

PSCI 217: POST-SOVIET RUSSIA IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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University of Pennsylvania
Spring 2003

Lecture: TR 12-1:30
 Room: B-21 Stiteler

Office hours: R 3-5
 Room: 236 Stiteler

Course Description: This course will present an in-depth examination of political, economic and social change in post-Soviet Russia within a historical context. After an initial discussion of why the past is relevant to understanding important issues and debates in contemporary Russia, the first part of this course will embark on an in-depth study of political economy and social change in Soviet Russia until the rise of Gorbachev in 1985. We will touch on the rise of communism in 1917, and we will examine in a broad historical perspective the evolution of the Soviet regime under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev. Throughout this time, we will examine the tensions between ideology and practice over the seventy years of communist rule from 1917 up until the Gorbachev era. The second part of the course will begin with an examination of the Gorbachev period, which is regarded here as an unintended starting point of the transition to post-Soviet Russia. After considering competing explanations for what happened between 1985 and the conservative coup of 1991 that finally triggered the break-up of the USSR, we will proceed to make sense of the continuities and changes in politics, economics and society in the Russian Federation under Yeltsin. We will pay particularly close attention to the question of political change, from the initial break-up of the USSR and the 1993 confrontation between Yeltsin and the Russian Parliament to the emergence of a new Russian Constitution along with a new array of competing leaders, ideologies and parties. We will consider how new political institutions have functioned, whether they have helped or hindered the consolidation of democracy, and whether and how Yeltsin and Putin have been able to exercise leadership. We will also examine the struggle over market-oriented reforms as well as their social and political consequences, while taking into account the problems of federalism and regionalism in the Former Soviet Union and the fate of such previously powerful institutions as the Soviet army and the secret police. The course will conclude with a broad discussion of the direction of political, economic and social change in Russia, bearing in mind insights from historical comparisons and the possible impact of communist legacies.

Readings: The average number of pages assigned for each week is about 125, although the second half of the course will feature more separate sources so as to incorporate recent news articles to complement the scholarly treatments of various topics. It is recommended that you do the readings immediately following the lectures to which they are linked in the schedule below. All readings will be from a bulkpack available at Campus Copy Center (Walnut & 39th St) and from two textbooks available at the Penn Book Center (34th St. & Walnut, not the university bookstore).

- (1) Ronald G. Suny, *The Soviet Experiment* (Oxford University Press, 1997)
- (2) Stephen WHITE, *Russia's New Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Requirements: There will be one in-class mid-term (Oct. 18), worth one-third of the overall grade, and you will be allowed to bring in one sheet of notes to assist you. The remainder of the grade will be accounted for by a take-home final on which you are all expected to do your own work as stipulated in Penn's honor code; the exam will consist of a typed, double-spaced 10-12 page paper responding to two related questions (each answer will count for one-third of the overall grade).

Note: students taking this course for graduate credit (PSCI-517) will be graded on the basis of (i) a take-home essay to be completed in the week of the midterm (the essay must incorporate references to some supplemental

readings from the appended bibliography), and (ii) a 15-20 page paper based on independent research on a topic to be approved by me (due Dec. 20).

SCHEDULE OF LECTURE TOPICS AND ASSIGNED READINGS

JAN 14 (T). Introduction & Overview: Why the Past Matters for Understanding Putin's Russia

- Vladimir Putin, President of Russia: Highlights of "State of the Nation" Address for 2000 and 2001, Reuters (July 8, 2000; April 3, 2001) – 4 pgs.
- Marcus Warren, "Putin's palace can't mask the shambles that is Russia" *The Electronic Telegraph* (UK). 14 August 2002
- Olga Nedbayeva, "Putin's Russia seeks role model in Tsarist past," *AFP* (Moscow), September 20, 2002
- Vladimir Isachenkov, "Soviet-Era red star gets rehabilitated," *Associated Press* (Moscow), November 26, 2002.

PART I:

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 1917-1985

JAN 16 (R). Two Origins of Soviet Communism: Imperial Russia and Marxist Theory

- SUNY 3-33
- Robert Tucker, *The Marxian Revolutionary Idea*, pp. 3-32.

