The ABC of Communism influence, 236; views on econom-(Bukharin and Preobrazhensky), ic data, 96; views on impact of Stalin-era survivors, 94-95; views 35, 36, 41-42, 53, 121, 155 ABM Treaty, see Anti-Ballistic on Western threat, 100; warnings Missile Treaty of socioeconomic ills, 144 Academic Consultative Council of Agriculture, 57, 64, 93, 163, 182–84, the USSR Foreign Ministgry, 200, 202-3 Akademiki (liberal academics), 214 209 Akhmadulina, Bella, 85 Academic freedom, 34–35, 47 Academy of Sciences, 34, 113 Akhmatova, Anna, 46 Action Program (Czechoslovak Akhromeyev, Sergei, 198, 200, 201, Communist Party), 110 203, 206, 216 Adamashin, Anatoly, 209 Aksenov, Vasily, 85 The Administration of Socialist Alexander II, 20 Production (Medvedev), 174 Alexandrov-Agentov, Andrei, 209 Admissions practices of universities Alienation, 89–90 under NEP, 34-35 Aliev, Geidar, 198, 323n21 Adzhubei, Aleksei, 55 Amalrik, Andrei, 81, 91 Afanasyev, Victor, 188 Ambartsumov, Yevgeny, 177, 178, Afghanistan, 118, 123, 159, 162, 187, 264n121 America. See United States 178-79, 203-4, 221, 224 Africa, 57, 120 American affairs experts, 150 Aganbegyan, Abel: arguments on American individualism, 276n91 Third-World debt, 205; closed Andropov, Yuri: accomplishments, session economic report, 99; cri-173; address to Central tique of economic centralization, Committee ideology plenum, 79, 80; early meetings with 173-74; warnings to liberals, 172; Gorbachev, 182; ideological prescentral dilemma of reign, sure on, 187; loss of political 172-73; domestic focus, 180; for

Endnotes are indicated by an "n" after the page number.

Andropov, Yuri (continued) eign policy tasks, 175-76; lack of support for Arbatov, 163; promotions of younger officials, 174; recruitment of Burlatsky and consultant group, 72-73; reformist efforts, 172-80; repression of dissidence, 124, 311n78; suggestions to foreign-policy analysts, 176; warnings about Prague Spring, 259n27 Andropov team, 185–86 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, 107, 118, 148, 236 Anti-intellectualism, 32, , 122-23 Anti-Party Group affair, 82 Antireformists: actions against Gorbachev, 196; attempt at hard-line policy turn, 190-91; bid for power, mid-1980s, 186-91; contenders for succession as general secretary, 196; long-term foreign agenda, 188; open foreign-policy disputes, 188; triumph of, 124 Anti-Semitism, 47-48 Anti-Stalinism, 68 Anti-Western nationalism, 26, 237 Anti-Westernism, 18, 32, 33, 36-37, 118, 234-36 Apollo-Soyuz spaceflight, 118, 151 Arab-Olgy, Eduard, 101 Arbatov, Alexei, 152–53, 237 Arbatov, Georgy: attacks on, 170, 187–88; attempts to influence five-year plan, 163-64; experience at Prague journal, 71; fight against rehabilitation of Stalin, 286n28; foreign contacts, 148; as head of USA-Canada Institute, 124, 125; influence, 101, 163, 184, 201–2, 212; influences on, 78;

loss of political influence, 236; member of "gang of four" of early Gorbachev advisers, 184-85, 201, 202; participation in arms control discussions, 168–69; reprimands of, 171–72, 310n73; rescue of Lukin, 113; response to purge at IMEMO, 171; support for arms control, 156; support for moratorium on nuclear testing, 213-14; views on Andropov, 172; views on economy, 143; views on effects of new thinking, 73; views on excessive activism abroad, 165; views on own knowledge, 126; views on Palme Commission, 169; views on war, 148 Area studies Sovietologists, 15, 344n40 Arms control, 105, 106, 118, 148, 155, 165, 224 Arms Control and Disarmament Division of the USSR Foreign Ministry, 209 Arms race, 1, 117, 168, 206 Arms reduction, 106, 155 Artists, 40 Artsimovich, Lev, 106, 107, 130, 150, 151 Asia, 57, 153, 165 Asian social democracy, 102 Asmus, Valentin, 87 Asymmetric response, 179, 201 Audio technologies, 63 Austria, 54 Autarky, 145 Authoritarian systems, 339n8. See also Closed-dictatorial systems; Stalinist system

Babi yar (Yevtushenko), 85

Bakradze, Konstantin, 87

Balkans, 22, 237, 238–39 Baltic republics, 226–27 BBC Russian Service, 63 Bell, Daniel, 185 Berdyaev, Nikolai, 23, 139, 140, 294n118. See also Vekhi Berg, Axel, 132 Beria, Lavrenty, 52, 66 Berlinguer, Enrico, 316n146 Bermeo, Nancy G., 234, 243nn19,21, 34In27 Bessmyrtnykh, Alexander, 150, 298n179 Bible of Communism, 36 Biriukov, Nikolai, 300n195 Blagovolin, Sergei, 185 Bloch, Ernst, 88 Bogomolov, Oleg: analysis of détente's demise, 162; attacks on, 171; head of IEMSS, 124, 125; loss of political influence, 236; and Prague journal, 71; Shevardnadze's consultations with, 204; support for Gorbachev's policies, 207; views on economy, 143; views on internationalization process, 156 Bolshevisim, 24, 25, 26-27, 29, 3I-37, 249n47, Botvinnik, Mikhail, 68 Bourgeois democracy, 23 Bourgeois professionals, 34, 40 Bovin, Alexander: attempts to influence five-year plan, 163-64; experience on Andropov's consultant team, 73; firing of, 134; reprimands of, 172; response to purge at IMEMO, 171; support for Gorbachev's policies, 207; views on collapse of détente,

164-65; views on war, 148; warnings about Czech invasion, 112; work in journalism, 124 Brandt, Willy, 102, 3311122 Brest peace, 26, 27 Brezhnev, Leonid: death, 171; dependence on advisers, 122-23; dogmatism, 120; economic experience, 325n52; elevation to Central Committee, 285n16; formative experiences, 121; impact on new thinking, 117; incapacity, 118-19, 169, 309n57; intellectual life under, 124-27; limitations on thaw, 118; reaction to chance of foreign posting, 122; reformers' influence on, 148, 155; response to purge at IMEMO, 171; signing of Helsinki agreement, 154; support for neo-Stalinism, 59; views on foreign trade, 145; views on nuclear victory, Brezhnev cohort. See Brezhnev leadership Brezhnev doctrine, 204 Brezhnev leadership, 119-23; background, 121; influences on, 122, 123; intransigence, 157; outlook of, 198, search for post-Khrushchev identity, 136; views on foreign trade, 145-46; British imperialism, 36–37, 38 Briusov, Valery, 28 Bukharin, Nikolai, 27, 30, 31, 36, 38, 43 Bukharin, Nikolai (IEMSS analyst), 304n10 Bulgakov, Sergei, 29 Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (journal), 279n137

Bykov, Oleg, 134

Cadets (Constitutional Democrats), 25 Camp writers, 86 Capitalism: Berdyaev's views on, 23; end of demonization of, 50; Marxist and Leninist views of, 25, 35; questions of nature of, 166; Stalin's views on, 47 Castro, Fidel, 57 CEMA (Council for Economic Mutual Assistance), 107 Censorship, 67 Center-periphery ties, 30 Central Committee, 70, 72–73, 196, 200. See also International Department of the Central Committee Central Committee apparatus, 125

Central Committee Economics Department, 174 Central Committee plena, 93, 144, 173, 186

Central Committee Secretariat, 197

Central Economic-Mathematical Institute (TsEMI), 71, 76, 96, 125, 142, 187

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 99, 178.

