ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

GENERAL STUDIES PROGRAM COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

Courses submitted to the GSC between 2/1 and 4/30 if approved, will be effective the following Spring.

Courses submitted between 5/1 and 1/31 if approved, will be effective the following Fall.

(SUBMISSION VIA ADOBE.PDF FILES IS PREFERRED)

DATE 3/5/2009

1. ACADEMIC UNIT: Department of History

2. COURSE PROPOSED: HST 436 The Soviet Experiment 3
   (prefix) (number) (title) (semester hours)

3. CONTACT PERSON: Name: Kent Wright Phone: 965-8595
   Mail Code: 4302 E-Mail: kent.wright@asu.edu

4. ELIGIBILITY: New courses must be approved by the Tempe Campus Curriculum Subcommittee and must have a regular course number. For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact the General Studies Program Office at 965-0739.

5. AREA(S) PROPOSED COURSE WILL SERVE. A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study. (Please submit one designation per proposal)

   Core Areas
   - Literacy and Critical Inquiry—L
   - Mathematical Studies—MA
   - Humanities, Fine Arts and Design—HU
   - Social and Behavioral Sciences—SB
   - Natural Sciences—SQ

   Awareness Areas
   - Global Awareness—G
   - Historical Awareness—H
   - Cultural Diversity in the United States—C

6. DOCUMENTATION REQUIRED.
   (1) Course Description
   (2) Course Syllabus
   (3) Criteria Checklist for the area
   (4) Table of Contents from the textbook used, if available

7. In the space provided below (or on a separate sheet), please also provide a description of how the course meets the specific criteria in the area for which the course is being proposed.

CROSS-LISTED COURSES: ☒ No ☐ Yes; Please identify courses: __________________________

Is this a multisection course?: ☒ No ☐ Yes; Is it governed by a common syllabus? __________

Mark von Hagen
Chair/Director

Date: 3/16/09

Rev. 1/94, 4/95, 7/98, 4/06, 1/02, 10/08
Course Description
HST 436 introduces students to the “Soviet experiment” – the history of the Soviet Union, from the October Revolution of 1917 to the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and its aftermath. The course begins with a survey of the political and social structure of late Tsarist Russia, then proceeds to World War I, the February and October Revolutions, the Civil War, the NEP and initial efforts at social remodeling, the victory of Stalinism, collectivization and industrial planning, the Stalinist Terror, the ordeal of World War II, the Cold War and the spread of the Stalinist model, Khrushchev and Destalinization, the Brezhnev stagnation, Gorbachev, Perestroika and Glasnost, the end of the USSR, the transition to capitalism and democracy, and the “nationalities” question in post-Soviet Russia. In addition to the authoritative textbook by John Thompson, *A Vision Unfulfilled*, students are introduced to the critical use of a wide variety of source material: archival documents, oral histories, private correspondence, underground fiction, photography, posters, and films.

Meeting Social and Behavioral Sciences Criteria
HST 436 meets the criteria for the General Studies “Social and Behavioral Sciences” designation by (1) by advancing basic understanding and knowledge of human interaction in and through one of the key episodes of all modern history, the 70-year saga of the USSR; (2) by bringing the tools of a wide variety of social sciences – history, political science, cultural geography, economics, and sociology – to bear on the understanding and explanation of the history of the Soviet Union; and (3) by particularly stressing the role of the critical examination of very different kinds of primary sources in historical understanding and explanation.
Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the specific designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria (from checksheet)</th>
<th>How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)</th>
<th>Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Advance understanding and knowledge of human interaction</td>
<td>Course surveys human interaction during WWII - you history of USSR</td>
<td>Text, notes from syllabus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Explore social, political, historical analysis, and social science</td>
<td>Course uses historical analysis, but also economic analysis and political science, sociology</td>
<td>Text from syllabus, TDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Explore social, political, historical analysis, and social science</td>
<td>Course introduces student to analysis of primary sources</td>
<td>Text, notes from syllabus, primary sources in schedule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**ASU--[SB] CRITERIA**

A SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE [SB] course should meet all of the following criteria. If not, a rationale for exclusion should be provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Identify Documentation Submitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Course is designed to advance basic understanding and knowledge about human interaction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Course content emphasizes the study of social behavior such as that found in:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- ANTHROPOLOGY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- ECONOMICS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- HISTORY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- LINGUISTICS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- POLITICAL SCIENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- SOCIOLOGY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✅</td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Course emphasizes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- a. the distinct knowledge base of the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., sociological anthropological).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- OR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- b. the distinct methods of inquiry of the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., ethnography, historical analysis).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Course illustrates use of social and behavioral science perspectives and data.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF COURSES ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE [SB] AREA EVEN THOUGH THEY MIGHT GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE CONCERNS:**

- Courses with primarily fine arts, humanities, literary, or philosophical content.
- Courses with primarily natural or physical science content.
- Courses with predominantly applied orientation for professional skills or training purposes.
- Courses emphasizing primarily oral, quantitative, or written skills.
HIS 436: THE SOVIET EXPERIMENT (SPRING 2008)

COURSE DESCRIPTION: for most of the 20th century, the Soviet Union was the main enemy of the United States. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. lived under a political and economic system that was defined as the antithesis of capitalism and democracy. The Marxist revolutionaries who seized power in 1917 set out to transform every aspect of Russian life as they attempted to build the world's first communist utopia. This course will explore how successful they were, focusing on both how Soviet citizens were effected by and contributed to these changes. Beginning with the origins of the 1917 Russian revolution and concluding with a discussion of the consequences of communism's legacy for post-Soviet Russia, major issues we will examine include: whether the communists were successful in eradicating Russia's pre-revolutionary past, social support for the Bolshevik regime, the imposition of Stalinist terror from above and below, collectivization of agriculture, cultural revolution, the role of ideology, the relationship between Marxist theory and practice, heroism in war, industrialization and the black market, social structure in a classless society, communist attitudes toward gender, whether communism served as a religion, the function of propaganda and education, dissent, the rise of the Soviet Union to world power status, attempts at reform, the rise of ethnic nationalism, the ultimate demise of the Soviet empire, and how Russians today view the Soviet experiment. To explore these themes we will examine a wide variety of interdisciplinary sources. These include: translations of recently released secret archival documents that reflect how the state operated in practice; official speeches and treatises that are indicative of government ideology: underground fiction, which is representative of how intellectuals conceived of the Soviet experiment and how it affected their art; memoirs, oral histories, letters and interviews of a wide range of Soviet citizens published both within the Soviet Union and abroad, demonstrating how varied the attitudes of the rank and file were and how they both adopted, shaped and resisted official ideology. In class we will also watch a Russian language sub-titled film, observe the changing images of Soviet political iconography by viewing propaganda posters, compare these images to photographs of Soviet reality, and tap the pulse of popular culture by listening to the music and reading the lyrics of popular underground songs.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS: The course format consists of each class divided into part lecture, part discussion. The lectures and discussions are intended to compliment rather than duplicate assigned readings. Therefore, regular attendance is required, and students are not only expected, but also required, to participate actively in class discussions. Reading must be completed for the day it is assigned. Come to class ready to discuss what you've read. When you are reading, note passages that strike you as particularly intriguing or questionable. Feel free to ask questions if something is unclear, or better yet, if you disagree with either the text or the lecturer. On the days when we will be discussing primary sources, please bring these texts to class. Class participation grades can be bolstered by performing in the Soviet propaganda skit that we will perform in class and our reenactment of the Soviet economy.
Your grade will be determined on the basis of:

Mid-Term Exam: 25%
Six to eight page paper on women=s memoirs: 25%
Map Quiz: 5%
Final Exam: 35%
Class attendance, participation and etiquette: 10%

PAPERS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED VIA E-MAIL

LATE PAPERS WILL BE GRADED DOWN TWO POINTS FOR EACH DAY THEY ARE LATE (SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS ARE A GRACE PERIOD) UNTIL THEY ARE RECEIVED, UNLESS A WRITTEN MEDICAL EXCUSE IS PRESENTED. HAVE THEM DATE STAMPED AT THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT FRONT DESK AND PLACED IN MY MAILBOX

THE LATEST DATE TO SUBMIT LATE PAPERS IS THE LAST DAY THIS CLASS MEETS

MAKE-UP EXAMS WILL ONLY BE GIVEN IF A WRITTEN MEDICAL EXCUSE IS PRESENTED

REQUIRED BOOKS (available for purchase at Campus Bookstore or at a discount on-line from sites such as amazon.com or bookfinder.com):

