History 162: Russia since 1861
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Spring Semester 2011

Instructor: Professor Donald J. Raleigh, Hamilton Hall 410, 962-8077, djr@email.unc.edu

Class Meetings: T/Th, Phillips 265, 12:30-1:45

Office Hours: Tuesday 9-10 AM; Thursday, 2:00-3:00 PM; and by appointment

Teaching Assistant: Mr. Aaron Hale-Dorrell, a PhD student in Russian history. Aaron’s e-mail address is ahaledor@email.unc.edu. He will hold office hours on Wednesday, 2:30-3:45 PM, and on Thursday, 11-12 AM, in Hamilton 408.

Course Objectives: History 162 offers a broad-brush survey of Russian and Soviet political and social history since 1861, introducing students to the major themes and issues that have defined the country’s past and that are framing its post-Soviet present. For the various periods we will focus on, you should be able to:

- Evaluate the Imperial government’s efforts at reform after the Crimean War, the effects of these reforms on the major social groups in Russia, and why they failed to prevent the collapse of the autocratic system.
- Understand the key role the intelligentsia played in Russian history and account for the development and evolution of a revolutionary movement before 1917.
- Characterize the beliefs and world view of Russia’s rulers, consider the problems each inherited from his predecessor, identify critical turning points in each reign or tenure in office, and provide an overall assessment of each tsar or Soviet commissar.
- Appreciate the impact of war—and the threat of war—on both Russian and Soviet history.
- Assess Bolshevik efforts after 1917 to construct a socialist society and the nature of the Stalinist system, later known as the command-administrative system, which emerged from the Stalin Revolution of the 1930s.
- Define the major features of the Stalin Revolution: industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, cultural revolution, social mobility, and terror.
- Understand efforts made after the death of Stalin in 1953 to reform the system, the nature of these efforts, and their contribution to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.
- Consider whether Russia could have forged its own, separate path in the modern world through adhering to shared beliefs, community, and equality. Consider how ideology (autocracy, Communism) both enabled and restricted Imperial and Soviet leaders.
- Relate the experience of women to the broader trends in Russian and Soviet history.
- Familiarize yourself with Russian and Soviet foreign policy objectives.
• Acquire a basic knowledge of Russian geography and of the nature of the Russian and Soviet empires.
• Appreciate the Khrushchevian “thaw,” the rise of the generation of ’56, the Dissident movement, and the experiences of Soviet baby boomers.
• Discuss the basic features of the Gorbachev Revolution.
• Account for the collapse of the Soviet Union.
• Sketch the major events and issues in Russian history since 1991.

In addition, assignments are geared to help you acquire and sharpen basic skills that will benefit all of your endeavors. You hopefully will demonstrate improvement in:
• Reading critically, writing clearly, and synthesizing.
• Identifying an author’s argument and evaluating how well he or she supports it with evidence.
• Reading literature and personal accounts as historical texts.
• Articulating arguments of your own based on historical evidence.
• Writing logical and coherent arguments and exams.

**Required Reading.** The following titles are available at the Undergraduate Reserve desk or for purchase at Student Stores.

- Evtuhov, Catherine and Richard Stites. *A History of Russia since 1800*
- Turgenev, Ivan. *Fathers and Sons*
- Pipes, Richard. *Three “Whys” of the Russian Revolution*
- Raleigh, Donald J. *Russia’s Sputnik Generation: Soviet Baby Boomers Talk about Their Lives*
- Several articles available electronically (on Blackboard)


**Requirements:** All students will take an in-class exam on February 17, submit an 8-page take-home exam at the start of class on March 29, and write a final in-class exam (at 12 PM on May 3). In addition, students will take three in-class “objective” quizzes (one of which will be administered during the final exam) and a map quiz, and attend nine discussion sessions at which quizzes will be administered on the readings assigned for those days if appropriate. The various requirements are worth the following percentage of your final grade:

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<tr>
<th>Requirement</th>
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<tr>
<td>In-class exam</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take-home exam</td>
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<td>Final Exam</td>
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Discussion 19.0%
Three in-class quizzes 21.0%

Your discussion grade will be based on quizzes on the required readings, the quality of your active participation, the map quiz, and any homework that might be assigned during the semester.

