A pioneer agreement on exchanging archival information and microfilms and on organizing microfilming was signed on April 17, 1992, between the State Committee for Archival Affairs under the government of the Russian Federation (now the Federal Archival Service of Russia - Rosarkhiv), the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, and Chadwyck-Healey, Ltd., Cambridge, United Kingdom. The program represents a unique international scholarly endeavor, drawing together three institutions from three countries to preserve and make accessible to scholars and the public worldwide information on Russia and its people in the twentieth century.

Selecting documents for microfilming was carried out by an editorial board compiled of an equal number of Russian and American historians and archivists with the emphasis on the following areas:

- The mechanisms of power in the USSR;
- The end of NEP (New Economic Policy) and the emergence of the Stalinist system
- Demography of Russia in the twentieth century
- Religion in the USSR
- The administrative system of the Soviets
- Public expectations and state response
- International activity of the USSR

Under the 1992 agreement, millions of documents and indexes to collections were microfilmed in the three major repositories in Russia: the State Archives of the Russian Federation (GARF — Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii), the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI — Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii, the former Russian Center for Preservation and Study of Records of Modern History), and the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI — Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv noveishei istorii, the former Center for Preservation of Contemporary Documentation).

In 1994, two of the three participating Russian archives, RGASPI and RGANI decided to end their affiliation with the Hoover Institution and Chadwyck-Healey; GARF, in an effort to continue the mutually beneficial international cooperation, in June 1998 signed a new agreement on scholarly collaboration with the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace and Chadwyck-Healey, Ltd., under which 1.5 million pages of documents from GARF relating to the history of the Gulag were produced. The October 2000 attachment to the agreement brought the total number of pages of documents to be microfilmed to four million.

Per these agreements, as of June 2004 Hoover had received a total of 11,676 microfilm reels, each containing from 500 to 850 frames (pages) of the documents entitled “Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State.” Out of a total 11,676 reels, 11,210 reels contain documents, and 469 reels contain finding aids to the documents available at the Hoover Institution, as well as to some documents available only in Russia.

A list of fonds comprising the Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State microfilm collection can be found in attachment 1.
Almost simultaneously with the microfilm delivery, work began on describing documents from the Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State. A general description of thirty-eight small fonds from RGASPI relating to the congresses and conferences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (KPSS) and fond 6 from RGANI containing documents of the Committee for Party Control, 1934–1966, can be found online with an opis-level guide to 2,457 reels of documents from fond 17 (Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union).

A detailed guide to fond 89, which consists of documents selected from various Russian archives for submission to the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation for the 1992 trial of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was published in 2001. A database for all Gulag documents received from GARF is also being developed.

The microfilm collection brings scholars from the United States, Italy, Bulgaria, Canada, China, India, and other countries to the Hoover archives. In addition, some Russian scholars prefer working on Russian documents in the Hoover Archives because of an easy access to the documents. Each year from 1998 to 2004, more than 100 questions relating to the microfilm collection were submitted, either in person or in writing. Researchers worked on many topics, including financial and military assistance granted by socialist countries to communist parties and leftist organizations and movements all over the world, the Gulag and its economics, the Soviet economy, Soviet foreign relations, the Cuban missile crisis, the cold war, and purges and repression, to name just a few.

Bertrand Patenaude, a Hoover research fellow, is working on a book about the 1992 trial of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, relying extensively on documents from fond 89.


Paul Gregory, the Cullen Distinguished Professor of Economics at University of Houston, won the 2004 Ed. A. Hewett Book Prize for an outstanding publication on the political economy of the former Soviet Union, East Central Europe, and/or their successor state for his book The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives (Cambridge University Press), which was base on the research in the Archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet State Microfilm collection.

