The third volume of the Cambridge History of Russia provides an authoritative political, intellectual, social and cultural history of the trials and triumphs of Russia and the Soviet Union during the twentieth century. It encompasses not only the ethnically Russian part of the country but also the non-Russian peoples of the tsarist and Soviet multinational states and of the post-Soviet republics. Beginning with the revolutions of the early twentieth century, chapters move through the 1920s to the Stalinist 1930s, the Second World War, the post-Stalin years and the decline and collapse of the USSR. The contributors attempt to go beyond the divisions that marred the historiography of the USSR during the Cold War to look for new syntheses and understandings. The volume is also the first major undertaking by historians and political scientists to use the new primary and archival sources that have become available since the break-up of the USSR.

Ronald Grigor Suny is Charles Tilly Collegiate Professor of Social and Political History at the University of Michigan, and Emeritus Professor of Political Science and History at the University of Chicago. His many publications on Russian history include Looking Toward Ararat: Armenian Modern History (1993), and The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States (1998).
This is a definitive new history of Russia from early Rus’ to the successor states that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Volume I encompasses developments before the reign of Peter I; volume II covers the ‘imperial era’, from Peter’s time to the fall of the monarchy in March 1917; and volume III continues the story through to the end of the twentieth century. At the core of all three volumes are the Russians, the lands which they have inhabited and the polities that ruled them while other peoples and territories have also been given generous coverage for the periods when they came under Riurikid, Romanov and Soviet rule. The distinct voices of individual contributors provide a multitude of perspectives on Russia’s diverse and controversial millennial history.

Volumes in the series

Volume I
*From Early Rus’ to 1689*
Edited by Maureen Perrie

Volume II
*Imperial Russia, 1689–1917*
Edited by Dominic Lieven

Volume III
*The Twentieth Century*
Edited by Ronald Grigor Suny
## Contents

- List of Illustrations viii
- List of Maps x
- Notes on Contributors xi
- Acknowledgements xiv
- Note on Transliteration and Dates xv
- Chronology xvi
- List of Abbreviations xxii

**Introduction**

1. Reading Russia and the Soviet Union in the twentieth century: how the ‘West’ wrote its history of the USSR  5  

*Ronald Grigor Suny*

**Part I**  
RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION: THE STORY THROUGH TIME

2. Russia’s fin de siècle, 1900–1914  67  

*Mark D. Steinberg*

3. The First World War, 1914–1918  94  

*Mark von Hagen*

4. The revolutions of 1917–1918  114  

*S. A. Smith*

5. The Russian civil war, 1917–1922  140  

*Donald J. Raleigh*
## Contents

6 · Building a new state and society: NEP, 1921–1928  168  
   **ALAN BALL**

7 · Stalinism, 1928–1940  192  
   **DAVID R. SHEARER**

8 · Patriotic war, 1941–1945  217  
   **JOHN BARBER AND MARK HARRISON**

9 · Stalin and his circle  243  
   **YORAM GORLIZKI AND OLEG KHELEVNIUK**

10 · The Khrushchev period, 1953–1964  268  
    **WILLIAM TAUBMAN**

11 · The Brezhnev era  292  
    **STEPHEN E. HANSON**

12 · The Gorbachev era  316  
    **ARCHIE BROWN**

13 · The Russian Federation  352  
    **MICHAEL MCFaul**

### PART II

RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION: THEMES AND TRENDS

14 · Economic and demographic change: Russia’s age of economic extremes  383  
    **PETER GATRELL**

15 · Transforming peasants in the twentieth century: dilemmas of Russian, Soviet and post-Soviet development  411  
    **ESTHER KINGSTON-MANN**

16 · Workers and industrialisation  440  
    **LEWIS H. SIEGELBAUM**

© Cambridge University Press  
www.cambridge.org
## Contents

17 · Women and the state  468  
   **BARBARA ALPERN ENGEL**

18 · Non-Russians in the Soviet Union and after  495  
   **JEREMY SMITH**

19 · The western republics: Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and the Baltics  522  
   **SERHY YEKELCHYK**