In-class “objective” quizzes on the textbook and lecture material will be given on February 3 and March 17. A third quiz will be administered at the time of the final in-class exam.

The take-home exam is due on March 29. Detailed instructions will be posted on Blackboard several weeks before the due date. Please note that all assignments must be submitted at the beginning of the class period on the day they are due. You may turn in an exam early if you have a scheduling conflict. Late exams will be accepted only if a student has an excused absence approved beforehand.

Grading: Grading will be on a 100-point scale, distributed as follows: 93-99=A; 90-92=A-; 88-89=B+; 83-87=B; 80-82=B-; 78-79=C+; 73-77=C; 70-72=C-; 68-69=D+; 63-67=D; 60-62=D-; 59 and below, F. The class average for this course has corresponded closely to the university average (a B- for survey courses).

Homework Assignments: Apart from the reading assignments noted on the syllabus (under Lecture and Discussion Topics), students are required to view the film, Burnt by the Sun, which will be shown on Monday evening, March 14, in MRC (Undergraduate Library), Room 205, between 7 and 9:30 PM. No food or beverages are allowed. If you are unable to attend this showing, you will have to watch the film on your own before your discussion section meets that week. The showing will begin promptly at 7.

How to Succeed in This Course:
• Attend all class and discussion sessions
• Complete all readings and assignments on time
• Ask questions
• Clarify expectations with instructor or teaching assistant

Honor Code: “It shall be the responsibility of every student at the university of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to: 1. Obey and support the enforcement of the Honor Code; 2. Refrain from lying, cheating, or stealing; 3. Conduct themselves so as not to impair significantly the welfare or the educational opportunities of others in the University community; and 4. Refrain from conduct that impairs or may impair the capacity of University and associated personnel to perform their duties, manage resources, protect the safety and welfare of members of the University community, and maintain the integrity of the University.” I encourage you to study together; however, you are bound by the Honor Code in taking exams and quizzes, and in writing your take-home exams. As per university guidelines, students must sign the Honor Code on all papers
and exams in order to have the grade received officially recorded. Please consult with me if you have any questions about the Honor Code or examine [http://honor.unc.edu/](http://honor.unc.edu/)

**Academic Support Services:** The College of Arts and Sciences has developed several support programs to assist students. Learning Disabilities Services provides individual support to students with diagnosed learning disabilities. The Learning Skills Center offers free instruction in a variety of academic learning strategies. The Writing Center provides free tutorial services. You are invited to take your draft take-home exams there.

**In Case of Inclement Weather:** In the event weather conditions make it necessary to cancel class, complete the assigned readings as per the class schedule. For homework, craft a multiple choice question and two true and false questions that you think best reflect the contents of the day’s reading, linking the questions as much as possible to the class’s stated objectives. Also jot down two terms, names, or concepts that you think are the most important to identify in the day’s reading.

**Lecture and Discussion Topics and Assignments:** Below you will find a listing of what will be discussed at each class meeting, the reading assigned for that day, and the topic of the week’s discussion session. *To succeed in this class it is important to complete the reading on time.* In the event you are unable to attend a lecture, it is your responsibility to find out what you missed. I occasionally give short homework assignments based on issues that arise during a class session. Your absence does not excuse you from such homework.

**Part One: Russia before 1918**

1/11 Introduction: Themes in Russian History

1/13 Legacies of the Past: Russia on the Eve of the Modern Era (Evtuhov/Stites, 1-63 [read as background information, paying attention to issues noted on today’s lecture outline]; optional: Chaadaev’s "First Philosophical Letter" at: [http://euphrates.wpunj.edu/courses/hist330-60/Supplementary%20Material/HTML/Chaadaev-First%20Philosophical%20Letter.html](http://euphrates.wpunj.edu/courses/hist330-60/Supplementary%20Material/HTML/Chaadaev-First%20Philosophical%20Letter.html)

Disc: None this week

1/18 The Great Reforms (Evtuhov/Stites, 98-114; for the Emancipation Manifesto see [http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/Eman.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/Eman.html))

1/20 The Russian Intelligentsia and Russian Populism (Evtuhov/Stites, 114-41). Begin reading Turgenev’s *Fathers and Sons*, due next week

