

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON STALINISM? A CONCLUSION

The historiography of Stalinism was no journey from the darkness of ignorance to the light of understanding. Processes of learning went hand in hand with forgetting; concepts and approaches which had been 'overcome' in one era inspired scholars of a later period; increasing professionalization was challenged by repoliticization; global integration into a transnational scholarly debate was countered by renationalization. Today, scholars have more and better sources on all aspects of life under Stalin than ever before. But they also labour in a context where whatever they say about the Stalinist past will not only offend vocal and often powerful groups, but might well run foul of the law in one or other successor state of the Soviet Union. Thus, three and a half decades after the heated debate about 'new perspectives on Stalinism' which opened this book, researching and writing about Stalinism remains both challenging and stimulating.

It is more risky to forecast historiographical trends than it is predicting the weather. Nevertheless, five avenues of research are catching the attention of an increasing number of scholars: gender, the environment, the economy, the Second World War, and empire. Research in all of them is informed by political struggles in the present, which, as we have seen throughout this book, can serve as a positive incentive for intellectual work. All of them include a mix of the 'four levels of socio-cultural transformation' we can observe in Soviet society, and hence are conceptually interesting: pre-existing patterns following their own dynamic, structures formed through social engineering, including its non-intended consequences, forms which emerge through interactions not involving the state, and formations induced by interactions with the world outside the Soviet Union. All of them involve processes the Stalinists poorly understood and certainly did not control. And all of them will benefit if they embed Stalinism into the longer sweep of Soviet and post-Soviet history.¹

Gender

Like a submarine, gender has appeared and disappeared throughout this book. We encountered gendered dimensions in the interactions between historians (Chapter 1), in learned discussions about Stalin's penis (Chapter 5), but also in the debate about whether or not Sovietization was oppressive or liberating in non-Russian regions (Chapter 3). Gender resurfaced in Chapter 7 as a social phenomenon the scholars of 'Stalinist civilization' found hard to accommodate, and as one of the questions of state intervention which interested the 'modernity' school. Much more could have been said.²

Several reasons make the study of gender a likely future for research on Stalinism.³ A renewed interest in gender and sexualities among students is fuelled by a new wave of the LGBT+ rights movement, the exploration of non-binary forms of gender identity, and a re-invigorated feminism. There is a lot of interesting work to be done for students of Stalinism whose sensibilities are sharpened by such political struggles. The history of gender relations and gender constructs is one sphere of life in Stalin's time where the relatively independent socio-cultural processes could be found, which Sheila Fitzpatrick had looked for in the 1980s (see Chapter 1).⁴ As in other fields surveyed in this conclusion, such histories will benefit from breaking the chronological frame of Stalin's years in power and consider the longer arch of development from the nineteenth century to today.⁵

It is hard to refute that in the realm of gender and sexualities there was a retreat from revolutionary values during the Stalin years: divorce became harder, abortion was outlawed, and maternity celebrated.⁶ The re-criminalization of male same-sex love entrenched homophobia for the long-term.⁷ The massive increase in female employment did not raise the status of women, but rather imposed the double burden of work and family.⁸ A 'glass ceiling' on female careers emerged fairly quickly in the Soviet Union,⁹ and the war reinforced rather than weakened the established sexual and gender regime.¹⁰

And yet many women did experience social mobility, personal fulfilment and liberation from local patriarchy during the Stalin years.¹¹ Within the Communist Youth League, enough of the earlier revolutionary values were preserved that young women found nothing strange in volunteering for the army in the summer of

1941.¹² Women were prominent players in Soviet empire-building, as well as in the reform debates of the late Stalin years which anticipated later reforms.¹³ And, in the long-term, the two largest successor states to the Soviet Union did rather well in the world index of economic equality between men and women. In 2017, Ukraine ranked thirty-fourth in the world with regards to economic equality between the sexes. The Russian Federation ranked forty-first. Both were ahead of societies priding themselves on their history of female emancipation: Australia (forty-second), Germany (forty-third), or the United Kingdom (fifty-third).¹⁴ Russia is the world leader in employment of women in senior management positions.¹⁵ And while politics in Russia remains a male domain, the same is not true for Ukraine, which had a female prime minister, Yulia Tymoshenko, between 2007 and 2010. Either the Stalinist retrenchment of the 1930s and 1940s had little long-term impact, or it was overcome much more successfully than usually imagined.