Chaadaev, Peter, 246n9

Chauvinism, see Russian chauvinism

Chayanov, Alexander, 95 Chazov, Yevgeny, 151, 168, 170 Chebrikov, Viktor, 174, 218 Checkel, Jeffrey T., 231 Chernenko, Konstantin, 186–87,

Chernichenko, Yuri, 97, 109 Chernobyl tragedy, 12, 215–18,

Chernyaev, Anatoly: analysis of fraternal parties, 105; creation of new institutes, 113, 283n191; critique of disarmament proposal, 217–18; experience at *Problemy* Mira i Sotsializma, 71-72; foreign policy discussion with Ponomarev, 211; influence on Gorbachev, 209; letter of resignation, 226-27; observations of Gorbachev's private meetings, 205; replacement of Alexandrov-Agentov by, 209; support for moratorium on nuclear testing, 213-14; views on European social democracy, 102; views on Gorbachev, 182-83, 212

Chicherin, Georgy, 254n135 Children of the 20th Congress, 15, 83. See also New intelligentsia China, 7, 57, 58, 125, 234, 244n24. See also Sino-Soviet relations Chinese, influence on post-Stalin

politics, 71-72

Chinese Communists, 38

Chirkin, Veniamin, 129 CISAC (Committee on International Security and Arms Control), 168, 169 Civil war, 26, 27, 32-33, 40 Civilian defense specialists, 207 Closed-dictatorial systems, 234. See also Authoritarian systems; Dictatorial systems Club of Rome, 131, 167 Cognitive punch, 8, 12, 111, 244n28 Cold peace, 234–35 Cold war: importance of intellectual change to end of, 14; initiation of, 53; Molotov's views on, 54; reasons for end, 14, 194; renewal in 1983-84, 177; Stalin's declaration of, 47 Collective farms, 203. See also Collectivization Collective security, 177 Collectivization, 40, 64, 136 Cominform, 47 The Coming World Order (Shakhnazarov), 167 Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat, 179–80 Committee on International Security and Arms Control (CISAC), 168, 169 Common Market, 107 Common security, 168, 169 Communications advances, 63 Communist Party, 252n107. See also Bolshevism, Party Congresses Comparative-interactive learning, 7 Complex of revolutionary inadequacy, 120 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 118, 154–55, 303n321

Congress of Czechoslovak Writers, Consciousness, study of, 89–90 Conservatism, era of, 124 Conservative resurgence, 108-9 Conservatives, 208, 214. See also Antireformists Conspiratorial outlook, 22 Constitutional Democrats (Cadets), 25 Constructivism, 233 Consultant groups, 10, 72 Contemporary foreign-policy opinion, 237 Contemporary Global Problems (Frolov and Zagladin), 166-67 Contemporary Global Problems (Inozemtsev), 167 Contemporary Western thought, Contradictions, under socialism, 3071135 Conventional forces, 164 Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (CEMA), 107 Crisis, impetus for change, 3, 229-30 CSCE. See Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Cuban Missile Crisis, 50, 82 Cuban Revolution, 57, 65 Cult of culture, 79 Cult of the personality, 68 Cultural exchange agreements, 61 Cultural space, common, 90 Cultural-intellectual life, 82 Culture, political, 18, 21, 23, 24, 28, 31; NEP high culture, 32; popular, 41 Czechoslovak Communist Party, 23-24, 28, 31-32, 36, 40-41, IIO

Djilas, Milovan, 268n171

Czechoslovak reforms, 109. See also Dobrynin, Anatoly, 120, 127, 208, Prague Spring 213-14 Dobrynin's School, 150 Doctors' Plot, 60, 66 Danchev, Vladimir, 313n113 Domestic reforms, 51, 215-16, Daniel, Yuli, 109 Danilevsky, Nikolai, 22 22I - 22Daniloff, Nicholas, 218 Domestic travel, 63 Dartmouth conferences, 107 Dorosh, Yefim, 84 Dostoevsky, Feodor Mikhailovich, Dashichev, Vyacheslav, 156, 209, 2831192 22, 28 Decembrists, 20, 122 Dreyfus affair, 84 Defense issues, 152. See also entries Dubinin, Nikolai, 132 beginning "Military" Dudintsey, Vladimir, 84 Delusin, Lev, 113, 124, 125 Duel of cultures, 32 Democratization, 208, 219, 221, 222, 235, 334n168 Early new thinkers, 127. See also New thinkers Deportations, 34 Derzhavniki (realist state builders), East European reforms, 110, 224 East European scholarship, 89 237 De-Stalinization, 52, 60-65, East Germany, 52 65–70, 73–74, 82; of diplomacy, Eastern Europe, 78-79, 204-5, 221, 73-74 Détente: effects on Soviet scien-Eastern European regimes, 224 tists, 150; end of, 118, 120; era of, East-West comparisons, 274n63 50; during era of stagnation, East-West relations, 50–51, 58, 169. 154-57; importance, 14; influ-See also Foreign relations ence, 11, 148, 151; of 1970s, 118; East-West trade, 99-100, 145 rise of, 125 Ecology, 288n53 Developed socialism, 136, 137, 144, Economic development, 56–57, 165-67 Developmental paths, 139-40 Economic domestic roots of new Dictatorial systems, 6-8, 233-34. thinking, 200–207 See also Authoritarian systems Economic institutes, 96 Diplomatic purge, 43 Economic isolation, 92 Diplomats, 74, 103-6, 149, 257n192 Economic planning, 96–97 Disarmament concerns, 105-6, 107. Economic Problems of Socialism in See also Arms control the USSR (Stalin), 47, 94, 190 Disarmament plan, Gorbachev's, Economic reformers, early, 142 Economic studies, 93–98 Dissidents, 135. See also Sakharov, Economics, 93, 141-47 Economics and Law (Skhredov), Andrei

100

Economists, 7, 273n60 Economy: discussions of, 64–65; by end of 1950s, 96; Khrushchev's reform efforts, 82; need for change, 141–42; realistic views on, 143; reform currents, 141; reports of problems, 144; state role in, 275n75 Editorial boards, 10 Education, 34, 67 Ehrenburg, Ilya, 67, 83-84, 86 Eidelman, Natan, 91, 236, 293n104 11th Party Congress, 29 Elite, 18, 42-43 Elite congregations, 51 Elites-identity framework, 5–8, Encirclement, psychology of, "Enemies," struggle with, 40, 48 Engels, Friedrich, 168 Engineers, 34 Enlightened leadership, 240. See also Leadership Environmentalism, 130 Epistemic community model, 4, Era of stagnation, description of, 117. See also New thinking, during era of stagnation The Essentials of Marxism-Leninism (Kuusinen), 101 Eurasianism, 28, 237 Euromissile issue, 175, 217 European Marxists, 88-89 European revolution, 26, 39 European social democracy, 102 European ties, 91. See also Foreign ties Europe-oriented Marxists, 24 Evangelista, Matthew, 232, 246n6, 279nni37, i39, 280ni43, 339ni2

Exhibitions, U.S., 61
Expansionism, 22, 120, 165
Expert communities, 231
External national identity, 7
Extreme secretiveness, 149–50,

Fadin, Andrei, 170 Falin, Valentin, 310n76 Famine, 33 Faramazian, Rachik, 134 Federal Republic of Germany, 153. See also Germany Federation of American Scientists, Fedorenko, Nikolai, 132, 144 Fedosevev, Petr, 46 15th Party Congress, 38-39 Finland, 54 Finnish Communist Party, 319n180 "First Acquaintance" (Nekrasov), 84 "For the Sake of a Woman's Health" (Gerasimov), 130 Forced industrialization, 40 Foreign affairs, 51, 68–69, 100–107. See also entries beginning "International" Foreign affairs institutes, 70–71, Foreign-affairs thought, 71 Foreign contacts, 74-75 Foreign culture, 61-63, 83 Foreign economic studies, 94 Foreign exchanges, 74-75, 125-26, 150, 151 Foreign-language study, 61 Foreign Ministry, 208-9, 219 Foreign policy: changes in, 26, 176-77; deideologization of, 211; Gorbachev's report on, 210–11; Gorbachev's views on, 199;

