This course will analyze fundamental political, social, and cultural changes across the lands of the Russian Empire and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This seminar course will focus on major topics in the history and historiography of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union. Themes to be explored include political culture, empire and nationality questions, socialism, revolution, terror, class and gender.

In the Napoleonic wars, Russia gained greater international prestige and influence than it had ever before. However, it was evident for many educated Russians that their country was “backward” compared to the Western Europe in its social and political system and economic performance. Russia retained serfdom longer than any other European country, until 1861, and the citizens gained representative bodies with legislative prerogatives only in 1905-1906, after all the other European countries except the Ottoman Empire. Many educated people lost their trust in the government and adopted radical, leftist and revolutionary ideologies. Even after the abolition of serfdom, the relations between peasants and noble landowners contained elements of antagonism. Industrialization began in the 1880s and brought additional problems, since radical intelligentsia managed to establish connections with discontented workers. In the course of the nineteenth century, the traditional policy of co-operation with local elites of ethnic minorities was challenged by both Russian and minority nationalisms. Government policies in relation to minorities became more oppressive and evoked stronger resistance than previously.

Russian Empire collapsed in the revolution and civil war. However, after the period of turmoil, the Bolsheviks managed to regain most of the previous imperial territory and establish the Soviet Union. We will discuss revolution, war communism, NEP, the establishment of planned economy, and the political violence and terror which culminated in the years 1936-38. We will then proceed to examine the Soviet Union in World War II, destalinization of the 1950s and 1960s, and the final collapse of the Soviet Union and its leading ideology. We will survey the controversy between “totalitarian” and “revisionist” interpretations of Soviet history, and consider the complex dynamic of resistance and accommodation that marked the relationship between state and society. In the end, as we will note, many citizens resented the passing of the USSR.

**Required Texts**
A package of readings will be available for viewing, or individual readings will be located on reserve at the NPSIA/ EURUS reading room, DOES THE READING ROOM STILL EXIST, IF IT DOES, WHERE? *Those unfamiliar with the basic background of Russian history may want to consider a basic background text, such as Robert Service, Paul Dukes, *A History of Russia*, or Nicholas Riasanovsky and Mark Steinberg, *A History of Russia*.  

**Requirements and Grading**
Undergraduate Students
Oral Participation: 25%. In case you will give the optional oral report, its weight will be 10% which is included in your general Oral Participation grade.
Discussion Papers (2 x 3-4 pp): 30%
Proposal and Bibliography for Major Written Assignment (1-2 pp) (due February 5): 10%
Major Written Assignment (10-12 pp) (due April 2; no late papers permitted): 35%

Graduate Students
Oral Participation: 20%
Oral Report: 10%
Discussion Papers (3 x 3-4 pp): 30%
Proposal and Bibliography for Major Written Assignment (1-2 pp) (due February 5): 10%
Major Written Assignment (15-18 pp) (due April 2; no late papers permitted): 30%

Students will be graded on in-class participation and written assignments. Active and consistent class participation is VITAL to succeeding in this class. Questions or comments that display a thoughtful knowledge and analysis of the class readings receive the highest participation marks. Graduate students will, and undergraduate students may, give one 5-10 minute oral report, on a topic of your choice, using supplementary readings; the report may be related to your major assignment.

Attendance is mandatory: penalties for not attending (without medical documentation) are: 1 absence= 10% deduction from entire participation grade; 2 absences= 25% deduction; 3 absences= 40% deduction; 4 absences= 100% deduction from participation grade. Each late arrival (after 8:45) will cost 25% of that day's attendance/ participation grade for every 15 minutes late. Ringing cellphones, note passing, and other disruptions will also result in deductions.

Participation grades will be determined based on: (a) attendance and attention level and (b) active participation that: (i) displays knowledge of the subject; (ii) contributes to the flow of conversation; (iii) shows knowledge of the readings; (iv) offers critical analysis of the readings and subject.