Ecology

The other contemporary problem which agitates intellectuals is the environmental crisis. For good reason, the environmental history of Stalinism (and of the USSR more generally) has been written as a tale of unmitigated disaster.¹⁶ It should give intellectuals pause who think that our current predicament is simply an effect of capitalism. Indeed, Stalinism can work wonders for defenders of liberal economics. ‘The Soviet government’s imperatives for economic growth, combined with communal ownership of virtually all property and resources, caused tremendous environmental damage’, reads one such polemic.¹⁷ ‘As socialist ideas capture the American imagination’, warns another, ‘it’s important to remember socialism’s dismal environmental legacy.’¹⁸ Such use of Soviet environmental disaster to support capitalism has motivated the exploration of similarities between the two main forms of twentieth-century industrialism.¹⁹ The history of Soviet environmental conservation and Stalinist environmental consciousness has also been excavated, with often surprising results.²⁰

Economy

The environmental history of Stalinism is quite obviously entangled with a third field likely to see further growth in decades to come:

the history of the Stalinist economy. We have good studies now on the macro-economic history of pre-war Stalinism,²¹ and important outlines of the Stalinist economy at war.²² The economy of the Gulag, likewise, has found its historians.²³ We also understand the Soviet economy's place in the world much better.²⁴ But if we move beyond this general level, much remains to be done. Research into the micro-economics of daily life can build on recent studies of money and taxation,²⁵ corruption,²⁶ informal exchange,²⁷ food distribution and trade,²⁸ housing construction²⁹ and gardening.³⁰

Understanding this history will be of profound importance to those who grope for alternatives to the current world economic system. Their number is rising among younger people in the richer economies of the world. As conservative pundits report with horror, many among the so-called 'millennials' – better educated, harder working, with larger savings than any generation before, but in many places locked out of the housing market and subjected to increasingly deregulated working conditions – find nothing frightening about the idea of socialism.³¹ Some relatively high-profile middle-aged intellectuals are, likewise, celebrating the Russian Revolution as part of the positive history of their own struggle.³² Like 'socialist historians' before them, they will have to come to terms with the relationships between socialism and Sovietism, as well as between Leninism and Stalinism. Their opponents already mobilize Stalinism as the dark future awaiting anybody daring to meddle in the economy: lines, scarcity and the Gulag. Thus, both the new socialists and their enemies will find Stalinism a fertile ground for both research and polemics. Both sides will gain an analytical edge if they keep the wider context of the economic transformation of the Soviet Union in view.³³

The war

The greatest test for the Stalinist economy came during the Second World War. As we saw in Chapter 8, there is a large historiography to build on and many current political struggles to fuel debate. A large number of new sources – both from the archival and from the memory revolution – can release raw material for new histories of this war.³⁴ This emerging scholarship will have to grapple with the multiplicity of wartime experiences,³⁵ with the role of the home front,³⁶ the massive population displacements,³⁷ the question

of loyalty and disloyalty,³⁸ the behaviour of Soviet citizens under German occupation,³⁹ the ways the regime tried to mobilize the population,⁴⁰ and the many reasons people worked and fought, often to the death.⁴¹ Notwithstanding historians' increasing interest in violence,⁴² any history of the Soviet Second World War will need to grapple with the more prosaic role of the economy and the extent to which Stalinist industrialization (and the women and children 'manning' the home front) ensured victory.⁴³

In a world where Asia can no longer be ignored by Eurocentric historians, and where Eastern Europe has recovered its history independent of its Russian neighbour, historians will also have to come to terms with the fact that the Soviet Second World War was broader than the Great Patriotic War of 1941–45: The Soviet Union fought an undeclared border war with Japan in 1938–39, whose central role in the history of the Second World War is often forgotten, and it also joined the Allies in their fight against Japan at the end of the war. In the West, Stalin helped Germany dismantle Poland in 1939, and generally acted aggressively towards his neighbours, waging war on Finland in 1939–1940 and annexing the Baltic republics in 1940.⁴⁴ The later 'liberation' of the new western borderlands, then, was indeed a 're-occupation'.⁴⁵ Inevitably, such a history will be morally ambiguous, politically controversial, and empirically complex.