Galich, Alexander, 111

Foreign policy (continued) Galkin, Alexander, 101–2, 134, 165 "Gang of four" (Gorbachev advisimpact of Chernobyl tragedy on, 217; importance of 20th ers), 201 Party Congress to, 50; intellec-Garaudy, Robert, 88 tual nexus, 207; Khrushchev's, Gefter, Mikhail: Chernyaev calls to 82; lag in results of decisions on, Gorbachev's attention, 209; call 224-25; means of determination for perestroika of Soviet historiof, 226; new priorities, 219; ography, 90; challenge to hisrenewed militancy in, 58; in torical schemas of Short Course, service to domestic reform, 207 91; criticism of scholarly isola-Foreign-policy analysts, 151–52, tion, 78; forced retirement, 135; 187-88 death of, 236; response to Foreign-policy hawks, 169-70 crushing of Prague Spring, 112; Foreign-policy thought, 119, views on historical develop-209-10, 237 ment, 139; views on Soviet Foreign radio broadcasts, 63 development and the interna-Foreign relations, 53, 100–107, 129, tional community, 140, 141 General secretary (of Politburo), 147-53, 180 Foreign-relations theory, 26–27, 191, 192, 196-98 Generational change, 291n85 Foreign students, 62 Geneva Summit, 60–61, 205–6, 212 Foreign threats, 39, 206 Georgian Public Opinion Center, Foreign ties, 7, 40, 107 29In86 Foreign trade, 99-100, 145 Gerasimov, Gennady, 71, 72, 102, Foundations of Leninism (Stalin), 107, 123, 124, 130, 264n121 German reuinification, 209, 225, 36 Frank, Semyon, 24 327n65 Frolov, Ivan: appointment as editor Germany, 26 of Voprosy Filosofii, 131; attacks Ginzburg, Vladimir, 2791131 on, 289n70; Contemporary Girshfeld, Viktor, 153, 318n177 Global Problems, 166-67; during Glasnost, 207, 223 the 1970s, 124; opposition to Glavit (censorship organ), 34 Stalinist science, 289n58; promo-Global outlook, 2, 127-33 tion of under Gorbachev, 208; Globalistics, 167 publication of non-Marxist Goldansky, Vitaly, 150-51, 279n131 views, 133; recollections of Golikov, Viktor, 122 Gorbachev, 183 Gonzalez, Felipe, 213 Gorbachev, Mikhail: acceptance of Gagarin, Yuri, 57 reunified Germany's member-Gaidar, Yegor, 275n75, 295n126 ship in Western alliance, 225; Galbraith, John K., 185 accomplishments, 2; actions on

human rights, 219; adherence to

old dogmas, 205; and Afghanistan, 203–4, 204; Akhromeyev's views on, 198; ambitions for change, 199; ambivalence on domestic empire, 226-27; appointment of Shevardnadze, 202; and arms control, 205, 206, 223; background, 181, 202-3; characteristics, 181; concern over Eastern Europe, 203; conservatives' views on, 214-15; contradictions in worldview of, 205; cultivation of moderate image, 197-98, 199; debate with Thatcher, 219, 220; defense of reform thinkers, 207-8; early views on international affairs, 183; evolution to social-democratic outlook, 213; extent of changes by, 193; fear of public opinion, 227; foreign activity, 184; foreign policy, 12, 200-201, 209, 210; goals for Soviet Union, 228; initial concerns, 12; loss of political influence, 236; and new thinking, 180–86, 215; opposition to, 196, 218; path to new worldview, 223, 334n169; policies, 200, 222-23, 225; reform characteristics, 192; report for 27th Party Congress, 210–11; response to military burden, 200-201; rethinking of East-West issues, 219–20; skepticism of Western policies, 205; support for agricultural reforms, 315n129, 325n50; support for liberalized Soviet federation, 227

Gorbachev, Mikhail, career: chair of Central Committee secretariat, 197; coming to power of, 195–200; election as general secretary, 192, 196–98; leader of Andropov's protégés, 180; manager of committee on economic issues, 174; on Politburo's Polish Commission, 326n57

Gorbachev, Mikhail, influences on: allegiance with *akademiki*, 214; experiences with Italy, 315n134, 316n146; foreign visits, 181, 182; foreign-policy reformers, 12, 180, 183–84; Gorbacheva, Raisa, 212, 331n113; meetings with foreign representatives, 212–13; meetings with reform economists, 182–83; mentioned, 3, 184; readings, 182; reliance on liberal-Westernizing intelligentsia, 227–28; senior colleagues, 3; study of international relations, 212

Gorbachev, Mikhail, views of: on Chernobyl tragedy, 216; on ending cold war, 205; on foreign policy priorities, 219; on international security, 217–18; on limited conflicts, 216; on new thinking, 214; on West, 182

Gorbacheva, Raisa, 181, 209, 212, 275n85, 33InII3

Gorbachev's team, 185. See also
"Gang of four"
Gorizontov, Boris, 134
Gorky, Maxim, 28
Grachev, Andrei, 112, 208, 286n29
Grain imports, 99
Gramsci, Antonio, 10, 88, 89
Great Patriotic War, cult of, 118
Great Reforms, 20
Great power statists, 237
Great-Russian chauvinism, 18,

30–31 Grigorienko, Petro, 49, 78 Grishin, Victor, 187, 196, 197, 285n15, 321n3 Grodov, Vasily, 44–45 Gromyko, Andrei: biography, 103; declining influence, 169; efforts on behalf of Gorbachev, 196-97, 322n13; Khrushchev-bashing, 190; on struggle with U.S. imperialism, 59; warning to Soviet adversaries, 198 Grushin, Boris, 87, 88, 275n75 Gubarev, Vladimir, 333n142 Guevera, Che, 57

Havemann, Robert, 88 Helsinki Accords, 118, 154-55, 303n221, 303n223. See also CSCE Herman, Robert G., 232 Herrmann, Richard K., 234 Herz, John, 102 Herzen, Alexander, 22, 111 Higher education, 35, 36. See also Universities Historians, 90-91 Historical Materialism (Bukharin), 36 Historical studies, 90–92 Historiography, 138–39 History, Russocentrism in, 40, 47 Honecker, Erich, 188 Hostile capitalist encirclement, 18, 26, 38, 42, 50-51, 53, 121 Hostile isolationism, 18, 46, 84, 100, 119-20, 123 Hostile-isolationist identity: characterization of, 9; reasons for persistence of, 121; contribution to demise of détente, 120; critique of, 128; effects on East-West rapprochement, 50–51; importance of Russian nationalism to, 137-38; influences on, 18,

55; under Stalin's terror, 37. See also Old thinking Hough, Jerry F., 291n85, 338n2 Human rights, 154-55, 219, 220 Human-rights campaigners, 135 Humanities, 34, 40, 83 Humanities institutes, 69-70 Hungarian Diary (Woroszylski), 78

Hungary: agriculture, 142; Burlatsky's views on, 128; foreign policy analysts' visits to, 76; interest in events in, 69, 84; invasion of (1956), 55; market reforms, 97; rebellion of 1848, 263n104; Soviets' shock at anger after invasion of (1956), 78; views of uprising in, 55-56, 65

Ideas, 3, 4, 14, 233 Identity, 5, 6, 238, 239, 243n13. See also National identity Ideocracy, 121 Ideological entrepreneurs, 7 Ideological insecurity, 120 Ideology, 8-9, 119-20 IEMSS. See Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist IISS (International Institute for Strategic Studies), 149 Ilyenkov, Evald, 87, 89 Ilvichev, Boris, 104–5 Ilvichev, L. F., 281n151 IMEMO. See Institute of World Economy and International Relations Imperial revival, 29 Imperialism, 37, 251n85, 272n46 Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism (Lenin), 24-25, 26, 71 IMRD (Institute of the International Workers' Movement), 70 In Defense of the Planet (Khozin), 130 Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security (Palme Commission), 168–69 The Individual, 89-90 Individualism, European, 22–23 Indonesian Communist Party, 104 INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty, 206, 223 Information explosion, 74 INION. See Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences Inorodtsy (other peoples), 27 Inostrannaia Literatura (Foreign Literature, journal), 61 Inozemtsev, Nikolai: attempts to influence five-year plan, 163-64; on global problems, 167; leadership of CISAC, 168; shaping of staff at IMEMO, 125; relations with Gorbachev, 183; support for East-West trade, 155-56, 164; victim of purge, 171; views on economy, 143 Institute of Africa, 70 Institute of Concrete Social Research, 98-99, 113, 134 Institute of Economics and Industrial Organization (Novosibirsk Institute): Chernenko's criticism of, 187; continued development, 125; creation of, 70–71; importance of, 96; new school of political economy, 76; younger reformist economists at, 142

Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System (IEMSS): attacks on, 170, 171, 187; creation of, 70; reformist proposals, 146-47; report on crisis in Poland, 162-63 Institute of the Far East, 70 Institute of History, 69-70, 91 Institute of the International Workers' Movement (IMRD), Institute of Latin America, 70 Institute of Philosophy, 87, 133 Institute of Red Professors, 36 Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences (INION), 113, 125, 151, 290n78 Institute of Theoretical-Experimental Physics, 68 Institute of the USA, 70, 125. See also USA-Canada Institute (ISKAN) Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO): analysis of third world economies, 165; attacks on, 170-71; creation of, 70; incubator of international economists, 76; influence of, 125; military research section, 152; reformist views, 147; revisions to dogmas about the West, 101; revival under Yakovlev, 185; studies on European integration, 153; U.S.-Soviet Joint Committee on International Issues, 152; views on capitalism, 143; younger reform economists at, 142 Institutes, 10, 70, 98, 124. See also specific institutes Institutional-centered explanation of new thinking, 4

Intellectual change, 17 International exchanges. See for-Intellectual congregations, 8, 233 eign exchanges Intellectual cross-fertilization, 128 International Institute for Strategic Intellectual domestic roots of new Studies (IISS), 149 International links. See Foreign thinking, 207-15 Intellectual innovation, 240 Intellectual life, 47, 51, 124–27 International Organizations Intellectual oases, 70-76 Department of Foreign Intellectual repression, 133-36 Ministry, 208–9 International Physicians for the Intellectuals: characteristics, 23; freedom of, 66; influences on, Prevention of Nuclear War, 168, 65, 66; and Prague Spring, 107–15; renewal of foreign ties, International relations. See Foreign 51; revival of critical thought, relations 65-70; role in establishment of International-relations theory. See national identity, 6; and the Foreign-relations theory world, 81-115. See also Policy-International scientific community, academic elite: Soviet intellectu-213 al elite International scientific ties, 106 Intelligentsia: Bolsheviks' end of International security, 217-18 cooperation with, 40; historic International trust, 219, 221, 222, description of, 77; lack of politi-227, 335nI74 cal influence, 247n26; numbers International workers' solidarity, of, 266nisi; opposition to Internatsional'naia Literature Bolsheviks, 34; rebirth, 76–80; targets of Stalinist terror, 46. (journal), 260n49 See also Policy-academic elite; "The Interrelation of the Natural Soviet intellectual elite and Social Sciences" (round-Intelligenty (intelligentsia), 77. See table), 132 also Intelligentsia Intrabloc relations, 183, 207. See Intermediate-Range Nuclear also Eastern Europe Forces (INF) Treaty, 206, 223 Iron curtain, 65 "Iron Tsar" (Nicholas I), 20 Internal migration, 62 Internal national identity, 7 ISKAN. See USA-Canada Institute International affairs. See Foreign Isolation, 18, 100-107, 150 affairs Isolationism: early critiques of International class struggle, 50, 55, Stalinist system, 92–100; intellectuals against, 83-92; role in 58, 258n23 International cooperation, 176–77 origins of "old thinking," 9; International Department of the Tvardovsky's views on, 86 Central Committee, 112 Israelyan, Viktor, 2791128, 2831192

Italians, defense of critics of Stalinism, 89

Japan, 97 Jews, 47–48 Journalists, 7 *June 22, 1941* (Nekrich), 91–92,

Kabunin, M., 274n63 KAL 007 airliner tragedy, 175, 188 Kalinin, Mikhail, 27 Kalita, Ivan, 27 Kalugin, Oleg, 199 Kantorovich, Leonid, 95, 97, 132–33 Kapitsa, Peter: criticism of academic isolation, 69; critique of Soviet strategic defenses, 289n56; early critic of scholarly isolation, 150; experience abroad, 106; importance, 131-32; on international scientific cooperation, 78; opposition to Stalinist science, 289n58; support for Sakharov, 288; writings, 288n55-289n55 Karmal, Babrak, 203, 224, 312n93 Karpinsky, Len: appeal for culturalintellectual freedom, 109; attacks on, 135n113; description of meeting with students in Poland, 267n160; death of, 236; views on post-Prague Spring reaction, 114-15 Karpov, Victor, 209 Karyakin, Yuri, 87, 88, 91, 102, 281nI50 Kedrov, Bonifatsy, 68, 87 Keldysh, Mstislav, 113 Khachaturian, Aram, 46 Khanin, Grigory, 97

Khozin, Grigory, 130-31, 132 Khrushchev, Nikita: beginnings of reform efforts, 81; concern for Mao's criticism, 58; De-Stalinization campaign, 82; distrust of West, 56; economic policies, 99; effects of doctrinal changes, 55; influence, 60; responses to fall of, 108; secret speech to 20th Party Congress, 49, 67-68; sensitivity to state of agriculture, 93; during Stalinist terror, 53; suspicions of West, 55; use of U.S. as frame of economic reference, 94; visit to U.S., 56; worldview of, 53, 54 Khrushchev, Nikita, views of: on airing problems, 64; on ignorance and propaganda, 42; on intellectuals, 56; on political process, 39-40; on relationship with Molotov, 54; on Stalin's influence, 60; on Western aggression, 55-56; on Western Europe, 52, 53 Khrushchev, Sergei, 56 Khrushchev cohort, 121 Khrushcheva, Nina, 53 Kirghizia, 95 Klyamkin, Igor, 135 Kokoshin, Andrei, 169, 179 Kompanii (discussion groups), 69, Komsomol (Communist Youth League), 35-36, 68 Kopelev, Lev, 45, 78, 256n176, 267nI59 Korean War, 52 Kornai, Janos, 110 Kornienko, Georgy, 103-4, 105-6,

209, 298n173

Kosolapov, Richard, 170, 187, 189, 190, 208 Kosovo-Yugoslavia crisis, 238 Kosygin, Alexei, 59, 144 Kosygin reforms, 100, 109 Kovalev, Anatoly, 154, 209, 263n102 Kovalevsky, Vladimir, 178 Kozyrev, Andrei, 177, 208-9, 236, 299n180 Krasin, Yuri, 102, 290n78 Krasovsky, Viktor, 274n67 Kremenyuk, Victor, 127 Krivoshevev, Vladlen, 112 Kronstadt uprising, 33 Kudyukin, Pavel, 170 Kunaev, Dinmukhamed, 322n15 Kurashvili, Boris, 166 Kurile Islands dispute, 164, 202 Kutovoi, Yevgeny, 153 Kuusinen, Otto, 101 Kuznetsov, Vasily, 259n42 Kvasha, Yakov, 274n67

Labor performance, 96 Laboratory for Concrete Social Research, 98 Latin America, 233-34, 244n21 Latsis, Otto, 98, 135 Leadership: importance of ideology to, 8-9; importance to crisis in USSR, 3; power base, 202. See also Brezhnev leadership; Post-Stalin leaders Leadership-centered explanation of new thinking, 3-4 Learning, levels of, 7 Lebed, Alexander, 135 Left opposition, 38 Lend-lease aid, 44 Lenin, the State, and Politics (Burlatsky), 128

Lenin, Vladimir: anticapitalism, 9; comparison with Peter the Great, 27; defense of bourgeois specialists, 35; Gonzalez's views on, 213; influence on Stalin, 250n77; as internationalist, 26; messianic claim, 24; views of, contrasted with Plekhanov, 24; views on capitalism, 25; views on chauvinism, 31; views on far-Right support, 29; views on grand designs, 168; views on nationalism question, 30; views on sociology, 98 Lenin Library, 66 Leontiev, Wassily, 185 Let History Judge (Medvedev), 79 Levada, Yuri, 275n75 Liberal economists, 135 Liberal historians, 135–36 Liberal intellectuals, 207–8 Liberal philosophers, 135–36 Liberal sociologists, 135 Liberalization of economic, social, and political life, 107 Liberal-reformist domestic community, 15. See also New thinkers Liberals, 160 Liberman, Yevsei, 98 Ligachev, Yegor, 174-75, 196, 198, Limited Test Ban Treaty, 50, 58 Linguistics, 47 Lisichkin, Gennady, 98, 109 Literary avant-garde, 85 Literary-cultural thaw, 51 Literature, 30-31, 79, 83-84 Litvinov, Maxim, 43, 282n168 Litvinov, Pavel, 282n168 "The Logic of Political Thinking in the Nuclear Era"

