UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVONIC STUDIES


HANDBOOK

Dr Claire Knight
cajk2@cam.ac.uk
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kenez, Peter</td>
<td>A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suny, Ronald Grigor</td>
<td>The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States</td>
<td>1998, 2010</td>
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</table>

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 1941 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 1941 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, О задачах хозяйственников.
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.

**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.

**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.

**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.

**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, О задачах хозяйственников.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Topic V – Society &amp; War, 1928-45</th>
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<tr>
<td>14 ‘The Cultural Revolution finally put into practice the socialist values promised by the Revolution.’ Discuss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 ‘By 1936 the socialist gains of the “Cultural Revolution” had been lost in the “Great Retreat” to bourgeois values.’ Discuss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 ‘By 1939 the Soviet regime had no choice but to seek an alliance with Nazi Germany.’ Discuss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17 ‘The Soviet Union owed its victory over Hitler more to German blunders than to Stalin’s leadership.’ Discuss.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Topic VI – Late Stalinism &amp; the Cold War, 1945-91</th>
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<tr>
<td>18 ‘The apotheosis of Stalin masked the diminution of his power.’ Discuss with reference to the period 1945-53.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 ‘Late Stalinism was defined by the regime’s need to recover from the war, both practically and ideologically.’ Discuss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 ‘The Cold War gave the postwar Soviet Union its sense of purpose.’ Discuss with reference to the period 1945-91.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 ‘The Cold War determined both the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union.’ Discuss with reference to the period 1945-91.</td>
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<th>Topic VII – Destalinization &amp; Stagnation, 1953-82</th>
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<tr>
<td>22 ‘Khrushchev may have repudiated Stalin, but he continued Stalinist policies.’ Discuss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 ‘The significance of the Thaw has been grossly overestimated.’ Discuss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 ‘Brezhnev’s “developed socialism” marked a period of social advance for the majority of Soviet citizens.’ Discuss.</td>
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<th>Topic VIII – Reform &amp; Collapse, 1985-91</th>
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<tr>
<td>26 ‘Perestroika and glasnost’ were too little too late.’ Discuss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 ‘Gorbachev was an idealist rather than a pragmatist, which is why he lost control of his reforms.’ Discuss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 ‘By 1991, socialism was simply a bankrupt ideology, hence the dissolution of the Soviet Union.’ Discuss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>29 ‘The collapse of the Soviet Union was precipitated by factors beyond the control of the Party.’ Discuss.</td>
</tr>
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EASTER LIST

**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.

**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/](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/](http://www.marxists.org/)). If you come across other good sites let me know. Avoid popular sites like Wikipedia – they are full of inaccurate rubbish.

ORGANIZATION OF THE READING LIST

4.1 **General works** are listed in rough chronological/thematic order. Of course you can’t possible 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 Wieczynski, 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:


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:

Biography:

Revolution:

General Soviet:
Fuelpoe-Miller, R. ............................................. The Mind and Face of Bolshevism (1926).
Moon, D. .................................................. The Russian Peasantry 1600-1930 (1999).
Yaney, G. L. .................................................. The Urge to Mobilize: Agrarian Reform in Russia 1861-1930 (1982).

Stalin period:
Edele, Mark .................................................. Stalinist Society, 1928-1953 (2011)
_____, ed. .................................................. Stalin’s Peasants (1994).
Scott, J. .................................................. Behind the Urals. An American Worker in Russia’s City of Steel (1942).

Post-Stalin period:
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:

Historiography of the Revolution, Historical Debates, etc.:
Acton, Edward Rethinking the Russian Revolution (1990)

On the approach to October see:
Figes, O. ‘The Russian Revolution & its language in the village’ Russian Review (3, 1997)
Nimtz, August Lenin’s Electoral Strategy from 1907 to the October Revolution of 1917: The Ballot, the Streets--or Both (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
Steinberg, M. D. Voices of Revolution 1917 (2002).

On the Bolsheviks & the Revolution see:
Rabinowitch, A. The Bolsheviks Come to Power (1976) chs.5,8,11.