PARTY AND STATE MANAGEMENT OF THE SOVIET ADMINISTRATIVE ECONOMY RESEARCH PROJECT

In 2001 Professor Gregory brought Eugenia Belova, Valery Lazarev, and Alex Tikhonov, all graduate students pursuing PhDs in economics at the University of Houston, to the Hoover Archives to research the party and state management of the Soviet administrative economy.

During their project the student used documents of the Party Control Commission, the Gulag, and the Nineteenth Party Congress. The Hoover Institution has also funded graduate students working in the archives from the spring of 2001 through July 2002. In addition, the Hoover Institution sponsored the publication of a monograph – Behind the
Façade of the Stalin Command Economy, which summarized archival work by economists.

Studying the most important social science experiment of the past century — the Soviet administrative-command economy — the project findings are summarized in the publications listed below:


This book uses the formerly secret Soviet state and Communist Party archives to describe the creation and operation of the Soviet administrative command system. It concludes that the system failed not because of the “jockey” (i.e., Stalin and later leaders) but because of the “horse” (the economic system). Although Stalin was the system’s prime architect, the system was managed by thousands of “Stalins” in a nested dictatorship. The core value of the Bolshevik Party dictated the choice of the administrative command system, and the system dictated the political victory of a Stalin-like figure. This study pinpoints the reason for failure of the system — poor planning, unreliable supplies, the preferential treatment of indigenous enterprises, the lack of knowledge of planners, and so on — but also focuses on the basic conflict between planners and producers, which created a sixty-year stalemate. Once Gorbachev gave enterprises their freedom, the system had no way to form either a plan or a market and the system imploded. The Soviet administrative-command system was arguably the most significant human experiment of the twentieth century. If repeated today, its basic contradictions and inherent flaws would remain and its economic results would again prove inferior.


Using collections from the archives, this article describes the difficulties the Soviet leadership encountered in creating a financial system in which all liquidity and credit were controlled by a monopoly bank. Although its framers intended to centralize the emission and monitoring of money and credit, in practice the system involved multiple players, soft budget constraints, and massive moral hazards. Enterprises issued “illegal” commercial credits and surrogate monies, causing liquidity growth to far outpace real economic activity. When confronted with the choice of solvency versus plan fulfillment, firms always chose the latter; credit risks were passed on to solvent enterprises, the state bank, and the state budget.


This essay uses a number of archival sources to describe how the dictator (“Team Stalin”) affected the flow of economic resources by setting basic control figures, issuing priority statements, and intervening directly in resource allocation decisions. The dictator had too small a staff to set meaningful targets and thus limited itself to a few targets, including ruble investment figures. The dictator’s economic agents in the industrial ministries deprived the dictator of information and decided on their own how resources
were to be allocated. The dictator could not even trust its State Planning Commission, the courts, the local party, or other centralized agencies, which resulted in a complex “control system” that was applied randomly and sporadically. Thus the dictator had a very limited control over the planned economy.


Studies of the mature Soviet economy focus on the weaknesses of rent-seeking and corruption. Although such an economy is presumed to perform well in its adolescent phase under a strong stationary bandit-dictator, dedicated to growth and able to control rent-seekers, the author used the recently opened Soviet state and party archives to show that the process that began in the 1930s — transforming the inner circle of the Soviet stationary bandit into a rent seeking bureaucracy — lacked long-term goals


This paper is an econometric study of the “retail” allocation of vehicles by the Soviet dictator represented by the three-person Molotov Commission to final consumers, unfettered by intervention of planning agencies or interest groups. The author compiled a 557-observation database of petitions to the Molotov Commission in 1933. On the basis of censored and ordered prohibit regressions, they found strong support for the gift exchange model.

