

**HISTORY 128**  
**RUSSIA IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES**  
**SPRING 2021**

**ZOOM ID:** <https://swarthmore.zoom.us/j/87831429945>

Bob Weinberg  
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Office Hours: M/T/W/TR: 2-3 and By Appointment

**Zoom ID for Office Hours:** <https://swarthmore.zoom.us/j/7435242074>

This seminar focuses on how historians explain and analyze 1) the fall of the Russian autocracy, 2) the success of the Bolsheviks in establishing their power and authority, and 3) the rise of Stalin and the characteristics of the Stalinist system. The syllabus is designed for the student with no prior course work in Russian and Soviet history and exposes students to the historiographical controversies of the field. At the end of the seminar students will be well versed in the general contours of Late Imperial Russian and Soviet history.

The ideal seminar paper serves as the basis of class discussion and provides a critical analysis of the week's reading. It's crucial that your paper has a clearly developed thesis. Narrative accounts should be kept to a minimum, except where they are necessary for the development of your argument. You must speak with me before you write the paper.

The discussant will start each seminar session with a statement of the issues and debates raised by the readings and papers. This statement, which is not identical to a summary of the papers' contents, provides the "big picture" and helps to set the direction(s) seminar discussion will take. In most cases the discussant should contextualize the papers in terms of the previous week's discussion. In addition, the discussant will comment on the seminar papers by recounting and assessing their theses.

As budding historians, you should learn to peruse book reviews of the monographs we are reading in the seminar. The reviews will help you keep abreast of what scholars are writing about the most recent additions to the historiography and will allow you to write more informed and substantive seminar papers. The major journals in the field are:

*American Historical Review*  
*Journal of Modern History*  
*Journal of Social History*  
*Revolutionary Russia*  
*Russian Review*  
*Slavic Review*  
*Kritika*

In addition to writing seminar papers, seminar requirements include active participation in class discussions, a three-hour exam, and a revised seminar paper. Students must

familiarize themselves with the History Department's statement about the culture of seminars that appears in the College Bulletin.

The seminar also helps to fulfill the College's Writing Course requirement. Each student will work with me and other members of the seminar to revise one seminar paper that will be submitted to the external examiner.

I recommend looking at the essays in volumes 2 and 3 of *The Cambridge History of Russia* for additional information:

Volume 2: 1689-1917

<https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521815291>

Volume 3: The Twentieth Century

<https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446>

Peruse the following websites for your own edification and enjoyment:

### **The Life of Sara Mebel**

Told by Laurie Bernstein, Emerita Professor of History at Rutgers University, this podcast narrates the life of Sara Mebel (a cousin of Bob Weinberg) who lived in Moscow for most of the twentieth century.

<https://sarascentury.blogs.rutgers.edu/>

### **Stalin Digital Archive**

Yale University Press has digitized hundreds of documents about the Stalin era.

<http://www.stalindigitalarchive.com/frontend/>

### **Russian History Blog**

<http://www.russianhistoryblog.org>

Prominent historians discuss various aspects of Russian and Soviet history.

### **Seventeen Moments in Soviet History**

<http://soviethistory.msu.edu/>

Multimedia website of primary sources devoted to key moments in Soviet history.

### **The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia**

<http://www.orlandofiges.com/>

Based on letters, diaries, memoirs, and photographs collected by the historian Orlando Figes, this site explores private life and the Soviet Union in the Stalin period.

### **Communal Living in Russia** <https://ruslang.as.cornell.edu/komm/>

Site devoted to apartment living in the late Soviet period

### **Revelations from the Soviet Archives: Documents in English Translation**

<http://loc.gov/exhibits/archives/>

Collection of documents and photographs from the archives of the Soviet Union from an exhibit at the Library of Congress

### **Forced Labor Camps**

<http://www.osaarchivum.org/gulag/>

Website organized by the Open Society Institute that is devoted to the Gulag  
Site devoted to the history of the gulag

### **Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives**

<http://gulaghhistory.org/>

Site devoted to the history of the gulag

### **Soviet Poster Collection in the Peace Collection, McCabe Library**

<http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/Sovietposters/soviethistintro.htm>

Posters devoted to maternity care, industrialization, collectivization, and antireligious campaigns from the 1920s and early 1930s.

### **Kennan Institute-National Public Radio Russian History Audio Archive**

[http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic\\_id=1424&fuseaction=topics.media](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1424&fuseaction=topics.media)

On-line audio archive of speeches and voices of key political figures from the Soviet Union such as Lenin and Stalin.

### **Lenin Mausoleum: A History in Photos** [http://www.aha.ru/~mausoleu\\_](http://www.aha.ru/~mausoleu_)

Site devoted to the history of the mausoleum. Includes text, audio, and photographs, including those of Lenin and Stalin on display. Has links to other sites devoted to Lenin and Stalin.

### **Red Files: Soviet Propaganda Machine\_**

<http://www.pbs.org/redfiles/prop/stry/index.htm>

A production of PBS, this website explores through texts and images the role of propaganda in the history of the Soviet Union.

### **REES Web: The World Wide Web Virtual Library for Russian & East European Studies** <http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/reesweb/>

The University of Pittsburgh has assembled a comprehensive website devoted to the field of Russian and East European Studies.

### **Soviet Music**

<http://english.sovmusic.ru/>

A website devoted to music written under communism. It is a collection of songs about war, the military, patriotism, and leaders and also contains speeches and posters.

### **The Chairman Smiles**

<http://www.iisg.nl/exhibitions/chairman/>

An on-line exhibit from the International Institute of Social History in the Netherlands that focuses on posters from the Soviet Union, Cuba and the People's Republic of China.