[cont’d on next page]
Saul, N. E.  ‘Lenin’s decision to seize power: the influence of events in Finland’, Soviet Studies (4, 1972-3).

On the Civil War and Imperialist War (WWI) see:
Bradley, J.  Civil War in Russia 1917-1920 (1975) ch.7.
Bullock, David  The Russian Civil War 1918-22 (Osprey Publishing, 2012)
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.

On political & social opposition & the Wars see:
Aves, J.  Workers Against Lenin (1996).
Radkey, O.  The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917 (1950).
Voline  The Unknown Revolution (1955) part 1.

On the Bolsheviks & the Wars see:

Associated primary source:
Заседание ЦК РСДРП(б) января и февраля 1918 г.
(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:

On the party-state see:
Aves, J. ‘The demise of non-Bolshevik trade unionism 1920-21’, Revolutionary Russia (1, 1989).

On society and culture see:
_____ The Commissariat of Enlightenment (1970) ch.5.
Young, G. Power & the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia (1997).
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, C.  The Stalinist Dictatorship, readings 1-4.

On party and society see:

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:

Harrison, M.  ‘Why did NEP fail?’, Economics of Planning (2, 1980).
——  ‘Who was the Soviet kulak?’, Soviet Studies (2, 1966-7).

On Stalin and the party-state see:

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:

On projects see:
Priestland, David Stalinism & the Politics of Mobilization: Ideas, Power, &Terror in Interwar Russia (2007)

On workers see:
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:
И. В. Сталин, О задачах хозяйственников.* (See also Lecture 6 reading list)
Lecture 5: Revolution from Above II: Collectivization

Why did the regime decide to collectivize? Was collectivization simply imposed from above? What were the costs and achievements of forced collectivization? What were the realities of life in the village? How were traditional social groups affected? Was collectivization ‘necessary’?

Historiography & Historical Debates:

Ward, Chris

Stalin’s Russia, 2nd edition (1999)

Ward, C.

The Stalinist Dictatorship, 5,7,9. (includes abridged Millar/Nove Debate)

Hunter/Viola Debate


Millar/Nove Debate


On collectivization see:

Atkinson, D.


Brower, D. R.


Davies, R. W., et.al, eds.


Davies, R. W.


Hughes, J.


Lewin, M.


Reese, R. R.


Storella & Sokolov, eds.

The Voice of the People: Letters from the Soviet Village, 1918-1932 (2013)

Taniuchi, Y.


Viola, L.

‘Bab’i bunty and peasant women’s protest during collectivization’, Russian Review (45, 1986).

_____

‘The campaign to eliminate the kulaks as a class, winter 1929-1930: a reevaluation of the legislation’, Slavic Review (3, 1986).

_____


_____


von Hagen, M.


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?’, The Economic Journal (4, 1975).

Fallenbuchl, Z. M.


Millar, J. & Guntzel, C. A.


Millar, J.

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:

Ward, C. The Stalinist Dictatorship, readings 8,10,13,14.

On culture see:

On society and social groups see:
Edele, Mark Stalinist Society, 1928-1953 (2011)
Fitzpatrick, S. Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921-1934 (1979) chs. 9-11.
____ Tear Off the Masks! Identity and Imposture in Twentieth-Century Russia (2005).
Lecture 7: Politics: The ‘Purges’

How secure was Stalin and Stalinism in the early 1930s? Were the purges consciously planned by Stalin or were they the by-product of social and political tensions? 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
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)
Ward, C. *The Stalinist Dictatorship*, readings 6, 11, 12.

On the background to the purges see:
____ ‘The 1930s and the longue durée of Soviet history’, Telos (53, 1982).

On the purge process see:
Chase, William  *Enemies within the Gates?* (2001)
Harris, James *The Anatomy of Terror: Political Violence under Stalin* (2013)
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)

On demography and life in the Gulag see:
Baldaev, D. *Drawings from the Gulag* (2010).
Brown, K. Review, TLS (8 June 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:
Hopper, Bruce C. ‘Narkomindel and Comintern’, Foreign Affairs, July 1941
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
Wheeler-Bennett, J. Brest-Litovsk: The Forgotten Peace March 1918 (1938) chs.IV-VII.

