

Professor F. Hirsch

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Spring 2013

Office hours Th 1:30-3:00 and by appointment

History 424
The Soviet Union and the World, 1917-1991

This course surveys the relationship between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world from 1917 to 1991. We will look at the Bolsheviks and their dream of worldwide socialist revolution, the creation of the Soviet socialist state, the postwar transformation of the USSR into a superpower, and the eventual collapse of the Soviet colossus. We will evaluate the diplomatic relations between the USSR and other states, the connections between Soviet domestic and foreign policies, and the movement of culture, ideas, armies, and institutions across borders.

Format: Lectures and discussion section. Attendance at discussion section is mandatory. Students are expected to show up prepared and ready to participate.

Grading: Course grades determined as follows: discussion section 20%, midterm exam 20%, position paper and debate presentation 20%, short weekly response papers 15%, map quiz 5%, final exam 20%. Students taking the course pass/fail must pass all components of the course. The midterm and final exam will be based on lectures and on readings for section.

Readings: Books listed below are available at the University Book Store. A required course packet is available at Student Print in Memorial Union. All course materials are on reserve at College Library.

Peter Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End* (2006)

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War* [purchase used, different editions available]

Kurban Said, *Ali and Nino: A Love Story* (2000)

Oleg Kalugin, *Spymaster: My Thirty-Two Years in Intelligence and Espionage Against the West* (2009)

Vladislav Tamarov, *Afghanistan: A Russian Soldier's Story* (2001)

Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern* (1990)

Week 1: 1/22, 1/24: Russia and the World

Introduction, World War I

Begin reading:

*Kurban Said, *Ali and Nino*

"The Man from the East" (Packet)

Week 2: 1/29, 1/31: Revolution and Civil War

The Bolshevik Revolution; International and Local Civil Wars

Background:

*Peter Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapters 1, 2

Readings for Section:

Said, *Ali and Nino*

Selection from *To See the Dawn: Baku 1920* (Packet)

Selection from Isaac Babel, *1920 Diary* (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

The Allied Intervention (www.marxists.org)

<http://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/government/foreign-relations/subject/allied.htm>

Week 3: 2/5, 2/7: The 1920s I

Communist Internationalism and European Socialism, Border Crossings

Background:

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapter 3

Readings for Section:

"The Founding of the Communist International" (Packet)

"Leninist Discipline in the Comintern" (Packet)

"Manifesto of the German Spartacists" (Packet)

Maurice Hindus, "Henry Ford Conquers Russia" (Packet)

Ruth Kennell and Milly Bennett, "American Immigrants in Russia" (Packet)

"More than 600 Americans Are Now Working for the Soviets" (Packet)

Selection from Ilya Ehrenburg, *Memoirs* (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

Memoirs from U.S. and British writers about 1920s in Russia (www.marxists.org)

<http://www.marxists.org/history/ussr/archive/index.htm>

Week 4: 2/12, 2/14: The 1920s II

Stalin Revolution I, Revolution in Asia

Background:

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapter 4

Reading for Section:

Selection from William Henry Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age* (Packet)

Selection from Mukhamet Shaiakhmetov, *Silent Steppe* (Packet)

Selection from Wang Fan-hsi, *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary* (Packet)

Browse Website:

Photographers in Central Asia (Anahita Gallery)

<http://www.photocentralasia.com/soviet.html>

Week 5: 2/19, 2/21: The 1930s I

Stalin Revolution II, Soviet-German Relations (and the League of Nations)

Background:

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapter 5

Reading for Section:

Selection from Ilya Zbarsky and Samuel Hutchinson, *Lenin's Embalmers* (Packet)

Francine Hirsch, "National Types" (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

Revelations from the Russian Archives (Library of Congress)

<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/intro.html>

Week 6: 2/26, 2/28: The 1930s II

The Comintern and the Terror, Hitler and Stalin

Reading for Section:

Selection from George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-1950* (Packet)

Selection from *Enemies Within the Gates?* (Packet)

Maxim Litvinov, "Speech at the Assembly of the League of Nations" (Packet)

"The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" and "The Secret Additional Protocol" (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1931-1941 (Avalon Project)

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/nazsov.htm>

Week 7: 3/5, 3/7: War

The Great Patriotic War, From War to Peace

Background:

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapter 6

LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapter on "Open Doors, Iron Curtains"

Reading for Section:

Selection from Vasily Grossman, *Life and Fate* (Packet)

"Teheran Conference: Roosevelt-Stalin Meeting," 1943 (Packet)

"Protocol of the Proceedings of the Crimea [Yalta] Conference," 1945 (Packet)

