

**FINAL HONOUR SCHOOL  
OF MODERN HISTORY**

**Further Subject**

**The Soviet Union, 1924-1941**

**Bibliography**

**Revised March 2001**

## **Journals:**

### **Slavonic Reading Room**

<i>SR</i>	<i>Slavic Review</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Soviet Studies</i>
<i>RR</i>	<i>Russian Review</i>
<i>E-AS</i>	<i>Europe-Asia Studies</i>
<i>RH/HR</i>	<i>Russian History/Histoire Russe</i>
<i>JGO</i>	<i>Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas</i>

### **Other Libraries**

<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>PC</i>	<i>Problems of Communism</i> (PPE reading room)
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>Economic History Review</i>
<i>EHQ</i>	<i>European History Quarterly</i>
<i>JCH</i>	<i>Journal of Contemporary History</i>
<i>P&amp;P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>

## **TUTORIALS**

### **I. The Debate over the NEP**

#### **Questions:**

Assess the strengths and weaknesses of the NEP as an economic strategy. Was the NEP's main weakness its lack of ideological legitimacy?

How strong an ideological and political challenge did the Left Opposition pose to the leadership in 1924-28?

#### **Primary:**

'The Platform of the Left Opposition', in L.D. Trotsky, *The Challenge of the Left Opposition (1926-27)*, pp. 301-94.

N.I. Bukharin, 'The Path to Socialism' in N.I. Bukharin, *Selected Writings on the State and the Transition to Communism*, ed. R. Day (Nottingham, 1982), pp. 209-262.

E.J. Dillon, *Russia Today and Yesterday*, (London, 1929), pp. 1-56.

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#### **Secondary:**

- Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Soviet State and Society between Revolutions, 1918-1929*, (Cambridge 1992) chs. 3-5.
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- S.F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888-1938*, (New York, 1973).
- Richard Day, *Leon Trotsky and the Politics of Economic Isolation*, (Cambridge, 1973).
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- Chris Ward, *Russia's Cotton Workers and the New Economic Policy: Shop Floor Culture and State Policy, 1921-29*, (New York, 1990).
- William Chase, *Workers, Society and the Soviet State: Labor and Life in Moscow, 1918-1929*, (Urbana and Chicago, 1987).
- J. Hatch, 'Hangouts and Hangovers: State, Class and Culture in Moscow's Workers' Club Movement, 1925-1928', *RR* Jan 1994.
- K. Bailes, *Technology and Society under Lenin and Stalin* (Princeton, 1978).
- J. Hatch, 'The 'Lenin Levy' and the Social Origins of Stalinism: Workers and the Communist Party in Moscow, 1921-1928', *SR* 48, (1989).

## II. Stalin and the ‘Left turn’, 1927-1931

### Questions:

Why did Stalin initiate the ‘left turn’ in 1927-28?

Account for the defeat of the ‘Right deviation’.

Assess the extent and sources of social support for Stalinist policies in the period 1928-1931.

### Primary:

D. Koenker *et al.*, *Revelations from the Russian Archives. Documents in English Translation*, (Washington D.C., 1997), documents 121, 122 (on the ‘Industrial Party’ trial), 189-90 (reports on the first five-year plan, 1930-1).

J. Stalin, *Works*, (Moscow, 1954) xi, 3-11, 30-68; xii, 1-113; 114-117, 197-205.  
*Stalin’s Letters to Molotov*, ed. L.T. Lih, O.V. Naumov and O.V. Khlevniuk, (New Haven and London, 1995), Letters 42, 43, 50, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67, 69.

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- M. David-Fox, *Revolution of the Mind: Higher Learning among the Bolsheviks, 1918-1929*, (1997).
- M. David-Fox, 'Political Culture, Purges and Proletarianization at the Institute of Red Professors, 1921-1929', *RR* January 1993.
- A. Nove and J. Millar, 'Was Stalin really necessary? A debate on collectivization', *PC*, 25, 1976.