### **Key to Abbreviations:**

#### **M--Moodle**

**Keep in mind that many of the books and journal articles on the syllabus and Moodle can also be accessed on-line via Tripod. In addition, they are also available in hard copy on the seminar shelf on the second floor of McCabe, and some are available for purchase via the bookstore. I have provided the links in the syllabus.**

### **FEBRUARY 11: INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL TRENDS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY**

**Book of the Week:** Marc Raeff, *The Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia*

**M/** <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001130640>

#### **Conceptualizing Tsarist Society**

Gregory Freeze, "The *Soslovie* (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History," *American Historical Review*, vol. 91, no. 1 (February 1986), pp. 11-36 **M/** <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1867233>

Joseph Bradley, "Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia," *American Historical Review*, vol. 107, no. 4 (2002), pp. 1094-1123 **M/** <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532665>

Alfred Rieber, "The Sedimentary Society," in Edith Clowes, ed., *Between Tsar and People*, pp. 343-366 **M**

#### **General Overview**

Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A Parting of Ways*, Introduction

**M/** <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000172158>

Gary Marker, "The Age of Enlightenment, 1740-1801" in Gregory Freeze, ed., *Russia: A History* **M/** <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=107442>

Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny, *Russia's Empires*, pp. 116-182 **Seminar Shelf**

M. S. Anderson, "Modernization and Resistance" **M**

Marc Raeff, "Peter's Domestic Legacy: Transformation or Revolution" **M**

#### **Topics for February 11**

Ways to Conceptualize Tsarist Society

The Autocracy and its Relationship to Educated Russia

Russia from a West European Perspective

The Legacy of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great

## FEBRUARY 16: INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL FERMENT DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

**Book of the Week:** Susana Rabow-Edling, *Slavophile Thought and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism*

**M/**

<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=5e4be102-2aea-40fa-9805-a12cbebe30df%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=176211&db=e000xna>

### General Overview

David Ransel, "Pre-Reform Russia, 1801-1855" in Gregory Freeze, ed., *Russia: A History* **M/** <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=107442>

Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A Parting of Ways*, Parts Two and Three

**M/**<https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000172158?>

Peter Chaadaev, "Russia and the World" and "Apology of a Madman" **M**

Nikolai Danilevskii, "The Slav Role in World Civilization" **M**

Alexander Herzen, "Letter to Jules Michelet" **M**

Alexei Khomiakov, "Russia and War" **M**

Ivan Aksakov, "Russia and Autocracy" **M**

Sidney Monas, "St Petersburg and Moscow as Cultural Symbols" **M**

Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism*, Chapters 1, 12, 13, 16, and 17 **Seminar Shelf/**<https://www-fulcrum-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/concern/monographs/k06987628>

### Topics for February 16

Explaining the Decembrists: Origins and Objectives

Whither Russia? Political, Intellectual, and Cultural Ferment in the Reign of Nicholas I

## **FEBRUARY 18: THE ERA OF THE GREAT REFORMS**

### **General Background**

Gregory Freeze, "Reform and Counter-Reform, 1855-1890" in Gregory Freeze, ed., *Russia: A History* **M**

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=107442>

Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny, *Russia's Empires*, pp. 183-194 **Seminar Shelf**

### **The Abolition of Serfdom**

Terence Emmons, "The Peasant and the Emancipation" in Wayne Vucinich, ed., *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia*, pp. 41-71 **M**

David Moon, *The Abolition of Serfdom in Russia*, **M**

### **Peasants After Emancipation**

Esther Kingston-Mann and Timothy Mixer, eds., *Peasant Economy, Culture, and Politics of European Russia* ("Breaking the Silence," "Peasant Communes and Economic Innovation," "Crises and the Condition of the Peasantry in Late Imperial Russia," "Victims or Actors?: Russian Peasant Women and Patriarchy," and "Everyday Forms of Resistance and Serf Opposition to Gentry Exactions") **M**  
<https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt7zvqc1>

Daniel Field, *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar*, introduction and conclusion **M**

Gleb Uspenskii, "From a Village Diary" **M**

Roger Bartlett, ed., *Land Commune and Peasant Community in Russia* ("Egalitarianism and the Commune," "Women and the Peasant Commune," "Differentiation in Russian Peasant Society," and "Agricultural Advance Under the Russian Village System" **M**

### **Topics for February 18**

The Hows and Whys of the Serf Emancipation

The Impact of Emancipation on the Peasantry

## **FEBRUARY 23: GENTRY AFTER EMANCIPATION AND POLITICAL REACTION**

### **Gentry after 1861**

Jerome Blum, "Russia" in David Spring, ed., *European Landed Elites in the Nineteenth Century* **M**

Roberta Manning, *The Crisis of the Old Order: Gentry and Government*, pp. 3-66  
<https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.00164>

Seymour Becker, *Nobility and Privilege in Late Imperial Russia*, pp. 3-154 and 171-78

### **Seminar Shelf**

Gary Hamburg, *The Politics of the Russian Nobility*, pp. 1-67 **M**

Roger Munting, "Economic Change and the Russian Gentry, 1861-1914" **M**

### **Counter-Reform and Conservatism**

Handout on the Counterreforms **M**

Robert Byrnes, "Russian Conservative Thought before the Revolution," in Theofanis Stavrou, ed., *Russia Under the Last Tsar*, pp. 42-68 **M**

Konstantin Pobedonostsev, "The Falsehood of Democracy" **M**

Francis Weislo, "The Land Captain Reform of 1889 and the Reassertion of Unrestricted Autocratic Authority," *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, vol. 15, No. 2-4 (1988), pp. 285-326 **M**

Theodore Weeks, "Managing Empire: Tsarist Nationalities Policy" in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 2, pp. 27-44 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521815291.004>

Heide Whelan, *Alexander III & the State Council: Bureaucracy & Counter-Reform in Late Imperial Russia* <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015010351172>

Hans Rogger, "Reflections on Russian Conservatism," *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1966), pp. 195-212 <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/41042796>

### **Topics for February 23**

The Impact of Emancipation on the Gentry

The Impact of the Great Reforms on Autocratic Rule

## **FEBRUARY 25: THE FRAGMENTED SOCIETY**

### **General Overview**

Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray*, chapter 1 **M/** <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05322>

Daniel Brower, "Urban Revolution in the Late Russian Empire," in Michael Hamm, ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia*, pp. 319-353 **M**

Tom Kemp, *Industrialization in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, pp. 119-151 **M**