20 · Science, technology and modernity  549  
   **DAVID HOLLOWAY**

21 · Culture, 1900–1945  579  
   **JAMES VON GELDERN**

22 · The politics of culture, 1945–2000  605  
   **JOSEPHINE WOLL**

23 · Comintern and Soviet foreign policy, 1919–1941  636  
   **JONATHAN HASLAM**

24 · Moscow’s foreign policy, 1945–2000: identities, institutions and interests  662  
   **TED HOPF**

25 · The Soviet Union and the road to communism  706  
   **LARS T. LIH**

*Bibliography*  732  
*Index*  793
The plates will be found between pages 344–345

1 The last emperor of Russia, Nicholas II. Slavic and Baltic Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations
2 Poster Le Spectre de la Rose, 1911. The New York Public Library
3 Metropolitan Sergei. Credit Novosti (London)
4 Demonstration of soldiers’ wives, 1917. New York Public Library
6 Baroness Ol’ga Wrangel’s visit to the Emperor Nicholas Military School in Gallipoli, c.1921. Gallipoli album. Militaria (uncatalogued), André Savine Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
7 May Day demonstration, Leningrad, 1924
8 Soviet poster by I. Nivinskii: ‘Women join the co-operatives!’ Rare Books Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations
9 Anti-religious poster ‘Religion is poison. Safeguard the children’ (1930). From the Hoover Institution Archives, Poster Collection, RU/SU650
10 Soviet poster ‘Every collective farm peasant . . . has the opportunity to live like a human being’ (1934)
11 P. Filonov, Portrait of Stalin. Reproduced by permission of the State Russian Museum, St Petersburg
13 Two posters celebrating the multinational character of the Soviet Union
14 Muscovites listen as Prime Minister Viacheslav Molotov announces the outbreak of the war, 22 June 1941
15 Red Army soldiers in Stalingrad, winter 1942–February 1943. Credit Novosti (London)
16 Soviet poster ‘Who receives the national income?’ (1950)
17 Nikita Khrushchev and Fidel Castro. © AP/EMPICS
18 Soviet space capsule Vostok © Bettmann/CORBIS
19 Russian tanks in the streets of Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1968. Credit Novosti (London)
List of illustrations

20 Parade float of the factory named 'Comintern', 1968. © Daniel C. Waugh
22 Still from Ballad of a Soldier (1959). © BFI stills, posters and designs
23 Soviet poster from the early years of Perestroika (1986) showing General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev meeting with energy workers in Tiumen'. From the Hoover Institution Archive, Poster Collection, RU/SU 2318
Maps

5.1 European Russia during the civil war, 1918–21. From Soviet Experiment: Russia, the U.S.S.R., and the Successor States by Ronald Grigor Suny, copyright © 1997 by Ronald Suny. Used by permission of Oxford University Press, Inc. page 141


12.1 Commonwealth of Independent States 350

13.1 Ethnic republics in 1994 353
Notes on contributors

Alan Ball is Professor of History at Marquette University and the author of Russia’s Last Capitalists: The Nepmen, 1921–1929 (1987) and And Now My Soul is Hardened: Abandoned Children in Soviet Russia, 1918–1930 (1994).


Archie Brown is Professor of Politics at St Antony’s, Oxford, and the author of The Gorbachev Factor (1996) and the editor of Contemporary Russian Politics: A Reader (2001).


Peter Gatrell is Professor of History at the University of Manchester and the author of The Tsarist Economy, 1850–1917 (1986) and A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during the First World War (1999).

Yoram Gorlizki is Senior Lecturer in Government at the University of Manchester and the author, with Oleg Khlevniuk, of Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945–1953 (2004).


Notes on contributors


David Holloway is Raymond A. Spruance Professor of International History and Professor of Political Science at Stanford University and the author of The Soviet Union and the Arms Race (1983) and Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939–1956 (1994).


Esther Kingston-Mann is Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, and the author of Lenin and the Problem of Marxist Peasant Revolution (1983) and In Search of the True West: Culture, Economics and Problems of Russian Development (1999).

Lars T. Lih is an independent researcher based in Montreal and the author of Bread and Authority in Russia, 1914–1921 (1990) and co-editor, with Oleg V. Naumov, Oleg Khlevniuk and Catherine Fitzpatrick, of Stalin’s Letters to Molotov, 1925–1936: Revelations from the Russian Archives (1995).