In August 2002, a new Hoover team was formed to exploit the Archives of the Communist and Soviet State archives under the direction of Professor Paul Gregory. Whereas the phase 1 team was made up of young researchers, the new phase 2 team included the respected senior scholars Leonid Borodkin, Oleg Khlevnyuk, and Andrei Sokolov (Russia) and Mark Harrison (Great Britain). This team worked on articles and monographs including “The Economics of Forced Labor in Soviet Russia,” “The Soviet Military Industrial Complex,” and “Regional State and Party Elites.” That research team also included younger researchers (Andrei Markevich, Russia, and Simon Ertz, Germany), as well as a junior scholar (James Heinzen, U.S.). The team (sans Khlevnyuk) met in the Hoover Archives in July and August 2003 to plan its work and to study archival collections. The composition of the team assured close cooperation among leading U.S., UK, and Russian scholars and served as a training ground for younger scholars. Each major publication will be published in English and Russian, and will provide a core of knowledge concerning the true working arrangements of the Soviet system and the reasons for its collapse.

For a full list of publications resulting from the project see attachment 2.

For a list of project participants with biographical notes, see attachment 3
MICROFILMS SHIPPED TO ROSARKHIV

In March 1993 the Hoover Institution, implementing one of the provisions of the 1992 agreement, turned over nearly 5,000 reels of microfilm to the Russian archives that included the following:

Russian Pamphlet Collection
Russian Revolution Collection
Russian Newspaper Collection
Soviet Government Documents Collection
Imperial Russia’s Secret Police (Okhrana) Collection
Imperial Russian Embassies Collections (Russian Embassy in the U.S.; Russian Embassy in France)
Leon Trotsky–Lev Sedov materials

Reels of microfilm shipped to GARF in 2002 included American Relief Administration documents relating to Russia and the Maria Vrangel and Vrangel, Breshkovskaiia, Burtsev, Chernov, Denikina, Frank Golder, Gorkii, Krasnov, Lukomskii, Martynov, Rodichev, Rodzianko, Russian Military in Japan, Savinkov, Serebrenikov, Sheerbachev, Gleb Struve, Petr Struve, and Vasilev Collections (on 1,422 reels).

In 1999, the Hoover Institution received a generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a two-year project to process and microfilm the significant archival holdings of the Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco more. The project’s primary goal was to make these collections available to scholars in the reading room of the Hoover Institution Archives in microfilm form. All 85 collections on 501 reels were duplicated and shipped to Russia along with the other microfilmed collections.
Collections from the Museum of Russian Culture in San Francisco:
1. Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin Subject Collection
2. Ariadna, Mother
3. Barskii, Konstantin
4. Bazhenova, Taissiia
5. Bel'chenko, Andrei
6. Bensin, Basil
7. Beresney, Timothy
8. Bodisco, Vladimir
9. Bok, Mariia
10. Borzov, Nikolai
11. Chazov, Sergei
12. Chubov, David
13. Daksergof, Marina
14. Delovaia Komissia Pomoshchi Russkim
15. Dobkevich, Anton
16. Dulja, Boris
17. Efimov, Avenir
18. Emel'ianov, Ivan
19. Federation of Russian Charitable Organizations of the United States
20. Fedulenko, Valentin
21. Filip'ev, Pavel
22. Glink, Ermil, pseud.
23. Guins, George
24. Gumensky, Catherine
25. Haensel, Paul
26. Ignat'ev, Semen
27. Il'in, Vasilii
28. Ipatieff, Vladimir
29. Isaenko, Evgeniia
30. Ivanitskii, Mstislav
31. Kalugin, Nikolai
32. Kharbinskie Kommercheskie Uchilishcha Collection
33. Khristianskii Soiuz Molodykh Liudei v Kharbine
34. Kiashchenko, Georgii
35. Klaminskii, Sergei
36. Kniazeff, Alex
37. Kolchin, Ivan
38. Kompaneiskii, Boris
39. Kostriukov, Nikolai
40. Koudinoff, George
41. Kruzenshtern-Peterets, Iustina
42. Kurenkov, Aleksandr
43. Lebedev, Nikolai
44. Lodyzhenskii, Iurii
45. Loukashkin, Anatole
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PUBLISHING AGREEMENTS

1. GARF

The History of Stalin’s Gulag

A goal of the publishing agreement with GARF concluded in 1998 was a joint publication of a seven-volume collection of documents, The History of the Gulag, 1918-1953, which was published in December 2004 by the Russian Political Encyclopedia Publishing House. The publication is introduced with forewords by Alekasandr Solezhenitcyn and Robert Conquest and an extensive introductory essay by Elena Danielson, Terence Emmons, Paul Gregory, Oleg Khlevniuk, Vladimir Kozlov, and Sergei Mironenko in Russian and in English. Volume 7 was published in July 2005.

