

**UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE**

**DEPARTMENT OF SLAVONIC STUDIES**

**PAPER SL12: SOCIALIST RUSSIA 1917-1991**

**HANDBOOK**



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## INTRODUCTION

### COURSE AIMS

The course is designed to provide you with a thorough grounding in and advanced understanding of Russia's social, political and economic history in the period under review and to prepare you for the exam, all the while fostering in you deep interest in Soviet history.

### BEFORE THE COURSE BEGINS

Familiarise yourself with the general progression of Soviet history by reading through one or more of the following:

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Applebaum, A.       | <i>Red Famine. Stalin's War on Ukraine</i> (2017)                               |
| Figes, Orlando      | <i>Revolutionary Russia, 1891-1991</i> (2014)                                   |
| Hobsbawm, E. J.     | <i>The Age of Extremes 1914-1991</i> (1994)                                     |
| Kenez, Peter        | <i>A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End</i> (2006)       |
| Lovell, Stephen     | <i>The Soviet Union: A Very Short Introduction</i> (2009)                       |
| Suny, Ronald Grigor | <i>The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States</i> (2010) |

**Briefing meeting:** There'll be a meeting on the Wednesday before the first teaching day of Michaelmas. Check with the departmental secretary for time and venue. It's essential that you attend and bring this handbook with you.

### COURSE STRUCTURE

The course comprises four elements: lectures, seminars, supervisions and reading.

**Lectures:** you'll have sixteen lectures, eight in Michaelmas and eight in Lent. The lectures provide an introduction to and overview of the course, but no more. It's important to understand that the lectures alone won't enable you to cover the course, nor will they by themselves prepare you for the exam. They're not a substitute for reading, only a supplement to reading.

**Seminars:** you'll have four seminars in Easter term.

**Supervisions:** you'll have ten supervisions: four in Michaelmas, four in Lent and two in Easter.

**Reading:** to study history is, primarily, to read, so reading is the most important aspect of the course. You must understand from the outset that this is primarily a reading course and that, above all, you'll need to commit to reading extensively and consistently. That's why the bulk of the handbook is devoted to providing you with detailed guidance on reading.

### USING THE HANDBOOK

The handbook is divided into four sections:

- Section 1 the exam
- Section 2 lectures & seminars
- Section 3 supervisions
- Section 4 reading

Check each section carefully so you understand the course structure and timetable and exactly what's expected of you.

## SECTION 1: THE EXAM

### DESCRIPTION

The exam paper is divided into three sections and you answer one question from each section. All questions have equal weight.

**Section A** deals with the course's four primary sources and has one question for each source.

**Section B** has six questions. Most cover the period 1917 to 1945 but there'll sometimes be one or two questions of a general nature covering the whole period of the paper.

**Section C** has six questions. Most cover the period 1945 to 1991 but, as in section B, there'll sometimes be one or two questions of a general nature covering the whole period of the paper.

### PREPARING FOR THE EXAM

**Section A** is predictable because you can choose in advance which primary source you want to concentrate on in the knowledge that it will always come up on the paper. You should study the sources (provided in hard copy) as part of your specialist reading (section 4.2) and we'll look at them in detail in supervisions (section 3) and in the Easter term seminars (section 2).

**Sections B&C** are periodized (with the occasional general question included in each), but you'll be asked to respond to problems and issues within periods, not simply to periods. You should note that there's no guarantee that a particular problem or issue will always come up in sections B&C, or that problems or issues won't be conflated. This means that you can't 'topic spot' by focussing your work on a narrow aspect of the course – mugging up a couple of problems or issues and hoping they'll see you through, for instance. You'll have to do the whole course in order to be prepared for the exam. On the other hand you won't be asked to respond to anything outside the course aims.

You should look at some past papers to get a feel for the style of questions.

## SECTION 2: LECTURES & SEMINARS

Unless otherwise indicated all lectures are on Thursdays at 12.00 and last for one hour. Check with the departmental secretary for venues.

### MICHAELMAS

- 0 Pre-term Meeting: Introduction to the Course  
*Bolshevik Revolution*
- 1 Revolution & Revolutionary War, Oct 1917-1921
- 2 Revolutionary State: NEP & Bolshevism (1920s)  
*Stalinist Revolution*
- 3 End of Revolution? The Rise of Stalin
- 4 Revolution from Above I: The First Five-Year Plan
- 5 Revolution from Above II: Collectivization  
*The Stalin Era*
- 6 Society & Culture
- 7 Politics: The 'Purges'
- 8 Foreign Policy: from World Revolution to World War

### LENT

- 9 Stalin's War, the People's War, 1941-45
- 10 Stalin's Apotheosis & Death, 1945-53  
*Post-Stalin USSR*
- 11 Succession Struggle, Khrushchev & Reform, 1953-64
- 12 Brezhnev & Stability, 1964-82
- 13 The Cold War, 1945-91
- 14 Destalinization, 1953-91
- 15 Gorbachev: *Perestroika & Glasnost*'
- 16 The End of the Soviet Era

### EASTER

- 17 Seminar: *Заседание ЦК РСДРП(б) января и февраля 1918 г.*
- 18 Seminar: И. В. Сталин, *Головокружение от успехов. К вопросам колхозного движения.*
- 19 Seminar: Н. С. Хрущев, *Доклад на закрытом заседании XX съезда КПСС.*
- 20. Seminar: М. С. Горбачев, *Речь на тринадцатом заседании XXVIII съезда КПСС.*

## SECTION 3: SUPERVISIONS

### MICHAELMAS

- 1 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topics I-III of the Michaelmas list. Preparation: you can do any question you like from within a topic but make sure your supervision partners do the same topic as you. Aim at **five to six** sides of A4, **typed and double-spaced**; research using the general and topic-related reading in the reading lists; cite quotations by footnoting; end with a full bibliography. Email me your essays the Thursday before supervision.
- 2 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topics I-III of the Michaelmas list (apart from the topic you've covered in 1). Preparation: as for 1.
- 3 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topics I-III of the Michaelmas list (apart from the topics you've covered in 1 & 2). Preparation: as for 1.
- 4 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topic IV of the Michaelmas list. Preparation: as for 1.

### LENT

- 5 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topics V-VII of the Lent list. Preparation: as for 1.
- 6 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topics V-VII of the Lent list (apart from the topic you've covered in 5). Preparation: as for 1.
- 7 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topics V-VII of the Lent list (apart from the topics you've covered in 5 & 6). Preparation: as for 1.
- 8 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topic VIII of the Lent list. Preparation: as for 1.

### EASTER

- 9 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from topic IX of the Easter list. Preparation: as for 1.
- 10 **Essay supervision**  
Choose a question from any list or from a past paper and write an essay under exam conditions.

**MICHAELMAS LIST**

**\*Please note:** the Lectures are in chronological order, whereas the Topics are organised thematically, meaning that the Topics do not follow the order of the Lectures exactly.

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**Topic I – Revolutionary Period, 1917-28**

- 1 ‘The October Revolution would have happened with or without the Bolsheviks.’ Discuss.
- 2 ‘The Reds won the Civil War in spite of, not because of, the Bolshevik Party.’ Discuss.
- 3 ‘The Revolution died with Lenin.’ Discuss.
- 4 ‘The self-sufficiency of the peasantry doomed the NEP.’ Discuss.