### **III. The Peasantry and the Regime**

#### **Questions:**

Assess the extent and nature of peasant 'resistance' to the regime.

How divided was the Russian village, 1924-1941?

What were the objectives of collectivisation and to what extent were they achieved?

#### **Primary:**

- Diary of A.S. Arzhilovskii, in V. Garros, N. Korenevskaja and T. Laushen (eds.), *Intimacy and Terror. Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, (New York, 1995), pp. 112-165.
- M. Hindus, *Red Bread* (London, 1931).
- S. Tretyakov, *Nine Girls* (1935) in J. Von Geldern, R. Stites (eds.), *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia. Tales, Poems, Song, Movies, Plays and Folklore, 1917-1953*, (Bloomington, Indiana, 1995) pp. 216-227.

Official ‘Folk’ Literature, in *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia*, pp. 123-127, 280-283, 296-299, 320-321.

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L. Siegelbaum, “‘Dear Comrade, You Ask What We Need’: Socialist Paternalism and Soviet Rural ‘Notables’ in the Mid-1930s”, *SR*, Spring 1988.

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R. Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine*, (Oxford, 1987).

G.L. Yaney, *The Urge to Mobilize. Agrarian Reform in Russia, 1861-1930*, (Urbana, Ill., 1982).

#### IV. The Leadership and the Opposition, 1931-1936

##### Questions:

How coherent was the ideological challenge posed by the ‘Left’ and ‘Right’ oppositions to Stalin after 1929?

Which principles underlay the leadership’s policies during the period?

##### Primary:

*Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics. Conversations with Felix Chuev*, ed. A. Reis, (Chicago, 1993), pp. 159-328.

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- B. Knei-Paz, *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*, (Oxford, 1978), Part III.
- A. Nove, 'New Light on Trotskii's Economic Views', *SR* 40, 1987.
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- T. Brotherstone (ed.), *The Trotsky Reappraisal*.
- S. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*.
- F. Benvenuti, in N. Lampert *et al.* (ed.)

## V. Workers, Specialists and the Regime

### Questions:

How successful was the regime in its attempts to mobilise industrial workers?

What were the main sources of conflict within the Soviet factory EITHER before OR after 1931?

Is it possible to discern worker support for the values propagated by the regime during the 1930s?

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V. Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom. The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official*, (London, 1947), pp. 206-220.

J. Scott, *Behind the Urals. An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel*, (Bloomington, Indiana, 1973), pp.137-170, 173-206.

*Revelations from the Russian Archives*, documents 25-6, 28 (official reports on workers' opinion)

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### Secondary:

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- W.G. Rosenberg and L.H. Siegelbaum (eds.), *Social Dimensions of Soviet Industrialization* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1993).
- Robert W. Thurston, *Life and Terror in Stalin's Russia, 1934-1941*, (New Haven and London, 1996), ch 6.

## VI. Politics and the Terror, 1935-1939

### Questions:

Why did Stalin initiate the 'Great Terror' of 1937-8?

How convincing are 'revisionist' explanations for the 'Great Terror'?

### Primary:

*Revelations from the Russian Archives*, documents 14, (on the NKVD) 39- 41 (on party purges, 1935-7), 48-50, 54, 55, 58 (on the terror and the Moscow trials).

J.V. Stalin, *Works*, (London, 1978), xiv, 71-9; 241-296.

*Report of the Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre*, (Moscow, 1937), pp. 462-473.

A. Orlov, *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes* (London, 1954), pp. 17-71.

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- G. Gill, *The Origins of the Stalinist Political System*, (Cambridge, 1990).
- R. Weinberg, 'Purge and Politics in the Periphery: Birobidzhan in 1937', *SR* Spring 1993.
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## VII. The Intelligentsia and Cultural Policy

### Questions:

Which messages did the leadership seek to propagate through literature and/or art and/or cinema?

How much influence did the intelligentsia have over cultural policy?