JAN 21 (T). The Revolutions of 1917: The Triumph of the Bolsheviks

- Vladimir I. Lenin, "The State and Revolution," from Robert Tucker, ed. *The Lenin Anthology*, pp. 371-84 [also recommended pp. 335-50].
- SUNY, pp. 35-60

JAN 23 (R). War Communism, Formation of the USSR, and the New Economic Policy

- SUNY, pp. 60-94 (may skim 72-82), 123-151
- Richard Pipes, "The Establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," in Rachel Denber, ed. *The Soviet Nationality Reader*, pp. 35-47; 77-81.

JAN 28 (T). The Debates of the 1920s and the Emergence of Stalinism

- SUNY, pp. 151-168, 170-193
- Josef V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism" (excerpts), from C. Cohen, ed. *Communism, Fascism and Democracy*, pp. 154-164.

JAN 30 (R). Stalinism as Development? Collectivization and Planned Industrialization

- SUNY, pp. 217-251

- James Millar and Alec Nove, "Was Stalin Really Necessary? A Debate," *Problems of Communism* (July/August 1976) .

FEB 4 (T). Stalinism as Revolution? Terror, Control and the Making of a New Society

- SUNY, pp. 252-290 (also skim pp. 297-307, 328-335 related World War II)
- T. H. Rigby, "Stalinism and the Mono-Organizational Society," from R. Tucker, ed. *Stalinism*, pp. 53-76

FEB 6 (R). Movie: "STALIN" (HBO Pictures, starring Robert Duvall, Julia Ormond)

[may be shown partly or entirely in the evening, with no regular lecture scheduled]

FEB 11 (T). What Was Stalinism? Why Did it Emerge? What Did it Do? (Discussion)

- Stephen Cohen, *Rethinking the Soviet Experience*, pp. 38-78.
- Robert Tucker, "Stalinism as Revolution from Above," from *Stalinism*, pp. 77-108.
- Leszek Kolakowski, "Marxist Roots of Stalinism," from *Stalinism*, pp. 283-98 .

FEB 13 (R). Khrushchev and 'De-Stalinization': Return to 'True' Communism?

- SUNY, pp. 387-420
- Khrushchev, "The Secret Speech: Delivered to the Closed Session of the 20th Party Congress," in Thomas P. Whitney, ed. *Khrushchev Speaks*, pp. 207-25, 252-65.
- George Breslauer, "Khrushchev Reconsidered," *Problems of Communism* (Sept/Oct 1976).

FEB 18 (T). The Brezhnev Era: Stability or Stagnation?

- SUNY, pp. 421-446
- Leonid Brezhnev, "Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (March 29, 1966)," as reprinted in R. V. Daniels, ed. *A Documentary History of Communism in Russia*, pp. 280-283
- Seweryn Bialer, "Soviet Stability and its Sources," from *Stalin's Successors*, pp. 141-182.
- Hedrick Smith, *The Russians*, pp. 30-67

FEB 20 (R). Lenin to Brezhnev: Revolution, Routinization and Development (Discussion/Review)

- Leonid Brezhnev, "A Historic Stage on the Road to Communism (1977)," as reprinted in Daniels, *A Documentary History of Communism*, pp. 314-316
- "Currents of Dissent" [Comments by Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn and Medvedev on USSR under Brezhnev] in Daniels, ed. *A Documentary History of Communism*, pp. 290-301
- Ken Jowitt, "Neotraditionalism" from *The New World Disorder*, pp. 121-58.
- Richard Lowenthal, "Development Versus Utopia in Communist Countries," in Chalmers Johnson, ed. *Change in Communist Systems*, pp. 33-54, 104-116.

*** FEB 25 (T): MID-TERM EXAMINATION (in class) for PSCI 217 ***

PSCI 517: respond in 6-8 pg essay engaging supplemental readings; due in class MAR 4 (T)

FEB 27 (R): Guest lecture or no class (I will be away at a conference)

PART II**THE RISE OF A "NEW RUSSIA," 1985-2000**MAR 4 (T). Gorbachev's Reforms: Glasnost, Perestroika, Demokratizatsiia

- SUNY, pp. 449-459
- M. S. Gorbachev, Speech at Khabarovsk (July 31, 1986) in A. Dallin and Lapidus, eds. *The Soviet System*, pp. 315-320.
- Stephen Hanson, "Gorbachev: The Last True Leninist Believer?" in Daniel Chirot, ed. *The Crisis of Leninism and the Decline of the Left*, pp. 33-59.