Michael McFaul is Peter and Helen Bing Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University, and the author of Russia’s Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin (2001) and, with James Goldgeier, Power and Purpose: American Policy toward Russia after the Cold War (2003).


David R. Shearer is Associate Professor of History at the University of Delaware and the author of Industry, State, and Society in Stalin’s Russia, 1926–1934 (1996).

Notes on contributors

Jeremy R. Smith is Lecturer in Twentieth Century Russian History at the University of Birmingham and the author of *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917–1923* (1999) and editor of *Beyond the Limits: The Concept of Space in Russian History and Culture* (1999).


Mark D. Steinberg is Professor of History at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and the author of *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry, 1867–1905* (1992) and *Proletarian Imagination: Self, Modernity, and the Sacred in Russia, 1910–1925* (2002).

Ronald Grigor Suny is Charles Tilly Collegiate Professor of Social and Political History at the University of Michigan, and Emeritus Professor of Political Science and History at the University of Chicago and the author of *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (1993) and *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States* (1998).

William Taubman is the Bertrand Snell Professor of Political Science at Amherst College and the author of *Stalin’s American Policy: From Entente to Détente to Cold War* (1982) and *Khrushchev: The Man and his Era* (2003).


Serhiy Yekelchyk is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Victoria and the author of *The Awakening of a Nation: Toward a Theory of the Ukrainian National Movement in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (1994) and *Stalin’s Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in Soviet Historical Imagination* (2004).
Acknowledgements

Every effort has been made to secure necessary permissions to reproduce copyright material in this work, though in some cases it has proved impossible to trace copyright holders. If any omissions are brought to our notice, we will be happy to include appropriate acknowledgements on reprinting.
Note on transliteration and dates

The system of transliteration from Cyrillic used in this volume is that of the Library of Congress, without diacritics. The soft sign is denoted by an apostrophe but is omitted from the most common place names, which are given in their English forms (such as Moscow, St Petersburg, Archangel). For those countries that changed their official names with the collapse of the Soviet Union – Belorussia/ Belarus, Kirgizia/ Kyrgyzstan, Moldavia/ Moldova, Turkmenia/ Turkmenistan – we have used the first form up to August 1991 and the second form afterwards. Anglicised name-forms are used for the most well-known political, literary and artistic figures (e.g. Leon Trotsky, Boris Yeltsin, Maxim Gorky), even though this may lead to inconsistency at times. Translations within the text are those of the individual contributors to this volume unless otherwise specified in the footnotes. Dates pre-1918 are given according to the ‘new-style’ Gregorian calendar, although in the Chronology the ‘old-style’ Julian calendar dates are also given in brackets.
Chronology

1894 Tsar Nicholas II came to the throne
1902 Vladimir Lenin published *What Is To Be Done?*
1903 Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party split into the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks
1904 Outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war
1905 9 January: Bloody Sunday
1905 30 October: Nicholas II issued the October manifesto
1911 Assassination of Prime Minister Petr Stolypin.
1914 1 August: Germany declared war on Russia; outbreak of First World War
1917 8–13 March (23–8 February) – the ‘February Revolution’
15 (2) March: Nicholas II abdicated
17 April: Lenin announced his ‘April Theses’ calling for all power to the soviets
14 (1) May: After the ‘April Crisis’, the coalition government was formed
1 July (18 June): ‘Kerensky Offensive’ began
16–18 (3–5) July: the ‘July Days’ led to a reaction against the Bolsheviks
6–13 September (24–31 August): the ‘mutiny’ of General Lavr Kornilov
7 November (25 October): The ‘October Revolution’ established ‘Soviet power’
15 (2) December: Soviet Russia signed an armistice with Germany
1918 18 (5) January: First (and last) session of the Constituent Assembly
3 March: Soviet government signed Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Central Powers
19 March: the Left SRs resigned from the Sovnarkom
May: revolt of the Czechoslovak legions, which seized the Trans-Siberian Railway
26–8 May: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan declared independence from Russia
16–7 July: murder by local Bolsheviks of Nicholas II and his family in Ekaterinburg
31 July: fall of the Baku Commune
July: First Constitution of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic adopted
2 September: systematic terror launched by the government against their enemies
Chronology