Disc: What kind of empire was Russia’s? (Evtuhov/Stites, 63-97)


1/27 The Rise of a Political Opposition (Evtuhov/Stites, 173-98; 215-21)
Disc: Discussion of and quiz on Turgenev. Some study questions:
1. How would you define the philosophical and political outlook of your own generation? Of your parents’ generation? What constitutes a generation?
2. What is nihilism? Why did Turgenev write this book? Does Bazarov believe in what he says?
3. Why did the novel arouse so much controversy when it first appeared?
4. Where do the author’s sympathies lie?
5. How does Turgenev portray relationships between social classes? Gender roles?
6. What do we learn from the novel about Russia’s (and the author’s) relationship with Europe?
7. Why did some Russians dislike the book?
8. Why did Bazarov die at the end of the novel?
9. What other issues, raised in the course to date, did you find reflected in the novel?
10. Why did I have you read the novel?

2/1 Dress Rehearsal for 1917: The Revolution of 1905 (Evtuhov/Stites, 199-214; 221-235; Optional: Check out the photo exhibit of Nicholas II’s official photographer at http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/empire/work.html; also Lenin’s “What Is to Be Done?” at http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd/ii.htm
2/3 In-class quiz on lecture material and textbook through p. 254. The Duma
Disc: None

2/8 World War One and the Collapse of the Autocracy (Pipes, 1-30)
2/10 The October (Bolshevik) Revolution of 1917 (Evtuhov/Stites, 287-302; Pipes, 31-62)
Disc: Pipes, 1-30. Study questions:
1. Who is Richard Pipes?
2. What kind of history does he do? What might have shaped his views?
3. How important is the Russian Revolution?
4. What rhetorical devices does he use to make his points?
5. How does he characterize revisionism?
6. Why did revisionism take place?
7. What is his argument?
8. Do you agree with him? Why or why not?

2/15 Russia’s Civil War (Evtuhov/Stites, 302-17; 512-20)
2/17 In-class midterm exam today
Disc: Pipes, 31-62. Study questions:
1. How “popular” was the October Revolution?
2. How does Pipes characterize the revisionists?
3. What was antidemocratic about the October Revolution?
4. What do Pipes and Lenin have in common?
5. Did Lenin care about Russia?
6. What three occurrences helped turn the situation in favor of the Bolsheviks?
7. What is Pipes’s reading of the October 10 Central Committee meeting?
8. What advantages did the Bolsheviks enjoy over their rivals?
9. Do you agree with Pipes? Why or why not?
Midterm Exam Study Questions: (I suggest you review these questions before completing each day’s reading.)

1. It’s often been said that war is the midwife of change. Analyze the impact of war on Russian society from 1853 through 1921.
2. Richard Pipes argues that “only intellectuals have universal grievances.” Explain why you agree or disagree with Pipes by assessing the impact of the Russian intelligentsia from the 1860s through 1917.
3. Evaluate the successes and failures of the major attempts to reform Russia between 1861 and 1914. What is the connection between these efforts and the revolutions of 1917?
4. How did the tsarist state seek to modernize itself between 1861 and 1914? How did economic modernization impact the country?
5. Why did Revolution break out in Russia in 1905? How did it change the country? What is the significance of this event for the course of Russian history?
6. The personality and beliefs of the ruler are critical in an autocracy. Select one of the last three tsars and characterize his personality and beliefs. What major problems did he inherit from his predecessor? How did he deal with them? What major challenges and/or turning points took place during his reign? Conclude with an overall assessment of the autocrat and the significance of his reign for Russian history.
7. As an adviser to Tsar Nicholas II, you are asked to write a "state of the empire" report for the Romanov dynasty's tercentennial in 1913. While showing respect for your tsar and appreciation of the country’s political culture and traditions, you nonetheless decide to be frank with him. How do you assess the country's health and development since 1861? What advice do you have for Nicholas?
8. Would revolution have broken out in Russia in 1917 if it hadn’t been for World War I?
9. Why did tsarism fall?
10. Why did the Bolsheviks triumph in October 1917?
11. Both deep underlying causes as well as more immediate triggers cause civil wars. What caused the Russian Civil War? What were its major features? Why did the Whites lose? How did the experience of civil war shape the fledgling Soviet state forged in its fire?