The 3-4 page discussion papers will analyze the readings for the week, discussing the authors’ arguments and pinpointing major issues within the selected theme. Papers will be due the week of class discussion. Papers will be done on weeks where you do NOT present. One of these papers must be handed in or before February 12; the second (for graduates) in or before March 5; and the second (for undergrads) and third (for grads) by March 26. Late essays will be penalized 5 marks a day (excluding weekends and holidays). Essays handed in more than six working days after the due date will receive the mark of ‘zero.’ These rules notwithstanding, please note that no late major written assignments will be accepted after April 2.

The major written assignment may take the form of a traditional research paper, an introduction to a primary source that contextualizes the text in a scholarly fashion, or a review in which you analyze at least three supplementary texts on the same or similar topic. The traditional research paper can be based on primary sources or secondary sources. You can use primary sources either in translation, or in their original language. I encourage those who read Russian and/or other languages of our area to use sources in those languages. If your paper is based on secondary sources, you are expected to engage the historiography of the issue. I will give further information in the class.

Assignments sent by fax to the Institute will not be accepted. It is not acceptable to hand in the same assignment for two or more courses. To obtain credit in a course, students must meet all the
course requirements for attendance, term work, and examinations

Class Schedule
(I reserve the right to make minor changes to the schedule/ readings over the course of the semester.)
(note: readings with ** are required primary source readings)

Jan 8:  Introduction
Background discussion:  Legacies of the Muscovite and the Early Imperial Periods.

Jan 15:  Tsar, Nation, and Empire in the Early Nineteenth Century:  Stasis or Change?
Aleksandr Polunov, Russia in the Nineteenth Century: Autocracy, Reform, and Social Change, 1814-1914 (2005) 27-68
**Peter Chaadaev, “First Philosophical Letter: Letters on the Philosophy of History” in Marc Raeff, ed., Russian Intellectual History: An Anthology, 159-173 READ: 162-8
**“Belinskii’s Letter to Gogol, July 15, 1847” Basil Dmytryshyn, ed., Imperial Russia: A Source Book 1700-1917, 184-192

Supplementary
Rebecca Friedman, Masculinity, Autocracy, and the Russian University, 1804-63 (2004)
Stephen Hoch, Serfdom and Social Control in Russia (1986)
Peter Kolchin, Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom (1987)
Geroid Robinson, Rural Russia under the Old Regime (1932, 1960)
Raeff, Marc, ed., The Decembrist Movement (1966)
Andrzej Walicki, A History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism (1979)
Richard Stites, Serfdom, Society and the Arts in Imperial Russia (2005)
Carl Leonard, Agrarian Reform in Russia: The Road From Serfdom (2010)
Laura Engelstein, Slavophile Empire: Imperial Russia’s Illiberal Path (2009)

January 22. The Great Reforms and their impact on Russian society in the late 19th century

I. The Great Reforms and Counterreforms
Larissa Zakhrova, “Autocracy and the Reforms of 1861-74 in Russia: Choosing Paths of Development”
Ben Eklof et. al. eds, Russia’s Great Reforms, 1855-1881, 19-39
David Moon, The Abolition of Serfdom in Russia, 1762-1907 (2001), 110-20
David Saunders, Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform, 1801-1881, 263-272
Thomas C. Owen “Impediments to a Bourgeois Consciousness in Russia, 1880-1905” in Edith W. Clowes et. al. ed, Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Imperial Identity in Late Imperial Russia, 75-89
Jeffrey Brooks, When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Culture, 1861-1917 (1985) 269-280, 285-294
Leonid Heretz, Russia on the Eve of Modernity: Popular Religion and Traditional Culture under the Last Tsars (2008), 119-129
**Alexander II’s Manifesto Emancipating the Serfs, 1861, in James Cracraft, ed. Major Problems in the History of Imperial Russia (1994) 340-344
** Manifesto of Alexander III Affirming Autocracy, 1881, in Cracraft, ed., 389
** Constantine Pobedonostsev Attacks Democracy, 1896, in Cracraft.ed., 390-7
** Petitions from Peasants, in Gregory Freeze, ed., From Supplication to Revolution: A Documentary History of Imperial Russia, 170-9

RECOMMENDED:
Victoria Bonnell, ed., The Russian Worker: Life and Labor under the Tsarist Regime (1983), 10-30

