

To what extent were the Bolsheviks responsible for the October Revolution and their subsequent seizure of power?

For/Against	Explain	Example	Effect	How it led to the Revolution
Continuity of the PG created a power vacuum and made a seizure of power inevitable. Bolsheviks simply stepped in.	PG, to the people, represented the continuity of the Tsarist regime's failures after only 6 months in office, eg. unable to resolve issues of peace	<p>Failure of Kerensky's June Offensive (400,000 killed) demonstrated continuity of PG from Tsarism, and consequently, the fall in support of PG.</p> <p>"The Bolsheviks did not seize power, they picked it up." - Adam Ulam</p>	<p>Citizens were willing to support any entity not associated with continuity of the Tsar or PG - because Bolsheviks stood for everything the PG and Tsar had not (Bolsheviks were anti-church, anti-elitism etc), gained immediate appeal with the people who were discontent with continuity of PG and Tsarist regime. 'The Bolsheviks were the only ones uncompromised by association with the bourgeoisie or the February regime' Fitzpatrick.</p> <p>Mistakes of the PG in continuing war would be critical in their downfall</p> <p>Loss of public support in Kerensky's government created a power vacuum in Russia - Lenin and Bolsheviks capitalised on this opportunity to fill space and take over power.</p> <p>Failure of the PG alienated many on the left - felt betrayed by their government, pushed them further towards the more radical Bolsheviks</p>	Bolsheviks were not responsible for rise in own support - due to continuity of PG from Tsarist era, people's dissatisfaction turned to any viable alternative, among growth in Bolshevik support, and eventual seizure of power, completely inevitable.
Bolsheviks are responsible for their seizure of power in the power vacuum of October 1917, as they strategically capitalised on the people's discontent in order to gain influence and support.	Trotsky constructed a highly effective propaganda campaign that was appealing to radicalised workers and soldiers in particular	Strategically done, cries of 'Peace Land and Bread' and 'all power to the Soviets' appealing particularly to the four things that the PG had failed to provide to the people, clearly defining their vision as anti-PG and pro-soviet power. Effective in making extremist Bolshevism appealing to the ordinary masses.	<p>As historian E Action wrote, 'the [Bolshevik party] owed its strength to identification with the cause of Soviet power'.</p> <p>This allowed Bolsheviks to thus strategically monopolise the support of the citizens who were disenchanted with PG and wanted increased Soviet power, broadening their public support. In the end, Bolsheviks didn't stand for Soviet power, but alignment with the Soviet meant that the flimsy Sovnarkom Government went largely uncontested as it was left to consolidate power after the Revolution.</p>	Meant that, essentially the Bolsheviks were not most popular party, but were able to manipulate the public's support and fill power vacuum of Russia in October 1917 to stage own coup d'état in order to seize power.

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Kornilov Affair boosted support and legitimacy for the Bolsheviks, facilitating and legitimising their seizure of power in October 1917, but not as a result of Bolshevik intention or strategy.	General Kornilov, Supreme Commander of the Russian Forces, entered agreement with Kerensky to bring protective forces into Petrograd to establish law and order. Saw as opportunity to crush socialists, sent troops marching on city of Petrograd.		Kerensky forced to call on Bolshevik Red Guard for protection in order to prevent counter-revolution - unintended effect of boosting support for Bolsheviks, who were seen as heroic defenders of the city. As a result, popularity surged, and Bolsheviks gained control of Petrograd Soviet by September 9 1917. Army's turning on Kerensky weakened provisional government's support amongst the population, as stood as evidence of their powerlessness and illegitimacy. Thus, when Bolsheviks sieged Winter Palace in October 1917, army was unwilling to protect a PG they saw as untrustworthy (having betrayed Kerensky) and illegitimate - deserted defence of the palace, directly enabling Bolsheviks to seize power.	Misjudgements of Kerensky in utilising Bolshevik defence during the Kornilov affair, rather than Bolshevik strategy itself, was a significant cause of the October Revolution as it coterminously eroded legitimacy of PG and bolstered support for Bolsheviks.