MAR 6 (R). Losing Control of Glasnost: Mass Politics and the Nationalities Question

- SUNY, pp. 459-477
- Alexander Tsipko, "Are Our Principles Any Good?" in Dallin and Lapidus, pp. 310-14.
- Nina Andreyeva, "I Cannot Forgo My Principles," in Dallin and Lapidus, pp. 338-46.
- Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachev Phenomeonon*, pp. 145-53
- Steven Fish, *Democracy From Scratch*, pp. 30-51.
- Gail Lapidus, "Gorbachev's Nationalities Problem," in Dallin and Lapidus, pp. 430-440.

MAR 7-16. **** SPRING BREAK ****MAR 18 (T). The End of the USSR: Was it Inevitable?

- SUNY, pp. 477-484
- M. S. Gorbachev, "Resignation Speech, December 25, 1991," in Dallin and Lapidus, pp. 644-646.
- John Dunlop, "Anatomy of a Failed Coup," in Dallin and Lapidus, pp. 595-622.
- Martin Malia ("Z"), "To the Stain Mausoleum," in Dallin and Lapidus, pp. 658-80.
- Alexander Dallin, "Causes of the Collapse of the USSR," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8, 4 (1992), pp. 279-302 .

MAR 20 (R). The Birth of a New Russia and Troubled Transition, 1992-1993

- WHITE, pp. 70-82 (up to end of footnote 57)
- George Breslauer, "The Roots of Polarization: A Comment," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 9, 3 (1993), pp. 223-30.

MAR 25 (T). The Yeltsin Constitution: Toward a "Superpresidential" System?

- WHITE, pp. 82-106 (from end of footnote 57)
- Steven Fish, "The Executive Deception: Superpresidentialism and the Degradation of Russian Politics," in Valerie Sperling, ed. *Building the Russian State*, pp. 177-192

- Eugene Huskey, "Overcoming the Yeltsin Legacy: Vladimir Putin and Russian Political Reform," in A. Brown, ed. *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 82-96

MAR 27 (R). The Evolving Political Spectrum: Parties, Politicians, and Elections

- WHITE, pp. 34-69
- Stephen Hanson, "Ideology, Uncertainty and the Rise of Anti-System Parties in Post-Communist Russia," in *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 14 (March/June 1998): 98-127.
- William A. Clark, "The Russian State Duma: 1993, 1995, and 1999," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 46, 6 (Nov/Dec 1999): 3-11.
- Yitzhak Brudny, "Continuity of Change in Russian Electoral Patterns? The December 1999 – March 2000 Electoral Cycle," in A. Brown, ed. *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 154-178.

APR 1 (T). Is Liberal Democracy Being Consolidated in Contemporary Russia?

[possibility of guest lecture and/or informal discussion in lieu of regular lecture]

- WHITE, pp. 255-292
- Alexander Lukin, "Electoral Democracy or Electoral Clanism? Russian Democratization and Theories of Transition," in A. Brown, ed. *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 530-545
- Rudra Sil and Cheng Chen, "State Legitimacy and the (In)significance of Democracy in Postcommunist Russia" (adapted from paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston: Aug. 28 – Sept. 1, 2002).
- Peter Baker, "Attacks on Foreigners Rising in Russia: Frequency of Violence, Recruits by Fascist Groups Alarm Kremlin," *Washington Post* (August 11, 2002)
- Sophia Kishkovsky, "Russian Novelist Scoffs at Post-Soviet Leaders," *New York Times* (August 25, 2002) – on radical nationalism of writer Prokhanov

APR 3 (R). Privatization and the New Russian Economy

- WHITE, pp. 107-143
- Clifford Gaddy and Barry Ickes, "Russia's Virtual Economy," *Foreign Affairs* 77, 5 (1998): 53-67 [print-out of electronic version]
- Richard Ericson, "Is Russia in Transition to a Market Economy?" in A. Brown, ed. *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 252-258
- Boris Kagarlitsky, "It's Trotsky and Bukharin All Over Again," *Moscow Times* (January 12, 2001) – 2 pgs.
- James Wedel, "How the Chubais Clan, Harvard Fed Corruption," *Los Angeles Times* (September 12, 1999) – 2 pgs
- Colin McMahon, "In Russia, Ignoring Taxes a Deeply Rooted Tradition: Government Collects a Fraction of What It's Owed," *Chicago Tribune* (October 1, 1998).