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**Topic II – Socialist Construction, 1928-32**

- 5 ‘The NEP was a failure; the Party had no option but to enforce rapid collectivization.’ Discuss.
- 6 ‘Collectivization was necessary in order for the Soviet Union to industrialise rapidly.’ Discuss.
- 7 ‘The collectivization drive was a failure; politically, socially and economically.’ Discuss.
- 8 ‘Socialist construction improved the lives of the masses.’ Discuss.

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**Topic III – Power in Stalin’s Russia, 1924-39**

- 9 Account for the rise of Stalin in the period up to c.1929.
- 10 ‘By the time of the XVIII Party Congress (1939) Stalin had raised himself to a position of absolute power.’ Discuss.
- 11 ‘The “purges” of the 1930s have been explained in different ways, but no explanation is entirely satisfactory.’ Discuss.
- 12 “Despite access to Soviet archives, historians today are no closer to understanding the purges of the 1930s than they were in the 1950s.” Discuss.

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**Topic IV – Primary Sources I & II**

- 13 Discuss the usefulness to historians of ONE of the following sources:
  - (a) *Заседание ЦК РСДРП(б) января и февраля 1918 г.*
  - (b) И. В. Сталин, *Головокружение от успехов. К вопросам колхозного движения.*

**LENT LIST**

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**Topic V – Society & War, 1928-45**

- 14 'The Cultural Revolution finally put into practice the socialist values promised by the Revolution.' Discuss.
- 15 'By 1936 the socialist gains of the "Cultural Revolution" had been lost in the "Great Retreat" to bourgeois values.' Discuss.
- 16 'By 1939 the Soviet regime had no choice but to seek an alliance with Nazi Germany.' Discuss.
- 17 'The Soviet Union owed its victory over Hitler more to German blunders than to Stalin's leadership.' Discuss.

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**Topic VI – Late Stalinism & the Cold War, 1945-91**

- 18 'The apotheosis of Stalin masked the diminution of his power.' Discuss with reference to the period 1945-53.
- 19 'Late Stalinism was defined by the regime's need to recover from the war, both practically and ideologically.' Discuss.
- 20 'The Cold War gave the postwar Soviet Union its sense of purpose.' Discuss with reference to the period 1945-91.
- 21 'The Cold War determined both the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union.' Discuss with reference to the period 1945-91.

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**Topic VII – Destalinization & Stagnation, 1953-82**

- 22 'Khrushchev may have repudiated Stalin, but he continued Stalinist policies.' Discuss.
- 23 'The significance of the Thaw has been grossly overestimated.' Discuss.
- 24 'The efforts of the Soviet regime to modernize were always undercut by the political tradition in which it operated.' Discuss with reference to **either** the Khrushchev era **or** the Brezhnev era.
- 25 'Brezhnev's "developed socialism" marked a period of social advance for the majority of Soviet citizens.' Discuss.

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**Topic VIII – Reform & Collapse, 1985-91**

- 26 '*Perestroika* and *glasnost*' were too little too late.' Discuss.
- 27 'Gorbachev was an idealist rather than a pragmatist, which is why he lost control of his reforms.' Discuss.
- 28 'By 1991, socialism was simply a bankrupt ideology, hence the dissolution of the Soviet Union.' Discuss.
- 29 'The collapse of the Soviet Union was precipitated by factors laid in its foundation.' Discuss.

**EASTER LIST**

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**Topic IX Write an essay on one of the following:**

- 30 Discuss the usefulness to historians of ONE of the following sources:
- (a) Н. С. Хрущев, *Доклад на закрытом заседании XX съезда КПСС.*
  - (b) М. С. Горбачев, *Речь на тринадцатом заседании XXVIII съезда КПСС.*

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**Topic X**

- 31 Choose a revision question



## SECTION 4: READING

### LOCATIONS

**Hardcopy** Many books and articles are in our MML library. Many, however, aren't in our library and very few will be in your college libraries, so you must get used to using the Seeley Library (in the History Faculty next to the Law building) and Marshall Library (in the Economics Faculty beside the Buttery) as well as the UL. Note that early volumes of *Slavic Review* may be catalogued as *American Slavic Review*.

**Online** JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org/>) is an excellent site for journal articles. For a wonderful site on Marxism, Russian revolutionaries and a host of revolutionary and radical figures in general see (<http://www.marxists.org/>). If you come across other good sites let me know. Avoid popular sites like Wikipedia – they are full of inaccurate data.

### ORGANIZATION OF THE READING LIST

- 4.1 General works** are listed in rough chronological/thematic order. Of course you can't possibly read them all, nor are you expected to. They are for you to consult as necessary throughout the course. An invaluable work, which you should get to know and will often find useful on a given topic before you read anything else, is Wiczynski, J. L., ed., *The Modern Encyclopaedia of Russian and Soviet History* (multi-volume 1976 onwards). It's commonly known as MERSH and is on reference in our library. Also useful and in the MML library: Gilbert, M. *Atlas of Russian History* (2008).
- 4.2 Specialist reading** is listed under each lecture heading. Don't do any specialist reading until you've consulted a few general works. Again, you're not expected to read everything. The lists are to guide you to a range of texts when you need to deepen your knowledge of a particular topic.

## 4.1 GENERAL WORKS

### **Standard works:**

- Acton, E. *Rethinking the Russian Revolution* (1991).  
 Applebaum, A. *Red Famine. Stalin's War on Ukraine* (2017).  
 Figes, Orlando *Revolutionary Russia, 1891-1991* (2014).  
 Gilbert, M. *Routledge Atlas of Russian History* (2006).  
 Graziosi, A. *A New, Peculiar State: Explorations in Soviet History* (2000)  
 Hosking, G. A. *A History of the Soviet Union* (1985).  
 Kenez, Peter *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End* (2006).  
 Lovell, Stephen *The Soviet Union: A Very Short Introduction* (2009).  
 Moss, Walter *A History of Russia Vol 2* (2004).  
 Pipes, Richard *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime* (1995).  
 Schapiro, L. *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union 1908-1953* (1960).  
 Snyder, T. & Brandon R., eds. *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953* (2014).  
 Suny, Ronald Grigor *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States* (1998, 2010)  
 Ward, C. *Stalin's Russia* (1993).  
 Weeks, Theodore *Across the Revolutionary Divide: Russia and the USSR, 1861-1945* (2011).

### **Biography:**

- Axell, A. *Marshal Zhukov* (2002).  
 Cohen, S. F. *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography 1888-1938* (1974)  
 Crouch, M. *Revolution and Evolution: Gorbachev and Soviet Politics* (1989).  
 Deutscher, I. *The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky 1921-1929* (1959).  
 Jansen, M. & Petrov, N. *Stalin's Loyal Executioner: Commissar Nikolai Ezhov 1895-1940* (2002).  
 Khlevniuk, O. *Stalin: new biography of a dictator; trans. by Nora Seligman Favorov* (2015).  
 Khrushchev, N. *Khrushchev Remembers* (1970).  
 Knight, A. *Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant* (1994).  
 Medvedev, R. *Khrushchev: The Years of Power* (1976).  
 Montefiore, S. S. *Stalin. The Court of the Red Tsar* (2003).  
 Read, C. *Lenin: A Revolutionary Life* (2005).  
 Service, R. *Lenin: A Political Life* (vols.1-3, 1995).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Lenin: A Biography* (2000).  
 Thatcher, I. *Trotsky* (2002).  
 Tucker, R. C. *Stalin as Revolutionary 1879-1929: A Study in History and Personality* (1974).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from Above 1928-41* (1990).  
 Williams, B. *Lenin* (2000).