Volume I: Mass Repressions in the USSR, 1930 to the Beginning of the 1950s, edited by S. N. Mironenko and N. Werth, offers 238 documents on the waves of arrests and deportations, beginning with the dekulakization campaign of 1930, extending into the Great Terror (1937–38) and to the unexpected growth of the Gulag population in the postwar period. All these campaigns were planned from above, often with quotas set for arrests and executions, but it was left to lower officials to make the actual selection of victims. Repression during the years of the Great Terror was enforced by ad hoc bodies — troikas, commissions, and even individuals. In the postwar period, when the average victim of repression was a tardy worker or a widow stealing food for subsistence, repression was turned over to the regular justice system.

Volume II: The Penal System: Structure and Personnel, 1918–1954, edited by N.V. Petrov, contains 259 documents describing the Gulag’s organization, structure, and staffing as it evolved from a loose organization into a unified system controlled by the interior ministry. The documents show reorganizations within repressive apparatus and characterize the selection of OGPU, NKVD, MVD, and MGB cadres. Special attention is paid to the documents reflecting the leadership of forced labor camps, from those governing the Main Directorate of Camps to chiefs of individual camps.

Volume III: The Economics of the Gulag, 1930s – 1950s, edited by Oleg Khlevniuk, provides 183 documents on the economic activities under the direct supervision of the Gulag administration. Although the Gulag was originally conceived as a contractor of labor, it eventually turned into a general contractor of large infrastructure projects in its own right. Throughout the 1930s, the Gulag was increasingly assigned major infrastructure projects located in remote natural-resource-rich regions. Volume III focuses on the economic failure of the Gulag economy. Originally intended to produce large investment surpluses, that economy increasingly required subsidies from the state budget; thus rejection of the Gulag was a result of practical, not moral considerations. Moreover, the “narcotic” of “cost-free” forced labor produced another form of economic
damage — decisions to build projects that made little or no economic sense, many of which were abandoned before completion.

*Volume IV: Gulag Population: Structure, Numbers, and Living Conditions, 1930s–1950s*, edited by A. B. Bezborodov and V. M. Khrustalev, provides 321 documents that describe the numbers, health, and living standards of the inmate population. The central Gulag administration set norms for housing, food, and clothing, which local authorities were to enforce. Although the gap between the norm and reality was large, at least the norms indicate intent on the part of the highest level Gulag authorities to maintain labor so that it could work productively. The interests of Gulag administrators in prisoner living standards should not be confused with humanitarian concerns. With pressures to fulfill norms, Gulag administrators had to be concerned with keeping their “human machines” in reasonable working order.

*Volume V: Special Deportees in the USSR, 1930–1954*, edited by Tsarevskaya-Diakina. Previous Gulag literature has paid little attention to the almost two and one half million men, women, and children (to the time of Stalin’s death) banished to “special settlements.” These “special deportees” — integral to the study of the Gulag system — are covered in volume V. Deportees were required to work under conditions determined by the state authorities. Given the remoteness and inhospitable nature of these regions, the regular pay scales may have been a bargain for the state. The history of special settlements began with the mass deportation of peasants during forced collectivization. During the process of moving hundreds of thousands of households to remote regions, large numbers were killed or died from starvation or extreme cold. Special settlements faced shortages of medical personnel and teachers, high rates of epidemics, and high children’s mortality rates. The system of special camps was gradually dismantled during the period from Stalin’s death in March 1953 through 1959.