Empire

The two main results of the Soviet Second World War were the victory over Nazi Germany and the westward expansion of Stalin's empire. The debate about empire – if the USSR was one, and if so, what kind (Chapter 3) – was never about Stalinism alone. Most contributions put the Stalin years into a much wider chronological context. At stake was the entire Soviet experience, maybe even including earlier Russian imperial history as well. Stalinism was only one moment in this larger transformation.⁴⁶

But the new studies of empire and nations have gone further. New research on Central Asia has brought the agency of indigenous groups, indigenous elites, and their longer-term cultural and social histories into view.⁴⁷ The literature on the western borderlands, likewise, has done much to liberate historians' imagination from the straitjacket of Russian history. Seen both from the vantage

point of the post-Soviet world, and from the crucible of the Second World War, Stalinism became a transnational and trans-imperial moment. No longer located exclusively in the long-term history of the Russian Empire, it now resides at the intersection of the histories of the German, Habsburg and Russian empires, their successor states, and the various national, social and political movements entangled with them.⁴⁸

Hence, we are witnessing a real postcolonial fracturing of the field of Soviet history.⁴⁹ In a growing number of studies, Soviet history is dissolved into histories of Ukraine,⁵⁰ Belarus,⁵¹ the Baltic⁵² and Central Asian republics,⁵³ the Caucasus⁵⁴ or Transcaucasus,⁵⁵ as well as, of course, Russia.⁵⁶ These new and multiple histories can build on precursors from the diasporas and their allies in the West, as we have seen in the case of Ukraine in Chapter 9. But the new reality of fifteen independent nation states has given this fragmentation a new logic, a new focus, and a new strength. Soviet history, then, is no longer only part of the history of Russia, but also of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

Bringing these histories back together is a challenge which historians are only just beginning to face. They have done so either by linking national histories to larger problematics of Soviet history,⁵⁷ or by combining them into multinational accounts of the Soviet Union written outside the framework of Russian history, which once held it together.⁵⁸ But these are no more than beginnings of a new history of the Soviet Union, and with it of Stalinism, which will be adequate for our times.

Notes

- 1 Mark Edele, 'Soviet Society, Social Structure, and Everyday Life. Major Frameworks Reconsidered', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 8, no. 2 (2007): 349–73, here: 372–73. In contrast to the rest of this book, which has recovered the history behind contemporary debate, this chapter cites only recent literature published since 2000. The five fields, moreover, are not hermetically sealed silos. Many works could be listed under more than one subheading.
- 2 Sheila Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine (eds), *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women* (Princeton, 2000), and Melanie Ilic (ed.), *Women in the Stalin Era* (Basingstoke, 2001). On masculinity: Barbara Evans Clements, Rebecca Friedman and Dan Healey (eds), *Russian Masculinities in*

- History and Culture* (Basingstoke, 2002); Mark Edele, 'Strange Young Men in Stalin's Moscow: The Birth and Life of the Stiliagi, 1945–1953', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 50, no. 1 (2002): 37–61. The pioneer in LGBT studies on Stalinism is Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent* (Chicago, 2001); Dan Healey, *Bolshevik Sexual Forensics: Diagnosing Disorder in the Clinic and Courtroom, 1917–1939* (DeKalb, 2009). A landmark collection charting the current state of research is Melanie Ilic, *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia and the Soviet Union* (London, 2018).
- 3 For the state of the field, see Amy Randall, 'Gender and Sexuality', in: *Life in Stalin's Soviet Union*, ed. Kees Boterbloem (London, 2019), 139–66.
 - 4 Mark Edele, *Stalinist Society 1928–1953* (Oxford, 2011), chapter 4.
 - 5 For an overview: Barbara Alpern Engel, 'New Directions in Russian and Soviet Women's History', in: *Making Womens Histories Beyond National Narratives*, ed. Pamela S. Nadell and Kate Haulman (New York, 2013), 38–60.
 - 6 Wendy Goldman, *Women, the State, and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge, 2002).
 - 7 Dan Healey, *Russian Homophobia from Stalin to Sochi* (London, 2018).
 - 8 Thomas G. Schrand, 'Socialism in one Gender: Masculine Values in the Stalin Revolution', in: *Russian Masculinities, 194–209*.
 - 9 Melanie Ilic, "'Equal Pay for Equal Work": Women's Wages in Soviet Russia', in: *The Palgrave Handbook of Women and Gender in Twentieth-Century Russia*, 101–15.
 - 10 Greta Bucher, *Women, the Bureaucracy and Daily Life in Postwar Moscow, 1945–1953* (Boulder, 2006); Mark Edele, *Soviet Veterans of the Second World War: A Popular Movement in an Authoritarian Society, 1941–1991* (Oxford, 2008), 71–74; Steven G. Jug, 'Red Army Romance: Preserving Masculine Hegemony in Mixed Gender Combat Units, 1943–1944', *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 5, no. 3 (2012): 321–34; Erica L. Fraser, *Military Masculinity and Postwar Recovery in the Soviet Union* (Toronto, 2019).
 - 11 Choi Chatterjee, *Celebrating Women: Gender, Festival Culture, and Bolshevik Ideology, 1910–1939* (Pittsburgh, 2002); Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender and Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (Ithaca, 2004); Marianne Kamp, *The New Woman in Uzbekistan: Islam, Modernity, and Unveiling under Communism* (Seattle, 2006); Mary Buckley, *Mobilizing Soviet Peasants: Heroines and Heroes of Stalin's Fields* (Lanham, 2006).
 - 12 Anna Krylova, *Soviet Women in Combat: A History of Violence on the Eastern Front* (Cambridge, 2010).
 - 13 Elena Shulman, *Stalinism on the Frontier of Empire: Women and State Formation in the Soviet Far East* (Cambridge, 2008); Beate Fieseler, 'Aufbruch der Frauen im Spätstalinismus? Hintergrund, Verlauf und Ergebnisse der ZK-Frauenkonferenz von 1950', in: *Stalinistische Subjekte: Individuum und System in der Sowjetunion und der Komintern 1929–1953*, ed. Brigitte Studer and Heiko Haumann (Zurich, 2006), 345–58.
 - 14 World Economic Forum, 'Global Gender Gap Report 2017, Performance by Sub-index: Economic Participation and Opportunity', <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2017/performance-by-subindex/> (accessed 6 November