### **Revolution:**

- Acton, E., Cherniaev, V. & Rosenberg, W., eds. *Critical Companion to the Russian Revolution 1914-1921* (1997).  
 Figes, Orlando *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891-1924* (1997).  
 Fitzpatrick, S. *The Russian Revolution* (1982).  
 Frankel, E., Frankel, J. & Knie-Paz, B., eds. *Revolution in Russia: Reassessments of 1917* (1992).  
 Koenker, D. & Rosenberg, W. *Strikes and Revolution in Russia 1917* (1989).  
 Kowalski, R. *The Russian Revolution 1917-1921* (1997).  
 Smith, S. A. *The Russian Revolution. A Very Short Introduction* (2002).  
 Stites, R. *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Visions and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (1989).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *The Russian Revolution 1917* (2000).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Revolutionary Russia: New Approaches* (2004).

### **General Soviet:**

- Bailes, K. E. *Technology and Society Under Lenin and Stalin* (1978).  
 Boym, S. *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in Russia* (1994).  
 Brooks, J. *Thank You, Comrade Stalin! Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War* (2000).  
 Carr, E. H. *The Russian Revolution from Lenin to Stalin 1917-1929* (1979).  
 Carrère d'Encausse, H. *A History of the Soviet Union 1917-1953* (vols.1-2, 1981).  
 Chatterjee, C. *Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival Culture and Bolshevik Ideology 1910-39* (2002).  
 Clements, B. E. *Bolshevik Women* (1997).  
 D'Agostino, Anthony *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1945* (2011).  
 Daniels, R. V. *The Conscience of the Revolution: Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia* (1960).

- Davies, R. W. *Soviet Economic Development from Lenin to Khrushchev* (1998).  
 Fueleop-Miller, R. *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism* (1926).  
 Hough, J. F. & Fainsod, M. *How the Soviet Union is Governed* (1979).  
 Hutton, M. J. *Russian and West European Women 1860-1939: Dreams, Struggles and Nightmares* (2001).  
 Lapidus, G. W. *Women in Soviet Society* (1978).  
 Lewin, M. *The Making of the Soviet System* (1985).  
 Moon, D. *The Russian Peasantry 1600-1930* (1999).  
 Narkiewicz, O. *The Making of the Soviet State Apparatus* (1970).  
 Nove, A. *An Economic History of the USSR* (1969).  
 Pethybridge, R. *The Social Prelude to Stalinism* (1974).  
 Siegelbaum, L. *Soviet State and Society Between Revolutions 1918-1929* (1992).  
 Smith, M. G. *Language and Power in the Creation of the USSR 1917-1953* (1998).  
 Tucker, R. C. *Political Culture and Leadership in Soviet Russia from Lenin to Gorbachev* (1987).  
 Yaney, G. L. *The Urge to Mobilize: Agrarian Reform in Russia 1861-1930* (1982).
- Stalin period:**  
 Andreev-Khomiakov, G. *Bitter Waters: Life and Work in Stalin's Russia* (1997).  
 Boffa, G. *The Stalin Phenomenon* (1992).  
 Dunham, V. *In Stalin's Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction* (2nd. ed., 1990).  
 Edele, Mark *Stalinist Society, 1928-1953* (2011).  
 Fitzpatrick, S. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (1999).  
 Getty, J. Arch & Naumov O.V. *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (2002).  
 Grossman, V. *Everything Flows* (1997 and later translations).  
 Martin, Terry *The Affirmative Action Empire. Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (2001).  
 Scott, J. *Behind the Urals. An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel* (1942).  
 Siegelbaum, L. & Rosenberg, W., eds. *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization* (1993).  
 Thurston, R. W. *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia 1934-1941* (1996).
- Post-Stalin period:**  
 Keep, J. L. H. *Last of the Empires: A History of the Soviet Union 1945-91* (1995).  
 Kelly, D. R. *The Politics of Developed Socialism: The Soviet Union as a Post-Industrial State* (1986).  
 Lewin, M. *The Gorbachev Phenomenon. An Historical Interpretation* (1988).  
 Merridale, C. & Ward, C., eds. *Perestroika in Historical Perspective* (1991).  
 Narkiewicz, O. *Soviet Leaders: From the Cult of Personality to Collective Rule* (1986).  
 Nove, A. *Stalinism and After* (1975).

## 4.2 SPECIALIST READING

The questions grouped under each lecture heading relate broadly to the key issues historians are interested in, so keep them in mind when reading.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD, 1917-28

#### **Lecture 1: Revolution & Revolutionary War, 1917-1921**

Did the Provisional Government give away power or did the Bolsheviks seize it? What role was played by revolutionary leaders in October? Was the 'Great October' a popular soviet rising, a Bolshevik revolution or a *coup* initiated by the Leninist faction of the party? What crises faced the Soviet regime in the period 1918-21 and how did it overcome them? Had Bolshevism disintegrated by 1921?

#### **On the Provisional Government see:**

- Gill, G. S. 'The failure of rural policy in Russia, Feb.-Oct. 1917', *Slavic Review* (2, 1978).  
 Orlovsky, D. T. 'Reform during the Revolution: governing the provinces in 1917', in Crummey, R. O., ed., *Reform in Russia and the USSR* (1989).  
 Riha, T. '1917 — a year of illusions', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1967-8).  
 von Laue, T. H. 'Westernization, revolution and the search for a basis of authority', *Soviet Studies* (2, 1967-8).

#### **Historiography of the Revolution, Historical Debates, etc.:**

- Acton, Edward *Rethinking the Russian Revolution* (1990)  
 Acton et al, eds. *Critical Companion to the Russian Revolution, 1914-1921* (1997)  
 Lee, Stephen *Lenin and Revolutionary Russia* (2003)

#### **On the approach to October see:**

- Ferro, M. 'The Russian soldier in 1917: undisciplined, patriotic and revolutionary', *Slavic Review* (3, 1971).  
 Figes, O. 'The Russian Revolution & its language in the village' *Russian Review* (3, 1997)  
 Gill, G. 'The mainsprings of peasant action in 1917', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1978).  
 Heenan, L. E. *The Russian Democracy's Fatal Blunder: the Summer Offensive of 1917* (1987).  
 Kaiser, D. H., ed. *The Workers' Revolution in Russia 1917: The View from Below* (1987) articles by Koenker, Smith.  
 Nimtz, August *Lenin's Electoral Strategy from 1907 to the October Revolution of 1917: The Ballot, the Streets--or Both* (2014)  
 Pethybridge, R. *The Spread of the Russian Revolution: Essays on 1917* (1972) ch.6.  
 Pipes, R. *The Russian Revolution* (1990).  
 Raleigh, D. 'Revolutionary politics in provincial Russia: the Tsaritsyn "Republic" in 1917', *Slavic Review* (2, 1981).  
 Rosenberg, W. G. 'The democratization of Russia's railroads in 1917', *American Historical Review* (5, 1981).  
 Wade, Rex A., ed., *Revolutionary Russia: New Approaches to the Russian Rev. of 1917* (2004)  
 Steinberg, M. D. *Voices of Revolution 1917* (2002).