*Volume VI: Prison Uprisings, Riots, and Strikes*, edited by V.A. Kozlov, contains materials relating to unrest and mass riots in forced labor camps from the 1930s to the mid-1950s. The documents reflect important trends in the development of camp communities and interrelations between prisoners and the administration and between various groups of prisoners within one camp. Special attention is paid to uprisings that took place after Stalin’s death. These new documents help restore the details of these events so as to learn more about their participants; they also demonstrate the social and political conditions that led to those uprisings. Massive camp uprisings, in addition to growing war among criminal groups with each other and with the camp administration, marked the collapse of the Gulag mission.

*Volume VII: The History of Soviet Repressive-Punitive Policy and Penal System in the Holdings of the State Archives of the Russian Federation: Annotated Guide to the Files*, edited by V. A. Kozlov and S. V. Mironenko. According to the agreement of June 11, 1998, between GARF and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, in which the firm Chadwyck-Healey participated as a third party, the parties to the agreement consider the documentary collection and the microfilm records a single project that allows researchers to evaluate and compare the most significant documents on the
history of the Gulag with the source base from which they are drawn. The seventh volume binds together the two parts — books and microfilms — of this project, which is unique in both scale and scholarly significance. It provides the detailed description of the enormous GARF holdings on the history and prehistory of the Gulag that is necessary for an understanding and evaluating the broader context of the published material. This volume is both a guide to the microfilm records on the history of the Gulag (1918–1953) (a full, primary set of which is held at the Hoover Institution Archives) and a basic reference guide to the six-volume collection of documents.

2. INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY FOUNDATION

In 1997 the Hoover Institution concluded an agreement with the International Democracy Foundation (which was granted special access to the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia) to undertake a series of documentary publications on the history of the Soviet Union and Russian/Soviet-American relations since 1900. The project made the concealed chronicle of Russian history available to the academic world and general public. These documentaries describe significant aspects of the recent past. Each book in the series concentrates on one decisive event or on the evolution of the Soviet system, including a number of declassified documents and other materials from Soviet archives, with commentaries by famous scholars.


The struggle for power among the top leaders of the CPSU entered a particularly dramatic stage following Stalin’s death, with his closest associates declaring “inviolable unity,” though each of them feared the others and watched their steps closely. Beria, the secret police chief, appeared more active than any of them, being the first to criticize mistakes and violations of Stalin’s rule. As the head of the secret police he knew too much about all the other pretenders to power. Frightened to death, Beria’s former “comrades and friends” had no alternative but to get rid of him. Thus at the July 1953 Plenary Session of the SPCU Central Committee, Beria (in line with the practice prevailing at that time) was accused of anti-Soviet and anti-Party activities directed to the interests of foreign capitalists and to the destruction of the Soviet state (all fabricated charges). Not a single word was uttered regarding his real crime: the organization of mass repressions.

Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, 1957. Verbatim Record of the CC CPSU June Plenum and Other Documents (Russia. The Twentieth Century). Edited by A. N. Yakovlev; compiled by N. Kovaleva, A. Korotkov, and A. Stepanov, Moscow: International Democracy Foundation; Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution
The July 1957 Plenum of the SPSU Central Committee is a key event in the power struggle within KPSS leadership after Stalin’s death, a struggle that became even fiercer after the Twentieth SPSU Congress. The unedited verbatim record of the plenum is thus an invaluable source of information on the history of the Soviet society in 1930-1950. Most of the socially significant phenomena and processes of the period were raised during this plenum, among them the relationship of the SPSU to the state and society, “party leadership” extended to all spheres of life from economy and politics to ideology, science, and culture, relations within the party, including those among top leaders and between central and local institutions, role of the top person at power in the history of the country, etc. As a result of the plenum Nikita Khrushchev won victory over the “anti-party” group of Molotov, Malenkov, and Kaganovich; that victory made a return to the stalinism impossible.