(Shakhnazarov), 177

London: Gorbachev's visit to, 199; Russian diplomats in, 105 Lotman, Yuri, 90 Lown, Bernard, 168 Lukacs, Georg, 88-89 Lukin, Vladimir: appointment at Foreign Ministry, 208; Arbatov's rescue of, 113; change in political outlook, 237; dissertation, 102; as link to reformers, 110–11; Prague veteran, 264n121; response to invasion of Czechoslovakia, 112; review of U.S. policy in Asia, 165; study of Sino-American rapprochement, 153; views on totalitarian ideology, 139 Lunacharsky, Anatoly, 28, 29 Lyubimov, Yuri, 79

Maclean, Donald, 164, 198, 306n21 Maisky, Ivan, 91, 283n192 Major cities, population, 62 Malashenko, Igor, 208, 286n29 Malenkov, Georgy, 54 Malinovsky, Rodion, 59 Mamardashvili, Merab: address on role of intelligentsia, 268n174; criticism of Lenin and Marx, 87; death of, 88, 236; lectures on European political and social thought, 69; popularity, 265n129; at Prague journal, 71-72; sanctions against, 135; views on international community, 140-41; views on science, 133 "Man and His Habitat" (roundtable), 131 Manichean outlook, 52, 90

Mao Zedong, 57-58, 59-60

Marcuse, Herbert, 88

Market experiments, 235

Market reformers, 99 Market reforms, 97, 144 Market system, 95 Martov, Yuli, 24 Marx, Karl, 25 Marxism, 23-24, 43 Marxism-Leninism, 122 Marxist-Leninist political literacy, Masses: growing force in Communist party, 32-34; rural, Materialism, European, 22–23 Mathematical economics, 97. See also Economics, TsEMI Mayakovsky, Vladimir, 28, 69 Medunin, A. E., 132 Medvedev, Roy, 79 Medvedev, Vadim, 174, 186, 198 Melamid, Daniil, 283n192 Mendelevich, Lev, 154, 209 Mendelson, Sarah Elizabeth, Mezhdunarodnaia Zhizn' (International Life), 260n50 Mezhdunarodniki (foreign affairs experts), 100-107, 147-53 MGIMO (Moscow State Institute of International Relations), 74, 103, 2621193 MGU (Moscow State University), 67, 87, 181, 27In39 Middle East, 120 Migranyan, Andrannik, 343n39 Mihajlov, Mihajlo, 269n13 Mikhailov, Nikolai, 104 Mikoyan, Anastas, 57, 70, 93 Military defeats, 21–22 Military doctrine, 200, 218, 333n153 Military forces, 118 Military spending, 190, 200, 324n3I, 324n32

Military studies, 152 Nazis, 43 Nekrasov, Viktor, 84 Military-industrial complex, 201, 202, 218, 324n33 Nekrich, Alexander, 17, 91–92, 109, Miliukov, Pavel, 29 Mints, Lev, 274n67 Nemchinov, Vasily, 94–95 Mitin, Mark, 135 Neoliberal explanations of new Mitterand, François, 212 thinking, 4-5 Mlynar, Zdenek, 181, 273n57, Neo-realism, 3, 230 281n160 Neo-Slavophilism, 28, 136-38, 235 Molotov, Vyacheslav, 54, 190, Neo-Stalinism, 58–59 Neo-Stalinists. See Antireformists 258n13 Mongait, A. L., 272n48 Neo-Westernism, 136, 138, 235 Morgenthau, Hans, 102 NEP. See New Economic Policy Moscow, transformation of, 62 NEP period, 34 Moscow Institute of World New Bolsheviks, 36 Economy, 46, 47 New Economic Policy (NEP), 26, Moscow intelligentsia, 111, 134 34, 37, 38, 40, 80, 183 Moscow Neo-Slavophilism, 28 New elite, 51 Moscow State Institute of New foreign-affairs thought, International Relations 100-101 (MGIMO), 74, 103, 262n93 New industrial workers, 41 Moscow State University (MGU), New intelligentsia (new intellectuals), 77, 80, 83, 89, 107-8. See 67, 87, 181, 27In39 also Intelligentsia Najibullah, Muhammed, 224 New openness, 96 Napoleonic Wars, 20 New thinkers: background, 5; Narsky, I. S., 87 beliefs, 5–6; in early 1980s, 161; National idea, 239 embrace of global concerns, 129; experience of 1970s, 119; National identity: description, 6; domestic politics of, since pereduring first post-thaw years, 147; stroika, 238-39; process of influence of CSCE on, 154–55; change, 5, 6, 7–8, internal exile, 134; reconsideration of identity of adversaries, 340n23-34In23 National Resources Defense 221; response to conservatives' Council, 213 actions, 221; role, 4; shared National-imperial attitudes, 27 social identity, 10, 80; support Nationalism. See Russian nationalism of efforts to broaden détente, 154; threat of purge against, 190; Nationalist journals, 292n89 Nations, as historical narratives, 6 views on Eastern Europe, 224 New thinking: approaches to NATO, 152, 236, 239, 342n37 Natta, Alessandro, 204 nature of, 231-32; broader foun-Natural sciences, 34 dation of, 100; definitions, 5;

description, 2, 3-4, 14; dispersion, 127-28; domestic nexuses, 228; effects of old thinking on, 19; elites-identity explanation of, 5–8; on foreign affairs, 100–107; Gorbachev's accomplishments under banner of, 2; impact of Chernobyl tragedy on, 215–16; impact of contacts with the West on, 75-76; institutions important to, 7; integrationist goal, 222; lessons of (overview), 13–15; mobilization of (overview), 11; nascent centers of, 76; new intellectuals' acceptance of, 114; origins, 2, 3, 9–11, 71, 82, 229–40; pioneers, 236; political opposition to, 225; sabotage by hardline security interests, 218; sociology's contribution to, 99; transformation, 207; triumph of (overview), 12-13

New thinking, coming to power of, 193–228; economic domestic roots of new thinking, 200–207; intellectual domestic roots of new thinking, 207–15; introduction, 193–95; main development of new thinking, 222–26; openness, democracy, and international trust, 215–22; summary, 226–28

New thinking, during era of stagnation, 117–57; bases for, 126; Brezhnev cohort and, 119–23; conservatism, 133–36; debate over Russia in world civilization, 139–41; détente, levels of, 154–57; economic thought, 141–47; emergence of global outlook, 127–33; intellectual life, 124–27; international rela-

tions, 147-53; nationalism, 136-39 New thinking, in early 1980s, 159–92; Andropov's reformist efforts, 172-80; attacks on, 169-72; efforts to save détente, 161–69; introduction, 159–61; new leadership for, 180-86; new-Stalinists' bid for power, 186-91; summary, 191-92; Yakovlev's essay, 184–85; during year of Andropov, 176 Nicholas I ("Iron Tsar"), 20 Nikiforov, Boris, 113 Nikitich, Lyudmila, 140 1961 Party Program, 136 Nobility, 19-20 Non-aligned movement, 162 Non-Bolshevik scholars, 34-35 Non-Russian periphery, 27 Non-Russians, abuse of, 30 Not by Bread Alone (Dudintsev), 84 Novoe myshlenie. See new thinking Novosibirsk Institute. See Institute of Economics and Industrial Organization Novosibirsk memorandum (Zaslavskaya), 174 Novozhilov, Viktor, 95 Novy Mir (reformist journal), 66, 67, 77, 83, 85, 133 Nuclear arms control, 109, 112, 124, 147-49, 168-69, 217. See also Arms control Nuclear dilemma, 177, 205 Nuclear forces, 118, 164 Nuclear testing, 200-201, 213-14 Nuclear war, 147-48