#### **On the Bolsheviks & the Revolution see:**

- D'Agostino, Anthony *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1945* (2011)  
 Koenker, D. P. 'The evolution of party consciousness in 1917: the case of Moscow workers', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1978).  
 Longley, D. A. 'The divisions in the Bolshevik party in March 1917', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1972-3).  
 Melancon, M. 'The Left Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolshevik uprising' in Brovkin, ed., *The Bolsheviks in Russian Society: The Revolution and the Civil Wars* (1997).  
 Rabinowitch, A. *The Bolsheviks Come to Power* (1976) chs.5,8,11.  
 Saul, N. E. 'Lenin's decision to seize power: the influence of events in Finland', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1972-3).  
 Thatcher, I. *Leon Trotsky and World War One* (2000).  
 White, J. *Lenin: The Practice and Theory of Revolution* (2000).

#### **On the Civil War and WWI see:**

- Bradley, J. *Civil War in Russia 1917-1920* (1975) ch.7.  
 Bullock, David *The Russian Civil War 1918-22* (Osprey Publishing, 2012)  
 Davies, N. 'The missing revolutionary war', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1975).

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- Figes, O. *Peasant Russia, Civil War: The Volga Countryside in Revolution 1917-1921* (1989) chs.5-6, conclusion.
- Footman, D. *Civil War in Russia* (1961) introduction, conclusion.
- Kenez, P. 'The ideology of the White movement', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1980).
- Koenker, D., et al., eds. *Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War: Explorations in Social History* (1989) articles by Fitzpatrick, Haimson, Lewin.
- Read, Christopher *War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-22: The Collapse of Tsarism and the Establishment of Soviet Power* (2013)
- Retish, Aaron *Russia's Peasants in Revolution and Civil War: Citizenship, Identity, and the Creation of the Soviet State, 1914-1922* (2008)
- Swain, G. *The Origins of the Russian Civil War* (1995).

**On political & social opposition & the Wars see:**

- Aves, J. *Workers Against Lenin* (1996).
- Avrich, P. *Kronstadt, 1921* (1970).
- \_\_\_\_\_ *The Russian Anarchists* (1967) chs.7-8.
- Clements, B. E. 'Working-class and peasant women in the Russian Revolution, 1917-1923', *Signs* (8, 2, 1982).
- Figes, O. *Peasant Russia, Civil War: The Volga Countryside in Revolution, 1917-1921* (1989).
- Getzler, I. *Kronstadt 1917-1921* (1983) chs.6-7.
- Hatch, J. 'Working-class politics in Moscow during the early NEP: Mensheviks and workers' organizations 1921-22', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1987).
- Holquist, P. '“Conduct Merciless Mass Terror”: Decossackization on the Don, 1919', *Cahiers du monde russe* 38, nos. 1-2 (January-June 1997), 127-62.
- Mawdsley, E. 'The Baltic Fleet and the Kronstadt mutiny', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1972-3).
- Palič, Michael *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution* (1976).
- Radkey, O. *The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917* (1950).
- Singleton, S. 'The Tambov Revolt (1920-21)', *Slavic Review* (3, 1966).
- Voline *The Unknown Revolution* (1955) part 1.

**On the Bolsheviks & the Wars see:**

- Benvenuti, F. *The Bolsheviks and the Red Army 1918-1922* (1988) chs.4-5.
- Brinton, M. *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control, 1917 to 1921: The State and Counterrevolution* (1970).
- Duval, C. 'Yakov M. Sverdlov and the All-Russian Executive Committee of Soviets (VTsIK): a study in Bolshevik consolidation of power, October 1917 - July 1918', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1979).
- Fitzpatrick, S. 'The civil war as a formative experience', in Gleason, A., et al., eds., *Bolshevik Culture* (1985).
- Koenker, D., et al., eds. *Party, State and Society in the Russian Civil War: Explorations in Social History* (1989) articles by Bonnell, McAuley, Orlovsky.
- Kowalski, R. I. *The Bolshevik Party in Conflict: The Left Communist Opposition in 1918* (1991).
- Liebman, M. *The Russian Revolution: The Origins, Phases and Meanings of the Bolshevik Victory* (1970) chs.10-11.
- Lih, L. T. 'Bolshevik *razverstka* and War Communism', *Slavic Review* (4, 1986).
- Rigby, T. H. *Lenin's Government: Sovnarkom 1917-1922* (1979) part 3.
- Rosenberg, W. G., et al. 'Russian labor and Bolshevik power after October', *Slavic Review* (2, 1985).
- Smele, Jonathan *The 'Russian' Civil Wars 1916-1926: Ten Years That Shook the World* (2015)
- White, James & Ian Thatcher *Reinterpreting Revolutionary Russia: Essays in Honour of James D. White* (2006)
- Zamoyski, A. *Warsaw 1920: Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe* (2009).

**Associated primary source:**

( ) 1918 .  
 (See also: Lecture 1 Handout for timeline relevant to this primary source,  
 & Lecture 8 bibliography for readings specific to this source)

## Lecture 2: Revolutionary State: NEP & Bolshevism (1920s)

What were the main aims and features of the NEP? How successful was it? Why was the ruling elite so divided over the NEP? How was the party organized and how did it change? What were the relationships between party and society?

### On NEP see:

- Bailes, K. E. 'Alexei Gastev and the Soviet controversy over Taylorism 1918-24', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1977).
- Ball, A. M. *Russia's Last Capitalists: The Nepmen 1921-29* (1987) part 1, epilogue.
- Chase, W. *Workers, Society, and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow 1918-29* (1987) ch.6.
- Davies, R. W. *Soviet Economic Development from Lenin to Khrushchev* (1998)
- Erlich, A. *The Soviet Industrialization Debate 1924-1928* (1960) part 1.
- Fitzpatrick, S., et al., eds. *Russia in the Era of NEP: Explorations in Soviet Society and Culture* (1991) articles by Altrichter, Hatch, Robin, Weissman.
- Harrison, M. 'Chayanov and the marxists', *Journal of Peasant Studies* (1, 1979).
- Hessler, Julie *A Social History of Soviet Trade: Trade Policy, Retail Practices, and Consumption, 1917-1953* (2004)
- Holquist, Peter *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of Crisis, 1914-1921* (2002)
- Male, D. J. 'The village community 1925-30', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1962-3).
- Pirani, Simon *The Russian Revolution in Retreat, 1920-24: Soviet Workers & the New Communist Elite* (2009)
- Yaney, G. L. 'Agricultural administration in Russia from the Stolypin reforms to forced collectivization: an interpretive study', in Millar, J. R., ed., *The Soviet Rural Community* (1971).