This collection of documents details Marshal Zhukov’s dramatic career after the war. In 1946 he fell into disfavor with Stalin; in 1957, at the height of his career as minister of defense, Zhukov fell victim to a party-nomenklatura collusion headed by Khrushchev. The October 1957 plenum forced Zhukov’s resignation. Because Zgukov had been Khrushchev’s last real competitor in the struggle for power, the SPSU gained dominance over the army, the KGB, and the MVD, the so-called force structures. Not until 1999 was Marshal Zhukov fully cleared, posthumously.


This collection relates to the establishment of the communist regime in Siberia and the ensuring armed resistance. The materials of the SPSU and the Soviet and military institutions had been kept secret until recently. Documents from sites of the insurgency are of special interest, as those relating to the punitive organs of Soviet power. This collection thus provides clues to the true story of the West Siberian uprising, the largest struggle against the communist regime.

Russia and the USA: Diplomatic Relations, 1900–1917 (Russia. The Twentieth Century). Editor in chief A. N. Yakovlev; scholarly editors G. N. Sevostianov, and G.

Documents in this volume present a wide panorama of the relations between Russia and the United States before and during World War I showing the evolution of ties between the capitals of the two states. The documents reveal rivalries between Russia and the United States in the Far East and diplomatic struggles in the Asian-Pacific area, reflecting the religious and national-ethnic aspects of the two nations. A separate chapter contains documents showing how the war in Europe, led by two rival coalitions, affected political and socioeconomic ties between Russia and the United States.


Important governmental documents in this volume illustrate the history of unofficial relations between the USSR and the United States from 1918 to 1926. For the Soviet Union, this period was replete with dramatic events connected with the establishment of a new state and attempts to overcome international isolation. The leaders of the state who defined foreign policy to large extent connected resolving its many international problems with restoring of diplomatic relations and establishing trade, economic, cultural, and scholarly connections with the U.S. The documents in this volume broaden our understanding of the diplomatic practices of the two countries.


Documents in this volume bear witness to the tragic fates of millions of children in the country of “happy childhood.” The Soviet repressive system destroyed millions of families and doomed its little citizens to orphanhood, suffering, and death.

THE HOOVER INSTITUTION AND THE RUSSIAN POLITICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA PRESS

The Hoover Institution in cooperation with the Russian Political Encyclopedia Press instituted Treasures of Hoover Tower, a series of documentaries from the holdings of the Hoover Archives.

The following books in the series have already been published:

“Strictly Personal and Confidential!” B. A. Bakhmetev and V. A. Maklakov Correspondence, 1919-1951 (Sovershенно lichno i doveritel’no! : B.A. Bakhmetev--

These volumes contain correspondence of preeminent representatives of the Russian culture and society who were forced to emigrate after the October revolution. The book includes documents and unique photographs from the Hoover Institution Archives.


The letters in this book have never before been published. For years they were held in the Boris Nikolaevsky collection at the Hoover Institution — written by the mother of a famous archivist and researcher of the Russian revolutionary movement, whose name had been forbidden in Russia — Boris's mother’s letters reveal new pages in her son’s biography and that of the whole Nicolaevsky family, giving us an opportunity to feel the tension of that tragic time and to meet a circle of her son’s friends within the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party.

Currently, work is under way to publish in the Treasures of the Hoover Tower series a book on Chinese and Russian emigration as reflected in the diaries of I. I. and A. N. Serrebrennikovs, 1919–1934 under the editorship of S. Lyandres. This publication will tell a comprehensive and reliable story of witnesses to the life of Russian communities in China.

**ORAL HISTORY PROJECT ON “THE END OF THE COLD WAR”**

In 1998, the Gorbachev Foundation (Moscow) and the Hoover Institution began a joint project to produce oral history interviews (tape recordings and verbatim transcriptions) of leading policymakers in the Soviet and U.S. governments in 1985–1991 concerning the policies and events that brought the cold war to an end.