Causes of the Revolution

<i>Cause</i>	<i>Explain</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Effect</i>	<i>How it caused the Revolution</i>
War: failures international events	Despite some initial success such as those in Galicia in 1914, and isolated successes such as the 1916 Brusilov Offensive, 'Russian Steamroller' was taking unsustainable losses of men, and by 1915 the Russians were suffering tremendous defeats in the war as a result of severe under-armament and poor resource distribution.	4 million killed in 1914 (Flanagan, 2015) 15 million taken from countryside by 1917 (Flanagan, 2015) 36.7 million men conscripted by 1917 (Flanagan, 2015) Tannenberg 1914: 30,000 men killed or injured (Flanagan, 2015) Brusilov offensive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Showed Tsar's weakness - had most soldiers but were still being defeated, therefore could be blamed on poor organisation - Army increasingly disenchanted with Tsar's management, immense loss and poor conditions - turned against the Tsar. Army also disapproved of being used to quash revolts - sympathised with protestors, as many were conscripts. Loss of army support = strength of regime is diminished. - Even during the era of the provisional government, social unrest due to dissatisfaction with the government was rife. After June Offensive, July Days was a period of unrest - strikes 50,000 protest outside Tauride Palace (Flanagan, 2015) - Ongoing war despite people's cries for peace made workers, peasants and soldiers more sympathetic to revolutionary parties. The Bolshevik promises of 'Peace, land and bread' appealed to everything denied to these groups by the war's continuation. 	Loss of army support meant nothing stood between the Tsar and the people's anger - Tsar and Provisional Government both lacked support from army when they needed it eg. PG in Kornilov Affair, had to rely on Bolsheviks.

War: food shortages social/cultural, economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of labour, resources (eg. horses, fertiliser) in agriculture, which had been diverted to war effort - led to food shortages - Poor transport system, Trans-Siberian railroad had not been completed by start of war, and the railroad which existed was prioritised for military use, captured by advancing enemies in the West, or simply left to break down as a result of poor maintenance eg. By mid-1916 around 30% of Russia's railway was unusable (Llewellyn et al, 2014). Unable to transport available goods to cities or to soldiers. Much food left to rot at stations, unable to be transported. 	By 1916, Petrograd only receiving 1/3 of the food/fuel supplies it required. (Fiehn)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social unrest - people expected improvement in their way of life but had seen little - increasingly hostile and hungry for change. After winter 1916-17 was coldest on record, food protests broke out en masse. 23 Feb, a food protest began alongside a protest marking International Women's Day, and by 25 Feb, 300,000 workers had taken to the streets (Fiehn et al, 2011) - Poor living conditions, widespread oppression and poverty, great disparity to Tsar's living conditions - catalyst from which revolution born, as people generally dissatisfied with their quality of life. - Eventually brigades were sent to countryside to requisition grain - seemed to peasants as hostility from the provisional government. 	
War: leadership Leadership	<p>Tsar took direct control of army September 1915.</p> <p>Left Tsarina in charge - heavily influenced by Rasputin</p>	<p>The country was boiling over from anger, envy, and resentment...which until then had been contained by awe and fear [of the tsar]. Now that the population had lost respect for the government, there was nothing to hold society together' - Richard Pipes, 1991</p> <p>"Alexandra's 'sexual corruption' became a kind of metaphor for the diseased condition of the tsarist state" - Orlando Figes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Despite the fact that Tsar's leadership made little difference to the outcome of battles in the war, as he mostly left decision-making to his generals, his self-appointment made Tsar directly responsible for military losses, and increased disenchantment and distrust of the Tsar in the public eye, as he was seen as inexperienced and leading Russia to inevitable defeat. Tsar was no longer seen as divine and infallible - war had proven that he was flawed and failing the Russian people. - Tsarina sparked xenophobia: German woman, focus of hatred for the Tsar Made the Tsarist system seem corrupt and fragile, where someone with no qualification and poor reputation could gain so much influence. Heightened by poor ministerial appointments - Rasputin = provided focus of hatred for the Tsar - Bitterness from ministers: Tsar's supporters felt like competent ministers had been replaced by incompetent Rasputin - support for Tsar fell. 	Degradation of reputation and trust meant that Tsar's internal and external support was weakened, people saw him as weak and untrustworthy.