### On the party-state see:

- Aves, J. 'The demise of non-Bolshevik trade unionism 1920-21', *Revolutionary Russia* (1, 1989).
- Pipes, R. *The Formation of the Soviet Union* (1957) chs.1,6.
- Rigby, T. H. 'Staffing USSR incorporated., The origins of the nomenklatura system', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1988).
- Ryan, James *Lenin's Terror the Ideological Origins of Early Soviet State Violence* (2012)
- Siegelbaum, L. H. 'State and society in the 1920s', in Crummey, R. O., ed., *Reform in Russia and the USSR* (1989).
- Ulam, A. B. 'The uses of revolution', in R. Pipes, ed., *Revolutionary Russia* (1968).

### On society and culture see:

- Borboff, A. 'The Bolsheviks and working women', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1974).
- Clements, B. E. 'The utopianism of the Zhenotdel', *Slavic Review* (51, 3, 1992).
- Fitzpatrick, S. 'The "soft line" on culture and its enemies: Soviet cultural policy 1922-1927', *Slavic Review* (2, 1974).
- \_\_\_\_\_, et al., eds. *The Commissariat of Enlightenment* (1970) ch.5.
- \_\_\_\_\_, et al., eds. *Russia in the Era of NEP: Explorations in Soviet Society and Culture* (1991) articles by Fitzpatrick, Johnson, Rosenberg.
- Gooderham, P. 'The Komsomol and worker youth: the inculcation of "communist values" in Leningrad during NEP', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1982).
- Hayden, C. E. 'The Zhenotdel and the Bolshevik party', *Russian History* (3, 2, 1976).
- Pethybridge, Roger *One Step Backwards, Two Steps Forward: Soviet Society and Politics in the New Economic Policy* (Clarendon Press, 1990)
- Sakwa, R. 'The Soviet state, civil society and Moscow politics: stability and order in early NEP 1921-24', in Cooper, J., et al., eds., *Soviet History 1917-53: Essays in Honour of R. W. Davies* (1995).
- Smith, J. *The Bolsheviks and the National Question 1917-23* (1999).
- Stites, R. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia. Feminism, Nihilism and Bolshevism 1860-1930* (1978) part 4.
- Young, G. *Power & the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia* (1997).
- Williams, R. C. 'The nationalization of early Soviet culture', *Russian History* (2-3, 1982).
- Wood, E. A. *The Baba & the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia* (1997).

## THE STALINIST REVOLUTION, 1928-34

### Lecture 3: The End of the Revolution? The Rise of Stalin

Why did Stalin emerge as *primus inter pares*? What roles were played by various factions within the party? How much popular support was there for Stalin and for the ending of the NEP?

#### Historiography, Reviews & Historical Debates:

- Harris, James 'Was Stalin a Weak Dictator?', *Journal of Modern History* 75 (2003), 375–386  
 Ward, Chris *Stalin's Russia*, 2nd edition (1999)  
 Ward, C. *The Stalinist Dictatorship* (1998), readings 1-4.

#### On party and society see:

- Ali, J. 'Aspects of the RKP(b) Secretariat, March 1919 to April 1922', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1974).  
 Brower, D. R. 'The Smolensk Scandal and the end of NEP', *Slavic Review* (4, 1986).  
 Fitzpatrick, S. 'The emergence of Glaviskusstvo. Class war on the cultural front 1928-29', *Soviet Studies* (2, 1971-2).  
 Hatch, J. B. 'The "Lenin Levy" and the social origins of Stalinism: workers and the Communist Party in Moscow 1921-28', *Slavic Review* (4, 1989).  
 Merridale, C. *Moscow Politics and the Rise of Stalin: The Communist Party in the Capital 1925-32* (1990) conclusion.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'The reluctant opposition: the right "deviation" in Moscow, 1928', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1989).  
 Mironov, B. 'Peasant popular culture and the origins of Soviet authoritarianism', in Frank, S. & Steinberg, D. eds., *Cultures in Flux: Lower-Class Values, Practices, and Resistance in Late Imperial Russia* (1994).  
 Reiman, M. *The Birth of Stalinism: The USSR on the Eve of the Second Revolution* (1987).  
 Rigby, T. H. 'Early provincial cliques and the rise of Stalin', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1981).  
 Rosenfeldt, N. "'The Consistory of the Communist Church": the origins and development of Stalin's secret chancellery', *Russian History* (2-3, 1982).  
 Vilkova, V. *The Struggle for Power in Russia in 1923* (1997).

#### On the economic crisis see:

- Dohan, M. R. 'The economic origins of Soviet autarky 1927/28-1934', *Slavic Review* (4, 1976).  
 Harrison, M. 'Why did NEP fail?', *Economics of Planning* (2, 1980).  
 Karcz, J. 'Thoughts on the grain problem', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1966-7).  
 Lewin, M. 'The immediate background of Soviet collectivization', *Soviet Studies* (2, 1965-6).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Who was the Soviet kulak?', *Soviet Studies* (2, 1966-7).  
 Narkiewicz, O. 'Soviet administration and the grain crisis of 1927-28', *Soviet Studies* (2, 1968-9).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Stalin, War Communism and collectivization', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1966-7).  
 Taniuchi, Y. 'A note on the Ural-Siberian method', *Soviet Studies* (4, 1981).  
 Viola, L. 'Notes on the background of Soviet collectivization: metal worker brigades in the countryside, Autumn 1929', *Soviet Studies* (2, 1984).

#### On Stalin and the party-state see:

- Davies, Sarah ed. *Stalin: A New History* (2005) – in particular chapters by: J.A. Getty & J. Harris  
 Getty, J. Arch *Practicing Stalinism: Bolsheviks, Boyars, & the Persistence of Tradition* (2013)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'State and society under Stalin: constitutions and elections in the 1930s', *Slavic Review* (1, 1991).  
 Lih, Naumoy, & Khlevniuk *Stalin's Letters to Molotov: 1925-1936* (1996)  
 Rittersporn, G. T. 'Rethinking Stalinism', *Russian History* (4, 1984).  
 Rigby, T. H. 'Was Stalin a disloyal patron?', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1986).  
 Tucker, R. C. 'Stalinism as revolution from above', in Tucker, R. C., ed., *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (1977).

### Lecture 4: Revolution from Above I: The First Five-Year Plan (5YP)

Why was the first five-year plan launched? What were the costs and achievements of forced industrialization? What were the realities of 'planning'? How were traditional social groups affected? Where did the new industrial labour force come from?

#### On the planned economy see:

- Davies, R. W. 'Economic and social policy in the USSR 1917-41', in Mathias, P. & Pollard, S., eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (vol.8, 1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_, et.al., eds. *The Economic Transformation of the Soviet Union 1913-45* (1994) chs.1,7.
- Hunter, H. 'The overambitious first Soviet five-year plan', *Slavic Review* (2, 1973).
- Munting, R. *The Economic Development of the USSR* (1982).
- Rutland, P. *The Myth of the Plan* (1985).
- Wheatcroft, S., et al. 'Soviet industrialization reconsidered: some preliminary conclusions about economic development 1926-1941', *Economic History Review* (2, 1986).