Theodore von Laue, "Problems of Industrialization," in Theofanis Stavrou, ed., *Russia under the Last Tsar*, pp. 117-153 **M**

Edith Clowes, ed., *Between Tsar and People* ("Introduction," "Voluntary Associations, Civic Culture and *Obshchestvennost* in Moscow," "Cultural Pioneers and Professionals," "Impediments to a Bourgeois Consciousness in Russia," and "Russia's Unrealized Civil Society") **M**

Elise Wirtschafter Kimerling, "The Groups Between" in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 2, pp. 245-263 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521815291.014>

Charles Timberlake, "The Middle Classes in Late Tsarist Russia" in M. L. Bush, ed., *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe Since 1500* **M**

### **Topic for February 25**

The Peculiarities of Russian Modernization

## **MARCH 2: REVOLUTIONARY STIRRINGS**

**Book of the Week:** *A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia: The Autobiography of Semën*

*Ivanovich Kanatchikov*, pp. 1-209 **M**

### **General Overview**

Hans Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution*, pp. 132-160 **M**  
Handout on Liberalism **M**

### **Populism**

Hans Rogger, *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Revolution*, pp. 132-141 **M**

Richard Wortman, *The Crisis of Russian Populism*, pp. 1-34 **M**

Andrzej Walicki, *The Controversy over Capitalism*,

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4432764>

Barbara Engel and Clifford Rosenthal, *Five Sisters: Women Against the Tsar*, pp. 3-58 **M**

Ekaterina Breshkovskaia, "Going to the People" **M**

Michael Florinsky, *Russia: A History and Interpretation*, vol. 2, pp. 1064-1085 **M**

### **Social Democracy**

"Emancipation of Labor" and "Lenin's Concept of a Revolutionary Party" **M**

Christopher Read, "Labour and Socialism in Tsarist Russia," in Dick Geary, ed.,

*Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe before 1914* **M**

Michael Melancon, "The Socialist Revolutionaries from 1902-1907: Peasant and Workers' Party," *Russian History/Histoire Russe*, vol. 12, no. 1 (1985), pp. 2-47 (read for argument) **M**

### **Topic for February 25**

The Russian Revolutionary Tradition: Spontaneity and Consciousness

### **MARCH 4: THE REVOLUTION OF 1905**

**Book of the Week:** Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: A Short History* **M**  
<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=4cad0b10-4f3e-48be-9945-653585c77bdf%40sdc-v-sessmgr01&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=125438&db=nlebk>

### **General Overview**

Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny, *Russia's Empires*, pp. 194-220 and 237-254 **S**

Mark Steinberg, *The Fall of the Romanovs*, pp. 1-37 **M**/ <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt5vm4g4>

Mark Steinberg, "Russia's *Fin-de-Siecle*, 1900-1914" in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 67-93 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.004>

### **1905**

Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905*, 2 vols.

Laura Engelstein, *Moscow, 1905*



Charters Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms: The Donbass - Dnepr Bend in Late Imperial Russia, 1870-1905*  
Gerald Surh, *1905 in St. Petersburg: Labor, Society, and Revolution*  
Robert Weinberg, *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa: Blood on the Steps*

#### **Topic for March 4**

The Crisis of the Autocracy: Weathering the Revolution

#### **MARCH 9: THE DUMA PERIOD**

- Leopold Haimson, "Dual Polarization in Urban Russia, 1905-1917" **M**  
Leopold Haimson, ed., *The Politics of Rural Russia* (Introduction, "Zemstvo and Revolution," "What was the United Nobility?," "The Crisis of the Third of June System" and Conclusion) <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015008612023>  
Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, chapter 5 **M**  
William Rosenberg, "Kadets and the Politics of Ambivalence, 1905-1917," in Charles Timberlake, ed., *Essays on Russian Liberalism*, pp. 139-163 **M**  
Geoffrey Hosking, *The Russian Constitutional Experiment* **Seminar Shelf**  
William Rosenberg, *Liberals in the Russian Revolution*, pp. 11-46 **M**/ <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctvd58smk>  
Francis Weislo, "Soslovie or Class? Bureaucratic Reformers and Provincial Gentry in Conflict, 1906-1908," *Russian Review*, vol. 47, no. 1 (1988), pp. 1-24 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/130441>  
Victoria Bonnell, "Trade Unions, Parties, and the State in Tsarist Russia: A Study of Labor Politics in St. Petersburg and Moscow," *Politics and Society*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1980), pp. 299-322 <http://pas.sagepub.com/content/9/3/299.citation>  
Victoria Bonnell, "Radical Politics and Organized Labor in Pre-Revolutionary Moscow, 1905-1914," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1978), pp. 282-300 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3787140>  
Seymour Becker, *Nobility and Privilege in Late Imperial Russia*, pp. 155-170 **M**  
David Macey, "The Peasant Commune and the Stolypin Reforms: Peasant Attitudes, 1906-1914," in Roger Bartlett, ed., *Land Commune and Peasant Community in Russia*, pp. 219-236 **Seminar Shelf**  
Judith Pallott, "Did the Stolypin Land Reforms Destroy the Peasant Commune?" **M**  
Grigorii Gerasimenko, "The Stolypin Agrarian Reforms in Saratov Province" **M**

#### **World War One**

- Mark von Hagen, "The First World War, 1914-1918" in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 94-113 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.005>  
Eric Lohr, "War and Revolution, 1914-1917" in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 2, pp. 655-669 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521815291.033>  
Joshua Sanborn, "Unsettling the Empire: Violent Migrations and Social Disaster in Russia during World War I," *Journal of Modern History* 77, no. 2 (June 2005); 290-324 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/431816>

Joshua Sanborn, "War of Decolonization: The Russian Empire in the Great War" **M**  
Joshua Sanborn, "Family, Fraternity, and Nation-Building in Russia, 1905-1925." In  
Ronald Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-  
Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, pp. 93-111  
<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=a999a4ff-2d67-4a5b-9c7f-75ef4ca30454%40sdc-v-sessmgr03&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=264835&db=nlebk>