Part Two: The Soviet Union under Stalin, 1921-1953

2/24 Empire of Nations (Evtukhov/Stites, 338-54)
Disc: None

The Making of the Stalinist System

Disc: **Map quiz**; discussion of and quiz on Pipes, 63-84

3/9 Spring Break
3/11 Spring Break

3/14 **Homework:** Film, “Burnt by the Sun,” 7:00 PM. See [http://www.sonypictures.com/classics/burntbysun/burntbysun.html](http://www.sonypictures.com/classics/burntbysun/burntbysun.html)

3/15 The Dark Side of Stalinism: Terror
3/17 **In-class quiz** on lectures and textbook, pp. 255-394; Soviet Foreign Policy and the Nazi-Soviet Pact (Evtuhov/Stites, 388-94)
Disc: Quiz on and discussion of “Burnt by the Sun”

3/22 The Great Patriotic War (Evtuhov/Stites, 394-405; 520-25; optional: Time Magazine’s Stalin as “man of the year” for 1942, [http://www.time.com/time/archive/preview/0,10987,790648,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/archive/preview/0,10987,790648,00.html))
3/24 Soviet Russia after the War (Evtuhov/Stites, 406-22)
Disc: Von Laue essay, “Stalin among the Moral Imperatives”

**Part Three: The Soviet Union and Russia after Stalin**

3/29 **Take-home exam due at 12:30 PM.** Khrushchev and the Politics of De-Stalinization (Evtuhov/Stites, 423-39)
3/31 Khrushchev: Failure and Ouster
Disc: None

**Take-home Exam Study Questions:**

1. Why, according to Richard Pipes, did Stalin succeed Lenin? Explain why you agree or disagree with his assessment.
2. Why did the Communist Party introduce the NEP in 1921 and do away with the policy at the end of the decade?
3. Most historians argue that the Stalin Revolution was even more important for the country's historical development than the Revolution of 1917. Assess the impact of the Stalin Revolution on Soviet society through 1945 (industrialization, collectivization, cultural revolution, social mobility, and terror).
4. Was the Soviet Union an empire? If so, what kind? How did Soviet policies affect minority nationalities in a positive way? In a negative way?
5. The Great Terror is arguably the most controversial issue in Soviet history. What is the nature of this controversy? What has the opening of the archives told us about this dark chapter in Soviet history? What remains to be known?
6. How did the anticipation of and preparation for military conflict shape the development of the Stalinist system? Was the Soviet Union prepared for war in 1939? If not, how did the USSR overcome this and defeat Nazi Germany?
7. Did the USSR’s victory in World War II legitimate the Stalinist system, as generations of Soviet and Russian citizens believed?
8. At the end of World War II, and certainly by the time of Stalin’s death, the world recognized the Soviet Union as the “other” superpower? What made it so?

9. How did the Stalin Revolution shape the life of ordinary Soviet citizens between 1928 and 1953? Who were the winners and losers?

10. How did life in the Soviet Union differ in 1953 from what it had been in 1927, before the First Five-Year Plan?


12. Explain why you agree or disagree with Von Laue’s arguments. Does the new information made available after the collapse of the Soviet Union change the underlying assumptions of Von Laue’s essay?

4/5 The Brezhnev Era: From Stability to Stagnation (Evtuhov/Stites, 440-72)

4/7 Détente and the Passing of the Brezhnev Leadership (Evtuhov/Stites, 473-91; 525-32; “Letter to the Soviet Leaders” available on Blackboard)

Disc: None

4/12 The Gorbachev Revolution (Raleigh, 1-54; 120-53; 220-80)

4/14 The Collapse of the Soviet Union

Disc: Discussion of and quiz on Raleigh, *Russia’s Sputnik Generation*, introduction, and interviews with four men. Discussion questions: Drawing on the interviews in *Russia’s Sputnik Generation*, (1) assesses how the “silent revolution”—that is, decades of peaceful, organic, evolutionary change after 1945—affect the lives of the men and women featured in the book, and (2) how the personal histories can help us understand larger issues in Soviet and post-Soviet history that we have studied in this course. Some topics you might consider are: childhood experience, marriage, child rearing, work, foreign travel, attitudes toward the West, the Cold War, why perestroika occurred, and how members of the Sputnik generation’s lives have changed since 1991. Be sure to note gender differences when appropriate.