### Primary:

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- R. Taylor and I. Christie, *The Film Factory. Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents* (1988), pp. 198-200, 225-237, 253-4, 259-264, 286-290, 325.
- S. Eisenstein, *October* (1927).
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**VIII Gender; Women; the Family.**

**Question:**

How did the 'Great retreat' in Stalinist social policy affect the position of women?

**Primary:**

E.S. Ginzburg, *Into the Whirlwind*, trans. P. Stevenson and M. Harari, (London, 1967), pp. 11-64.

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R. Schlesinger, (ed.), *Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia. The Family in the USSR*, (London, 1949), pp. 251-4, 268-9.

### **Secondary:**

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A. Gorusch, "'A Woman is not a Man": the Culture of Gender and generation in Soviet Russia, 1921-1928', *SR* Fall 1996.

## **IX The Comintern and Foreign Policy**

### **Questions:**

Assess the role of ideology in Stalin's foreign policy.

What were the main principles underlying Soviet policy towards Germany during the 1920s and 1930s?

### **Primary:**

R. Daniels, *A Documentary History of Communism*, vol. ii, pp. 83-7, 100-5.

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T.J. Uldricks, 'The Icebreaker Controversy: Did Stalin Plan to Attack Hitler?', *SR* Fall 1999.

## **X. The Gulag**

Account for the expansion of the Gulag system under Stalin.

What were the purposes of the Gulag?

M. Jakobson, *The Origin of the Gulag. The Soviet Prison Camp System, 1917-1934*,

(1993).

- E. Bacon, *The Gulag at War. Stalin's Forced Labour System in the Light of the Archives*, (1996).
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## **XI. Religion and the Church**

How coherent was the state's policy towards the church between 1924 and 1941?

How great a threat did the church pose to the regime?

- A. Luukkanen, *The Religious Policy of the Stalinist State. A Case Study: The Central Standing Commission on Religious Questions, 1929-1938* (1997).
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## **XII. The Non-Russian Nationalities and Nationalities Policy**

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- B. Nahaylo and V. Swoboda, *Soviet Disunion. A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR* (1990).
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- C. King, 'The Ambivalence of Authenticity, or How the Moldovan language was Made', *SR*, Spring 1999.
- Z. Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics. The Jewish Sections of the CPSU, 1917-1930* (1972).

## CLASSES

### I. The Debate over the NEP, 1924-28

See above

### II. Stalin and the Leadership

What do the available sources tell us about Stalin's motivations?

Assess the relative usefulness of letters and speeches in judging the motivations of the leadership.

#### Primary:

- J.V. Stalin, *Works*, (Moscow, 1954), viii, 124-151, xi, 3-11, 30-68; xii, 11-72, 197-205, xiii, 53-82.

- J.V. Stalin, *Works*, (London, 1978), xiv, 71-9; 241-296.
- Stalin's Letters to Molotov*, ed. L.T. Lih, O.V. Naumov and O.V. Khlevniuk, (New Haven and London, 1995), Letters 42, 43, 50, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67, 69, 75, 77, 79.
- Molotov Remembers: Inside Kremlin Politics. Conversations with Felix Chuev*, ed. A. Reis, (Chicago, 1993), pp. 159-328.

**Secondary:**

- L. Lih, Introduction, in *Stalin's Letters to Molotov*, ed. L.T. Lih, O.V. Naumov and O.V. Khlevniuk, (New Haven and London, 1995).
- R. Tucker, *Stalin in Power* ch 3.
- R. McNeal, *Stalin, Man and Ruler* (London, 1988).

**III. Popular Culture and Popular Opinion**

**Questions:**

How oppositional was popular culture? What do the sources tell us about the nature of EITHER working class OR peasant attitudes?

**Primary:**

Diary of A.S. Arzhilovskii, in V. Garros, N. Korenevskaja and T. Laushen (eds.), *Intimacy and Terror. Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, (New York, 1995), pp. 112-121, 125-128, 158-163.