- 2019). Equality in the economy would receive an index of 1.0. No country has achieved such a rating.
- 15 'Russia is World's No. 1 Employer of Women Managers, Report Says', *Moscow Times* (18 June 2014), <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2014/06/18/russia-is-worlds-no-1-employer-of-women-managers-report-says-a36532> (accessed 19 December 2019); and Tim Smedley, 'Women in Leadership Roles – the West Finds itself Outshone', *Financial Times* (15 September 2015): 1.
 - 16 Douglas R. Weiner, 'The Predatory Tribute-Taking State. A Framework for Understanding Russian Environmental History', in: *The Environment and World History*, ed. Edmund Burke and Kenneth Pomeranz (Berkeley, 2009), 276–315; Paul Josephson, Nicolai Dronin, Ruben Mnatsakanian, Aleh Cherp, Dmitry Dfremenko and Vladislav Larin (eds), *An Environmental History of Russia* (Cambridge, 2013); Klaus Gestwa, *Die stalinschen Grossbauten des Kommunismus: Sowjetische Technik- und Umweltgeschichte, 1948–1967* (Munich, 2010); Julia Obertreis, *Imperial Desert Dreams: Cotton Growing and Irrigation in Central Asia, 1860–1991* (Göttingen, 2017). For a critique of this negative approach, see David Moon, 'The Curious Case of the Marginalisation or Distortion of Russian and Soviet Environmental History in Global Environmental Histories', *International Review of Environmental History* 3, no. 2 (2017): 31–50.
 - 17 Thomas J. DiLorenzo, 'Why Socialism Causes Pollution', *FEE: Foundation for Economic Education* (1 March 1992), <https://fee.org/articles/why-socialism-causes-pollution/> (accessed 18 June 2019).
 - 18 Shawn Regan, 'Socialism is Bad for the Environment', *National Review* (16 May 2019), <https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2019/06/03/socialism-is-bad-for-the-environment/> (accessed 18 June 2019).
 - 19 Kate Brown, *Plutopia: Nuclear Families, Atomic Cities, and the Great Soviet and American Plutonium Disasters* (Oxford, 2013); Andy Bruno, *The Nature of Soviet Power: An Arctic Environmental History* (New York, 2016); Serhii Plokhyy, *Chernobyl: The History of a Nuclear Catastrophe* (New York, 2018).
 - 20 For the cutting edge at the time of writing, see Stephen Brain, *Song of the Forest: Russian Forestry and Stalin's Environmentalism, 1905–1953* (Pittsburgh, 2011); Andy Bruno, 'Environmental Subjectivities from the Soviet North', and Johanna Conterio, 'Curative Nature: Medical Foundations of Soviet Nature Protection, 1917–1941', both in *Slavic Review* 78, no. 1 (2019): 23–49.
 - 21 See Paul R. Gregory (ed.), *Behind the Facade of Stalin's Command Economy: Evidence from the Soviet State and Party Archives* (Stanford, 2001); Paul R. Gregory, *The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives* (Cambridge, 2004); and the concluding volume of R. W. Davies's seven-volume economic history of Stalinism: R. W. Davies, Mark Harrison, Oleg Khlevniuk and Stephen Wheatcroft, *The Soviet Economy and the Approach of War, 1937–1939* (London, 2018).
 - 22 Mark Harrison, 'The USSR and Total War. Why Didn't the Soviet Economy Collapse in 1942?', in: *A World at Total War: Global Conflict and the Politics of Destruction, 1937–1945*, ed. Roger Chickering, Stig Förster, and Bernd Greiner (Cambridge, 2005), 137–56; Mark Harrison, 'Industry and the Economy', in: *The Soviet Union at War, 1941–1945*, ed. David R. Stone (Barnsley, 2010),