### **Topic for March 9**

Duma or Doom: Sources of Stability and Instability on the Eve of 1917

### **MARCH 11: THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1917**

**Book of the Week:** Mark Steinberg, *Voices of Revolution, 1917* **M**

#### **General Overview**

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, introduction, chapter 1 and chapter 2  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=430838&pq-origsite=primo>

Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny, *Russia's Empires*, pp. 194-215 and 255-266 **S**

S. A. Smith, "The Revolutions of 1917-1918" in *The Cambridge History of  
Russia*, volume 3, pp. 114-139 **M/** [https://doi-](https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.006)

[org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.006](https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.006)

Joshua Sanborn, *Imperial Apocalypse*, pp. 1-108

<https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heh.32308>

Peter Holquist, *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of  
Crisis, 1914-1921*, pp. 1-46

<https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heh.05255>

Ronald Suny, "Revising the Old Story" in Daniel Kaiser, ed., *The Workers' Revolution  
in Russia*, **M**

Watch Part One of Stalin Documentary

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xijdfh2sYs&ab\\_channel=MajorEsterhazy](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xijdfh2sYs&ab_channel=MajorEsterhazy)

Stephen Cohen, "Scholarly Missions: Sovietology as Vocation" in Stephen Cohen,  
*Rethinking the Soviet Experience*, chapter 1 **M**

Leon Trotsky, "The Peculiarities of Russian History," chapter 1 in *The  
Russian Revolution* **M**

John Thompson, *Revolutionary Russia*, "Fulfillment or Betrayal?" **M**

Melissa Stockdale, *Mobilizing the Russian Nation: Patriotism and Citizenship in the  
First World War* <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/9781316145449>

Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, introduction and conclusion  
**M**

Daniel Orlovsky, "The Lower Middle Strata in Revolutionary Russia" in Edith Clowes,  
ed., *Between Tsar and People*, pp. 248-268 **M**

Boris Kolonitskii, "'Democracy' in the Political Consciousness of the February  
Revolution," *Slavic Review*, vol. 57, no. 1 (1998), pp. 95-106

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2502054> **M**

Orlando Figes, “The Russian Peasant Community in the Agrarian Revolution, 1917-18” in Roger Bartlett, ed., *Land Commune and Peasant Community in Russia*, pp. 237-253 **M**

### **Topic for March 11**

Dynamics of the Revolution’s Trajectory: Explaining the Bolsheviks’ Success and Everybody Else’s Failures

### **MARCH 16: 1917 CONTINUED**

Richard Pipes, *Three Whys of the Russian Revolution* **M**

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chapter 3 **M**

Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language of Symbols in 1917* **M**

<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=40670595-6c10-4a24-b713-5b6a17758f2d%40sessionmgr4007&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=52952&db=e00xna>

### **Topic for March 16**

Historiography: Social History, the Cold War, and the Question of Legitimacy

### **MARCH 18 AND 23: THE CONSOLIDATION OF BOLSHEVIK RULE—CIVIL WAR AND WAR COMMUNISM**

**Book of the Week:** Peter Holquist, *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia’s Continuum of Crisis, 1914-1921*, pp. 113-290 [https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05255](https://hdl.handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05255)

Joshua Sanborn, *Imperial Apocalypse*, pp. 205-262 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.32308>

### **General Overview**

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, chapter 3

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=430838&pq-origsite=primo>

Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, pp. 266-289 **S**

Paul Avrich, *Kronstadt, 1921*, chapter 1 <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt7zv57x>

Tenth Party Congress **M**

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chapter 4 **M**

Diane Koenker, ed., *Party, State, and Society in the Russian Civil War* (“New Perspectives on the Civil War,” “The Legacy of the Civil War,” “The Civil War: Dynamics and Legacy,” “Commentary: Circumstance and Political Will in the Russian Civil War”) **M**

Peter Holquist, “Information is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work’: Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 69,

no. 3 (1997), pp. 415-450 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2953592>  
 Peter Holquist, “To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia” **M**  
 Moshe Lewin, *Lenin’s Last Struggle*, chapter 1 <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/10.3998/mpub.93113>  
 William Chase, *Workers, Society, and the Soviet State*, chapter 1 **M**  
 Evan Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War*, pp. 272-290 **M**  
 Robert Service, *The Bolshevik Party in Revolution: A Study in Organizational Change*, pp. 1-10 and 199-212 **M**  
 Abbott Gleason, ed., *Bolshevik Culture* (“Iconoclastic Currents in the Russian Revolution,” “Lenin’s Bolshevism as a Culture in the Making,” and “The Civil War as a Formative Experience”) <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015007051124>

### **Recommended**

Vladimir Brovkin, “The Mensheviks’ Political Comeback: The Elections to the Provincial City Soviets in Spring 1918,” *Russian Review*, vol. 42, no. 1 (1983), pp. 1-50 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/129453>  
 Vladimir Brovkin, “The Mensheviks under Attack: The Transformation of Soviet Politics, June-September 1918,” *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte fur Osteuropas*, vol. 32, no. 3 (1984), pp. 378-391 [http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00003832/image\\_394](http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00003832/image_394)  
 Silvana Malle, *The Economic Organization of War Communism*, introduction **M**  
 Stephen Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, pp. 60-110 **Seminar Shelf**

### **Topic for March 18**

War Communism: Path to the Radiant Future or Political Exigency?

### **Topic for March 23**

Consolidating Soviet Power and the Issue of Legitimacy

### **MARCH 30: THE 1920S—THE DILEMMAS OF NEP**

**Book of the Week:** Robert Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary* <https://www-fulcrum-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/concern/monographs/fj236230b>

### **General Overview**

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, chapter 4  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=430838&pq-origsite=primo>  
 Alan Ball, “Building a New State and Society: NEP, 1921-1928” in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 168-191 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.008>  
 Stephen Cohen, “Bolshevism and Stalinism” in Stephen Cohen, *Rethinking the Soviet Experience* **M**  
 Chris Ward, *Stalin’s Russia*, chapter 1 **M**  
 Moshe Lewin, “If Lenin Had Lived” and “Lenin’s Testament” in Lewin, *Lenin’s Last Struggle* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/10.3998/mpub.93113>

Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed., *Russia in the Era of NEP* (“Introduction,” “The Problem of Class Identity in NEP Society,” “Private Trade and Traders during NEP,” “Insoluble Conflicts: Village Life between Revolution and Collectivization,” and “Conclusion”) M/ <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015054073609>

William Chase, *Workers, Society, and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918-1929*, chapter 8 M

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chapter 5 M

Moshe Lewin, *Russian Peasants, Soviet Power: A Study of Collectivization Seminar Shelf*

### **Topic for March 30**

NEP as a Path to Socialism: Social and Ideological Tensions in the 1920s

## **APRIL 1: THE SUCCESSION STRUGGLE**

### **General Overview**

Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, pp. 228-317 M/

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015002693276>

J. Arch Getty and Oleg Naumov, *Yezhov: The Rise of Stalin's 'Iron Fist'* pp. 68-85 M

### **Topic for April 1**

Why Did Stalin Win?