On the Revolutionary & NEP years:
Jacobson, Jon When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics (1994)
Kocho-Williams, A. Russian and Soviet Diplomacy, 1900-39 (2011)

On the ‘war scare’ see:
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:
On China see:


On the debate over collective security and the Nazi-Soviet pact see:


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?

On the economy see:
Erickson, J. *The Road to Stalingrad: Stalin’s War with Germany* (1975) ch.6.
Harrison, M. "In labour as in conflict”: productivity and discipline in Soviet industry 1940-45”, (SIPS, 1989) copy from me.

On the political-military situation see:
Erickson, J. *The Road to Stalingrad: Stalin’s War with Germany* (1975) ch.1.
Mastny, V. *Russia’s Road to the Cold War: Diplomacy, Warfare and the Politics of Communism 1941-1945* (1979) ch.3.

On social aspects see:
Bidlack, R. ‘The political mood in Leningrad during the first year of the Soviet-German war’, *Russian Review* (1, 2000).

On German occupied Russia see:
Dallin, A. *German Rule in Russia 1941-1945* (1957) chs.5, 14, 30.
Lecture 10: Stalin’s Apotheosis & Death, 1945-53

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?

Historiography:

Furst, J., ed. Late Stalinist Russia (2006), Introduction & Conclusion

On politics & the economy see:

Duskin, E. Stalinist Reconstruction and the Confirmation of a New Elite (2001)
Hahn, W. Post-War Soviet Politics: Fall of Zhdanov & the Defeat of Moderation, (1982).

On society & culture see:

Filtzer, Donald Soviet Workers and Late Stalinism: Labour and the Restoration of the Stalinist System after World War II (2002)
Furst, J., ed. Late Stalinist Russia: Society Between Reconstruction and Reinvention (2006), in particular, see chapters on agriculture by Levesque and veterans by Edele
Fürst, Juliane Stalin’s Last Generation (2010)
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?

On politics & society see:
- Breslauer, G. ‘Khrushchev revisited’, *Problems of Communism* (September-October 1976)
- Dobson, M. *Khrushchev’s Cold Summer: Gulag Returnees, Crime, and the Fate of Reform After Stalin* (2009) ch.3
- Shatz, M. S. *Soviet Dissent in Historical Perspective* (1980) ch.5.

On the economy see:

On Khrushchev’s fall see:

On Khrushchev’s Speech see:
- Jones, Polly *Myth, Memory, Trauma: Rethinking the Stalinist Past in the Soviet Union, 1953-70* (2013) - Chapter 1
- Wolfe, Bertram David, *Khrushchev and Stalin’s Ghost: Text, Background, and Meaning of Khrushchev’s Secret Report to the 20th Congress…* (1957)

Associated primary source:
Н. С. Хрущев, Доклад на закрытом заседании XX съезда КПСС.
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?

On politics see:
Zaslavsky, V. The Neo-Stalinist State (1983) chs.4-6.

On the economy see:

On society see:
Bacon, E., & Sandle, M. Brezhnev Reconsidered (2003).
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?

**Historiography:**


**Overviews:**

**On the early Cold War see:**
Mastny, V. *The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years* (1996)
McCagg, W. M. *Stalin Embattled 1943-1948* (1978) parts 3-4

**On the rest of the Cold War period see:**
Leffler, M. *For the Soul of Mankind: The US, the Soviet Union & the Cold War* (2008)
Zubok, V. *A Failed Empire: The S. U. in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev* (2007)

**On Cold War culture see:**
Raleigh, D. J. *Russia’s Sputnik Generation* (2006)

**On Eastern Europe see:**
Adomeit, H. *Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy, Stalin to Gorbachev* (1998)

**On the rest of the international theatre see:**
Golan, G. *Soviet Policies in the Middle East from World War Two to Gorbachev* (1990)
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?