<p>War: political conflict</p> <p>Political</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As a result of Tsarism's failure to deal with the problems of war, key groups were established to provide organisation and supplies to troops - eg. Central War Industries Committees created (1915) to organise war production amidst arms shortages by government, and All-Russian Union of Towns/ Zemstva ie. Zemgor (1914) cared for wounded and sent supplies to soldiers. - Tsar saw this as a threat to his authority 	<p>Established more than 3000 hospitals (Peeling, 2014)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unions encounter obstruction and inflexibility from the bureaucracy - proved the incapacity of Tsarism to adapt and be flexible in modern situations, and ongoing inability to meet needs of the people - Tsarism's failures seemed self-evident. - Highlights incompetence of Tsar - Proved that there was a viable and effective alternative to the Tsar - people were able to run the day-to-day activities of the state independently of the Tsar - Success of the Zemgor and WICs strengthened the liberal and socialist arguments for reform of the Tsarist administration and an elected Ministry in the Duma. Especially given first chairman of Zemgor, Prince L'vov, was also PM in the Duma from March to July 1917. - CWICs used as political forum for opposition to Tsar - empowered workers and revolutionaries 	<p>Support for the Tsar fell as people realised both his failures and the success of an alternative system</p>
<p>War: inability to cooperate with Duma</p> <p>Political</p>	<p>Tsar uncooperative with Progressive Bloc, formed 1915 by 2/3 liberal deputies: ignored Duma's appeal to change ineffective cabinet when requested that elected ministers work with legislature ie. subtle parliamentary democracy.</p>	<p>'the obstinate refusal of the tsarist regime to concede reforms turned what should have been a political problem into a revolutionary crisis' - Orlando Figes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Failure to implement popular governmental reforms led to further fall in public confidence - Tsar saw progressive bloc as a threat - suspended Duma until further notice weakened internal and external support, alienated left-wing and pushed them further towards revolutionaries, who went on to form the provisional government by their own appointment. - eg. Leader of Kadets, Milyukov, made speech November 1916 - 'we now see that we can no more legislate with this government than we can lead Russia to victory with it... we shall fight until we get a responsible government...'. Evident that confidence lost in the Tsar within the Duma, and externally as well, in the Tsar's incapacity to solve issues of the war. 	<p>Alienated members of the Duma, who drifted towards the more radical side of politics, as well as the general population</p>
<p>Failures of provisional government in not dealing with the problems of Tsarism</p> <p>Political</p>	<p>Didn't deal with hunger for land in country, wanted to wait for an elected constituent assembly</p> <p>Didn't deal with ongoing starvation and famine</p>	<p>July 1917: 237 cases of land seizure (Fiehn)</p> <p>Famine cause grain prices to continue to increase - doubled between Feb and Jun 1917 (Fiehn)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-appointed - lacked legitimacy as a government, delayed elections until too late when social unrest had risen to revolutionary levels, easy for revolutionaries (eg. Lenin) to argue that they shouldn't be in power - Peasants becoming increasingly militant as problems weren't resolved by provisional government. - Peasants thought they would be better represented in provisional government by increase in SR membership in May. But when SRs sided with the moderates, leaving land redistribution to an elected assembly, peasants felt betrayed, led to increased support for the more radical Bolsheviks. 	<p>Dissatisfaction with progress and lack of change since days of Tsarism - as PG's failures became more evident, Bolsheviks capitalised on lack of support for PG and seized power.</p>