#### On projects see:

- Kotkin, S. *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization* (1995).
- Priestland, David *Stalinism & the Politics of Mobilization: Ideas, Power, & Terror in Interwar Russia* (2007)
- Rassweiler, A. D. *The Generation of Power: The Planning and Construction of Dneprostroi* (1988).
- Schultz, K. S. 'Building the "Soviet Detroit": the construction of the Nizhnii Novgorod Automotive Factory 1927-32', *Slavic Review* (2, 1990).

#### On workers see:

- Andrle, V. *Workers in Stalin's Russia: Industrialization and Social Change in a Planned Economy* (1988).
- Barber, J. 'The standard of living of Soviet industrial workers 1928-41', in Bettelheim, C., ed., *L'industrialisation de l'URSS dans les années trente. Actes de la Table Ronde organisée par le Centre d'Études des Modes d'industrialisation d l'EHESS (10 et 11 décembre 1981)* (1982).
- Kuromiya, H. 'The crisis of proletarian identity in the Soviet factory 1929-1932', *Slavic Review* (2, 1985).
- Osokina, E. A. *Stalin's Industrial Revolution: Politics and Workers 1928-1931* (1990).
- Rossman, J. *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the art of Survival in Stalin's Russia, 1927-1941* (2001).
- Siegelbaum, L. & Suny, R., eds. 'The Teikovo cotton workers' strike of April 1932: class, gender and identity politics in Stalin's Russia', *Russian Review* (1, 1997).
- Viola, L. *Making Workers Soviet: Power Class and Identity* (1994) articles by Bonnell, Fitzpatrick, Kotkin.
- Viola, L. 'The "25,000ers": a study of a Soviet recruitment campaign during the First Five-Year Plan' *Russian History* (10, 1, 1983).

#### On forced labour see:

- Discussion *Slavic Review* (4, 1980).

#### Associated primary source:

- Stalin, J. 'A Year of Great Change' (1929)
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Bucharin's Group and the Right Deviation in Our Party'(1929)



## Lecture 5: Revolution from Above II: Collectivization

Why did the regime decide to collectivize? What did collectivization achieve? What were the realities of life in the village? How were traditional social groups affected? Was collectivization 'necessary'?

### Historiography & Historical Debates:

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Ward, Chris         | <i>Stalin's Russia</i> , 2nd edition (1999)   |
| Graziosi, Andrea    | 'The Impact of Holodomor Studies on the Understanding of the USSR' in <i>Contextualizing the Holodomor. The Impact of Thirty Years of Ukrainian Famine Studies</i> (2015)             |
| Hunter/Viola Debate | <u>Discussion: On collectivization</u> : <i>Slavic Review</i> (Vol. 47, No. 2, 1988).   |
| Millar/Nove Debate  | On the relationship between industrialization & collectivization: <i>Soviet Studies</i> , <u>22.1 (1970): 77-93; 22.3 (1971): 394-401; 23.2 (1971): 302-306; 23.2 (1971): 307-308</u> |

### On collectivization see:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Atkinson, D.                           | <i>The End of the Russian Land Commune 1905-1930</i> (1983) chs.18-19.  |
| Applebaum, A.                          | <i>The Red Famine</i> (2017) chs 5-7.   |
| Brower, D. R.                          | 'Collectivized agriculture in Smolensk: the party, the peasantry, and the crisis of 1932', <i>Russian Review</i> (36, 2, 1977).                                 |
| Davies, R. W. & Wheatcroft, Stephen G. | <i>The Years of Hunger. Soviet Agriculture, 1931-1933</i> (2004, 2009).   |
| Davies, R. W.                          | <i>The Socialist Offensive: The Collectivisation of Agriculture 1929-30</i> (1980)  |
| Graziosi, A.                           | <i>Stalinism, Collectivization and the Great Famine</i> (2009).   |
| Hughes, J.                             | <i>Stalinism in a Russian Province: Collectivization and Dekulakization in Siberia</i> (1996).  |
| Lewin, M.                              | "Small" facts from Big Files about the kolkholzy in 1940', in Cooper, J., et al., eds., <i>Soviet History 1917-53: Essays in honour of R. W. Davies</i> (1995). |
| Reese, R. R.                           | 'Red Army opposition to forced collectivization 1929-30: the army wavers', <i>Slavic Review</i> (1, 1996).  |
| Storella & Sokolov, eds.               | <i>The Voice of the People: Letters from the Soviet Village, 1918-1932</i> (2013)   |
| Taniuchi, Y.                           | 'Decision-making on the Ural-Siberian Method', in Cooper, J., et al., eds., <i>Soviet History 1917-53: Essays in Honour of R. W. Davies</i> (1995).             |
| Viola, L.                              | 'Bab'i bunty and peasant women's protest during collectivization', <i>Russian Review</i> (45, 1986).  |
| _____                                  | 'The campaign to eliminate the kulaks as a class, winter 1929-1930: a reevaluation of the legislation', <i>Slavic Review</i> (3, 1986).                         |
| _____                                  | <i>Peasant Rebels under Stalin</i> (1999).  |
| _____                                  | 'The peasant nightmare: visions of apocalypse in the Soviet countryside', <i>Journal of Modern History</i> (4, 1990).   |
| _____                                  | <i>The Best Sons of the Fatherland: Workers in the Vanguard of Collectivization</i> (1987).   |
| von Hagen, M.                          | <i>Soldiers in the Proletarian Dictatorship: The Red Army and the Soviet Socialist State 1917-30</i> (1990) ch.8.   |

### On the relationship of collectivization to industrialization see:

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Ellman, M.         | 'Did the agricultural surplus provide the resources for the increase in investment in the USSR during the first five-year plan?', <i>The Economic Journal</i> (4, 1975). |
| Fallenbuchl, Z. M. | 'Collectivization and economic development', <i>Canadian Journal of Economics &amp; Political Science</i> (1, 1967).   |
| Millar, J.         | <u>'Mass collectivization and the contribution of Soviet agriculture to the First Five Year Plan'</u> , <i>Slavic Review</i> (4, 1974).                                  |

### Associated primary source:

(\*See also Lecture 6 reading list)

### Non-reading resources:

[Zemlia](#) (Earth, 1930; director – Dovzhenko, A.) is a silent feature film on collectivization. Initially well received, the film was later criticised and pronounced as 'counter-revolutionary' in media. Voted one of the twelve greatest films at the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels.

## THE STALIN ERA, 1929-53

### Lecture 6: Society & Culture

What new groups emerged and how did they function within Stalinist society? What associations were there between 'Cultural Revolution', the 'Great Retreat' and other aspects of Soviet policy and reality in the 1930s? Was a 'Stalinist culture' born in the 1930s?

#### Historiography & Historical Debates:

Discussion On revisionist perspectives: *Russian Review* (4, 1986; & 4, 1987).  
 Discussion On Timasheff's 'Great Retreat', *Kritika*, 5.4 (2004).  
 Ward, Chris *Stalin's Russia*, 2nd edition (1999)  
 Ward, C. *The Stalinist Dictatorship*, readings 8,10,13,14.