1919
March: Eighth Congress of the RKP (b) decided to form a Political Bureau (Politburo), an Organisational Bureau (Orgburo) and a Secretariat with a principal responsible secretary
2–6 March: First Congress of the Third International (Comintern)

1920
25 April: Pilsudski’s Poland invaded Ukraine, beginning the Russo-Polish war
1–7 September: First Congress of the Peoples of the East was held in Baku

1921
8–16 March: Tenth Congress of the RKP (b); defeat of the Workers’ Opposition and the passing of the resolution against organised factions within the party; introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP)

1922
16 April: Treaty of Rapallo signed with Germany
May: Soviet government arrested Patriarch Tikhon, head of the Russian Orthodox Church
June: trial of the Right SRs
8 June: Glavlit, the censorship authority, established
August: Soviet government decided to deport over 160 intellectuals
4 August: Red cavalry killed Enver Pasha and put down the Basmachi rebellion
30 December: the USSR was formally inaugurated

1923
9 March: a stroke incapacitated Lenin, removing him from politics.
Triumvirate of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev

1924
21 January: death of Lenin
31 January: Constitution of the USSR was ratified
April–May: Stalin’s lectures on Foundations of Leninism
December: Stalin promoted idea of ‘Socialism in One Country’, along with Bukharin

1925
January: Trotsky replaced as Commissar of War by Mikhail Frunze
18–31 December: the Stalin–Bukharin ‘centrist’ position triumphed over the Opposition at the Fourteenth Congress of the RKP (b)

1926
April: united opposition formed by Trotsky and Zinoviev
November: the Code on Marriage, Family, and Guardianship was adopted

1927
May: Great Britain broke off relations with the Soviet Union and set off a ‘war scare’
Autumn: peasants began reducing grain sales to the state authorities
Eisenstein’s film October (Ten Days that Shook the World) released
12–19 December: Fifteenth Congress of the VKP (b) called for a Five-Year Plan of economic development and voluntary collectivisation

1928
18 May–5 July: Shakhty trial
17 July–1 September: Sixth Congress of the Comintern adopted the ‘social fascist’ line
30 September: Bukharin’s “Notes of an Economist” published in Pravda

1929
9–10 February: the Politburo condemned Bukharin, Rykov and Tomskii
21 December: Stalin’s fiftieth birthday, the beginning of the ‘Stalin Cult’

1930
2 March: Stalin’s article ‘Dizzy with Success’ reversed the collectivisation drive
14 April: Suicide of Mayakovsky
July: Litvinov replaced Chicherin as People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs
Chronology

November: Molotov replaced Rykov as chairman of Sovnarkom; Ordzhonikidze became the head of the industrialisation drive
November–December: trial of the ‘Industrial Party’

1931
21 June: Stalin spoke against equalisation of wages and attacks on ‘specialists’; end of the ‘Cultural Revolution’; beginning of the ‘Great Retreat’
October: Stalin published his letter to Proletarian Revolution on writing party history

1932
November: Stalin’s wife, Nadezhda Allilueva, committed suicide
December: introduction of the internal passport system for urban population
Famine in Ukraine (1932–3)

1933
May: suicide of Mykola Skrypnyk as a result of attacks on Ukrainian ‘nationalists’
November: United States and Soviet Union established diplomatic relations

1934
26 January–10 February: Seventeenth Congress of the VKP (b), the ‘Congress of the Victors’
August: First Congress of Soviet Writers adopted ‘Socialist Realism’ as official style
18 September: USSR entered the League of Nations
1 December: the assassination of Kirov
Vasil’ev brothers’ film, Chapaev, released

1935
2 May: Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance
July–August: Seventh Congress of the Comintern adopted ‘Popular Front’ line
30 August: beginning of the Stakhanovite campaign

1936
27 June: New laws on prohibiting abortion and tightening the structure of the family
19–24 August: Moscow ‘show trial’ of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who were convicted and shot
5 December: Constitution of the USSR adopted