## **APRIL 6: THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD**

**Book of the Week:** Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization*

<http://web.b.ebscohost.com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=1b5ed675-bf44-490e-ba40-c8e9a17fc9ff%40pdc-v-sessmgr03&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWwhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=53373&db=e000xna>

### **Collectivization**

Watch Part Two of Stalin Documentary

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAw2BZnn7A4&ab\\_channel=MajorEsterhazy](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAw2BZnn7A4&ab_channel=MajorEsterhazy)

Chris Ward, *Stalin's Russia*, chapter 2 M

Lev Kopelev, *The Education of a True Believer*, pp. 224-236 M

James Hughes, “Re-evaluating Stalin's Peasant Policy in 1928-30” M

Alec Nove and James Millar, “A Debate on Collectivization: Was Stalin Really Necessary?” *Problems of Communism*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1976), pp. 49-62 M

Lynne Viola, “The Peasant Nightmare: Visions of the Apocalypse in the Soviet Countryside,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 62, no. 4 (1990), pp. 747-770

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1881062>

Lynne Viola, “Bab'i Bunty and Peasant Women's Protest during Collectivization,”

*Russian Review*, vol. 45, no. 1 (1986), pp. 23-42 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/129400>

James Millar, “Mass Collectivization and the Contribution of Soviet Agriculture to the First Five-Year Plan,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 33, no. 4 (1974), pp. 750-766

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2494513>

Moshe Lewin, *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power*, pp. 446-519 **Seminar Shelf**  
Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chapter 6 **M**

### **Topic for April 6**

The Goals and Consequences (Intended and Unintended) of Collectivization: Resistance and Accommodation

## **APRIL 8: NATIONALITY POLICY**

### **General Overview**

Terry Martin, “An Affirmative Action Empire: The Soviet Union as the Highest Form of Imperialism” **M**

Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny, *Russia’s Empires*, pp. 290-311 **S**

Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1rv61tj>

Yuri Slezkine, “The Soviet Union as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism “ in Shelia Fitzpatrick, ed., *Stalinism: New Directions*, pp. 313-347 **M**

Elissa Bemporad, “Behavior Unbecoming a Communist: Jewish Religious Practice in Soviet Minsk,” *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2008), pp. 1-31  
[https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jewish\\_social\\_studies/v014/14.2.bemporad.pdf](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jewish_social_studies/v014/14.2.bemporad.pdf)

Elissa Bemporad, “Issues of Gender, Sovietization and Modernization in the Jewish Metropolis of Minsk” **M**

Douglas Northrop, “Nationalizing Backwardness: Gender, Empire, and Uzbek Identity.” In Ronald Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, pp. 191-220

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/reader.action?docID=430519&ppg=204>

### **Topic for April 8**

Nationality Policy: Unity through Diversity and Internationalism through Nationalism

## **APRIL 13: INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE COMMAND ECONOMY**

**Book of the Week:** Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (no chapter 7) <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.01302>

### **Industrialization**

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, chapter 5

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=430838&pq-origsite=primo>

Lewis Siegelbaum, “Workers and Industrialization” in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 440-467 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.018>

Alec Nove “Was Stalin Really Necessary?” *Encounter* (April 1962), **M**

Chris Ward, *Stalin's Russia*, chapter 3 **M**

Jeffrey Rossman, *Worker Resistance Under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor*, introduction, chapters. 1 and 2 [https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05293](https://hdl.handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05293)

William Rosenberg and Lewis Siegelbaum, eds., *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization* (“Conceptualizing the Command Economy,” “The Great Departure: Rural-Urban Migration in the Soviet Union, 1929-1933,” “Social Mobility in the Countryside,” and “On Soviet Industrialization” **M**

*A Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, pp. 196-234 (skim) **M**

Moshe Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System* (“Society, State, and Ideology during the First Five-Year Plan” and “Social Relations Inside Industry during The Prewar Five-Year Plans”) <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4376120>

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chapter 6 **M**

Moshe Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System*, pp. 91-120, and 178-190 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4376120>

### **Topic for April 13**

The Strengths and Weaknesses of Five-Year Plans

## APRIL 15: SPEAKING BOLSHEVIK AND SUBJECTIVITY; THE CULTS OF LENIN AND STALIN

### General Overview

Jochen Hellbeck, "Self-Realization in the Stalinist System: Two Soviet Diaries of the 1930s" in David Hoffmann, ed., *Russian Modernity* **M**

Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin*, Prologue and chapters 1, 3, and 8

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=3300054>

Jochen Hellbeck, "Fashioning the Stalinist Soul: The Diary of Stepan Podlubny"

*Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 44, no. 3 (1996), pp. 344-373

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41052987>

Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Ascribing Class: The Construction of Social Identity in Soviet Russia," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 65, no. 4 (1993)

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2124540>

Jochen Hellbeck, "Liberation from Autonomy: Mapping Self-Understandings in Stalin's Time" in Paul Corner, ed., *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes: Fascism, Nazism, Communism* **Seminar Shelf**

Choi Chatterjee and Karen Petrone, "Models of Selfhood and Subjectivity: The Soviet Case in Historical Perspective," *Slavic Review*, vol. 67, no. 4 (Winter 2008)