Overview:
Bittner, S.  The Many Lives of Khrushchev’s Thaw (2008), Introduction
Filtzer, D.  The Khrushchev Era: De-Stalinisation and the Limits of Reform in the USSR, 1953-1964 (1993), Introduction
Jones, P.  Myth, Memory, Trauma (2013), Introduction, chapters 2, 3, 6
Jones, P., ed.  The Dilemmas of de-Stalinization: Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the Khrushchev Era (2006), Introduction
Sharlet, R.  Soviet Constitutional Crisis: From De-Stalinization to Disintegration (1992)

On politics and economics see:
Pospielovsky, D.  ‘Restalinization or Destalinization?’, Russian Review, 27 (1968), pp. 307–320

On culture see:
Jones, P., ed.  The Dilemmas of de-Stalinization (2006), chapters by Varga-Harris, Livschiz, Reid, Hodgson
Shentalinskii & Crowfoot  The KGB’s Literary Archive (1995)
White, Anne  De-Stalinization and the House of Culture: Declining State Control over Leisure in the USSR, Poland and Hungary, 1953-89 (1990)

On society see:
Filtzer, D.  Soviet Workers and De-Stalinization (2002)
Jones, P., ed.  The Dilemmas of de-Stalinization (2006), chapters by Filtzer & Furst

On rehabilitation, dissent and repression see:
Adler, N.  ‘Life in the “Big Zone”: The Fate of Returnees in the Aftermath of Stalinist Repression’, Europe-Asia Studies 51 (1999): 5-19
Bittner, S.  The Many Lives of Khrushchev’s Thaw (2008), chapter 6
Dobson, M.  Khrushchev’s Cold Summer: Gulag Returnees, Crime, and the Fate of Reform After Stalin (2011)
  ‘Show the bandit-enemies no mercy!’ in P. Jones, Dilemmas of de-Stalinization
Horvath, R.  The Legacy of Soviet Dissent (Routledge, 2013), Introduction

Associated primary source:
Н. С. Хрущев, Доклад на закрытом заседании XX съезда КПСС.
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:**

Cohen, S.  
*Was the Soviet System Reformable?* Slavic Review 63.3 (2004), 459-488 & in the same issue, responses by: A. Brown, M. Kramer, K. Dawisha, S. Hansen, & G. Derluguian, with reply by S. Cohen

Merridale & Ward, eds.  
*Perestroika: The Historical Perspective* (1991), Intro, parts I, II, & III

**On the economy see:**

Asgurbeyan, A.  

Aslund, Å.  
*Gorbachev’s Struggle for Economic Reform* (1989) introduction, chs.1-2

Davies, R. W.  
‘Soviet economic reform in historical perspective’, (PHPS, 1989) copy from me.

Dibb, P.  
The Soviet Union: The Incomplete Superpower (1986) ch.3

Gel’man, V.  

Jones, A. & Moskoff, W.  

**On the political situation see:**

Barghoorn, F. C. & Remington, T. F.  

Bloomfield, J., ed.  

Brown, A.  

Colton, T. J.  

Duhamel, L.  
The KGB Campaign against Corruption in Moscow, 1982-1987 (2010)

Gorbachev, M.  

Hough, J.F.  

Lapidus, G. W.  
‘Gorbachev and the reform of the Soviet system’, *Daedalus* (2, 1987)

Lewin, M.  

Mau, V.  

Z (Martin Malia)  
‘To the Stalin mausoleum’, *Daedalus* (1, 1990)

**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.  

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 Shocked 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)

Chernyayev, A.S.  
*My Six Years with Gorbachev* (2000)

Thompson, W.J.  

Sakwa, R.  

White, S.  
Gorbachev and After (1992)

**Associated primary source:**

М. С. Горбачев, Речь на тринадцатом заседании XXVIII съезда КПСС.
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

Kotkin, Stephen

For the events of the collapse see:
Plokhy, S.
The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union (2015)

On the nationalities question see:

Suny. R.
The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution and the Collapse of the Soviet Union (1993)

On politics see:


On society see:

Boobbyer, P. Conscience, Dissent and Reform in Soviet Russia (2008), Introduction