1937
28 January: attack on Shostakovich’s opera, Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk
23–30 January: Moscow ‘show trial’ of Radek, Piatakov, Sokol’nikov and Serebriakov
18 February: Ordzhonikidze committed suicide
May–June: purge of army officers; secret trial and execution of Tukhachevskii and other top military commanders. Height of the Great Purges, the ‘Ezhovshchina’

1938
Eisenstein’s film Aleksandr Nevskii released; Meyerhold’s theatre closed
2–13 March: Moscow ‘show trial’ of Bukharin and Radek
13 March: Russian language was made compulsory in all Soviet schools
September: the Short Course of the History of the Communist Party published
December: Beria replaced Ezhov as head of the NKVD

1939
23 August: Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact of Non-Aggression between the USSR and Germany
17 September: Soviet forces invaded Poland
30 November–12 March 1940 – Russo-Finnish war
14 December: USSR expelled from the League of Nations
Chronology

1940  8–11 April: Soviet secret police murder thousands of Polish officers at Katyn
     3–6 August: Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia joined the Soviet Union
     20 August: the assassination of Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico
1941  22 June: Germany invaded the Soviet Union
     8 September: Leningrad surrounded; beginning of the 900-day ‘Siege of
     Leningrad’
     30 September–spring 1942: the Battle of Moscow
1942  17 July–2 February 1943: Battle of Stalingrad
1943  23 May: dissolution of the Comintern
     5 July–23 August: Battle of Kursk
     28 November–1 December: the Tehran Conference
     November–December: deportation of the Karachais and Kalmyks; later
     (February–March 1944) the Chechens, Ingushi and Balkars; and (May) the
     Crimean Tatars
1944  1 January: a new Soviet anthem replaced the ‘Internationale’
     October: Stalin and Churchill concluded the ‘percentages agreement’
1945  4–11 February: Yalta Conference
     8–9 May: the war in Europe ended
     17 July–2 August: Potsdam Conference
     8 August: USSR declared war on Japan
     24 October: founding of the United Nations
1946  9 February: Stalin’s ‘Pre-election Speech’
     14 August: attack on Zoshchenko and Akhmatova; beginning of the
     Zhdanovshchina
1947  September: founding of the Cominform
1948  13 January: murder of the Jewish actor Solomon Mikhoels
     27 March: rupture of relations between Stalin and Tito’s Yugoslavia
     24 June–5 May 1949: Berlin Blockade
     13 July–7 August: Academy of Agricultural Sciences forced to adopt
     Lysenkoism
1949  The ‘Leningrad Affair’
     29 August: USSR exploded its first atomic bomb
     1 October: founding of the People’s Republic of China
1950  26 June: North Korea invaded the south and began the Korean war
1952  5–14 October: Nineteenth Congress of the VKP (b)
     October: Stalin published Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR
1953  13 January: announcement of the ‘Doctors’ Plot’
     5 March: death of Stalin. Malenkov became chairman of Council of Ministers
     June: workers’ uprising in East Germany
     26 June: arrest of Beria
     September: Khrushchev became First Secretary of the Communist Party
1955  8 February: Bulganin replaced Malenkov as chairman of the Council of
     Ministers
     14 May: formation of the Warsaw Pact
     July: Geneva Summit Conference
Chronology

1956 14–25 February: Twentieth Congress of the CPSU; Khrushchev’s ‘Secret Speech’
April: dissolution of the Cominform
23 October–4 November: Soviet army put down revolution in Hungary

1957 17–29 June: ‘Anti-party Group’ (Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich) acted against Khrushchev
4 October: Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the first artificial satellite of the Earth

1958 27 March: Khrushchev replaced Bulganin as chairman of the Council of Ministers
October–November: campaign against Nobel Prize winner, Boris Pasternak
27 November: Khrushchev initiated the Berlin Crisis

1959 September: Khrushchev visited the United States; ‘Spirit of Camp David’

1960 1 May: American U-2 spy plane shot down over the Soviet Union

1961 12 April: Yuri Gagarin became the first man in space
June: Khrushchev and Kennedy met in Vienna
August: the Berlin Wall was built
17–31 October: Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU. Stalin’s body removed from the Lenin Mausoleum

1962 2 June: riots in Novocherkassk
22–8 October: Cuban Missile Crisis

1963 5 August: Nuclear Test Ban Treaty signed

1964 14 October: Khrushchev removed as first secretary by the Central Committee and replaced by Brezhnev