#### On culture see:

Bonnell, V. *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (1997)  
 Brandenberger, D. *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931-56* (2002)  
 Brooks, J. *Thank You Comrade Stalin: Soviet Public Culture from Rev. to Cold War* (2000)  
 Fitzpatrick, S., ed. *Cultural revolution in Russia 1928-1931* (1978).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Culture and politics under Stalin: a re-appraisal', *Slavic Review* (2, 1976).  
 Hellbeck, J. 'Fashioning the Stalinist soul: The diary of Stepan Podlubnyi (1931-1939)', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (3, 1996).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary Under Stalin* (2006).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Speaking out: languages of affirmation and dissent in Stalinist Russia', *Kritika* (I-I, 2000).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Working, struggling, becoming: Stalin-era autobiographical texts', *Russian Review* (3, 2001).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Writing the self in the time of terror: the diary of Aleksandr Afinogenov," in Engelstein, L. & Sandler, S., eds., *Self and Story in Russian History* (2000).  
 Lampert, N. & Rittersporn, G. T., eds. *Stalinism: Its Nature and Aftermath. Essays in Honour of Moshe Lewin* (1992) articles by Nove, Schröder.  
 Robin, R. 'Stalinism & popular culture', in Günther, *Culture of the Stalin Period* (1990).  
 Siegelbaum, L. 'Building Stalinism 1929-41', in Freeze, G., ed., *Russia: A History* (1997).

#### On society and social groups see:

Bailes, K. E. The politics of technology: Stalin and technocratic thinking among Soviet engineers', *American Historical Review* (2, 79, 1974).  
 Davies, S. *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent* (1997).  
 Edele, Mark *Stalinist Society, 1928-1953* (2011)  
 Filtzer, D. *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization* (1986) chs. 5-7.  
 Fitzpatrick, S. *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921-1934* (1979) chs.9-11.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Stalin and the making of a new elite 1928-1939', *Slavic Review* (3, 1979).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'The Russian Revolution & social mobility', *Politics & Society* (2, 1984).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ *Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia* (2005).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Suplicants and citizens: public letter-writing in Soviet Russia in the 1930s', *Slavic Review* (1, 1996).  
 Fitzpatrick, S. & Slezkine, Yu., eds. *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to the Second World War* (2000).  
 Hessler, Julie *A Social History of Soviet Trade: Trade Policy, Retail Practices, and Consumption, 1917-1953* (2004)  
 Hoffman, D. L. *Peasant Metropolis : Social Identities in Moscow 1929-1941* (1994).  
 Lampert, N. *The Technical Intelligentsia and the Soviet State* (1979) ch.8.  
 Petrone, K. *Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades: Celebrations in the Time of Stalin* (2000).  
 Rigby, T. H. 'Stalinism and the mono-organizational society', in Tucker, R. C., ed., *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (1977).  
 Siegelbaum, L. & Sokolov, A. *Stalinism as a Way of Life: A Narrative in Documents* (2000).

#### Non-reading resources:

*Moskva Slezam Ne Verit* (Moscow Does Not Believe Tears, 1980; director – Menshov, V., part 1) is another Soviet film that can be read as a social history source. The film won the Academy Award in the category Best Foreign Language Film in 1981.

## Lecture 7: Politics: The 'Purges'

How secure was Stalin and Stalinism in the early 1930s? Were the purges consciously planned by Stalin? How can we define, disaggregate, and analyse the purges? What were the effects of the purges on the party, state, society and the military?

### Historiography & Historical Debate:

- Connelly, John 'Totalitarianism: Defunct Theory, Useful Word', *Kritika*: 11 (2010), 819–835  
 Getty, J. Arch & Naumov, O. V. *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks 1932-1939* (1999) Introduction.  
 Getty/Tucker Debate Discussion on the Party & Purges *Slavic Review* (1, 1983).  
 Harris, James 'Was Stalin a Weak Dictator?', *Journal of Modern History* 75 (2003), 375–386  
 Thurston/Conquest Debate Discussion on The Terror, *Slavic Review* 45.2 (1986).  
 Viola, L. 'The Gulag and Police Colonization in the Soviet Union', in T. Snyder & R. Brandon, eds., *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953* (2014).  
 Ward, Chris *Stalin's Russia*, 2nd edition (1999).

### On the background to the purges see:

- Conquest, Robert *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (1992).  
*Stalin: Breaker of Nations* (1993).  
 Getty, J. Arch *Origins of the Great Purges* (1985).  
 Lewin, M. 'The social background of Stalinism', in Tucker, R. C., ed., *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (1977).  
 Getty, J. Arch & Manning, R. T., eds. *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (1993) articles by Manning, Rittersporn, Thurston.  
 Rittersporn, G. T. 'Soviet politics in the 1930s: rehabilitating society', *Studies in Comparative Communism* (2, 1986).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'The 1930s and the longue durée of Soviet history', *Telos* (53, 1982).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'The state against itself: social tensions and political conflict in the USSR 1936-38', *Telos* (41, 1979).  
 Siegelbaum, L. 'R.V. Daniels & the Longue Duree of Soviet History', *Russian Review* (3, 1995).

### On the purge process see:

- Applebaum, Anne *Gulag: A History* (2003; 2004) Ch. 6-7.  
 Chase, William *Enemies within the Gates?* (2001).  
 Getty, J. Arch 'Samokritika rituals in the Stalinist central cmte.', *Russian Review* (1, 1999).  
 Getty & Manning, eds. *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives* (1993) articles by Fitzpatrick, Getty, Reese.  
 Garros, V., et al., eds *Intimacy and Terror: Soviet Diaries of the 1930s* (1997).  
 Gross, J. T. 'A note on the nature of Soviet totalitarianism', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1982).  
 Harris, James *The Anatomy of Terror: Political Violence under Stalin* (2013)  
 Khlevniuk, O. 'The objectives of the Great Terror 1937-38', in J. Cooper, et al., eds., *Soviet History 1917-53: Essays in honour of R. W. Davies* (1995).  
 Lih, Naumoy, & Khlevniuk *Stalin's Letters to Molotov: 1925-1936* (1996).  
 Medvedev, R. *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism* (1972) chs.4-7.  
 Priestland, David *Stalinism & the Politics of Mobilization: Ideas, Power, & Terror in Interwar Russia* (2007)  
 Solomon, P. H. 'Local political power & Sov criminal justice 1922-41', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1985).  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 'Soviet criminal justice and the Great Terror', *Slavic Review* (3-4, 1987).  
 Thurston, P. 'The Soviet family during the Great Terror 1935-41', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1991).  
 Uldricks, T. J. 'The impact of the Great Purges on the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs', *Slavic Review* (2, 1977).  
 Unger, A. L. 'Stalin's renewal of the leading stratum: a note on the Great Purge', *Soviet Studies* (3, 1968-9).  
 Wheatcroft, S. 'Agency and terror: Evdokimov and mass killing in Stalin's Great Terror', *Australian Journal of Politics & History* (1, 2007).

### On demography and life in the Gulag see:

- Applebaum, Anne *Gulag: A History* (2003; 2004), Chs 10-18.  
 Baldaev, D. *Drawings from the Gulag* (2010).  
 Brown, K. Review, *TLS* (8 June 2007).  
 Davies, R. W., et al, eds. *The Economic Transformation of the Soviet Union 1913-1945* (1994) ch.4.  
 Kizny, T. *Gulag: Life and Death Inside the Soviet Concentration Camps* (2004).  
 Viola, L. *The Unknown Gulag: The Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements* (2007).  
 Werth, N. *Cannibal Island: Death in a Siberian Gulag* (2007).