Failures of provisional government - continuing the war Political	Provisional government continued with war - reliant on international loans from Allies, were in a poor strategic position where peace would mean considerable loss of land.	Kerensky's July Offensive 1917 in Galicia was a huge defeat - 400,000 men lost (Llewellyn et al, 2014).	As a result of the loss, Kerensky sacked war minister Brusilov, appointed General Kornilov - would later lead the Kornilov affair that would bring Kerensky's reputation and the provisional government to its knees. Continued loss in the war showed that nothing had changed - provisional government was producing same outcomes for the peasants, workers and soldiers that the Tsar regime had - people becoming increasingly agitated and disenchanted. Denial of peace provided a sounding board for the Bolsheviks, who organised protests against Kerensky in Petrograd. Increased support for Bolsheviks in their cries for peace.	Kornilov's appointment. Dissatisfaction with progress and lack of change since days of Tsarism - as PG's failures became more evident, Bolsheviks capitalised on lack of support for PG and seized power
Kornilov Affair Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kerensky appointed General Kornilov as Supreme Commander, and in the hope that he would restore law and order to Petrograd amidst chaos, signed agreement to bring troops into Petrograd to offer protection and law enforcement - 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bolsheviks (membership rose to about 200,000) (Flanagan, 2015). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased support for Bolsheviks - provisional government seen as weak, had to rely on Bolsheviks, seen as important in defending the country - Made revolution more probable - support for Bolsheviks over moderate socialists, who were discredited due to their support of Kerensky, or the Kadets and liberals, who were seen as representatives of the land-owners and industrialists - Discredited Kerensky's rule: seen as powerless, defenceless and illegitimate, as could not control own army or protect people, had to rely on radical political opposition - Created hostile environment that was sympathetic to revolutionaries, especially the Bolsheviks who were called on to 'save the day' 	Increased support for Bolsheviks and eroded support for Provisional Government.

Reasons for success of the Revolution			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Leadership of the Bolsheviks: Lenin	Ruthless leadership of Lenin enabled him to push through April Thesis, and the beginning of the Revolution despite initial opposition from Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky, who believed it was too early for the initiation of the revolution.	15 hour meeting: convinced fellow Bolsheviks to pursue the Revolution. As Trotsky said, the October Revolution would only have taken place 'on the condition that Lenin was present and in command'.	Galvanised the vanguard (adaptation of Marxist theory) and created a united front for the Revolution, which provided a viable alternative front to the divided, conflicted and ineffective Provisional Government. Lenin's tough and ruthless leadership and coercion ensured loyalty to complete the task of the revolution. Vanguard necessary in Russia - low urban population meant that popular proletariat revolution was improbable. Lenin's ideas enabled the success of the revolution.
Leadership of the Bolsheviks: Trotsky	Early October: introduced motion to Soviet to create Milrevcom, tools of armed insurrection against the PG. Ordered them to take up key positions in the city to flood through and take over Petrograd with little bloodshed	Pipes: 'Masterminded by Trotsky' Stalin: 'the Party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the efficient manner in which the work of the Milrevcom was organised.'	Position in the Soviet: enabled him to legitimise the uprising 'on behalf of the Soviet' and put forward a vote on Bolshevik leadership following the seizure of the Winter Palace, making their position and power appear to have an air of legality.
Policies of the Bolsheviks	Policies represented radical change 'peace, land bread', offered relief from worsening situation in Russia	237 cases of land seizure in June alone Bread rations dropped 'enthusiastically supported by the proletariat and accepted by the peasantry' - Williams	Appealed to: peasants - land workers: bread - starvation Peace - soldiers, war-weary, high deaths. Legitimised in March 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Only party dissociated from PG - centred themselves around general discontent with the PG and support for power to the Soviet
Failure of the PG to address issues	Continued the war: disastrous June Offensive	June Offensive: 130,000 casualties, 170,000 deserted (Perfect, 2014) Additional 100,000 jobs lost in Petrograd Feb-July 1917	PG represented continuity of the Tsarist regime and had failed to overcome its underlying economic, internal and external issues. War simply escalated situation beyond repair. Saw rapid drop in support for PG and creation of power vacuum which enabled the more radical Bolsheviks to offer an enticing alternative. Rise in support for Bolsheviks - party membership rose from 20,000 to around 280,000 in months surrounding October Revolution.