1965 Kosygin attempted to introduce economic reforms
24 April: Armenians marched in Erevan to mark fiftieth anniversary of genocide

1966 10–14 February: Trial of Sinyavskii and Daniel’

1968 20–1 August: Soviet army invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia

1969 October: Solzhenitsyn won the Nobel Prize for Literature

1971 3 September: Four-Power agreement signed on status of Berlin

1972 22–30 May: Brezhnev and Nixon signed SALT I in Moscow. Period of détente

1975 1 August: Helsinki Accords signed
December: Sakharov won the Nobel Prize for Peace

1977 7 October: adoption of new Constitution of the USSR

1979 24–6 December: Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan to back Marxist government

1982 10 November: Brezhnev died and was succeeded by Andropov

1983 1 September: Soviet jet shot down Korean airliner 007

1984 9 February: Andropov died and was succeeded by Chernenko

1985 10 March: Chernenko died and was succeeded by Gorbachev

1986 26 April: Chernobyl’, nuclear accident
October: Gorbachev and Reagan met in Reykjavik, Iceland
December: Gorbachev invited Sakharov to return to Moscow from exile
Chronology

December: Kazakhs demonstrated in protest against appointment of a Russian party chief
1987 October–November: Yeltsin demoted after he criticised the party leadership
1988 February: crisis over Nagorno-Karabakh erupted
28 June: Nineteenth Conference of the CPSU opened
1989 9 April: violent suppression of demonstrators in Tbilisi, Georgia
25 May: Congress of People’s Deputies convened
9 November: the Berlin Wall was torn down
1990 January: Soviet troops moved into Azerbaijan to quell riots and restore order
6 March: Article Six of the Soviet Constitution removed
15 October: Gorbachev won the Nobel Peace Prize
1991 17 March: referendum on the future structure of the USSR
12 June: Yeltsin elected president of the Russian Federation
18–21 August: attempted coup against Gorbachev failed
25 December: Gorbachev resigned as president of the Soviet Union
31 December: end of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
1992 1 January: Gaidar launched ‘shock therapy’ economic policy
March: Shevardnadze returned to power in Georgia
14 December: Gaidar was replaced by Chernomyrdin as prime minister
1993 25 April: referendum supported Yeltsin’s reform policies
June: Aliyev returned to power in Azerbaijan, overthrowing the Popular Front
21 September: Yeltsin dissolved the Russian parliament and called elections to a State Duma
3–4 October: clashes between forces backing the parliament and those backing the president
12 December: elections to the State Duma rejected the radical reformers and supported nationalists and former Communists; ratification of the new Constitution
1994 May: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Karabakh and Russia agreed to a ceasefire in the Karabakh war
11 December: Russian troops invaded Chechnya
1996 June–July: Yeltsin won re-election as president of the Russian Federation
31 August: peace agreement signed between Moscow and Chechnya
1999 31 December: Yeltsin resigned, and Putin became acting president
2000 26 March: Vladimir Putin elected president of the Russian Federation
2004 14 March: Putin re-elected president of the Russian Federation
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APRF</td>
<td>Arkhiv prezidenta Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Archive of the President of the Russian Federation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASR</td>
<td>Avtonomnaia sovetskaiia respublika (Autonomous Soviet Republic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basmachestvo</td>
<td>Pan-Turkic movement in Central Asia, 1918–28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPF</td>
<td>Belorussian Popular Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheka</td>
<td>Chrezvychainaiia komissiia (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-revolution and Sabotage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Commonwealth of Independent States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMECON</td>
<td>Council for Mutual Economic Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comintern</td>
<td>Kommunisticheskii internatsional (an organisation based in Moscow that devised strategies for Communist Parties around the world)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP(b)U</td>
<td>Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPRF</td>
<td>Communist Party of the Russian Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPSU</td>
<td>Communist Party of the Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dashnaks</td>
<td>members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutiun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCs</td>
<td>Democratic Centralists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GASO</td>
<td>Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Saratovskoi oblasti (State Archive of Saratov Region)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIAgM</td>
<td>Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv goroda Maskvy (State Historical Archive of the City of Moscow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GKO (alternatively GOKO)</td>
<td>Gosudarstvennyi komitet oborony – the Soviet war cabinet (1941–5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glasnost'</td>
<td>‘Openness;’ policies ending censorship under Mikhail Gorbachev, 1985–91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glavki</td>
<td>chief industrial branch administrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosplan</td>
<td>Gosudarstvennata planovaiia komissiia (State Planning Commission)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulag</td>
<td>Gosudarstvennoe upravlenie lagerei (State Administration of Camps)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hummet</td>