Mikhail Bulgakov, Heart of a Dog (any edition)
Venedikt Erofeev, Moscow to the End of the Line (any edition)
Alexander Solzhenitsyn, One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich (any edition)

January 14: Defining the Soviet Experiment and Perceptions of Russia

READING: Thompson, A Vision Unfulfilled: Russia and the Soviet Union in The Twentieth Century, pp.1-17

DURING PART OF CLASS: Mid-80's punk-rock song AExperiment@ by the underground Leningrad band AAlisa@
January 16: The Political and Social Structure of Late Imperial Russia

READING: Thompson, pp.19-47; from In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women: Elenevskaja, ARecollections, @ pp.123-131; Korevanova, AMy Life, @ pp.169-179.

January 23: The Revolutionary Movement

READING: Thompson, pp.47-62; Marx and Engels, AThe Communist Manifesto@ [excerpt] on the web at: www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/classics/manifesto.html (read only parts 1 and 2: Bourgeois and Proletarians and Proletarians and Communists)

January 28: The 1905 Revolution, World War I and The February Revolution

READING: Thompson, pp.63-124; from Shadow of Revolution: Litveiko, AIn 1917, @ pp.49-58; Korevanova, 179-181.

January 30: The Provisional Government and the October Revolution


February 4: The Russian Civil War and the Formation of Russia Abroad

READING: Thompson, pp.159-184, 189-191; from Shadow of Revolution: Olitskaia, Reminiscences (1), pp.33-48; begin reading Bulgakov's Heart of a Dog: Lenin=s 1918 telegram to Penza communists, on the web at: www.ibiblio.org/expo/soviet.exhibit/ad2kulak.html;

February 6: The New Economic Policy and Revolutionary Culture


February 11: Anti-Religious Policies and New Socialist Rituals

READING: Thompson, pp.216-219; from Shadow of Revolution: Korevanova, pp.181-206

DURING CLASS: Performance of Zhemchuzhny=s skit Evening of Books for Youth Clubs (1924)
February 13: Gender and the New Soviet Family

READING: Thompson, pp. 219-221; from Shadow of Revolution: Ivanova, AWhy I do not belong in the Party,@ pp.213-218; Balashova, AA Worker=s Life,@ pp.243-251; Alexandra Kollontai &Thesis on Communist Morality in the Sphere of Marital Relations (1921 speech on the web at: www.marxists.org/archive/kollonta/works/1921/theses-morality.htm)

February 18: The Nationalities Question


February 20: The Second Revolution (Part One): Collectivization

READING: Thompson, 256-266; from Shadow of Revolution: Belskaia, AArina=s Children,@ pp.219-234; Solovieva, ASent by the Komsomol,@ pp.235-240.

February 25: Mid-Term Examination

February 27: The Second Revolution (Part Two): Industrialization


March 3: Everyday life in the 1930's: The AGreat Retreat@?


March 5: Stalinist Terror and the Great Purges

READING: Thompson, pp.304-320; from Shadow of Revolution: Shikheeva-Gaister, AA Family Chronicle@ and Treivas, AWe were Fighting for an Idea!,@ pp.324-330, 367-390; Al.etter to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party from Prisoners. 1926.@ on the web at: lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/d2presid.html
March 17: Soviet Armageddon? World War II

READING: Thompson, pp.323-342

FIRST PAPER DUE: 6-8 page paper
topic: of the memoirs that we read from In the Shadow of Revolution, pick the one that reveals the most about Soviet society and explain why you chose this particular memoir over all the other memoirs we’ve read from the volume. Use quotes from the memoir you’ve selected and the memoirs you have not selected to support your argument. Discuss each and every one of the 11 memoirs/letters we’ve read. Do not summarize the memoirs, rather explain why your selection is more representative of the Soviet experiment. Mention the content of the memoirs only in so far as they relate to your thesis.

Match 19: The Meaning of the Great Patriotic War

READING: Thompson, pp.342-360.