Reasons for Bolshevik victory of the Civil War

Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Leadership of Reds	<p>Lenin: killing of the Tsar July 1918 to destroy monarchist intentions of restoring him. Introduced conscription to Red Army</p> <p>Trotsky: leader of the Red Army.</p>	'Trotsky transformed the Red Army into a fighting force' Service	<p>Able to muster discipline and a united aim from within the Red Army, Lynch says 'were sustained by a driving sense of purpose'. Introduced 75,000 Tsarist officers - highly effective, skilled, able to maintain discipline by holding their families captive</p> <p>Death penalty for retreating or deserting - effective in making soldiers fight and establishing discipline by creating a single line of command and action.</p>
Geographical factors	Reds controlled inner areas of Russia	<p>Most industrial areas and population</p> <p>'Bolsheviks were defending the heart of the homeland.' Bunce</p>	<p>Whites held peripheries of Russia - seemed to be an invasion. Large land area made communication difficult, coordination of armies was inhibited.</p> <p>Reds controlled munitions factories, moved capital to Moscow which was safer from White invasion, and was the centre of large network of railways which facilitated the distribution of munitions and men across the nation quickly, an asset the Whites lacked.</p>
Policies of reds ie. failure of whites	Land policies of the whites were antithetical to the gains of the October Revolution - Whites would restore land to landlords and remove it from peasants	'At the root of the whites' defeat was a failure to frame policies capable of getting the mass of the population on their side.' Figes	<p>Despite not discretely supporting the Bolsheviks, the peasants and workers were keen to protect the few gains they had made in the October Revolution, and more vehemently opposed the whites who were associated directly with the Tsarist regime.</p> <p>As such, as Stephen Lee said, 'The rural populations tended to support the Reds as the lesser of two evils'.</p> <p>Support for peasants = greater resistance to White occupation eg. Greens - resisted Whites for their policies despite not explicitly supporting the Bolsheviks</p>
Disunited whites	Whites had divided aims: monarchists, military dictatorship, or simply restoration of the Constituent Assembly and constitutional democracy.	Divided further by the murder of the Tsar in July 1918	<p>Unwilling and unable to cooperate with each other, each fighting in different regions for different purposes.</p> <p>Figes argued that the Whites missed an opportunity for the armies of Denikin in Siberia and Kolchak in the South, to meet up. He writes that, had this happened, Whites may have seen victory.</p>
Foreign intervention whites	Supported by international forces of the Allies, who were keen to stop the spread of socialism across Europe	<p>eg. Britain donated £100 million of supplies</p> <p>'Foreign intervention was often half-hearted and militarily ineffective' Mawdsley</p>	<p>Foreign influences, too, had separate aims: UK and US prevent spread of Bolshevism, Japan making land grabs emboldened by the Russo-Japanese War. No united aims - failure to coordinate between different armies.</p> <p>Weakened support for the Whites among Russians - made the whites seem to be fighting against Russia - exploited by Red propaganda</p> <p>Fed Whites' corruption: illegal trade of foreign goods on the black market was profited off by the reds, who then bought the goods for their own use.</p>