Interviews were conducted by Gordon Hahn, coordinator of Russian Archival Projects at Hoover and Victor Kuvaldin, a scholar at the Gorbachev Foundation who interviewed forty-three former Soviet officials, among them M. Gorbachev; Aleksandr Yakovlev, CC CPSU secretary for international affairs; Vladimir Kriuchkov, KGB chairman and August 1991 coup leader; and Marshal Yazov, minister of defense and coup leader.

Kiron Skinner, Hoover research fellow and assistant professor at Carnegie Mellon University, interviewed former U.S. officials in the Reagan Administration, including Frank Carlucci, national security adviser and secretary of defense; Michael Deaver, assistant to the president; Peter Hannaford, political adviser to President Reagan; Edwin Meese, national security adviser; Lyn Nofziger, political adviser to President Reagan; Donald Regan, secretary of the treasury and White House chief of staff; George Shultz,
secretary of state; and Caspar Weinberger, secretary of defense in the Reagan administration.

The interviews concentrated on three main areas of inquiry:
- Soviet-American Relations from the November 1985 Geneva Summit to the October 1986 Reykjavik Summit
- Soviet American relations and German Unification in the European Context
- Soviet–American Relations and the Persian Gulf crisis and war.

The interviews summarize the dominant considerations surrounding important decisions, elucidate Soviet decision-making processes, and examine the roles of interviewees in policymaking and policy implementation regarding these three issues.


**HOOVER INSTITUTION – RLG – ROSARKHIV PROJECT**

In April 1993 the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, in cooperation with the Research Library Group (RLG), proposed to the newly created Federal Archival Service of Russia (Rosarkhiv) a joint cataloging project that would involve entering archival bibliographic data into the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN). Rosarkhiv enthusiastically accepted, for Russian archivist believed that by participating in the project they would gain experience in creating a national bibliographic database, obtain state-of-the-art computer equipment, and make necessary changes in their methodological and descriptive practices. Furthermore, becoming an RLG member would gain Rosarkhiv access to the RLIN database.

Per the terms of the project, Rosarkhiv selected archival repositories and oversaw the project’s implementation in Russia. Hoover acted as the U.S. base, providing quality control for all RLIN records created by Russian archivists. The RLG provided a wide range of technical support, and the RLIN database hoisted the created records. Two central-level archives (the State Archive of the Russian Federation and the Russian State Archives of Modern History) and two provincial archives (the State Archive of the Tver’ Region and the Tver’ Center of Records of Modern History) were selected to participate in the project.

The project’s primary goal was to test MARC AMC format in RLIN against different types of archival materials: Communist Party records, governmental and institutional records at the central and local levels, and personal records. The following long-term objectives were also realized in the course of the project: (a) the creation of international standards and methodology for exchanging information electronically through RLIN, (b) the promotion of a common database of archival
description from repositories throughout the world, thus enhancing access for scholarly research, and (9c) the international cooperation of archivists and historians.

This project also allowed Russian archivists to perform bibliographic descriptions and indexing in Cyrillic using MAARC AMC format and to incorporate Cyrillic Rosarkhiv records into the multiscr ipt RLIN database. Joint cataloging standards and methodology developed by the project suited the specific needs and practices of Russian archivists and made Cyrillic records comprehensive to Russian, European, and American users within the context of the RLIN environment.
June 2004

ARCHIVES OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOVIET STATE

LIST OF FONDS RECEIVED BY THE HOOVER ARCHIVES

RGANI

   Documents from opisi 1 through 6 amounting to 972 reels. Russian language finding aids to opisi 1 through 9 (14 reels).

2. Fond 89. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Trial, 1918-1992
   Documents from opisi 1–76 on 24 reels. Russian-language finding aids to these opisi on a separate reel. A detailed document-level guide to this fond in English was published in 2001.