4/19 The Presidency of Boris Yeltsin (Evtuhov/Stites, 492-511; For the Constitution of the Russian Federation, December 1993, access http://www.fipc.ru/fipc/constit/)

4/21 Putin’s and Medvedev’s Russia (Raleigh, 55-119; 154-219)

Disc: Discussion of and quiz on Raleigh, *Russia’s Sputnik Generation*, interviews with four women

4/26 Back to the Future? Final Discussion and Evaluations

Disc: None

5/3 Final Exam. The Final Begins at 12 PM (Your final exam will comprise two hour-long essays [worth 20% of your grade] and an objective section that, combined with the other in-class quizzes, are worth 21% of your grade.

Study Questions for Final Exam.
1. Khrushchev was the only Soviet leader to be removed from power. Why?
2. What major problems did Khrushchev inherit from Stalin? How did Khrushchev seek to address them? What major turning points took place during his years in office?
What are the major accomplishments or positive developments during his tenure? The negative ones? Conclude with an overall assessment of the general secretary and his significance for Soviet history.

3. What major problems did Brezhnev inherit from Khrushchev? How did Brezhnev seek to address them? What major turning points took place during his years in office? What are the major accomplishments or positive developments during his tenure? The negative ones? Conclude with an overall assessment of the general secretary and his significance for Soviet history.

4. The years Leonid Brezhnev ruled the Soviet Union became known as a period of stagnation. How valid is this assessment?

5. Why did perestroika take place? Why did it result in ending the Soviet experiment?

6. “Although most observers claim that the Soviet experiment failed, it can be argued that it actually succeeded and that the peaceful dissolution of the USSR is proof of this.” Explain why you agree or disagree with this assessment.

7. Why does so much controversy surround the Yeltsin administration? How do you evaluate his presidency and why?

8. Compare and contrast the presidencies of Boris Yeltsin and his successor Vladimir Putin. How much continuity was there between these two leaders? Was one meaningfully more “democratic” than the other?

9. What major problems did Putin inherit from Yeltsin? How did Putin seek to address them? What major turning points took place during his years in office? What are the major accomplishments or positive developments during his tenure? The negative ones? Conclude with an overall assessment of the president and his significance for Soviet history.

10. During the Cold War, we tended to see the Soviet Union as the inveterate “other,” and Soviet citizens as either dissidents or blind followers of Soviet ideology. Based on your reading of *Russia’s Sputnik Generation*, how accurate are these Cold War representations?

11. How did fifty years of peaceful, organic, evolutionary change between 1945 and 1985 affect the Soviet Union and the lives of its citizens?

12. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was inextricably linked to the prospect of nuclear annihilation and political subversion in the minds of many Americans. From your reading of *Russia’s Sputnik Generation*, did Soviet citizens feel the same way about the United States? We tended to see the Soviet Union as the inveterate “other,” and Soviet citizens as either dissidents or blind followers of Soviet ideology. But how did they see us?

**Geographical Places to Identify:**

- Armenia/Yerevan
- Azerbaijan/Baku
- Belarus/Minsk
- Estonia/Tallinn
- Georgia/Tbilisi
- Kazakhstan/Astana
- Kyrgyzstan/Bishkek
- Latvia/Riga
- Lithuania/Vilnius
- Moldova/Chisinau
- Russia/Moscow
- Tajikistan/Dushanbe
Turkmenistan/Ashgabat
Ukraine/Kiev
Uzbekistan/Tashkent

St. Petersburg
Ufa
(Y)Ekaterinburg
Volgograd (Stalingrad)
Saratov
Novosibirsk
Vladivostok

Novaya Zemlya
Kamchatka Peninsula

Crimean Peninsula
Chechnya
Nagorno-Karabakh

Lake Baikal
Lake Balkhash
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Dnepr River
Volga River
Lena River
Amur River (border with China, not the Amur-Ono)