Diary of L.A. Potyomkin, in V. Garros, N. Korenevskaja and T. Laushen (eds.), *Intimacy and Terror. Soviet Diaries of the 1930s*, (New York, 1995), pp. 257-261, 273-283.

**Secondary:**

- S. Fitzpatrick, *Ordinary Stalinism*.
- R. Stites, *Russian Popular Culture. Entertainment and Society Since 1900*, (Cambridge, 1992), chs 2-3.
- J. Barber, 'Working Class Culture and Political Culture in the 1930s' in Gunther, *Culture of the Stalin Period* (1990).
- S. Davies, *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia*.
- L. Viola, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin*.

- S. Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants*.
- S. Fitzpatrick, 'Supplicants and Citizens: Public Letter-Writing in Soviet Russia in the 1930s', *SR* Spring 1996.
- G. Alexopoulos, 'Portrait of a Con Artist as a Soviet Man', *SR* Winter 1988.
- I. Halfin and J. Hellbeck, 'Rethinking the Stalinist Subject: Stephen Kotkin's "Magnetic Mountain" and the State of Soviet Historical Studies', *JGO* 1996.

#### IV. Cinema

How did the cinema reflect the changing message of the leadership? To what extent was cinema a tool of the party leadership?

- R. Taylor and I. Christie, *The Film Factory. Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents* (1988), pp. 198-200, 225-237, 253-4, 259-264, 286-290, 325.
- S. Eisenstein, *October* (1927).
- S. Eisenstein, *Alexander Nevskii* (1938).
- Denise J. Youngblood, *Movies for the Masses. Popular Cinema and Soviet Society in the 1920s*, (Cambridge 1992).
- D. J. Youngblood, *Soviet Cinema in the Silent Era, 1917-1935*, (Ann Arbor, 1985).
- P. Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society, 1917-1953*, (Cambridge, 1992).
- R. Taylor, *The Politics of the Soviet Cinema, 1917-1929*, (Cambridge, 1979)
- R. Taylor, *Film Propaganda: Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany* (N.Y. 1979).
- R. Taylor and Ian Christie (eds.), *The Film Factory*, (Cambridge, MA, 1988).
- R. Taylor. (ed.), *Eisenstein Reconsidered*.

#### V. Art, Literature and Propaganda

How was Stalinist literature OR the aesthetics of art and visual propaganda affected by changes in the 'General Line'?

##### Primary:

- J. Von Geldern, R. Stites (eds.), *Mass Culture in Soviet Russia. Tales, Poems. Song, Movies, Plays and Folklore, 1917-1953*, (Bloomington, Indiana, 1995), with accompanying audio-cassettes where relevant, pp. 139-141, pp. 153-156 (M. Doroshin, *Pavlik Morozov*, (1930)), pp. 212-213, 283-285, 328-330 (Political 'Anecdotes'); pp. 215-227, pp. 234-238, 271-272, 315-319 (Songs from films 1934-8), pp. 260-266 (B. Galin, *Valery Chkalov*, (1937)).

*The Soviet Political Poster, 1917-1980*, selected by N. Baburina (Harmondsworth, 1988), nos. 61,73, 74, 58, 60, 66, 72, 68, 76, 79, 83.

Ilf and Petrov, *The Twelve Chairs*, trans. J. Richardson, (London, 1971).

M.A. Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*, trans. M. Glenny, (London, 1992).

V.P. Kataev, *Time Forward*, trans. C. Malamuth, (New York, 1933).

### **Secondary:**

A. Kemp-Welch, *Stalin and the Literary Intelligentsia, 1928-1939*, (London, 1991).

K. Clark, *Petersburg. Crucible of Cultural Revolution*, (Cambridge, Mass, 1995).

K. Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*, (Chicago, 1981).

Robert A. Maguire, *Red Virgin Soil: Soviet Literature in the 1920s*, (Princeton, 1978).

Edward J. Brown, *The Proletarian Episode in Russian Literature, 1928-1932*, (New York, 1953).