<td>‘Energy;’ early Muslim socialist party in Transcaucasia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILWCH</td>
<td>International Labor and Working-Class History</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**List of abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMEMO</td>
<td>Institute of World Economics and International Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ittifak</td>
<td>'Independence'; a post-Soviet Tatar political movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAC</td>
<td>Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadets</td>
<td>Constitutional Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KGB</td>
<td>Komitet gosudarstvenoi bezopastnosti (Committee for State Security), the Soviet political police in the late Soviet period, successor to Cheka, GPU, OGPU, NKVD and other organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khozraschet</td>
<td>khoziaistvennyi raschet (cost-accounting basis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kombedy</td>
<td>committees of poor peasants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komsomol</td>
<td>Kommunisticheskii soiuz molodezhi (Communist Youth League)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komuch</td>
<td>Committee to Save the Constituent Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korenizatsia</td>
<td>'Rooting' or 'indigenisation'; Soviet nationality policies, 1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narkomnats</td>
<td>Commissariat of Nationalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narkomprod</td>
<td>Food Supply Commissariat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narkompros</td>
<td>Commissariat of Enlightenment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEP</td>
<td>Novata ekonomicheskata politika (New Economic Policy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NKVD</td>
<td>Narodnyi komissariat vnutrenykh del (People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOT</td>
<td>Nauchnata organizatsiia truda (Scientific Organisation of Labour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTR</td>
<td>Nauchno-teknologicheskata revoliutsia (Scientific-Technological Revolution)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGPU</td>
<td>United Main Political Administration (political police, successor to the ChEKA and GPU, predecessor of the NKVD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OUN</td>
<td>Orhanizatsiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perestroika</td>
<td>'restructuring'; the reformist policies of Mikhail Gorbachev, 1985–91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politburo</td>
<td>Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>politruk</td>
<td>politicheskii rukovoditel’ (political adviser to military officers in the Red Army)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proletkul’t</td>
<td>proletarian cultural-educational organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSS</td>
<td>Polnoe sobranie sochinii (Complete Works)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabfak</td>
<td>Worker faculties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabkrin</td>
<td>Workers’–Peasants’ Inspectorate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAPM</td>
<td>Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAPP</td>
<td>Russian Association of Proletarian Writers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCS</td>
<td>Revolutionary Communists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGANI</td>
<td>Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv noviei istorii (Russian State Archive of Contemporary History)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGASPI</td>
<td>Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial’noi-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archive of Social and Political History)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**List of abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the former archive of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, TsPA</td>
<td>RSDRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossiiskaia sotsial-demokraticheskaia rabochaia partiia (Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party)</td>
<td>RSDRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rossiiskaia Sovetskaia Federativnataia Sotsialisticheskaia Respaulika (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic)</td>
<td>RSFSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘self-published;’ the underground dissident publications in the Soviet Union</td>
<td>samizdat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supreme Economic Council</td>
<td>Sovnarkhoz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of People’s Commissars</td>
<td>Sovnarkom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialist Revolutionary</td>
<td>SR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respaulika (Soviet Socialist Republic)</td>
<td>SSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sovety trudovykh kollektivov (Councils of Labour Collectives)</td>
<td>STKs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative assembly in Transcaucasia, April 1918</td>
<td>Transcaucasian Sejm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsentr dokumentatsii novetshii istorii Saratovskoi oblasti (Centre for the Documentation of the Recent History of the Saratov Region)</td>
<td>TsDNISO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian national government, formed 1917</td>
<td>Ukrainian Central Rada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
<td>USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Executive Committee of the Soviets</td>
<td>VTsIK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-Soviet (later All-Russian) Institute for Public Opinion</td>
<td>VTsIOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>