

Part II. IT-revolution, globalization and economy of postmodernity

(2 lectures, 1 seminar)

Differences between the IT-revolution and industrial revolution. History, geography, actors and spheres of the IT-revolution: microelectronics, computers, telecommunications, and genetic engineering. The social context of new technologies and the role of the US.

New technologies and new wave of globalization. Informational economy and the network enterprise. Global networks and architecture of globalization. Differentiation and segmentation of
the global economy. New international division of labor: the logic of expansion and engaging. Digital gap and emergence of the Fourth World. Segmented incorporation of Russia.

Key Readings
- Friedman, Thomas L. and Ignacio Ramonet, “Dueling Globalizations”, *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1999, pp. 110-127 (also available in Russian)
- Kelly, Kevin, New Rules for the New Economy, *Wired* (also available in Russian)

Additional Readings

**Part III. The Transformation of State and Sovereignty**

(2 lectures, 2 seminars)

Modernity as the spatial dimension of politics, the state as a container, the notion of borders. Classic realism: levels and units of analysis; aggregation of the interests at the state level.

Crisis of Modernity in politics, deterritorialization, erosion of borders and sovereignty. The state in the space of flows: the loss of control or the loss of power? Crisis of modern forms of politics and democracy. Devolution and “networking” of the state, inclusiveness and subsidiarity: from “government” to “governance”. The EU as a “network state”.

Key Readings


Additional Readings

- The Economist. “Survey of the New Geopolitics: The Thing That Won’t Go Away. Why the State Stays the Basic Unit.” _The Economist_, 31 July 1999, pp. 8-10 (also available in Russian)

Part IV. The Geopolitics of Postmodernity

(1 lecture, 1 seminar)

Crisis of the Westphalian system, erosion of borders between domestic and foreign policy. Relativity of “state power” and “national interest”. “Hard power” and “soft power”, modern and postmodern foreign policy, branding of the state. Integration and international institutions, “global government”.

Normative limits on sovereignty: international law, international public opinion. The discourse on the human rights as a new hegemony. Liberalism as a new imperialism; modern imperialism of the US and postmodern imperialism of the EU.

Key Readings

- Annan, Kofi A. “Two Concepts of Sovereignty.” _Economist_, 18 September 1999, pp. 49-50 (also available in Russian)
- Medvedev, Sergei. “Kosovo: A European Fin-de-Siècle.” In: Peter van Ham and Sergei Medvedev (eds) _Mapping European Security After Kosovo_. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001 (also available in Russian)
Additional Readings


**Part V. Case Study Russia. Modernity in Russian history. The Crisis of Modernity and the Collapse of the USSR**

(2 lectures, 2 seminars)

Russian way to early Modernity. Characteristics of Modernization in Russia: mobilization, the security imperative, the garrison state. Russian Empire as a variant of European Modernity. The “Russian moment” in world history: 500 years of confrontation with the West.

The USSR as a culmination of the Enlightenment ideology: the ideas of progress, control and social constructivism. Structural disproportions of Soviet Modernity: extensive model of development and hyperindustrialization. Crisis of territoriality and the technological lag of the USSR. Breakup of the USSR as a crisis of Modernity. The models of adaptation to the postindustrial world: Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Putin. Interaction of postcommunism and postmodernism.

**Key Readings**


**Additional Readings**

- Cooper, Robert. “Russia, the West and Global Civilization”, in Alexander Konovalov, Sergei Medvedev and Sergei Oznobishchev (eds.) Russia and the West at the Millennium, Garmisch-Partenkirchen: Marshall Center, 2003 (also available in Russian)

**Part VI. The Transformation of War in Postmodernity. Identity and Security**
New actors, aims and functions of the war. Privatization of the war, theory of “new wars” and “markets of violence”. “Small wars” and “private wars”: the war as a form of organized crime.

Wars and networks. Terrorism as a form of network war. Terrorism as a product of globalization.

The notion of “security” in Postmodernity. Erosion of “national security” and the emergence of “societal security”. Identity as a key problem of security. Identity wars, constructing identity as resistance to the globalization.