C. Vaughan James, *Soviet Socialist Realism: Origins and Theory*, (London, 1973).

V. Dunham, *In Stalin's Time*, (Cambridge, 1976).

F. Miller, *Folklore for Stalin. Russian Folklore and Pseudo-Folklore of the Stalin Era* (NY 1990).

N. Tumarkin, *Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1983).

Susan E. Reid, 'All Stalin's Women: Gender and Power in Soviet Art of the 1930s', *SR* Spring 1988.

R. Manning, *Iconography of Power. Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin* (1997).

M. Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, (1998).

Hayward Gallery, *Art and Power. Europe under the Dictators, 1930-1945* (exhibition catalogue, 1996).

## **VI. The Terror**

How have the recently released archival sources altered our view of the terror?

Diane P. Koenker and Ronald D. Bachman, *Revelations from the Russian Archives. Documents in English Translation*, (Washington D.C., 1997), Documents 13, 14, 25,

26, 28 35, 36, 39-41, 48-50, 54, 55, 58, 76, 121, 122, 169, 170, 172, 174, 177-9, 189.

See reading list above.

## VII. Music

Assess the effect of Stalinist politics on music. How politicised was the music of the Stalin period?

### Primary:

D.P. Shostakovich, *Symphony No. 5, opus 47* (1937).

D.P. Shostakovich, *Testimony. The Memoirs of Dmitrii Shostakovich* (1981), pp. 106-122, 135, 183-4, 265-6.

### Secondary:

C. Norris, (ed.), *Shostakovich. The Man and His Music*, (1982).

R. Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically* (1997).

E. Wilson, *Shostakovich. A Life Remembered* (1994).

I. Macdonald, *The New Shostakovich* (1991).

D. Fanning, *Shostakovich Studies*, (1995).

## VIII. Sources and Debates

1. How useful are Soviet memoirs and travel literature for the historian of the 1930s? Do the set memoirs present a similar picture of the Stalinist regime?

N. Mandelshtam, *Hope against Hope. A Memoir*, trans. M. Hayward (London, 1971), pp. 3-70.

A. Larina, *This I Cannot Forget. The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow*, (London, 1993), pp. 112-125, 258-279.

V. Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1901-1941*, trans. P. Sedgewick, (Oxford, 1963), 209-225 244-261.

Lev Kopelev, *The Education of a True Believer*, trans. Gary Kern, (New York, 1980), pp. 248-267.

- V. Kravchenko, *I Chose Freedom. The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official*, (London, 1947), pp. 206-220.
- A. Orlov, *The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes* (London, 1954), pp. 17-71.
- E.S. Ginzburg, *Journey into the Whirlwind*, trans. P. Stevenson and M. Hayward, (London, 1967), pp. 11-64.
- N.S. Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers*, trans. by Strobe Talbott, (London, 1971), pp. 75-89.
- J. Scott, *Behind the Urals. An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel*, (Bloomington, Indiana, 1973), pp.137-170, 173-206.
- E. Lyons, *Assignment in Utopia*, (London, 1938), pp. 114-133, 413-427.
- M. Hindus, *Red Bread* (London, 1931), pp. 235-250.

**Secondary:**

- J. Hellbeck, Fashioning the Stalinist Soul: The Diary of Stephen Podlubnyi (1931-1939), *JGO* 1996.
- J.A. Getty, *The Origins of the Great Terror*.

2. Has the debate between 'traditionalists' and 'revisionists' been superseded?

**Secondary:**

- S. Fitzpatrick, Debate on the terror, *RR* 1986 and 1987.  
'Constructing Stalinism: Reflections on Changing Western and Soviet Perspectives on the Stalin Era', in A. Nove (ed.), *The Stalin Phenomenon*.
- Getty and Manning, *Stalinist Terror*, essay by Getty.
- V. Andriele, 'Demons and devils' advocates: problems in historical writing on the Stalin era', in N. Lampert and G.T. Rittersporn (eds.), *Stalinism, Its Nature and Aftermath*, (London, 1992).
- Getty and Naumov, *The Road to Terror*.