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27653033>

Maltke Griesse, "Soviet Subjectivity," *Kritika*, vol. 19, no. 3 (2008), pp. 609-624

<https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/kritika/v009/9.3.griesse.html>

Igal Halfin and Jochen Hellbeck, "Rethinking the Stalinist Subject: Stephen Kotkin's 'Magnetic Mountain' and the State of Soviet Historical Studies," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, no. 44 (1996), pp. 456-463

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41052991>

### The Cults of Lenin and Stalin

Nina Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia*

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015003969105>

Jan Plamper, *The Stalin Cult: A Study in the Alchemy of Power* **Seminar Shelf**

Balazs Apor, ed., *The Leader Cult in Communist Dictatorships: Stalin and the Eastern Bloc* **Seminar Shelf**

Victoria Bonnell, *The Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.05220>

Robert Tucker, "The Rise of Stalin's Personality Cult," *American Historical Review*, vol. 84, no. 2 (1979), pp. 347-366 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1855137>

Robert Tucker, *Stalin in Power*, chapter 7 <https://www-fulcrum-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/concern/monographs/fj236230b>

Graeme Gill, "'Lenin Lives': Or Does He? Symbols and the Transition from Socialism," *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 60, no. 2 (2008), pp. 173-196

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713414944>

Sarah Davies, "The Leader Cult: Propaganda and Its Reception in Stalin's Russia" in John Channon, ed., *Politics, Society and Stalinism in the USSR*, pp. 115-138 **M**

Frank Westerman, *Engineers of the Soul: The Grandiose Propaganda of Stalin's*



## Russia Seminar Shelf

### Topics for April 15

Why Did People “Speak Bolshevik” and What Did that Mean?

Whys of the Cult of the Leader

### APRIL 22: THE POLITICS OF CULTURE, WOMEN’S LIBERATION, AND EVERYDAY LIFE

**Books of the Week:** Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times* <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.01296>  
and David Hoffmann, *Stalinist Values: The Cultural Norms of Soviet Modernity, 1917-1941* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/10.7591/j.ctv3mtd1w>

### General Overview

Sheila Fitzpatrick, “Cultural Revolution as Class War” [https://www-fulcrum-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/epubs/gb19f603t?locale=en#/6/272\[xhtml00000136\]!/4/4/1:0](https://www-fulcrum-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/epubs/gb19f603t?locale=en#/6/272[xhtml00000136]!/4/4/1:0)  
“Socialist Realism” and “Abortion” **M**

Matthew Lenoe, “In Defense of Timasheff’s *Great Retreat*,” *Kritika*, vol. 5, no. 4 (2004), pp. 721-730 **M**

Chris Ward, *Stalin’s Russia*, chapter 7 **M**

### Culture, Politics, and Society: Modernity Soviet-Style

David Hoffmann, *Cultivating the Masses: Modern State Practices and Soviet Socialism*, Introduction, chapters 4, 5, and conclusion <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7zfp9>

Michael David-Fox, “Multiple Modernities vs. Neo-Traditionalism: On Recent Debates in Russian and Soviet History,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, vol. 54, no. 4 (2006), pp. 535-555

<https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/41051747>

Roger Pethybridge, “Stalin as Social Conservatism,” *European Studies Review*, vol. 11 (1981), pp. 461-485 **M**

David Brandenberger, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931-1956*

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015056246336>

David Brandenberger, *Propaganda State in Crisis: Soviet Ideology, Indoctrination, and Terror under Stalin, 1927-1941* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt1bhknzj>

Jeffrey Brooks, *Thank You, Comrade Stalin! Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to Cold War* **Seminar Shelf**

Karen Petrone, *Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades: Celebrations in the Time of Stalin* Rolf Malte, *Soviet Mass Festivals, 1917-1991* <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05285>

Richard Stites, ed., *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia: Tales, Poems, Songs, Movies, Plays, Folklore, 1917-1953* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt16xwcdw>

Richard Stites, ed., *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900*

### **Seminar Shelf**

- William Rosenberg, ed., *Bolshevik Visions*, **Seminar Shelf**
- Katerina Clark and Evgeny Dobrenko, eds., *Soviet Culture and Power: A History in Documents, 1917-1953* **Seminar Shelf**
- Eric Naiman and Christina Kiaer, *Everyday Life in Early Soviet Russia: Taking the Revolution Inside* **Seminar Shelf**
- Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05390>
- Sheila Fitzpatrick, "The 'Soft' Line on Culture and Its Enemies: Soviet Cultural Policy, 1922-1927," *Slavic Review*, vol. 33, no. 2 (1974), pp. 267-287  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2495794>
- Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Culture and Politics under Stalin: A Reappraisal," *Slavic Review*, vol. 35, no. 2 (1976), pp. 211-231 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2495794>
- Sarah Davies, *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent* <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05230>
- Sheila Fitzpatrick, "Popular Opinion in Russia Under Pre-war Stalinism" in Paul Corner, ed., *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes: Fascism, Nazism, Communism*) **Seminar Shelf**
- Jan Plamper, "Beyond Binaries: Popular Opinion in Stalinism" in Paul Corner, ed., *Popular Opinion in Totalitarian Regimes: Fascism, Nazism, Communism*) **Seminar Shelf**
- William Rosenberg, *Bolshevik Visions*, volume 2 **Seminar Shelf**
- Katerina Clark, "The 'Quiet' Revolution in Soviet Intellectual Life" in Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed., *Russia in the Era of NEP* / <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015054073609>

### **Women and Family**

- Barbara Engel, "Women and the State" in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 468-494 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.019>
- Wendy Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917-1936* <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05405>
- Elizabeth Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia* <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.04369>
- Gail Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society*, chapters 2 and 3  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3943949>
- Barbara Evans Clements, "The Birth of the New Soviet Woman" in Abbott Gleason, ed., *Bolshevik Culture*, pp. 220-237  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015007051124>
- Wendy Goldman, "Working-Class Women and the 'Withering Away' of the Family" in Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed., *Russia in the Era of NEP*, pp. 125-143  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015054073609>
- Alexandra Kollontai, "Make Way for Winged Eros," "Communism and the Family," and "Sisters" **M**
- Barbara Evans Clements, et al., *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, and Transformation* ("Transformation versus Tradition," "The Female Form in Soviet Political Iconography," "Women, Abortion, and the State, 1917-1936," and "Later