March 24: The Cold War and High Stalinism

READING: Thompson, pp.360-371; begin Solzhenitsyn, One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich

IN CLASS: Map Quiz of 15 post-war republics in USSR plus 5 neighboring countries based on map on page 529 of Thompson

March 26: Khrushchev and Destalinization


March 31: Stagnation Under Brezhnev

READING: Thompson, pp.419-437; begin Erofeev, Moscow to the End of the Line

April 2: The Soviet Economy

READING: Thompson, 437-441; finish Erofeev, Moscow to the End of the Line

DURING PART OF CLASS: Reenactment of Soviet Economy

DURING PART OF CLASS: Showing of the beginning of the 1980 Russian film Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears
April 7: Daily Life in Post-War Russia

DURING CLASS: Continuation of *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*

April 9: Social Mobility and Success in Post-War Russia

DURING PART OF CLASS: Conclusion of *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*

April 14: The First Stirring of Domestic Dissent

READING: Thompson, pp.441-464; Solzhenitsyn speech at Harvard commencement (1978) on the web at:

DURING PART OF CLASS: The music of Vladimir Vysotskii

April 16: Gorbachev: Perestroika and Glastnost=

READING: Thompson, pp.467-494

DURING PART OF CLASS: Russian rock protest songs

April 21: The End of the Soviet Union

READING: Thompson, pp.494-515

April 23: Economic Reform in Post-Soviet Russia

READING: Thompson, pp.515-556

April 28: Putin and Nationalism in Present Day Russia

FINAL EXAM: Wednesday, May 7, 4:40-6:30
A Vision Unfulfilled
Russia and the Soviet Union in the Twentieth Century

JOHN M. THOMPSON

With Historiographic Essays by
WILLIAM GLEASON
Doane College

D. C. Heath and Company
Lexington, Massachusetts  Toronto
James Miller, senior acquisitions editor for history at D. C. Heath, saw the need for a new text with a post-Soviet perspective and asked me to write such a book. His advice and support improved the work at every stage. I am also deeply grateful to Lauren Johnson, developmental editor, who patiently coordinated reviewers' and her own comments and made many valuable suggestions. In addition, her careful editing greatly enhanced the clarity and readability of the text. Finally, she played a key role in selecting illustrations; recommending tables, charts, and maps; and preparing the reference aids. Many thanks as well to Margaret Roll, permissions editor at Heath; Andrea Caya, production editor; Alwyn Velasquez, designer; and Mark Corsey, photo researcher. I wish also to express my gratitude to the reference and circulation librarians of Bowdoin College, who assisted me cheerfully in finding the books and articles that I needed. Most important, I want to thank my wife, Anne, for her constant encouragement and support.

J.M.T.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION
Soviet Socialism: A Bold Alternative 1
About Terminology 1
A Vast and Varied Stage 5
The Peoples 7
Russia’s Relationship to the West: The Historical Legacy 12

1: TRADITION AND CHANGE IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA 19
Autocrats and Bureaucrats: The Tsarist System 20
The Faces of Tsarist Society 23
An Empire at Risk: Non-Russians and the Rise of Nationalism 28
Russia and the West: An Ambivalent Relationship 34
Alexander II Reforms Russia 38
New Light on the Issues: Whither Prerevolutionary Russia: The Peasant Controversy 40
Factories and Cities: The Wave of Industrialization 42
The Roots of Russian Opposition 47
The Government Strikes Back 50
Nicholas II: The Reluctant Tsar 52
Marxism and Liberalism: The New Opposition 54
Conclusion 60

2: REVOLUTION AND REFORM 63
On the Brink 65
1905 68
The October Manifesto 74
The Duma Experiment 78
On the Eve of World War I 86
The Silver Age: Culture and Science Before the War 89
New Light on the Issues: Russia in 1914: Liberalism Revisited 90
Conclusion 98
3: A VISION LAUNCHED: WAR AND REVOLUTION

Pulled into the Fray 104
World War I Abroad and at Home 108
The February Revolution: Tsarism Laid Low 114
The Question of Power 118
Dissolution of Authority 124
An Empire Shattered 127
The Path to Bolshevism 131
The Bolsheviks Ascendant 134
Conclusion 139
New Light on the Issues: The Bolshevik Controversy Revisited 140