Supplementary
Paul Gregory, Before Command: an Economic History of Russia from Emancipation to the First Five-Year Plan
Petr Zaionchkovsky, Abolition of Serfdom (Otmena krepostnogo prava)
E. Anthony Swift, Popular Theater and Society in Tsarist Russia (2002)
Alison K. Smith, Recipes for Russia: Food and Nationhood under the Tsars (2008)
Edith W. Clowes et. al. ed, Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Imperial Identity in Late Imperial Russia (1992)
Joseph Bradley, Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia (1985)
Terence Emmons and Wayne Vucinich, eds. The Zemstvo in Russia (1982)
Daniel Field, End of Serfdom: Nobility and Bureaucracy in Russia, 1855-1861 (1976)
Alfred Rieber, Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia (1982)
Jeffrey Brooks, When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917 (1985)
Cathy A. Frierson, Peasant Icons: Representations of Rural People in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia (1993)
Cathy A. Frierson, All Russia is Burning!: a Cultural History of Fire and Arson in Late Imperial Russia (2002).
Reginald Zelnik, Law and Disorder on the Narova River: the Kreenholm strike of 1872 (1995)
A.J. Rieber, Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia (1982)
Charters Wynn, *Workers, Strikes, and Pogroms: The Donbass-Dnepr Bend in Late Imperial Russia, 1870-1905* (1992)
Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804-1906*.

**January 29:** Road to Revolution

**Society in Revolution, 1905-6, Gregory Freeze, ed., *From Supplication to Revolution: A Documentary Social History of Imperial Russia*, 240-1, 278-280
**A.I. Guchkov Warns of Impending Disaster, 1913 in Cracraft. ed., 634-43
**V.I. Lenin, (excerpts of) “What is to be Done” *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia: From Lenin to Gorbachev* ed. Robert V. Daniels (1993), 7-13

**Supplementary**

Mark D. Steinberg, *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations....1867-1907* (1992)
Dominic Lieven, *Nicholas II: Emperor of all the Russians* (1993)


Cathy Frierson, *All Russia is Burning: A Cultural History of Fire and Arson in Late Imperial Russia* (2002)


Vera Shevzov, *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution.*


Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Terrorism* (2009).

**February 5: Western Borderlands of the Empire**


**Polish Dethronement of Nicholas I, 199-200 in Bail Dmytryshyn (Ed.) *Imperial Russia: A Source Book, 1700-1917* (3rd. edition, 1990).**


Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (2002) 24-34, 47-54, 59-66, 71-72

**The Circular of the Minister of the Interior Petr Valuyev, July 18 1863, in Miller, *The Ukrainian Question* 263-264, or http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Valuyev_Circular**

**The Language Edict of 1 August 1863, 53-54 in David Kirby (Ed.), *Finland and Russia 1808-1920: From Autonomy to Independence. A Selection of Documents* (1975)**

**Manifesto of Nicholas II concerning Finland, 15 February 1899, 80-81 in Kirby (Ed.), *Finland and Russia 1808-1920* (1999)**


Supplementary:


Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863-1914*


Edward Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1914*
Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (2002).

**February 12: Eastern Borderlands of the Empire**

**The Gorchakov Circular on Russia’s Mission in Central Asia, 1864, in Cracraft, ed., 410-11


Supplementary

Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (2002)
February 26: Revolution, Civil War, and after

*Note: For those unfamiliar with the early revolutionary era, an excellent background reference work is Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-32*


Primary documents:


1:119-122, 125-126, 129-130

**Supplementary**


Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia* (2001)


Richard Stites, Abbott Gleason, and Peter Kenez, eds., *Bolshevik Culture: Experiment and Order in the Russian Revolution* (1985)


Edward Acton, *Rethinking the Russian Revolution* (1990)


www.soviethistory.org


March 5: Stalin and the “Great Turn”

I. The Politics of the “Great Turn”
Sheila Fitzpatrick, “Cultural Revolution as Class War” The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia (1992), READ 115-8, 125-9