APR 8 (T). Social Conditions in Russia: Mass Attitudes, Corruption, Living Standards

- WHITE, pp. 144-194, 203-212
- Richard Rose, "Postcommunism and the Problem of Trust," in L. Diamond and M. F. Plattner, eds. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, pp. 251-63.
- Vladimir Shlapentokh, "Social Inequality in Post-Communist Russia: The Attitudes of the Political Elite and the Masses (1991-1998)," *Europe-Asia Studies* 51, 7 (1999): 1167-81
- Peter Rutland and Natasha Kogan, "The Russian Mafia: Between Hype and Reality," in A. Brown, ed. *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 139-147.

- Elizabeth Piper, "Russia's women say they have never had it so bad," (Reuters, May 22, 2000), 1 pg.
- "Expert Reveals Shocking Figures About Drug Addiction in Russia," *Interfax* (July 8, 2001) – 1 pg
- "Death Rate Highest Since End of War," *Moscow Times* (July 17, 2001) – 1 pg.

APR 10 (R). Competing Views on Russia's Economy and Society (further discussion & class debate)

- Anders Aslund, "How Russia was Won?" *Moscow Times* (Nov 21, 2002)
- Joseph Stieglitz, "Who Lost Russia?" from *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: Norton 2002), pp. 133-165.
- Gordon M. Hahn: "Growing middle class reinforces civil society," *The Russia Journal* (April 26-May 2, 2002)
- Richard Rose, "Living in an Antimodern Society," in A. Brown, ed. *Contemporary Russian Politics*, pp. 293-303
- Boris Kagarlitsky, "Globalization and Russia," *ZNET Commentary* (March 12, 2001) -- <http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2001-03/12kagarlitsky.htm>

APR 15 (T). The Soviet Legacy and the Russian Military-Security Apparatus

- J. Michael Waller, "The KGB Legacy in Russia," *Problems of Post-Communism* (Nov/Dec, 1995): 3-10.
- Eva Busza, "State Dysfunctional, Institutional Decay, and the Russian Military," in V. Sperling, ed. *Building the Russian State*, pp. 113-129
- Bruce Blair and Clifford Gaddy, "Russia's Aging War Machine," *Brookings Review* 17, 3 (Summer 1999) [electronically retrieved printout]
- Viktor Baranets, "Win By Numbers or Skill? What the New Reductions Will Do to the Russian Armed Forces," *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (December 1, 2000) – 3 pgs

APR 17 (R). Federalism, Regionalism and Ethnic Conflict

- WHITE, 239-250
- Paul Kubicek, "End of the Line for the Commonwealth of Independent States," *Problems of Post-Communism*, 46, 2 (Mar/Apr 1999): 15-24.
- Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, "Chechnya Versus Tatarstan: Understanding Ethnopolitics in Post-Communist Russia," *Problems of Post-Communism* 47, 2 (2000): 13-22.
- Gail Lapidus, "Asymmetrical Federalism and State Breakdown in Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 15, 1 (1999): 74-82.
- Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, "Central Weakness and Provincial Autonomy: Observations on the Devolution Process in Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 15, 1 (1999): 87-106
- News brief and commentary: Putin's Seven "Super Regions" [4-pg printout]
- Nikolai Petrov, "Federal Reform, Two and a Half Years On," *Russia and Eurasia Review*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan 7, 2003) [2-pg. printout]

PART III**PROSPECTS, COMPARISONS, CONCLUSIONS**APR 22 (T). Russia in Comparative-Historical Perspective

- Stephen Hanson and Jeffrey Kopstein, "The Weimar/Russia Comparison," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 13,3 (July-September 1997): 252-283.
- Joseph Stieglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, pp. 180-188 [on Russia and China]
- Valerie Bunce, "Comparing East and South," in L. Diamond and M. F. Plattner, *Democracy After Communism*, 18-32
- Archie Brown, "Transnational Influences in the Transition from Communism," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 16, 2 (2000): 177-200.

APR 24 (R). From the Past to the Future: Enduring Legacies, Troubled Transitions, and Putin's Russia

- Stephen Cohen, "'Transition' Is a Notion Rooted in U.S. Ego," *New York Times* (27 March 1999)
- Martin Malia, "Communist Legacy Foreclosed Choices," *New York Times* (27 March, 1999).
- Vladimir Putin, *2002 State of the Nation Address to the Russian Parliament* (April 18, 2002)
- Heinrich Vogel, "The Putin System: Power Restored But Now Come the Real Problems," *Internationale Politik (Transatlantic Edition)*, vol. 3 (Spring 2002). 10-pg printout.
- Daniel Treisman, "Russia Renewed?" *Foreign Affairs* (Nov/Dec 2002).
- Boris Kagarlitsky, "The Russian Left Today" ZNET Commentary (July 7, 2001) -- <http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2001-07/07kagarlitsky.htm>
- Murray Feshbach, "Russia's Population Meltdown." *Wilson Quarterly* (2001) [6-pg printout]