Selection from A. Poltorak, *The Nuremberg Epilogue* (Packet)

Joseph Stalin, "Election Speech of February 9, 1946" (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

Seventeen Moments in Soviet History (NEH)—For 1943

<http://www.soviethistory.org>

Week 8: 3/12, 3/14: The USSR and the Postwar World

The USSR and the Postwar World, Midterm

Background:

LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapter on "Two Declarations of Cold War"

Reading for Section:

"The Novikov Telegram" (Packet)

George F. Kennan, "Telegraphic Message" (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

Cold War Origins (International Cold War History Project)

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.browse&item=Cold%20War%20Origins

Week 9: 3/19, 3/21: Postwar Stalinism

Soviet Expansion, The Bomb and Foreign Relations

Background:

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapter 7

LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapters on "Two Halves of the Same Walnut,"

"The 'Different World' of NSC-68," and "Korea: The War for Both Asia and Europe"

Reading for Section:

Andrei Zhdanov, "Report on the International Situation to the Cominform" (Packet)
"The Communist Coup in Czechoslovakia" (Packet)
Harry S. Truman, "Atomic Explosion in the U.S.S.R." (Packet)
John D. Hickerson, "Soviet Misinterpretation of U.S. Position" (Packet)
Excerpt from "NSC 68 " (Packet)
Mark O'Neill, "Soviet Involvement in the Korean War: A New View from the Soviet-era Archives" (Packet)
Archival documents on the USSR and the Korean War (Packet)

Browse Website:

Cold War Origins (International Cold War History Project)
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.browse&sort=Coverage&item=Korea

Week 10: 3/26, 3/28: Spring Break**Week 11: 4/2, 4/4: Khrushchev****De-Stalinization and Shockwaves, The Space Race****Background:**

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapter 8
LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapters on "East and West of Suez" and "New Frontiers and Old Dilemmas"

Reading for Section:

Nikita Khrushchev, "The Crimes of the Stalin Era" (Packet)
Documents on "The 'October Revolution' in Poland" (Packet)
Documents on "The Hungarian Revolution" (Packet)
Mao Tse-Tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions" (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

The 1956 Hungarian Revolution (National Security Archive)
<http://www.gwu.edu/%7Eensarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB76/>

Week 12: 4/9, 4/11: Cold War Debate**Week 13: 4/16, 4/18: From Khrushchev to Brezhnev****Cuba and Berlin, From Bluster to Stagnation?****Background:**

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapter 9
LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapter on "Southeast Asia—And Elsewhere"

Reading for Section:

Selection from Anatoly Dobrynin, *In Confidence* (Packet)

Browse Virtual Archive:

The Cuban Missile Crisis (Cold War International History Project)
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.browse&item=Cuban%20Missile%20Crisis

Week 14: 4/23, 4/25: Brezhnev**Foreign Relations East and West, Espionage in the Nuclear Age****Background:**

LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapter on "A New Containment"

Reading for Section:

*Oleg Kalugin, *Spymaster: My Thirty-Two Years in Intelligence and Espionage Against the West*
"The Brezhnev Doctrine" (Packet)

Browse Website:

Intelligence Operations in the Cold War (Cold War International History Project)

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.browse&sort=Collection&item=Intelligence%20Operations%20in%20the%20Cold%20War

Week 15: 4/30, 5/2: From Brezhnev to Gorbachev**"Third World" Politics, "New Thinking?"****Background:**

LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapter on "From Cold War to Old War"

Reading for Section:

*Vladislav Tamarov, *Afghanistan: A Russian Soldier's Story*

Browse Virtual Archive:

The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (Cold War International History Project)

http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuseaction=va2.browse&item=Soviet%20Invasion%20of%20Afghanistan

Week 16: 5/7, 5/9: Gorbachev Era**The Pepsi Generation, 1989****Background:**

Kenez, *History of the Soviet Union*, chapters 10, 11

LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, chapter on "A New World Order—Or the Age of Fragmentation?"