Developments: Trends in Soviet Women's History") **M**  
 Victoria Bonnell, "The Representation of Women in Early Soviet Political Art," *Russian Review*, vol. 50, no. 3 (1991), pp. 267-288 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/131074>  
 Victoria Bonnell, "The Peasant Woman in Stalinist Political Art of the 1930s," *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 1 (1993), pp. 55-82  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2166382>  
 Choi Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival, Culture, and Bolshevik Ideology, 1910-1939* <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.30000082280425>  
 Rochelle Ruthchild, *Equality and Revolution: Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905-1917* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt5hjp1d>

### Topics for April 22

The Promise and Reality of Women's Emancipation  
 Modernity and Soviet Power  
 Culture in the 1930s: Fulfillment or Divergence

### APRIL 27 AND 29: THE PURGES AND STALINISM

**Book of the Week:** James Harris, *The Great Fear: Stalin's Terror of the 1930s*  
<https://oxford-universitypressscholarship-com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199695768.001.0001/acprof-9780199695768>

### General Overview

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, chapter 6  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=430838&pq-origsite=primo>  
 Graeme Gill, *Stalinism* **M**  
 Oleg Khlevniuk, *Master of the House: Stalin and His Inner Circle*, pp. xiii-xxv, 166-203, and 246-262 <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt1npxxw>  
 Oleg Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt5vkt98>  
 David Shearer, "Stalinism, 1928-1940" in *The Cambridge History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 192-216 <https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.009>  
 Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, pp. 345-385 **M**  
 Robert Tucker, "Stalinism as Revolution from Above" in Robert Tucker, ed., *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* pp. 77-111 **M**  
 Stephen Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, pp. 337-386 **Seminar Shelf**  
 Oleg Khlevniuk, "The Objectives of the Great Terror, 1937-1938" **M**  
 Theodore von Laue, "Stalin in Focus," *Slavic Review*, vol. 42, no. 3 (1983), pp. 373-389 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2496042>

### Historiography

Christopher Read, "Main Currents of Interpretation of Stalin and the Stalin Years" **M**  
 Chris Ward, *Stalin's Russia*, chapter 4 **M**  
 Chris Ward, ed., *The Stalinist Dictatorship* **Seminar Shelf**

James Harris, ed., *The Anatomy of Terror*, “General Introduction” and Other Essays  
<https://oxford-universitypressscholarship-com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199655663.001.0001/acprof-9780199655663>

Sarah Davies and James Harris, eds., *Stalin: A New History* (chapters by David Brandenburg, “Stalin as Symbol: A Case Study of the Personality Cult,” James Harris, “Stalin as General Secretary: The Appointments Process and the Nature of Stalin’s Power,” William Chase, “Stalin as Producer: The Moscow Show Trials and the Construction of Moral Threats,” J. Arch Getty, “Stalin as Prime Minister: Power and the Politburo,” and Oleg Khlevniuk, “Stalin as Dictator: The Personalization of Power”) <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05314>

David Hoffmann, *Stalinism: The Essential Readings*  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=351453&pq-origsite=primo>

Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed., “Introduction” in *Stalinism: New Directions* **M**  
Sheila Fitzpatrick, “Constructing Stalinism: Changing Western and Soviet Perspectives” in Alec Nove, ed., *The Stalin Phenomenon*, pp. 75-99 **M**

J. Arch Getty and Roberta Manning, eds., *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives*  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=351453&pq-origsite=primo>

Matthew Lenoe, *The Kirov Murder and Soviet History*  
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?pq-origsite=primo&docID=4585613>

## **Historians and Their Views**

### **The Role of Personality**

Robert Tucker, “Stalin, Bukharin, and History as Conspiracy” in Robert Tucker, ed., *The Soviet Political Mind*, revised edition, pp. 49-86 **M**

Robert Tucker, *Stalin as Revolutionary*, pp. 421-493 <https://www-fulcrum-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/concern/monographs/fj236230b>

Sarah Davies and James Harris, eds., *Stalin’s World: Dictating the Soviet Order* (chapter by Oleg Khlevniuk, “The Leader Cult”) <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt1bh4cts>

Leon Trotsky, “Soviet Bonapartism,” in Robert Daniels, ed., *The Stalin Revolution*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, **M**

### **The Purges, State-Building, and Modernity: The Neototalitarianism Approach**

Peter Holquist, “State Violence as Technique: The Logic of Violence in Soviet Totalitarianism” **M**

Amir Weiner, “Nature and Nurture in a Socialist Utopia: Delineating the Soviet Socio-Ethnic Body in the Age of Socialism” **M**

David Hoffmann, *Cultivating the Masses: Modern State Practices and Soviet Socialism, 1914-1939*, chapter on purges <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/10.7591/j.ctt7zfp9>

Steven Barnes, *Death and Redemption: The Gulag and the Shaping of Soviet Society*  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.32748>

### **The Purges and Ideology**

Stephen Kotkin, *Magnetic Mountain*, chapter 7 and afterword ) [https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.01302](https://hdl.handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.01302)

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy*, chapter 7 M

### **Who Benefited from the Purges?**

Sarah Davies, “Us Against Them”: Social Identity in Soviet Russia, 1934-1939” M

Sarah Davies, *Popular Opinion in Stalin’s Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent* <https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.05230>

Sheila Fitzpatrick, “The Russian Revolution and Social Mobility,” *Politics and Society*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1984), pp. 119-142

<http://pas.sagepub.com/content/13/2/119.citation>

Sheila Fitzpatrick, “Stalin and the Making of a New Elite, 1928-1939,” *Slavic Review*, vol. 38, no. 3 (1979), pp. 377-402 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2496711>

### **Grappling with Disorder**

David Shearer, *Policing Stalin’s Socialism: Repression and Social Order in the Soviet Union, 1924-1953* <https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt1nq3w2>