II. Industry

III. The Countryside
Kate Brown, A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Hinterland (2004), 92-117

IV. The Everyday
Sheila Fitzpatrick, Everyday Stalinism (1999) 40-66

OPTIONAL, RECOMMENDED:
V. Sources

**The Stalin-Kaganovich Correspondence, 1931-36 (2003) 135-144, 152, 164-168, 179-181. The letters are from 1932.**

**Lewis Siegelbaum, Stalinism as a Way of Life: A Narrative in Documents 66-71. Documents concerning the famine 1932-33.**

Supplementary


Kendall E. Bailes, Technology and Society under Lenin and Stalin (1978)


Vera Dunham, In Stalin’s Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction (1976)


Lynne Viola, Peasant Rebels under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Public Resistance (1996)

Moshe Lewin, Russian Peasants and Soviet Power: A Study of Collectivization (1968)

Jeffrey Brooks, Thank You, Comrade Stalin: Soviet Public Culture from Revolution to the Cold War (2000) 54-158


Vladimir Paperny, Architecture in the Age of Stalin: Culture Two (2002)


Roy Medvedev, Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism (1973)

Robert C. Tucker, Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879-1929 (1973)


March 12: Terror and Stalin

I. Research


J. Arch Getty and Oleg V. Naumov, The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks (1999) 140-7


II. Sources

**“NKVD Operational Order” Getty and Naumov, The Road to Terror, 473-80**


**Varlam Shalamov, “Quiet.” 81-89 in his Kolyma Tales (1980). Fiction.**
Supplementary

David Hoffman, “Was there a ‘Great Retreat’ from Soviet Socialism” Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 5, no. 4 (2004): 651-74


J. Arch Getty and Roberta Manning, eds. Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives (1992)


Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick, Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared (2009)

Robert Conquest, The Great Terror (2nd ed. 1990 or more recent)


Chris Ward, Stalin’s Russia (1999)

Wendy Goldman, Terror and Democracy in the Age of Stalin: The Social Dynamics of Repression (2007)


Jeffrey J. Rossman, Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor (2005)


Sarah Davies and James Harris, eds. Stalin: A New History (2005)


**Eugenia Ginzburg, Journey into the Whirlwind (1967)

Norman M. Naimark, Stalin’s Genocides (2010)


March 19: World War II and Late Stalin Period (ca. 1939-53)

I. World War II


**Maksim Litvinov’s Speech at League of Nations, September 21, 1938 in Maksim Litvinov, Against Aggression: Speeches, READ 120-122, 127-31.

**Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Available at http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1939pact.html

II. Late Stalin Period


Supplementary:

Elizabeth White, “After the War was Over: The Civilian Return to Leningrad” Europe-Asia Studies 59 no. 7 (2007): 1145-1161

James R. Millar, “The Little Deal: Brezhnev’s Contribution to Acquisitive Socialism” Slavic Review 44:4
Ellen Mickiewicz, Televison, Power, and the Public in Russia (2008)
Gabriel Gorodetsky, Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia (1999)
Hugh Ragsdale, The Soviets, the Munich Crisis, and the Coming of World War II (2004)
John Erickson, The Road to Stalingrad: Stalin's War with Germany (1984)
John Erickson, The Road to Berlin (1985)
Alexander Werth, Russia at War 1941-1945 (1964)
Mark Harrison, Soviet Planning in Peace and War, 1938-45 (1985)
Vojtech Mastny, The Cold War and Soviet Insecurity: The Stalin Years (1996)
Nina Tumarkin, The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia. (1994)
Elena Zubkova, Russia after the War: Hopes, Illusions, and Disappointments, 1945-1957 (1998)
Vladimir Kozlov, Mass Uprisings in the USSR:Protest and Rebellion in the Post-Stalin Years (2002)
Soviet Harvard Interview Project (http://hcl.harvard.edu/collections/hpsss/about.html)

March 26: De-Stalinization and Khrushchev period, ca. 1953-64

**Nikita Khrushchev’s “Secret Speech” to the 20th Party Congress, 1956, Suny, ed. The Structure of
Soviet History: Essays and Documents (2003), 340-50
** Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1961). Beginning of the Part Two, chapter
“Communism-the Bright Future of All Mankind. Pages 59-62 in the 1961 edition. Also available online
https://archive.org/stream/ProgramOfTheCommunistPartyOfTheSovietUnion_150/program2#page/n13
/mode/2up with a different pagination.