Reading for Section:

*Timothy Garton-Ash, *The Magic Lantern*

Browse Virtual Archive:

The Revolutions of 1989 (National Security Archive)

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/news/19991105/index.html>

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1. Tom Reiss, "The Man from the East," *The New Yorker*, October 4, 1999, pp. 68-81.
2. "A new world," and "Corrections must be made, and made quickly," in *To See the Dawn: Baku 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East*, ed. John Riddell (1993), pp. 273-276, 292-302.
3. Isaac Babel, *1920 Diary*, ed. Carol J. Avins, trans H. T. Willetts, (New Haven, 2002), **pp.**
4. "The Founding of the Communist International," in Robert V. Daniels, ed., *A Documentary History of Communism and the World: From Revolution to Collapse* (Hanover, 1994), pp. 24-27.
5. "Leninist Discipline in the Comintern," in *A Documentary History of Communism and the World*, pp. 32-34.
6. "Manifesto of the German Spartacists," *The Call*, January 30, 1919, reprinted by the Marxists Internet Archive.
7. Maurice Hindus, "Henry Ford Conquers Russia," *Outlook*, June 29, 1927, pp. 280-283.
8. Ruth Kennell and Milly Bennett, "American Immigrants in Russia," *The American Mercury*, April 25, 1932, pp. 463-472.
9. "More Than 600 Americans Are Now Working for the Soviets," *The Business Week*, July 16, 1930, pp. 25-26.
10. Ilya Ehrenburg, *Memoirs: 1921-1941* (New York, 1966), pp. 9-27.
11. William Henry Chamberlin, *Russia's Iron Age* (Boston, 1934), pp. 108-127.
12. Mukhamet Shaiakhmetov, *Silent Steppe: The Story of a Kazakh Nomad Under Stalin* (London, 2006), pp. 31-67.
13. Wang Fan-hsi, *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary* (New York, 1991), pp. 68-104.
14. Ilya Zbarsky and Samuel Hutchinson, *Lenin's Embalmers* (London, 1999), pp. 15-31, 67-115.
15. Francine Hirsch, "National Types," in *Picturing Russia Explorations in Visual Culture*, ed. Valerie A. Kivelson and Joan Neuberger (New Haven, 2010), pp. 157-161.
16. George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-1950* (New York, 1967), pp. 58-86.

17. William Chase, ed., *Enemies Within the Gates? The Comintern and the Stalinist Repression* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 240-259.
18. Maxim Litvinov, "Speech at the Assembly of the League of Nations" [Collective Security], in *A Documentary History of Communism and the World*, pp. 72-74.
19. "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939" and "Secret Additional Protocol," in the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*.
20. Vasily Grossman, *Life and Fate* (New York, 1980), pp. 23-33, 655-665.
21. "Teheran Conference: Roosevelt-Stalin Meeting," 1943, reprinted by TeachingAmericanHistory.org.
22. "Protocol of the Proceedings of the Crimea [Yalta] Conference," 1945, reprinted by The Avalon Project.
23. A. Poltorak, *The Nuremberg Epilogue* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 15-27.
24. J. V. Stalin, "Speech Delivered by J. V. Stalin at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral Area of Moscow," February 9, 1946, *Information Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy*.
25. "The Novikov Telegram," in *The Origins of the Cold War*, ed. Kenneth M. Jensen (Washington D. C., 1991), pp. 3-16.
26. George Kennan, "Telegraphic Message" in *Memoirs 1925-1950* (New York, 1967), pp 547-559.
27. Andrei Zhdanov, "Report on the International Situation to the Cominform," 1947, CNN Interactive.
28. "The Communist Coup in Czechoslovakia" [Klement Gottwald, "Program of Action of the New Czechoslovak Government"], in *A Documentary History of Communism and the World*, pp. 110-113.
29. Harry S. Truman, "Atomic Explosion in the U.S.S.R.," September 23, 1949, *Department of State Bulletin*, reprinted by The Avalon Project.
30. John D. Hickerson, "Soviet Misinterpretation of U.S. Position," November 11, 1949, *Department of State Bulletin*, reprinted by The Avalon Project.
31. "NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security," April 7, 1950, Washington, D.C., excerpted by TeachingAmericanHistory.org.
32. Mark O'Neill, "Soviet Involvement in the Korean War: A New View from the Soviet-era Archives," *OAH Magazine of History* (Spring 2000): 20-24.

33. Archival documents on the USSR and the Korean War, from the Cold War International History Project.
34. Nikita S. Khrushchev, "The Crimes of the Stalin Era," printed in *The New Leader* (1956), pp. S7-S65.
35. Documents on "The 'October Revolution' in Poland," in *A Documentary History of Communism and the World*, pp. 166-169.
36. Documents on "The Hungarian Revolution," in *A Documentary History of Communism and the World*, pp. 169-174.
37. Mao Tse-Tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions," in Roderick MacFarquhar et al., eds., *The Secret Speeches of Chairman Mao* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 131-153.
38. Anatoly Dobrynin, *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents* (Seattle, 1995), pp. 25-48, 51-95, **ADD ADDITIONAL PAGES**
39. "The Brezhnev Doctrine," in the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*.