Key Readings
- Baudrillard, Jean, “Violence of the Global” (CTHEORY)

Additional Readings
- Zürcher, Christoph, “Chechnya and Kosovo: Reflections in a Distorting Mirror.” In Peter van Ham and Sergei Medvedev (eds) Mapping European Security After Kosovo, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001 (also available in Russian)
- Baudrillard, Jean. “The Gulf War Did Not Take Place”

Part VII. The Space of Flows. New Topography of Time


Key Readings

Additional Readings:
Part VIII. Postmodernism as a culture of informational capitalism

(1 lecture, 1 seminar)

The role of language in culture. Visual, written and digital languages. Technologies of culture: mass media, multimedia, the Internet. The Internet as an embodiment of Postmodernity: network architecture, destruction of hierarchies and meanings, interactivity, mixing of genres.


Key Readings
• “From Internet to Gutenberg”, A lecture presented by Umberto Eco at The Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America, November 12, 1996

Additional Readings
• Bruce M. Owen. The Internet Challenge to Television. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 197-333
Essay Topics

1. The impact of technology on society.
2. Modernity in Politics. Is modern politics in crisis?
3. Production of value in the knowledge economy
4. The Internet and networks as a new type of socialization
5. The idea of “risk civilization” (Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck)
6. The evolution of the World-system (Wallerstein) and new international division of labor
7. The USSR as an Enlightenment project
8. The state in the space of flows: loss of control or loss of power?
9. The crisis of the vertical corporation and emergence of the network enterprise
10. The professional structure of the information society
11. Gender in the Information Age: The crisis of the patriarchal family
12. States and nations in the network world. The network state
13. New forms of politics and democracy in the Information Age
14. Prospects and limitations of the global democracy
15. Global governance: Approaches of David Held and Jürgen Habermas
16. What are the differences between modern and postmodern foreign policy? Is postmodern imperialism possible?
17. Civil society in the Information Age
18. Organized crime as a network
19. Will the book die in the Age of the Internet?
20. Virtual reality: A threat to the society?
21. The space of places and the space of flows
22. The transformation of the urban landscape: The death of the city?
23. The network as a model for Postmodernity. Hypertext and rhizome in postmodern culture
Topics for Literature Review


2. Zygmunt Bauman’s interpretation of globalization (The books *Globalization* and *Intimations of Postmodernity* are available in the library of the HSE, number 316B31)

3. Anthony Giddens’s theories of Modernity and identity (The books *The Consequences of Modernity* and *Modernity and Self-Identity* are available in the library of the HSE, number 316G43)

4. Ulrich Beck’s theories of “risk society” and “reflexive modernization” (The books *Power in the Global Age* and *Reflexive Modernization* are available in the library of the HSE, number 316B35)

5. The theories of global governance and global democracy of David Held and Jürgen Habermas

6. The EU as a model for the “network state”

7. Stalinism as a utopia of Modernity: Boris Groys’s “The Total Art of Stalinism” and Mikhail Ryklin’s “Terrorologics”

8. Postcommunism and postmodernism in the books by Boris Kapustin


12. David Harvey’s postmodern geography

13. “Dromology”: Paul Virilio’s theories of time and speed

14. Fredric Jameson’s theory of postmodernism as a culture of the late capitalism

15. War on brands: *No Logo* by Naomi Klein
Exam Questions

Part I. General

1. What are the modes of production and how do they relate to the use of space?
2. Which role does technology play in historical changes?
3. What is the main difference between “tradition” and “Modernity”? When and why did the notion of “Modernity” emerge?
4. What is the essence of the project of Modernity and how does it correlate with the Western civilization?
5. What are the main political, philosophical, social, and scientific elements of the project of Modernity?
6. What is the totality of the project of Modernity and when did its critical understanding emerge?
7. What is “Modern Enlightenment”? Which Enlightenment projects were carried out during the 20th century? What are the key points of the Neo-Marxist critique of the “Modern Enlightenment”?
8. What are the resemblances and differences between capitalism and statism (socialism) as the two branches of the Enlightenment civilization?
9. What is the crisis of Modernity and why did change become necessary in capitalism?
10. How do you understand the concept of the Information Age? How does it relate to the Industrial Age?
11. What are the differences between informationalism and industrialism? Between capitalism and statism?
12. When did the World-system emerge? How did it transform during the 20th century? How does it transform in the Information Age? What are the main points of critique of the World-system by Immanuel Wallerstein?
13. How do you understand globalization and what are its main features today? Compare the understanding of globalization by Anthony Giddens and by Zygmunt Bauman.
14. What are the main actors and areas of global transformations?