Supplementary
Polly Jones (ed.), The Dilemmas of De-Stalinization: Negotiating Cultural and Social Change in the
Khrushchev Era (2006)
Deborah Field, “Irreconcilable Differences: Divorce and Conceptions of Private Life in the Khrushchev
278-306.

April 2: The Late Soviet Union and Soviet Collapse

I Late Soviet Union
Alexei Yurchak, Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation (2006) 36-37,
51-54, 207-222.
305-314.
** Bruce Adams, Tiny Revolutions in Russia: Twentieth-Century Soviet and Russian History in Anecdotes

II Why Did it Collapse?
Alexander Dallin, “Causes of Collapse of the USSR” Suny, ed. The Structure of Soviet History: Essays and
Documents (2003), 549-64

Supplementary
278-307
Alena Ledeneva, “Blat and Guanxi: Informal Practices in Russia and China” Contemporary Studies in
Irina L. Isaakyan, “Blood and Soil of the Soviet Academy: Politically Institutionalized Anti-Semitism in
the Moscow Academic Circles of the Brezhnev Era through the Life Stories of Russian Academic
Emigrants” Nationalities Papers, 36, no. 5 (2008): 833-859
Oleg Kharkhordin, The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices (Berkeley: University
Yaacov Roi “The Islamic Influence on Nationalism in Soviet Central Asia” Problems of Communism
July-Aug 1990, 49-64
Anne Gorsuch, “There’s No Place Like Home: Soviet Tourism in Late Stalinism” Slavic Review 62 no. 4
(Winter 2003): 760-85
Stephen White, Gorbachev and After (1992), 1-27 (summary chapter)
Donna Bahry, “Rethinking the Social Roots of Perestroika” Slavic Review 52 no. 3 (1993): 512-54.
Mark Galeotti, Afghanistan: The Soviet Union’s Last War (1995)
Hélène Carrère d’Encausse, Decline of an Empire: The Soviet Socialist Republics in Revolt (1980)
Timothy J. Colton, Moscow: Governing the Socialist Metropolis. 1995
Paul R. Josephson, New Atlantis Revisited: Akademgorodok, the Siberian City of Science (1997)
Nancy Ries, Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation during Perestroika (1997)
Carlotta Gall & Thomas de Waal, Chechnya: a Small Victorious War (1997)
Hilary Pilkington, “The Future is Ours: Youth Culture in Russia, 1953 to the Present” Russian Cultural Studies, eds., Catriona Kelly and David Shepherd (1998), 368-85
Mary Buckley, ed., Post-Soviet Women: from the Baltic to Central Asia (1997)
Stephen White, Gorbachev and After (1992)
Archie Brown, Seven Years that Changed the World: Perestroika in Perspective (2007)
Christopher Ward, Brezhnev’s Folly: The Building of BAM and Late Soviet Socialism (2009)
Adele Marie Barker, “Going to the Dogs: Pet Life in the New Russia” Consuming Russia: Popular Culture, Sex, and Society since Gorbachev (1999), 266-77
Jane Ellis, The Russian Orthodox Church: A Contemporary History (1986)

Vladislav Zubok, Zhivago’s Children: The Last Russian Intelligentsia (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2009)

**Leonid Plyusch, History’s Carnival: A Dissident’s Autobiography.

Journals
Slavic Review
Russian Review
Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History
Ab Imperio
Religion, State, and Society
Revolutionary Russia
Nationalities Papers
Canadian Slavonic Papers
Europe-Asia Studies
Cahiers du Monde russe
Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas. Includes articles also in English.
Russian Studies in History. Translations from articles by Russian historians.
Otechestvennaia Istorii
Voprosy istorii

Databases
Historical Abstracts, J-stor, Scopus
(Paragraphs which concern academic accommodation and plagiarism are omitted in this portfolio)
Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to the Paul Menton Center by their posted deadlines.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a letter of accommodation. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.