*** MAY 9: FINAL PAPERS DUE BY 5 PM IN MY BOX (217 Stiteler Hall)

PSCI 217: Paper based on assigned readings & lectures

(should respond to questions to be announced at last session, April 24)

PSCI 517: Paper based on assigned & supplemental readings and independent research

(topic to be discussed beforehand with me)

Note: no electronic attachments or faxes will be accepted.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(MAY BE USED TO SELECT SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS FOR PSCI-517 ASSIGNMENTS)

COMMENTARIES ON SOVIET & RUSSIAN STUDIES

- George Breslauer, "In Defense of Sovietology" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 8, 3 (1992): 197-238.
- Archie Brown, ed. *Political Culture and Communist Studies* (London: Macmillan, 1984).
- Michael Burawoy, "The End of Sovietology and the Renaissance of Modernization Theory." *Contemporary Sociology* 21 (November 1992).
- Stephen Cohen, "Sovietology as a Vocation," ch. 1 of his *Rethinking the Soviet Experience* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1985).
- Stephen Cohen, "Russian Studies Without Russia," *Post-Soviet Affairs* (Jan-Mar 1999): 37-55
- Frederic Fleron, ed.
- Andrew Janos, "Social Science, Communism and the Dynamics of Political Change." *World Politics* 44, 1 (1991): 81-112.
- Stephen Hanson, "Social Theory and the Post-Soviet Crisis: Sovietology and the Problem of Regime Identity." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 28, 1 (1995).
- Jerry Hough. *The Soviet Union and Social Science Theory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).
- Paul Kubicek, "Post-communist Political Studies: Ten Years Later, Twenty Years Behind?" *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 33 (2000): 295-309
- Rudra Sil, selections pertaining to Russia in "Managing 'Modernity' in Japanese and Russian Studies," Appendix B of *Managing 'Modernity': Work, Community and Authority in Late-Industrializing Japan and Russia* (Ann Arbor: Univ of Michigan Press, in press)
- Robert Tucker, "Stalinism and Comparative Communism," in Robert Tucker, ed. *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation* (New York: Norton, 1977).

NOTABLE WORKS BY RUSSIAN/SOVIET POLITICAL ACTORS

- N. I. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky. *The ABC's of Communism*. (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1969).
- A. V. Chayanov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy*. Ed. Daniel Thorniley et al. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996).
- M.S. Gorbachev, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1987).
- V. I. Lenin. *The Lenin Anthology*. Ed. Robert C. Tucker. (New York: Norton, 1975).
- Rosa Luxemborg, *The Russian Revolution, and Leninism or Marxism*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1927).
- Paul Miliukov, *Russia Today and Tomorrow*. (New York: Macmillan, 1922).
- J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*. 8th ed. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953).
- Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed: What is the Soviet Union and Where is it Going?* rev. ed. (New York: Pathfinder, 1972 [1937]).
- Boris Yeltsin, *The Struggle For Russia* (New York: Times Books, 1995).
- Michael Jaworsky, ed. 1967. *Soviet Political Thought: An Anthology*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967).

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

- Jeffrey Burds, *Peasant Dreams and Market Politics, Labor Migration and the Russian Village, 1861-1905* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998)
- Alexander Gerschenkron, "Problems and Patterns of Russian Economic Development." In *The Transformation of Russian Society*, ed. Cyril Black. (Harvard University Press, 1960).
- Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia and the Russians* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001)
- Dominic Lieven, *The Russian Empire and Its Rivals* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
- Martin Malia, *Russia Under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum*. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Old Regime* (New York. Scribner's and Sons, 1974).
- Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).
- Theodor Shanin, *Russia as a 'Developing Society.'* (London: Macmillan Press, 1985).
- Christine Worobec, *Peasant Russia: Family and Community in the Post-Emancipation Period*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- Reginald Zelnik, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855-1870*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971).