RGASPI


2. Fondy 34-59, 337, 447, 572, 582, 586, 592, 593, 604, 620, 628, 646. These thirty-eight fondy consist of one (occasionally two) opisi and contain mainly of documents relating to the congresses (2nd–19th, 23rd – 28th), 1903–1990, and conferences (5th– 16th), 1908–1929, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (KPSS) (RSDRP, 1903–1917; RKP(b), 1918–1925; VKP(b), 1925–1952; KPSS, 1952–1990). These documents amount to 329 reels. A general description of these fondy in English is available online Russian finding aids to RTsKhIDNI’s 326 fondy were microfilmed onto 55 reels.

GARF

1. Fond R-393. People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR, 1917–1931
   Opisi 1–84; 97–91 on 4,203 reels.

2. Fond R-1005. Supreme Tribunal under the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK); Supreme Court of the RSFSR
   Opisi 1, 1A, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 67 on 272 reels.

3. Fond R 4042, Main Directorate of the Places of Confinement, 1922–1930
   Opisi 1, 1A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 on 325 reels.

Opisi 5, 5A, 6, 7, 7a, 8, 8a, 9, 9a, 10, 10a, 11, 11a, 12a, 13, 13a, 14, 14a, 15, 15a, 16, 16a, 17, 18, 18a, 20, 20a, 22, 22a, 23, 23a, 24, 24a, 25, 43, 44, 46-51, 80, 81, 81a, 86, 87 on 81 reels.

5. **Fond R-7521.**
Opis 1. *Materials of the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee (VTsIK) and of the Presidium’s Commission for Private Amnesty, 1925–1937* on 43 reels.

Opis 2 on 36 reels.

7. **Fond R-8409.** *Peshkova E.L.: Committee for Aid to Political Prisoners, 1928–1938.*
Opis 1 on 465 reels.

8. **Fond R-8419.** *Political Red Cross (Moscow), 1927–1929.*
Opis 1 on 58 reels.

Opis 1–29 on 372 reels.

Opisi 1, 2 on 275 reels.

Opisi 1, 1 A, 2, 3 (part 1, 2) on 900 reels.

12. **Fond R-9474.** *USSR Supreme Court, 1923–1991*
Opis 16 on 48 reels.

13. **Fond R-9479.** *Fourth Special Department of the MVD SSSR.*
Opis 1: 462 declassified files (dela) on special (forced) migrants (spetsposelety), 1930–1959 on 145 reels.

Opisi 1a, 2, 3, 4, 5 on 412 reels.
Publications Resulting from the Paul Gregory Project


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Simon Ertz is a postgraduate student in modern history, economics, and East European studies at the Free University of Berlin. From 2001 to 2002, he was a visiting fellow at the Center for Economic History at Moscow State University. During that time he conducted intensive research in the Russian archives on the economics of the Gulag.


James Heinzen is an assistant professor of history at Rowan University. He is the author of several scholarly articles on Soviet history and a forthcoming book, Inventing the Soviet Countryside: The Transformation of Rural Russia before Collectivization, 1917–1929 (Pittsburgh). His current project examines the problem of corruption and anticorruption campaigns in the Soviet Union in the 1940s to the 1960s.

Oleg Khlevnyuk is a senior researcher in the Russian State Archive. His principal focus is the history of the Stalin era, and he has published influential books on Stalinism, including The Politburo: The Mechanism of Political Power in the 1930s (in Russian), and In Stalin’s Shadow: The Career of Sergo Ordzhonikidze, in both Russian and English. He edited volume III in a six-volume collection of Gulag documents.

Andrei Markevich has a PhD in history from the Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. His specialization concerns problems of management and administration of the Soviet administrative command economy, in particular the military industrial complex. He has published articles in the Slavic Review, and Yearbook of Economic History.

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