Part II. Economy

1. What are the main driving factors of the information revolution?
2. What is the main factor of the increase in productivity of labor?
3. What are the main landmarks and technologies of the information revolution?
4. What is the main organizational form of the informational revolution?
5. How does the economy change in the Information Age? What is the most effective organizational form of the enterprise?
6. What are the advantages of the network enterprise?
7. What is the differentiation and segmentation of the global economy? How does the new international division of labor look like?

Part III. Society

1. How do labor and forms of employment change in Postmodernity?
2. How does the society change in the Information Age? Which new forms of socialization emerge in the Information Age?
3. What happens to personality in Postmodernity? Which new forms of socialization and alienation emerge?
4. How do gender and family change in Postmodernity?
5. Which role does identity play in Postmodernity? What are the main points of Anthony Giddens’ theory of identity?
6. How do you understand “de-essentialization” and the crisis of values in Postmodernity?
7. How do you understand the “risk civilization”? How does the modern society cope with risk?
8. What are the main points of Ulrich Beck’s theory of “reflexive modernization”?

Part IV. Politics

1. What is the traditional (modernist) understanding of state and sovereignty?
2. What is the Westphalian system of international relation? What does Realism say about international relations? What are the main levels and units of analysis of the system?
3. How do the states and nations change in Postmodernity? How does sovereignty transform?
4. What is the crisis of Modernity in politics? How do you understand de-territorialization and erosion of borders? Which forms do politics and democracy take in Postmodernity?
5. How does the state evolve in the space of flows? Is it losing of control? Is it losing power?
6. What are the key characteristics of politics in Modernity and Postmodernity? Is postmodern politics possible?
7. Characterize the EU in terms of the “network state”. What is the meaning of “devolution” and “subsidiarity”?
8. Give examples of the states pursuing modern and postmodern policies.
9. What are the differences between Government and Governance?
10. What are the differences between theories of global governance and global democracy of David Held and Jurgen Habermas?

Part V. Russia

1. When did Modernity in Russian history begin? What are the peculiarities of modernization in Russia?
2. How do modernization and mobilization refer to each other in Russian history? Do they contradict or supplement each other?
3. Was the Russian Empire a version of European Modernity?
4. What is the essence of the “Russian moment” in world history (Marshall Poe)?
5. What are the peculiarities of Soviet Modernity? Characterize the USSR as a project of the Enlightenment. Describe Stalinism as a project of Modernity.
6. What were the structural disproportions of the Soviet Modernity?
7. Please name the main reasons for the disintegration of the USSR
8. What are the models of adaptation of modern Russia to the postindustrial world? What are the differences and similarities of the projects of Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Putin?
9. How do practices of postcommunism and postmodernism relate to each other?

Part VI. War and Security

1. What are the new actors, aims and functions of wars? What is the mechanism of privatization of wars?
2. What is the essence of the theory of “new wars” and “markets of violence” (Mary Kaldor)?
3. What is the “network war”? Which forms does it take?
4. Is the terrorism a form of war? What is the essence of modern terrorism? How does terrorism relate to globalization, the network society and the information society?
5. How does the notion of security change in Postmodernity?
6. What is the difference between “national security” and “societal security”?
7. How does identity relate to security? Please give examples of the protest identity and identity wars.
Part VII. Space and Time

1. How does space transform in the Information Age? What are the differences between the space of places and the space of flows?
2. What is the topology of the postindustrial space? How do the informational flows transform the global city? Which architectural forms does the postmodern space shape?
3. How does the city change in the Information Age? What are the differences in the perception of time in Modernity and Postmodernity?
4. How do you understand the “social arrhythmia”, “flexible time” and changes of the life cycle of man?

Part VIII. Culture

1. What is the role of language in culture? Please describe social consequences of iconic, written and digital languages.
2. Name the main technologies of culture. What are the main characteristics of the Gutenberg and Post-Gutenberg Age?
3. How do you understand the culture of the Information Age? How does the Internet influence modern culture?
4. How does Fredric Jameson characterize the culture of late capitalism? What is his understanding of postmodernism?
5. Please describe the main paradigms of postmodernism: “rhizome”, decentration and deconstruction, “schizophrenic discourse”. What is the essence of intertextuality, metatext and hypertext?
6. What is crisis of representation and symbolic exchange? What is the meaning of Jean Baudrillard’s notion of simulation?
7. Please describe the phenomena of advertising and branding in terms of symbolic exchange. What are the cultural and political consequences of symbolic economy? Are there any strategies of resistance against the new cultural landscape consisting of brands?