Oases of creative thought, 71 Obshchechelovecheskie, see Universal Human Values Obukhev, Alexei, 102–3 Commission on Disarmament Offensive détente, 19 and Security), 168-69, 170 Official ideology, 37 Pan-Slavism, 22, 137 Paranoid secretiveness, 149-50, 156 Ogarkov, Nikolai, 188, 319n179 Oizerman, Teodor, 87 Pariah states, 237 Okudzhava, Bulat, 79 Party Congresses: Eleventh, 29; Old dogmas, 205 Twelfth, 29; Fifteenth, 38–39; Old thinkers, 18 Twentieth, 49, 50, 55, 67–68; Old thinking, 17–48; basic precepts Twenty-second, 82; Twenty-sevof, 17–18; conspiracy worldview, enth, 209, 210-11 37-43; dangers in evolution of, Party intelligentsia (intellectuals), 31; duration, 18-19; internation-79, 112–13 alism vs. nationalism, 25-31; new Party Organizations Department of the Central Committee, elite for Bolsheviks, 31–37; perpetuation, 121; persistence 174 (overview), 8-9; during and Party Program (1961), 136 post-WWII, 44–48; reappraisals Pasternak, Boris, 56, 65, 85 of, 50; role in invasion of Pauling, Linus, 106 Afghanistan, 123; Russia's world Pavlov, Todor, 88 Peaceful coexistence, 37, 38-39, 50, place under old regime, 19-25 "On Sincerity in Literature" 58, 82 (Pomerantsev), 67 Peaceful competition, 55 One Day in the Life of Ivan Peasant communes, 21, 24 Denisovich (Solzhenitsyn), 8, 78, Pechenev, Vadim, 342n32, 343n39 84 Perestroika, 195-96, 214, 215-16. See "Open Letter" (Solzhenitsyn), 110 also Glasnost; Gorbachev, Mikhail Openness, 63-64, 215-22 Oppenheimer, Robert, 106 Permanent Western threat, 100 Optimal planning, 97 Peter the Great, 19-20 Ordinary Fascism (Romm), 269nII Petrakov, Nikolai, 144, 275n75 Ordzhonikidze, Sergo, 27–28 Philosophers, young, 89–90 Orlov, Boris, 112, 153, 203n213 Philosophical-cultural studies, 90 Orlov, Yuri, 68 Philosophy, 40, 47, 87–90 Orlova, Raisa, 17, 78 "The Philosophy of Peace" Orwell, George, 10 (Burlatsky), 167 Ostrovitianov, Yuri, 139 Pilnyak, Boris, 28 Outside world, 124-25. See also Plan and Market (Lisichkin), 98 Foreign affairs Planned economy, 146 Overpopulation, 130 Plekhanov, Georgy, 24 Plimak, Yevgeny, 87, 91 Palme, Olof, 102 Podgorny, Nikolai, 120 Palme Commission (Independent Pokrovsky, Mikhail, 27, 90

Poland, 26, 33, 38, 160, 162-63 Policy-academic elite, 2-3, 10, 14. See also New thinkers Polish scholarship, 10, 78, 79 Polish war, 33 Politburo: commitment to arms control, 149; growing influence of second echelon members, 170; policy arguments in, 218; Polish Commission, 305n11; responses to illusory prosperity, 146; support for Gorbachev as general secretary, 196. See also Central Committee Politgramota (political literacy), Political climate, 37 Political culture, 18, 41 Political learning, 234 Political liberalization, 221–22 Political philosophers, 23 Political prisoners, 223 Political training, 35-36 Politichskii Dnevnik (Political diary), 110 Politics Among Nations (Morgenthau), 102 Pomerantsev, Vladimir, 67 Ponomarev, Boris, 122, 170, 176, 183, 208, 211 Populism, 21, 23 Post-Brezhnev generation, 198-99 Post-Khrushchev era, 117 Post-Prague decade, 128 Post-Soviet politics, 239-40 Post-Stalin leaders, 52, 55, 56, 198 Post-Stalin reform era, 81 Potashov, Vladimir, 187-88 Power, 14 Power-centered explanation of new thinking, 3, 230

Prague, locus of foreign-affairs thought, 72. See also Prague journal Prague journal (Problemy Mira i Sotsializma—Problems of Peace and Socialism), 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 101, 110, 113, 131 Prague Spring: effects of, 11; example of limits of reform, 8; impact on Soviet intellectuals, 109; legacy, 114-15; mythological status, 114; responses to suppression of, 112-14; Soviet intellectuals and, 107-15 Praktiki (traditional Party managers), 214 Prejudices of the masses, 32-34 Preobrazhensky, Yevgeny, 35 Pre-Petrine Russia, 19 Pribytkov, Viktor, 309n58 Primakov, Yevgeny, 183, 201, 237, 286n32 Principled issue network, 242n5, 303n223 Prison Notebooks (Gramsci), 89 Private salons, 78, 267n157 Problemy Mira i Sotsializma, see Prague Journal Proektor, Daniil, 153, 165 Progress, Peaceful Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom (Sakharov), Proletarian intelligentsia, 10, 35, 80 Proletariat, 253n116 Prompartiia case, 40 Propaganda: anti-NATO, 1; anti-Western, reduction in, 60; belief in, 254n153; during early 1980s, 188–89; effects of WWII on, 44; importance of ignorance to, 42

Public Opinion Research Institute,

98

Pugwash movement, 10, 106, 107, 150, 151, 152, 168, 30111201 Pumpyansky, Alexander, 135 Purge trials, 41. See also Show trials Purges, 124, 170-71 Putsch, attempted, 227, 338n3

Rabfaki (workers' faculties), 35 Radek, Karl, 27 Radical intelligentsia, 140 Radios, 63, 261n64 Radishchev (historian), 91 Rakhmanin, Oleg, 204–5, 208 Rapprochement, 50-51, 119, 127 Raushenbakh, Boris, 151, 180n 126, 300n190, 314n124 Reactionaries. See Antireformists Reagan, Ronald, 13, 212 Realist analysts, 3, 237–38 Realist state builders (derzhavniki), 237 Reasonable sufficiency doctrine, 218 Red Imperialist, 45 Red Professors, 43 Red Terror, 34 Reflections on Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom (Sakharov), 107, 108 Reform ideas, 4 Reformers, 166, 200. See also New thinkers Reformism, 124-25. See also New thinking Reformist apparatchiks, 79 Reformist economists, 142, 143, 144, 146, 182-83 Reformist institutes, 142, 164, 187. See also Institutes Reformist-integrationist thought, 125-26, 136, 155 Reformist intellectuals, 98. See also New intelligentsia

Reformists. See Liberal-reformist domestic community Regional studies, 153 "Rereading Chekhov" (Ehrenburg), 83-84 Research institutes. See Institutes Revolt of the young, 87 Revolution of belief, 41 Revolutionary inadequacy, complex (syndrome) of, 58, 120 Reykjavik disarmament proposals, 12, 218 Reykjavik Summit, 217–19 Risse-Kappen, Thomas, 232, 339n12 Romanov, Grigory, 188, 196, 197, 3191180, 321113 Romm, Mikhail, 269n11 Rumyantsey, Alexei: aids persecuted liberals, 88; career, 270n26; defeat, 124; as director of Institute of Concrete Social Research, 98; early experiences, 265n126; editor of Prague journal, 72, 101; publication of calls for economic decentralization, 98; purge of sociology institute, 134; removal from Pravda, 109, 275n82; role in creations of TsEMI, 274n73; support for fired reformers, 113, 281n152 Rural incomes, 93 Rural masses, 19 Rural progress, myth of, 64. See also Collectivization Rural tragedy, 92 Rusakov, Konstantin, 171 Russia: Asian identity, 25, 28; common cultural space with the West, 90; military defeats, 21; nature of international behavior. 235-36; place in international community, 19, 140-41; problems of, 3; understanding Western orientation of, 236; views of U.S. in 1980s, 1; Western influence on, 20. *See also* Soviet Union

Russian chauvinism, 29–30, 83, 85, 250n78. *See also* Russian nationalism

Russian Marxists, 24
Russian nationalism: attacks on, 83;
Brezhnev-era resurgence of, 136;
combination with antiWesternism, 36–37; dilemma of,
137; as important issue, 27–28,
29–30; Party encouragement of,
118; symbiosis with Soviet patriotism, 45; under Stalinism, 43;
Yakovlev's criticism of, 45. See
also Neo-Slavophilism