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

- Nikolai Berdyaev, *The Origins of Russian Communism* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1960).
- Victoria Bonnell, *Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow, 1900-1914*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
- E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-23*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1966.
- William H. Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921*, 2 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1935)
- Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1982)
- Leopold Haimson. *The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955).
- Timothy McDaniel, *Autocracy, Capitalism and Revolution in Russia*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
- Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*. (New York: Vintage, 1990).
- Theda Skocpol, chapter on Russia in *States and Social Revolutions*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

ON SOVIET POLITICS, ECONOMY & SOCIETY IN GENERAL

[see also, as categorized specific time periods in headings below]

- Joseph Berliner, *Soviet Industry*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).
- Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Soviet Politics: From the Future to the Past?" In *The Dynamics of Soviet Politics*, ed. Paul Cocks et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).
- Stephen Cohen, *Rethinking the Soviet Experience* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1985)
- Francis Fukuyama. "The Modernizing Imperative: The USSR as an Ordinary Country." *The National Interest* 32 (1993): 10-19
- Stephen Hanson, *Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions* (Chapel Hill: Univ of North Carolina Press, 1999).
- Ken Jowitt, *New World Disorder* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 1992), chs. 1-5
- Oleg Kharkhordin. *The Collective and the Individual in Russia: A Study of Practices*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

Moshe Lewin, *Making of the Soviet System* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985)

ON SOVIET POLITICS, ECONOMY & SOCIETY IN GENERAL (cont'd)

Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917-1991*. New York: Free Press, 1994).

Alec Nove, *An Economic History of the USSR*. (Harmondsworth, UK. Penguin, 1984).

Richard Pipes, *Communism: The Vanished Specter*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Mancur Olson, "The Logic of Collective Action in Soviet-type Societies." *Journal of Soviet Nationalities* 1, 2 (1990): 8-27.

Leonard Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. (New York: Vintage, 1964).

Rudra Sil, chapter 4 of *Managing 'Modernity': Work, Community and Authority in Late-Industrializing Japan and Russia* (Ann Arbor: Univ of Michigan Press, 2002).

Robert C. Tucker, *Political Culture and Leadership in Soviet Russia*. (New York: Norton, 1987).

Theodore Von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin? Why Gorbachev?* Rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Collins, 1993).

Stephen White, *Political Culture and Soviet Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

THE SOVIET UNION UNDER LENIN AND THROUGH THE 1920S

E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-23*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1966.

E. H. Carr, *The Interregnum, 1923-24*. London. Macmillan, 1954.

E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-26*. London. Macmillan, 1964.

Stephen Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1973)

Alexander Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debates, 1924-1928*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960

Barrington Moore, *Soviet Politics: The Dilemma of Power*. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965). First published 1950, Harvard University Press.

Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*. (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960).

Theodor Shanin, *The Awkward Class: Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society, Russia, 1910-1925*. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1972).

Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

D. Volkogonov, *Lenin: A New Biography* (New York, 1994).

STALINISM: TERROR, INDUSTRIALIZATION, SOCIAL CHANGE

Vladimir Andrie, *Workers in Stalin's Russia: Industrialization and Social Change in a Planned Economy*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).

Kendall Bailes, *Technology and Society Under Lenin and Stalin: Origins of the Soviet Technical Intelligentsia, 1917-1941* (Princeton University Press, 1978)

Joseph Berliner, *Factory and Manager in the USSR*. (Harvard University Press, 1957).

Y. S. Borisova, L. S. Gaponenko, A. I. Kotelents, and V. S. Lelchuk. *Outline History of the Soviet Working Class*. (Moscow: Progress, 1973) [official Soviet history]

Zbigniew Brzezinski and Carl Friedrich. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956).

Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (London, 1990).

Robert Conquest. *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Robert V. Daniels. *The Conscience of the Revolution: Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

STALINISM: TERROR, INDUSTRIALIZATION, SOCIAL CHANGE (cont'd)

Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 1966)

Vera Dunham, *In Stalin's Time: Middle-Class Values in Soviet Fiction* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Merle Fainsod. *Smolensk Under Soviet Rule*. (Harvard University Press, 1958).

Donald Filtzer, *Soviet Workers and Stalinist Industrialization: The Formation of Modern Soviet Production Relations, 1928-41*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1986

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance & Survival in the Russian Village After Collectivization* (Oxford University Press, 1994).

Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed. *Cultural Revolution in Russia*. (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977)

J. Arch Getty. *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933-1938*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Alex Inkeles and Raymond Bauer. *The Soviet Citizen*. (Harvard University Press, 1959).
[based on interviews with Stalin-era emigres]

Steven Kotkin. *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

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