Leadership struggle, reasons for Stalin's success			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Stalin's use of Cult of Lenin as propaganda	Lenin's funeral: pallbearer and gave a speech	'The secret to Stalin's success was his monopoly on Lenin' Carr	Able to portray himself as the natural successor and heir to Lenin, capitalised on popular support for Lenin as 'the father of the Revolution' and the creation of the Cult of Lenin in propaganda to present the leaders as one and the same. Eg. Renamed Petrograd to Stalingrad. Could fill power vacuum created by Lenin
Ambiguity	Stalin's ideological ambiguity allowed him to outmanoeuvre his rivals to rise to the top	After advocating end of NEP alongside Kamenev and Zinoviev, shifted to Bukharin and the right, in support of NEP and SOC. Then, when Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky banded together to form United Opposition against Stalin, were expelled under Lenin's 1921 ban on factionalism	Stalin's beliefs varied based on what was pragmatic for him to expel his rivals at the time. By allying with the left, then the right, then departing from sides at all, able to lift himself above factional disputes and criticism, eliminate both sides to rise above the party as the sole ruler at the end.
Ideologies	Socialism in One Country appealing over Permanent Revolution	'Permanent revolution sounded like an ominous warning to a tired generation that it should expect no peace and quiet in its lifetime' - Deutscher	Socialism in One Country appealed to nationalist sentiments for a war-weary and disillusioned population who had already sacrificed too much in international affairs in the war. Focussing on the development of socialism in Russia to serve the workers and peasants was appealing
Control of party	1922 Stalin appointed General Secretary - increased his influence Stalin controlled the top 5,500 officials, and the daily inner workings of the party.	Structuralist argument: 'Trotsky's superiority as a speaker and writer, and his great intellectual gifts, count for little when set against Stalin's control of the party machine' Lynch	Could insert his supporters and removed those who opposed him. Had access to party files, used to blackmail members. Control of the activities of the party - meant that he prevented Trotsky from attending Lenin's funeral by giving him the wrong date while on illness leave in South of Russia. Damaged Trotsky's reputation by illustrating that he was a betrayer of Lenin's memory and ideologies, and not faithful to the Revolution.
Trotsky's failures	Jewish Obnoxious and controlling	'The mask of Bonaparte seemed to fit Trotsky all too well' - Deutscher Meant 'Stalin could stand back and watch his rivals dig their own graves'	Public stigma surrounding Trotsky being a Jew and a military leader - comparison to Bonaparte, fears he would establish a military dictatorship. Lenin himself feared that Trotsky's controlling and overbearing personality would bring about splits within the party - in his testament, warned slightly against Trotsky as well as Stalin - meant that when Lenin's testament was released to the Politburo in May 1924, Trotsky failed to reveal it, could have brought down Stalin.

Leadership of Lenin

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Theory - Marxist-Leninism in the October Revolution	Adaptation of Marxist theory - combination of proletariat and bourgeois revolution in Russia.		Theoretically, Marxism would not have worked in the Russian context: agrarian society, socialist revolution needed to take place in an industrialised society. Vanguard: small group of revolutionary elites carrying out the revolution on behalf of the population - October was not truly popular, so a popular revolution would have failed - was Lenin's working on the theory of the vanguard and his manipulation of the inner workings of Russian politics that made the revolution a success.
Pragmatism			
NEP	Tactical Retreat' (Zinoviev) from aggressive policies of War Communism to ensure he could maintain the support of the populus	'we are making economic concessions to avoid making political concessions' Bukharin As by 1922, economy was worth 14% of what it had been 10 years earlier (Fiehn)	Largely theorised that if War Communism had continued, the Bolsheviks would have been overthrown. Necessary to regain support - peasants wanted own private farming, encourage selling of grain - abolition of requisitioning.
Leadership of the October Revolution	Ruthless leadership of Lenin enabled him to push through April Thesis, and the beginning of the Revolution despite initial opposition from Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky, who believed it was too early for the initiation of the revolution.	15 hour meeting: convinced fellow Bolsheviks to pursue the Revolution. As Trotsky said, the October Revolution would only have taken place 'on the condition that Lenin was present and in command'.	Galvanised the vanguard and created a united front for the Revolution, which provided a viable alternative front to the divided, conflicted and ineffective Provisional Government. Lenin's tough and ruthless leadership and coercion ensured loyalty to complete the task of the revolution.
Counter: leadership of Trotsky in October and in the Civil War	Early October: introduced motion to Soviet to created Milrevcom, tools of armed insurrection against the PG. Ordered them to take up key positions in the city to flood through and take over Petrograd with little bloodshed Civil War:	Pipes: 'Masterminded by Trotsky' Stalin: 'the Party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the efficient manner in which the work of the Milrevcom was organised.' 'Trotsky transformed the Red Army into a fighting force' Service	Position in the Soviet: enabled him to legitimise the uprising 'on behalf of the Soviet' and put forward a vote on Bolshevik leadership following the seizure of the Winter Palace, making their position and power appear to have an air of legality. Able to muster discipline and a united aim from within the Red Army, Lynch says 'were sustained by a driving sense of purpose'. Introduced 75,000 Tsarist officers - highly effective, skilled, able to maintain discipline by holding their families captive Death penalty for retreating or deserting - effective in making soldiers fight and establishing discipline by creating a single line of command and action.