4: A VISION BESIEGED: THE BOLSHEVIKS CLING TO POWER

Leadership in the Making 148
Putting Slogans into Effect: Peace, Power, and Plenty 152
Civil Strife and Foreign Meddling 159
The Bolsheviks Besieged 166
The Borderlands: The Fight for Self-Determination 168
Mastering a Ravaged Country 174
New Light on the Issues: The Civil War: Three Controversies 176
Power Versus Democracy: Conflict Divides the Party 180
Red Dawn and New Buttons: Revolutionary Culture 184
Conclusion 189

5: A VISION DEFERRED: SOVIET SOCIETY UNDER NEP

One Step Backward, Two Steps Forward 195
Peaceful Coexistence and World Revolution 199
Centralism Versus Federalism: The Forging of the Soviet Union 202
A Vision Stymied: Party and Society in the NEP Era 210
New Light on the Issues: The 1920s: The Transitional Decade 222
Diversity and Control: Culture in the 1920s 224
Conclusion 230

6: A VISION RENEWED:

Stalin's Economic Revolution 233
The Boy and the Party Stalwart 237
Stalin's Rise to Supreme Power 241
New Light on the Issues: The Origins of Stalinnism 242
Russia's Socialist Future: The Bolsheviks' Debate 250
1928-1929: The Year of the Great Turn 256
The Scourge of Collectivization 261
"Fulfill the Five Year Plan in Four!" 266
Conclusion 270

7: A VISION DISTORTED: THE TURN TO TERROR

Foreign Policy Contradictions, 1927–1934 274
Mobilizing the Arts, Science, and Education 278
Pride, Productivity, and Privilege: Society in the 1930s 285
Darkness at Noon: Inspiration, Adulation, and Coercion 296
The Reign of Terror 304
New Light on the Issues: The Stalinist Holocaust: Views from Above and Below 306
Conclusion 319

8: DISASTER, VICTORY, AND A NEW EMPIRE

Stalin's Grand Delusion 325
Operation Barbarossa 331
From Disaster to Triumph 339
"All for the Front!" 346
The Grand Alliance 353
New Light on the Issues: The Impact of Victory in World War II 354
Stalinism Renewed 360
The Cold War Ignites, 1946–1950 364
Conclusion 370

9: A VISION REFURBISHED: THE KHUSHCHEV ERA

The Rise of Khrushchev and De-Stalinization 375
Dampening the Cold War 383
The Cultural "Thaw"  
Sparking the Economy: Khrushchev Under Fire  
New Light on the Issues: Khrushchev Revisited  
From Showdowns to Détente  
Plenty and Paradox: Life in the Khrushchev Years  
Economic Desperation  
Khrushchev's Downfall  
Conclusion  

10: A VISION FADING: STAGNATION AND TRANSFORMATION UNDER BREZHNEV  
The Political Process: "Trust in Cadres"  
Détente and Its Downfall  
An Economy Falters  
The Changing Soviet Citizen  
New Light on the Issues: The Brezhnev Years: Breakdown or Breakout?  
Non-Russians: The Struggle for Identity  
Religion: Conformity, Revival, Opposition  
The Dissident Movement  
"Village Writers" and Valor: Literature and Popular Culture in the Brezhnev Era  
Conclusion  

11: A VISION REVIVED AND ABANDONED:  
THE GORBACHEV REFORM ERA  
Gorbachev's Rise to Power  
Groping for a Formula, 1985–1987  
The Apogee of Reform, 1987–1989  
Gorbachev Eclipsed, 1990–1991  
Conclusion  
New Light on the Issues: The Soviet Union: Flawed or Fatally Flawed?  

12: IN SEARCH OF NEW VISIONS: THE POST-SOVIET STATES  
Disintegration of the Soviet Union  
Russia, the "Near-Abroad," and the World  
Too Much Shock, Too Little Therapy?  
Who's on Top?  
Worsening Social Problems  
Values, Religion, and Culture in Russia  
Soviet Successor States in Europe  
New Light on the Issues: Whither Russia in 2000?  
Post-Soviet States in the Caucasus and Central Asia  
Conclusion  

EPILOGUE: WHAT WENT WRONG  
APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATION KEY  
APPENDIX B: RUSSIAN AND SOVIET LEADERS  
APPENDIX C: CHRONOLOGY  
PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS  
GLOSSARY  
INDEX  

Contents  