Russocentrism, 40, 47, 256n188 Rutkeevich, Mikhail, 134 Rybalchenko, Filipp, 44–45 Ryzhkov, Nikolai, 174, 196, 198

Sagdeyev, Roald: influences on, 106, 151; loss of political influence, 236; member of Gorbachev's "gang of four," 201; influence of Sakharov, 150; participation in arms control discussions, 168, 169; and Soviet Scientists' Committee, 179; views on Gorbachev's team, 184

St. Petersburg Romance (Galich), 111

Sakharov, Andrei: belief in arms control, 107; criticism of Afghan invasion, 313n113; freeing of, 223; Gorbachev's conversations about, 214; importance, 129–30; influence of, 150–51, 288n46; influences on, 106; *Reflections* 

on Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom, 107, 108, 110; support for, 283n187; views on unity of mankind, 108; views on war psychology, 48 SALT. See Strategic Arms

Limitation Talks

Samizdat (clandestine literature), 79, 105, 266n139

Schaff, Adam, 271n36

Schelling, Thomas, 102

Scholars, suffering of, 34. See also Historians: Scientists

"Science, Ethics, and Humanism" (roundtable), 133

Scientific exchanges, 106–7 Scientific space, common, 90 Scientific-Technological Progress and its Socio-Economic Impac

and its Socio-Economic Impact Through the Year 1990 (Shatalin), 144

Scientific-technological revolution, 143

Scientists, 7, 34, 106–7, 150, 168, 213. *See also* Committee of Soviet Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat

Scythian writers, 25, 28

SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative), 179, 201, 312n92

Secret speech of Khrushchev, 11, 49, 52, 67–68, 81

Secretiveness, 149–50, 156

Self-definition, crisis of, 243n17

Self-determination, 27

Semichastny, Vladimir, 258n18

Separatism, 226-27

Serbia, 238–39

Shakhnazarov, Georgy: *The Coming World Order*, 167;
demotion, 290n75; disciplining

Shakhnazarov, Georgy (continued) of, 134; promotion of, 208; recollections of Gorbachev, 183-84; Shakhnazarov, Georgy (continued) response to crushing of Prague Spring, 112; support for Gorbachev's policies, 207; views on democratization, 166; views on international relations, 287n41; views on military policy, 177; views on political systems, 128; Tsena svobody, 193; views on social problems, 177-78; views on weapons production, 134 Shakhty case, 40 Shalapentokh, Vladimir, 96 Shatalin, Stanislav: arguments on Third-World debt, 205; disciplining of, 113, 135, 297n159; initiation of high-level study group, 144; reform proposals under Andropov, 174, 275n75 Shcherbitsky, Vladimir, 197, 206 Sheinis, Viktor, 134, 139, 140, 165 Shelepin, Alexander, 59 Shershney, Leonid, 178 Shestidesiatniki (those of the sixties), 280n146 Shevardnadze, Eduard: actions supporting Reykjavik Summit, 218–19; Akhromeyev's views on, 198; background, 202-3; concern over Eastern Europe, 203; consultations with Bogomolov, 204; creation of Academic Consultative Council, 209: creation of Arms Control and Disarmament Division, 209; discussion of philosophy of foreign policy, 209, 210; ethnic memory, 326n60; Gorbachev's appoint-

ment of, 202; loss of political

influence, 236; path to new worldview, 223; relationship with Gorbachev, 3, 12, 182; views on Afghan government, 221; views on Arbatov, 202; views on Chernobyl tragedy, 216 Shkredov, Vladimir, 100 Shlvkov, Vitaly, 152, 30In207 Shmeley, Nikolai: analysis of modern capitalism, 176; arguments on Third-World debt, 205; support for market reforms, 276n97; views on foreign trade, 99-100, 145, 146; views on outlook of reformist institutes, 142; views on production enterprises, 144-45 Short Course (Soviet political primer under Stalin), 41-42, 53, 71, 87, 91, 101, 121, 139 Shortwave radios, 63 Shostakovich, Dmitri, 46 Show trials, 40, 41, 64; see also purges Shubkin, Vladimir, 96 Siege mentality, 39 Sik, Ota, 110 Simonov, Konstantin, 46, 83, 85-86, 269ni5 Sino-American relations, 153 Sino-Soviet relations, 57–60 Sinyavsky, Andrei, 109 SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), 149 Skrypnik, Mykola, 29, 30 Slavophiles, 9, 21, 23, 292n94 Smena vekh (Change of Signposts) movement, 28-29 Smirnov, Georgy, 210 Snyder, Jack, 230 Social Democracy, 10, 23, 24, 102, 108, 127

Social learning, 7 Social sciences, 34, 83 Socialism, 57, 166 Socialism in one country policy, 38 Socialism with a human face, 88 Socialist democracy, 166 Socialist Democracy (Shakhnazarov), 128 Sociological Association, 98 Sociology, 98-100, 129 Solovyev, Vladimir, 25, 270n21 Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, 78, 84, IIO, III Some Philosophical Aspects of the Theory of Socialism (Tsipko), 167, 187 Southwest Asia, 306n28 Soviet-American Disarmament Study (SADS) groups, 107 Soviet Central Statistical Administration, 99 Soviet General Staff College, 36-37 Soviet industrial managers, 40 Soviet intellectual elite, 2. See also Policy-academic elite Soviet international decline, 230 Soviet nationalism, 83. See also Russian nationalism Soviet system, failures of, 141 Soviet Union: need for improved international environment, 200; overextension in late 1970s, 123; paths not taken, 229-30; problems in early 1980s, 159-60, 195 Soviet-Western ties, 118 Sovietized workers, 31 Spain, 6-7, 84 Spiritual emancipation, 66 Sputnik, 57 SS-20 missiles, 175, 217 Stalin, Joseph: action against diplomats, 103; actions, post-WWII,

46; criticisms of foreign policy of, 91; declaration of permanent cold war, 47; diplomatic purge, 43; Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, 47, 94, 190; efforts to rehabilitate, 117, 124, 190; Foundations of Leninism, 36; growth in authority, 45; influence, 60; interest in linguistics, 47; legacies, 92; promotion of Russian nationalism, 137; promulgation of revolution of belief, 41; removal of body from Lenin mausoleum, 82; socialism in one country policy, 38; sociology under, 98; speech to Soviet industrial managers, 40; successors, 52-60; Trotsky's defeat by, 39; views on, in 1970s, 140; views on chauvinism, 30; views on European revolution, 39; views on imperialists, 253n131; views on inevitability of war, 47; views on internationalism, 26 Stalinism, 18, 84-85 Stalinist dogmas, 264n112 Stalinist personality cult, 42 Stalinist regime, 44 Stalinist system, 92–100, 93 Stalinist terror: during Cold War, 47; effects of, 37, 42, 66; post-WWII, 46; rationalizations for, 41; rethinking after, 63-64 Stalinist worldview, 190 Standards of living, 44 Star Wars defense system (Soviet), 31311119

Star Wars defense system (U.S.), see Strategic Defense Initiative

START (Strategic Arms Reduction

Talks) Treaty, 206

State and Revolution (Lenin), 24 State-building process, 90–91 Sterbalova, Antonina, 139 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 149 Stockholm Socialist International, Stockholm talks, 217 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) Treaty, 118; talks, 149 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) Treaty, 206 Strategic capabilities, 148 Strategic defense initiative (SDI), 14, 179, 201, 312n92 Strategic defense system, 155 Strategic studies, 152-53 Strategic weapons, 179, 206 Struve, Peter, 23 "Sufficient defenses" doctrine, 318n177 Superpower relations, in 1980s, 1 Suslov, Mikhail, 122, 154