## Lecture 8: Foreign Policy: from World Revolution to World War

How did Soviet foreign policy change after the Brest-Litovsk crisis and the introduction of the NEP? What role was played by the Comintern? By Narkomindel? What effect did the rise of fascism have on Soviet foreign policy? Why did the Soviet government agree to an alliance with Nazi Germany? What happened to the Comintern?

### Overviews & Definitions:

- Gorodetsky, G. ed. *Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1991: A Retrospective* (1994)  
 Hopper, Bruce C. 'Narkomindel and Comintern', *Foreign Affairs*, July 1941  
 Kennedy-Pipe, C. *Russia and the World 1917-91* (1998).  
 Ulam, A. *Expansion and Coexistence: Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-73* (2nd ed., 1974).  
 Snyder, T. & Brandon R., eds. *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953* (2014), Introduction.  
 Ward, C. *Stalin's Russia* ch. 5

### On Brest-Litovsk (associated Primary Source *Заседание ЦК РСДРП(б) января и февраля 1918 г*) see:

- Carr, E. H. *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-23* (vol.3, 1953) ch.21.  
 Chernev, Borislav 'The Brest-Litovsk Moment: Self-Determination Discourse in Eastern Europe before Wilsonianism', *Diplomacy & Statescraft*, vol. 22 (3, 2011).  
 Höfner, L. 'The assassination of Count Mirbach and the "July Uprising" of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow 1918', *Russian Review* (3, 1991).  
 Longley, D. A. 'The divisions in the Bolshevik party in March 1917', *Soviet Studies* (1, 1972-3).  
 Wheeler-Bennett, J. *Brest-Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace March 1918* (1938) chs.IV-VII.

### On the Revolutionary & NEP years:

- Debo, R. *Revolution and survival: the Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia 1917-18* (1979).  
*Survival and consolidation: Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia 1918-1921* (1992).  
 Fink, C. 'The NEP in foreign policy: the Genoa Conference and the Treaty of Rapallo', in Gorodetsky, G., ed., *Soviet Foreign Policy 1917-91: A Retrospective* (1994).  
 Gatzke, H. W. 'Russo-German military collaboration during the Weimar Republic', *American Historical Review* (63, 1957-8).  
 Jacobson, Jon *When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics* (1994)  
 Kocho-Williams, A. *Russian and Soviet Diplomacy, 1900-39* (2011)  
 Lerner, W. 'Attempting a revolution from without; Poland in 1920', Hammond, T. T. & Farrell, R., eds., *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers* (1975).

### On the 'war scare' see:

- Fitzpatrick, S. 'The foreign threat during the first five year plan', *Soviet Union* (1, 1978).  
 Hiroaki, K & Peplonski, A. 'Stalin, Espionage, and Counter-Espionage' in Snyder, T. & Brandon R., eds. *Stalin and Europe: Imitation and Domination, 1928-1953* (2014).  
 Meyer, A. G. 'The war scare of 1927', *Soviet Union/Union Sovetique* (1, 1978).  
 Sontag, J. P. 'The Soviet war scare of 1926-27', *Russian Review* (1, 1975).  
 Simonov, N. S. "'Strengthen the defence of the land of the Soviets": the 1927 war alarm and its consequences', *Europe-Asia Studies* (8, 1996).

### On the Comintern see:

- Chase, William *Enemies within the Gates?: Comintern & Stalinist Repression, 1934-39*, (2001)  
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### Lecture 9: Stalin's War, The People's War, 1941-45

Why did the Soviet Union become embroiled in war? Why was there no 'third revolution' after the disasters of 1941? Why was the Red Army eventually able to defeat the Wehrmacht? Was wartime patriotism Soviet, nationalist, or something else? What was the significance of wartime reform?

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How secure was Stalin's position after 1945? Had the Stalinist system mutated as a result of the demands of war? Did postwar realities meet the wartime expectations of Soviet society?

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## POST-STALIN USSR

### **Lecture 11: Succession Struggle, Khrushchev & Reform, 1953-64**

How and why did Khrushchev emerge as leader after Stalin's death? To what extent did Stalinism continue after Stalin's death? How significant was the XX party congress? What were its effects on the party and society?

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## Lecture 12: Brezhnev & Stability

Did the Brezhnev regime signal the emergence of the CCCP as a super-power? Were the 1960s and 1970s a 'period of reaction', a 'period of stagnation' or was a revolutionary situation developing?

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### Lecture 13: The Cold War, 1945-91

Was the Soviet presence in Eastern Europe a manifestation of Russian imperialism, an attempt to export revolution or a response to security needs? What do we now know about the Cold War? Was it simply war by proxy? Or a 'soft power' conflict of cultures?

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## Lecture 14: Destalinization, 1953-91

Why destalinize? Was destalinization primarily a political or cultural undertaking? Were any of the policies successful? In what ways did the Stalinist system resist reform? Did the Brezhnev 'freeze' equate to restalinization? Was the system reformable?

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### Lecture 15: Gorbachev: *Perestroika & Glasnost*'

How should Gorbachev best be seen: as a visionary or blunderer? Communist or democrat? What was the true significance of *perestroika* and *glasnost*'? Who or what is to account for the loss of control over reform? Was the Soviet system reformable?

#### Overview & Debates:

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#### On the economy see:

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#### On the political situation see:

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#### On society see:

- Boobbyer, P. *Conscience, Dissent and Reform in Soviet Russia* (2008), chapters 10-11
- Horvath, R. *The Legacy of Soviet Dissent* (2013), Chapter 2
- Hosking, G. *The Awakening of the Soviet Union* (1990)
- Kotkin, S. *Steeltown USSR: Soviet Society in the Gorbachev Era* (1991)
- Lane, D. *Soviet Society under Perestroika* (1990)
- Nove, A. *Glasnost in Action: Cultural Renaissance in Russia* (1989)

#### On Gorbachev see:

- Boldin, V. *Ten Years That Shook the World: The Gorbachev Era as Witnessed by His Chief of Staff* (1994)
- Breslauer, G.W. *Gorbachev and Yeltsin as Leaders* (2002)
- Brown, A. *The Gorbachev Factor* (1996)
- Chernyaev, A.S. *My Six Years with Gorbachev* (2000)
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#### Associated primary source:

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## Lecture 16: The End of the Soviet Era

What crises faced the Soviet regime by the end of the 1970s and how can we account for them? How did successive leaders attempt to cope with the situation? Had the Soviet system become an anachronism by the mid-1980s? Why did the Soviet Union collapse?

### Overviews:

various

Special Issues: [The Collapse of the Soviet Union Part 1](#) & [The Collapse of the Soviet Union Part 2](#), *Journal of Cold War Studies* 5.1 & 5.4, 2003 – covering essentially every factor to which the collapse has been attributed

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*Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* (2008)  
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'[Problems of leisure and glasnost](#)', *Leisure Studies* 7.2 (1988), 173-185

Slider, D.

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*Solidarity and the Soviet Worker* (1988) chs.12-15.

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'Creative activity of the masses: social reserves of growth', in Yanowitch, M., ed., *A Voice of Reform* (1984)