- 15–44; Lennart Samuelson, *Tankograd: The Formation of a Soviet Company Town: Cheliabinsk 1900s–1950s* (Basingstoke, 2011).
- 23 Galina Ivanova, *Labor Camp Socialism: The Gulag in the Soviet Totalitarian System* (Armonk, 2000); Simon Ertz, ‘Trading Effort for Freedom: Workday Credits in the Stalinist Camp System’, *Comparative Economic Studies* 47 (2005): 476–91; Leonid Borodkin and Simon Ertz, ‘Forced Labour and the Need for Motivation: Wages and Bonuses in the Stalinist Camp System’, *Comparative Economic Studies* 47 (2005): 418–36.
- 24 Oscar Sanchez-Sibony, *Red Globalization: The Political Economy of the Soviet Cold War from Stalin to Khrushchev* (New York, 2014); Special Issue: ‘Economy and Power in the Soviet Union, 1917–39’, ed. Andrew Sloin and Oscar Sanchez-Sibony, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 15, no. 1 (2014).
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- 26 James Heinzen, *The Art of the Bribe: Corruption under Stalin, 1943–1953* (Stanford, 2016).
- 27 Sheila Fitzpatrick, ‘Blat in Stalin’s Time’, in: *Bribery and Blat in Russia: Negotiating Reciprocity from the Middle Ages to the 1990s*, ed. Stephen Lovell, Alena Ledeneva and Andrei Rogachevskii (New York, 2000), 166–82; Alena Ledeneva, ‘Blat and Guanxi: Informal Practices in Russia and China’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 1 (2008): 118–44.
- 28 Elena Osokina, *Our Daily Bread: Socialist Distribution and the Art of Survival in Stalin’s Russia, 1927–1941* (Armonk, New York, London, 2001); Julie Hessler, *A Social History of Soviet Trade: Trade Policy, Retail Practices, and Consumption, 1917–1953* (Princeton, 2004); Amy Randall, *The Soviet Dream World of Retail Trade and Consumption in the 1930s* (New York, 2008).
- 29 Mark B. Smith, *Property of Communists: The Urban Housing Program from Stalin to Khrushchev* (DeKalb, 2010).
- 30 Stephen Lovell, *Summerfolk: A History of the Dacha, 1719–2000* (Ithaca and London, 2003).
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- 33 Philip Hanson, *The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Economy: An Economic History of the USSR from 1945* (London, 2003).
- 34 Iva Glisic and Mark Edele, 'The Memory Revolution Meets the Digital Age: Red Army Soldiers Remember World War II', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 45, no. 1 (2019): 95–119.
- 35 Roger Reese, 'Ten Jewish Red Army Veterans of the Great Patriotic War: In Search of the Mythical Representative Soldier's Story', *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 27, no. 3 (2014): 420–29; Moritz Florin, 'Becoming Soviet through War: The Kyrgyz and the Great Fatherland War', *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 17, no. 3 (2016): 495–516; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Mischka's War: A Story of Survival from War-Torn Europe to New York* (London, 2017); Brandon Schechter, *The Stuff of Soldiers: A History of the Red Army in World War II through Objects* (Ithaca, 2019).
- 36 Susanne Conze, *Sowjetische Industriearbeiterinnen in den Vierziger Jahren: Die Auswirkungen des Zweiten Weltkrieges auf die Erwerbstätigkeit von Frauen in der UdSSR, 1941–1950* (Stuttgart, 2001); Wendy Z. Goldman and Donald Filtzer (eds), *Hunger and War: Food Provisioning in the Soviet Union During World War II* (Bloomington, 2015); Wilson Bell, *Stalin's Gulag at War: Forced Labour, Mass Death, and Soviet Victory in the Second World War* (Toronto, 2018). On the war's impact on the legal regulation of sexual relations, see Mie Nakachi, 'N. S. Khrushchev and the 1944 Soviet Family Law: Politics, Reproduction, and Language', *East European Politics and Societies* 20, no. 1 (2006): 40–68; and Mie Nakachi, 'Population, Politics and Reproduction: Late Stalinism and its Legacy', in: *Late Stalinist Russia: Society between Reconstruction and Reinvention*, ed. Juliane Fürst (London, 2006), 167–91.
- 37 Mark Edele, 'The Second World War as a History of Displacement. The Soviet Case', *History Australia* 12, no. 2 (2015): 17–40.
- 38 For the state of play, see Mark Edele, "'What Are We Fighting For?' Loyalty in the Soviet War Effort, 1941–1945', *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84, Fall (2013): 248–68.
- 39 Johannes Due Enstad, *Soviet Russians under Nazi Occupation: Fragile Loyalties in World War II* (Cambridge, 2018).
- 40 Richard Bidlack, 'Propaganda and Public Opinion', in: *The Soviet Union at War*, 45–68; Karel C. Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger: Soviet Propaganda During World War II* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012).
- 41 The best treatment is Roger Reese, *Why Stalin's Soldiers Fought: The Red Army's Military Effectiveness in World War II* (Lawrence, 2011). For a stress on ideology and self-mobilization, see Jochen Hellbeck, *Stalingrad: The City that Defeated the Third Reich* (New York, 2015); the role of coercion is stressed by Jörg Baberowski, *Scorched Earth: Stalin's Reign of Terror* (New Haven, 2016), 315–425.
- 42 Mark Edele, 'Take (No) Prisoners! The Red Army and German POWs, 1941–1943', *The Journal of Modern History* 88, no. 2 (2016): 342–79; Mark Edele and Filip Slaveski, 'Violence from Below: Explaining Crimes against Civilians across Soviet Space, 1943–1947', *Europe-Asia Studies* 68, no. 6 (2016): 1020–35; Kerstin Bischl, 'Presenting Oneself: Red Army Soldiers and Violence in the Great Patriotic War', *History* 101, no. 346 (2016): 464–79;