Tamm, Igor, 69, 78
Tarasenko, Sergei, 299n181
Tartu Semiotics School, 90
Technology, 132
Television, 63
Terkin, Vasily, 86
Territorial settlements, 54
Thatcher, Margaret, 161, 219, 220
The Thaw (Ehrenburg), 67
Thaw era, 49–80; after
Khrushchev's fall from power, 82; availability of western literature, 94; context for new leadership, 52–53; critically minded Soviets, 77–78; information

explosion, 74; institutional bases

65-70; legacy, 114-15; reappraisal

for sociology, 98; intellectuals,

of socialism in, 65; as time of intellectual liberation, 78; views on need for economic change, 141-42; writers of, 83-84 The Theory and Practice of Building Socialism (Butenko), 128 Theory building, 232-33 The Theory of Peasant Cooperatives (Chayanov), 95 Third world, 118, 165 Third-world debt, 205 Tienanmen massacre, 8 Tikhonov, Nikolai, 197 Tikhonov, Vladimir, 147, 182, 183, 190, 236 Togliatti, Palmiro, 88 Tolkunev, Lev, 175, 188 Tolstoy, Alexei, 249n62 Tolstoy, Lev, 178 Tourism, 62 "Toward a Revised Approach to Foreign Policy" (Arbatov), 201-2 Trade, East-West, 99–100, 145 Trade schools, 35 Transnational learning model, 4, Trapeznikov, Sergei: adviser to Brezhnev, 109; anti-intellectualism, 122-23, 134; growing influence, 170; injury to, 285n21; neo-Stalinist directives to research institutes, 190; relation to Institute of Social Sciences, 290n78; replaced by Medvedev, 174; views on 1930s, 109 Troop reductions: in Asia, 153; under Gorbachev, 193, 224; under Khrushchev, 58 Trotsky, Leon, 26, 38, 39 Trust, international, 219, 221, 222, 227, 335n174

Truth-telling. See Glasnost
Tsipko, Alexander: attacks on, 187;
consultations with early
Gorbachev team, 210;
Gorbachev's interest in, 318n175,
328n84; joins apparat staff under
Gorbachev, 208; Some
Philosophical Aspects of the
Theory of Socialism, 167; views
on building humanistic socialist
society, 140; views on national
ideology, 343n39; views on
socioeconomic problems,
167–68

Turkey, 54

Tvardovsky, Alexander: firing of, 124; limitations on, 133, publication of reformist works, 109; response to crushing of Prague Spring, 112; support for Western thought, 83; wartime works, 86 12th Party Congress, 29 20th Party Congress, 49, 50, 55, 67–68 22nd Party Congress, 82 27th Party Congress, 209, 210–11

Ukraine, 26
Ukrainian Communists, 91
Ukraintsev, Vasily, 133
Union of Concerned Scientists,
213. See also Scientists
United Nations exchanges, 106
United States: aggression, 53;
declining military presence,
302n212; economic success, 97;
foreign policy, 13; MarxistLeninist political view of, 35;
suppression of socialism, 52–53;
views of Russia in 1980s, 1. See
also USA-Canada Institute
United States-Soviet arms talks, 148

Universal human values
(Obshchechelovecheskie), 127, 141,
287n45
Universities, as centers of radicalism, 67
University pogrom, 87–88
Urban intelligentsia, 245n33
USA Institute. See Institute of the
USA

USA-Canada Institute (ISKAN): attacks on, 170, 171–72; creation of, 125; Military Department, 152; report on third world priorities, 165; studies of U.S. economy, 147, 156, 176; study on fall of Bretton Woods order, 143
USSR. See Soviet Union
Ustinov, Dmitri, 123, 163, 169, 190, 197, 322n17
Ustrialov, Nikolai, 29
Utopian leaps, 140

Varga, Yevgeny, 46, 47, 70, 79, 80

Vekhi ("Signposts," political philosophers), 23, 24, 139–40, 167, 187

Velikhov, Yevgeny: influence on Gorbachev, 184; influences on, 106, 151; member of "gang of four," 201; mentioned, 169; participation in arms control discussions, 168; relationship with Gorbachev, 183, 184, 185; Soviet Scientists' Committee, 179; verification project at nuclear test sites, 213; views on strategic defense initiative, 179
Verification project, 213
Vezhner, Vladimir, 94–95
Virgin Lands campaign, 93
Vocal minorities, 236

Vodolazov, Grigory, 138, 139 also entries beginning "East-West"; United States Voice of America, 63 Von Hippel, Frank, 213 West European Marxists, 101 Voprosy Filosofii (Philosophical West European policy analysis, 165 West Germany, 97. See also German Issues), 131 Vorotnikov, Vitaly, 174 unification; Germany Voznesensky, Andrei, 85 Western scholarship, 128–29 Vydvizhentsy (new elite): back-Western strategic concepts, 107 grounds of, 53, 121; focus of, 37; Western thought, 79 formation of beliefs of, 43; Westernism, 25, 51 Khrushchev as member of, 42; Westernized elite, 18 rationalization of internal con-Westernizers, 2, 9, 21, 22-23 flicts, 41; suppression of own Westernizing liberals, 2, 3, 5, 80, doubts, 39 114, 237 Vyshinsky, Andrei, 53–54, 278n120 Westernizing socioeconomic cri-Vysotsky, Vladimir, 79 tique, 99 Westernizing tradition, 34-35, 90 Wall newspapers, 68 White book special-edition transla-War, 47, 48, 66, 147-48. See also tions, 102, 277n112, 330n112 Afghan War; Arms control; Whites, 33 Arms race; Cold War; Great Will the World Become Too Crowded? (Gerasimov), 130 Patriotic War; Napoleonic Wars; Polish war; World War II; Wohlforth, William C., 233, War Communism, 26, 35 340n20 War Communist militancy, 43 World Economic Herald, 7 War psychology, 48 World literature, 61 War scare, 38, 189 World revolution, 39 Wartime propaganda, 32–33 World War II, 44-46, 198 Weapons trade, 177 World Youth Festival, 62 Weinstein, Albert, 274n67 World-historical process, 91 West: aggression, 40; anti-Soviet World's oneness, 216 crusade, 161-62; common cul-Worldviews: of archetypal tural space with, 90; cultivation Communists, 32–33; difficulty of fear of, 121; culture, 84; of changing, 50; Gorbachev's, demonization of, 41, 48; enemy 205, 223, 334n169; Khrushchev's, image of, 251n97; political-eco-53, 54; of old thinkers, 37–43; Shevardnadze's, 223; Stalinist, nomic life, 176; response to Khrushchev's changes, 50; 190; Yakovlev's, 184-85, Slavophiles' views on, 21; social 223 and political thought, 89; Woroszylski, Wiktor, 78 threatening capitalist, 123. See Writers, 7, 40, 75, 85

Xenophobia, 9, 18, 32, 43

Yagodkin, V. N., 134, 290n74 Yakir, Petr, 282n168 Yakovley, Alexander: ostensible anti-Americanism, 317n158; appointment as Central Committee Secretary for Ideology, 208; attack on Great-Russian chauvinism, 138; clashes with conservatives, 187; description of neo-Stalinists, 191; as director of IMEMO, 185; discussion of philosophy of foreign policy, 209, 210; dismissal of, 134; evolution of worldview, 184-85, 223; loss of political influence, 236; relationship with Gorbachev, 3, 11, 184, 328n87; support for reformers, 113, 329n89; views on Gorbachev, 199

Yakovlev, Yegor, 109, 112 Yanov, Alexander, 138 Yavlinksy, Grigory, 237 Yazov, Dmitri, Defense Minister, 224 Yegorychev, Nikolai, 257n8 *The Yellow River Elegy*, 8
Yeltsin, Boris, 227, 234
Yevtushenko, Yevgeny, 85, 112
Youth, political training of, 36
Yugoslavia, 50, 59, 68, 76, 79, 86, 89, 97, 100, 142

Za Rubezhom (Abroad, journal), 61
Zagladin, Vadim, 166–67, 176, 183,
290n78
Zamoshkin, Yuri, 133, 236, 271n37
Zapadniki (Westernizers), 150. See
also Westernizers
Zaslavskaya, Tatyana: ideological
pressure on, 187; loss of political
influence, 236; early discussions
with Gorbachev, 182–183;
Khrushchev-era research, 96;
mentors, 94; Novosibirsk memorandum,
174
Zhdanov, Andrei, 46–47

Zhdanov, Andrei, 46–47 *Dr. Zhivago* (Pasternak), 56, 85 Zimyanin, Mikhail, 170–71, 187 Zinoviev, Alexander, 87 Zinoviev, Grigory, 32 Zoshchenko, Mikhail, 46