David Shearer, “Social Disorder, Mass Repression, and the NKVD during the 1930s,” *Cahiers du Monde russe*, vol. 42, no. 2-4 (2001), pp. 505-534

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20174643>

David Shearer, “Elements Near and Alien: Passportization, Policing, and Identity in the Soviet State,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 76 (December 2004), pp. 835-881

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/427570>

Paul Hagenloh, *Stalin’s Police: Public Order and Mass Repression in the USSR, 1926-1941*, introduction and conclusion <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015078796904>

Paul Hagenloh, “‘Socially Harmful Elements’ and the Great Terror” M

### **The Purges and the Bureaucratic Imperative**

Moshe Lewin, *The Making of the Soviet System* (“The Social Background of Stalinism” and “Grappling with Stalinism” <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4376120>

Moshe Lewin, “Bureaucracy and the Stalinist State” in Moshe Lewin and Ian Kershaw, eds., *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison*

<https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CBO9780511815775>

### **The Purges and Workers**

Wendy Goldman, *Terror and Democracy in the Age of Stalin: The Social Dynamics of Repression Seminar Shelf*

Wendy Goldman, *Inventing the Enemy: Denunciation and Terror in Stalin’s Russia*

<https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.swarthmore.edu/2027/heb.32357>

### **The Party Purges Itself**

J. Arch Getty, “Afraid of Their Shadows: The Bolshevik Recourse to Terror, 1932-1938” M

J. Arch Getty and Oleg Naumov, eds., *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939*, introduction and conclusion

<https://www-jstor-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/stable/j.ctt5vm7kx>

J. Arch Getty, *The Origins of the Great Purge*, pp. 1-9 and 196-210 **M**

J. Arch Getty, "Party and Purge in Smolensk, 1933-1937" and Discussion in *Slavic Review*, vol. 42, no. 1 (1983), pp. 60-96

**M/** <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2497441>

### **The Purges, Peasants, and National Minorities**

Barry McLoughlin, "Mass Operations of the NKVD, 1937-8: A Survey" **M**

Terry Martin, "The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 70, no. 4 (December 1998) **M/** <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/235168>

### **Topic for April 27**

Explaining the Purges

### **Topic for April 29**

Defining Stalinism and the Problem of Continuity and Change

## MAY 4: THE FINAL YEARS OF STALIN

**Book of the Week:** Yoram Gorlizki and Oleg Khlevniuk, *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Class*

<https://www.fulcrum.org/concern/monographs/sn009z07c>

### The Black Years of Soviet Jewry

Yoram Gorlizki and Oleg Khlevniuk, "Stalin and His Circle" in *The Cambridge*

*History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 243-267 [https://www-cambridge-](https://www-cambridge-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/core/books/cambridge-history-of-russia/stalin-and-his-circle/B2795DAAF6C9B60D666E9871292580A7)

[org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/core/books/cambridge-history-of-russia/stalin-and-his-circle/B2795DAAF6C9B60D666E9871292580A7](https://www-cambridge-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/core/books/cambridge-history-of-russia/stalin-and-his-circle/B2795DAAF6C9B60D666E9871292580A7)

Amir Weiner, "When Memory Counts: War, Genocide, and Postwar Soviet Jewry" **M**

Zvi Gitelman, "The Black Years and the Gray" **M**

"Campaign Against Cosmopolitanism" **M**

Andrei Zhdanov, "Report to the Leningrad Branch of the Union of Soviet Writers" **M**

Jeffrey Veidlinger, "Soviet Jewry as a Diaspora Nationality: The 'Black Years'

Reconsidered," *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2003) **M**

"The Arrest of a Group of Doctor-Saboteurs" and "Spies and Murderers in the Guise of Physicians and Scientists" **M**

Alexander Lokshin, "The Doctors' Plot: The Non-Jewish Response" **M**

Joshua Rubenstein, *Stalin's Secret Pogrom: The Post-war Inquisition of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee*

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/swarthmore/detail.action?docID=3420290&pq-origsite=primo>

Yehoshua Gilboa, *The Black Years of Soviet Jewry, 1939-1953*

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015046860824>

### General Overview

Watch Part Three of Stalin Documentary

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAw2BZnn7A4&ab\\_channel=MajorEsterhazy](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAw2BZnn7A4&ab_channel=MajorEsterhazy)

Valerie Kivelson and Ronald Suny, *Russia's Empires*, pp. 311-327 **S**

John Barber and Mark Harrison, "The Patriotic War, 1941-1945" in *The Cambridge*

*History of Russia*, volume 3, pp. 217-242 [https://doi-](https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.010)

[org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.010](https://doi-org.proxy.swarthmore.edu/10.1017/CHOL9780521811446.010)

William Fuller, "The Great Fatherland War and Late Stalinism, 1941-1953" **M**

Chris Ward, *Stalin's Russia*, chapter 6 **M**

David Hoffmann, "European Modernity and Soviet Socialism" **M**

Juliane Furst, ed., *Late Stalinist Russia: Society between Reconstruction and Reinvention*

Introduction and articles by Levesque, Fieseler, Edele, Manley, and Heinzen **M**

Elena Zubkova, "Russia After the War: Hopes, Illusions, and Disappointments" **M**

(Please note that this is a selection from the book *Russia After the War*, which is available on seminar reserve) and here:

<http://web.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=680c3c1b-f6c4-4222-ba37-7fa5ae5a2a7e%40sdc-v->

[sessmgr02&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=453&db=nlebk](http://web.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.swarthmore.edu/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=680c3c1b-f6c4-4222-ba37-7fa5ae5a2a7e%40sdc-v-sessmgr02&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=453&db=nlebk)

**Topic for May 4**

What Was Stalin Up to before He Died?

**MAY 6: COMING TO GRIPS WITH STALIN**

**General Overview**

Martin Malia, “To the Stalin Mausoleum” **M**

Nikita Khrushchev, “Secret Speech at the Twentieth Party Congress, 1956” **M**

Stephen Cohen, “The Stalin Question Since Stalin” and “The Friends and Foes of Change: Soviet Reformism and Conservatism” **M**

**Topic for May 6**

The Limits of DeStalinization