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- 43 The best overview of the economic, military and diplomatic history is Evan Mawdsley, *Thunder in the East: The Nazi–Soviet War 1941–1945*. 2nd rev. ed. (London, 2016). See also Alexander Hill, *The Red Army and the Second World War* (Cambridge, 2017).
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- 45 Mark Edele, 'Soviet Liberations and Occupations, 1939–1949', in: *The Cambridge History of the Second World War*, ed. Richard Bosworth and Joe Maiolo, vol 2 (Cambridge, 2015), 487–506.
- 46 Valerie A. Kivelson and Ronald G. Suny, *Russia's Empires* (Oxford, 2017). For an even broader view, see Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, 2011).
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- 48 Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington, 2002); Kate Brown, *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Cambridge, Mass, 2003); Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999* (New Haven, 2003); Timothy Snyder, *The Red Prince: The Secret Lives of a Habsburg Archduke* (New York, 2008); Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (London, 2010); Alexander V. Prusin, *The Lands Between: Conflict in the East European Borderlands, 1870–1992* (Oxford, 2010); Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (eds), *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington, 2013); Per Anders Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarusian Nationalism, 1906–1931* (Pittsburgh, 2014); Tarik Cyril Amar, *The Paradox of Ukrainian Lviv: A Borderland City between Stalinists, Nazis, and Nationalists* (Ithaca, 2015).
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- J. Galbreath and Geoffrey Swain (eds), *From Recognition to Restoration: Latvia's History as a Nation-State* (Amsterdam, 2010).
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- 56 Geoffrey A. Hosking, *Rulers and Victims: The Russians in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, Mass., 2006); David R. Marples, *Motherland: Russia in the 20th Century* (London, 2014); Serhii Plokhy, *Lost Kingdom: The Quest for Empire and the Making of the Russian Nation: From 1470 to the Present* (New York, 2017).
- 57 Olaf Mertelmann, *Everyday Life in Stalinist Estonia* (Frankfurt, 2012); Sarah Cameron, *The Hungry Steppe: Famine, Violence, and the Making of Soviet Kazakhstan* (Ithaca, 2018).
- 58 Jeremy Smith, *Red Nations: The Nationalities Experience in and after the USSR* (Cambridge, 2013); Mark Edle, *The Soviet Union: A Short History* (Oxford, 2019).