Leadership of Trotsky

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October Revolution:	Early October: introduced motion to Soviet to create Milrevcom, tools of armed insurrection against the PG. Ordered them to take up key positions in the city to flood through and take over Petrograd with little bloodshed	Pipes: 'Masterminded by Trotsky' Stalin: 'the Party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the efficient manner in which the work of the Milrevcom was organised.'	Position in the Soviet: enabled him to legitimise the uprising 'on behalf of the Soviet' and put forward a vote on Bolshevik leadership following the seizure of the Winter Palace, making their position and power appear to have an air of legality.
Civil War:	Trotsky: leader of the Red Army.	'Trotsky transformed the Red Army into a fighting force' Service	Able to muster discipline and a united aim from within the Red Army, Lynch says 'were sustained by a driving sense of purpose'. Introduced 75,000 Tsarist officers - highly effective, skilled, able to maintain discipline by holding their families captive Death penalty for retreating or deserting - effective in making soldiers fight and establishing discipline by creating a single line of command and action.
Failure as a leader during the power struggle:	Jewish Obnoxious and controlling	'The mask of Bonaparte seemed to fit Trotsky all too well' - Deutscher Meant 'Stalin could stand back and watch his rivals dig their own graves'	Public stigma surrounding Trotsky being a Jew and a military leader - comparison to Bonaparte, fears he would establish a military dictatorship. Lenin himself feared that Trotsky's controlling and overbearing personality would bring about splits within the party - in his testament, warned slightly against Trotsky as well as Stalin - meant that when Lenin's testament was released to the Politburo in May 1924, Lenin failed to reveal it, could have brought down Stalin.

Leadership of Stalin			
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Autocracy Purges	Elimination turned inwards to cement his own position. Transformed Communist Party from a dictatorship of the vanguard to triumvirate, to autocracy.	The one fundamental drive is the strengthening of his own position' - Conquest	Destruction of alternative ideas: Cohen argues that Stalin motivated by purging of old, 55 year old Leninists, in favour of pro-Stalin 35 year olds. Eliminated any sentiment of Leninism, in order to ensure he couldn't be accused of betraying Lenin. Eliminated alternative ideas to his own personal ideology. Strengthened Cult of Stalin and established him as the static centre of an otherwise constantly shifting party - strengthened personal ideology.
Move back to Marxist ideals	eg. Collective ownership and industrialisation Agriculture was integrated into the industrial economy with the primary aim of serving industrialisation	17 million peasants moved to work in the towns, 1928-37 (Clare). By 1939, 50% of population were working class	Attainment of Marxist ideals - Communism in an industrialisation context As a result of greater workforce and capital, industrialisation boomed: between 1928 and 1937, electricity increased by seven times, coal by four times, Oil doubled
Deviation from Marxist ideals	Socialism in One Country antithetical to Marx's ideas of permanent worldwide revolution. Stalin needed exports to increase pace industrialisation - meant Stalin ordered grain requisitioning and collectivisation	5 million tonnes of grain exported 1931-32 (Davies, 1995)	Deliberate parting with Stalin's ideology of Socialism in One Country for pragmatic reasons - needed to increase cash crops for industrialisation Collective Security: after rise of Hitler in 1933, Soviets realised that Germany was a genuine threat - Hitler had been outspoken against Bolsheviks. Litvinov = foreign minister. Made Litvinov Protocol: collective security, made non-aggression pacts with France, Poland, Finland and Estonia, Italy and Czechoslovakia.
Collectivisation			
Industrialisation			
Dekulakisation			

Degree of change under Stalin			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Social	Socially, Russia experienced little change in the Stalinist era from previous eras of Communist rule. Instead, the repression incited by dekulakisation represented continuity and expansion of class warfare from Lenin's era. Lenin had already waged a battle of extremely harsh measures against the kulak and bourgeois population of Russia to eliminate any capitalist sentiment	For instance, on October 26, 1917, he had decreed the abolition of private property in land to break the power of the landowning kulaks, calling for his officials to 'Hang (I mean hang publicly, so that people see it) at least 100 kulaks, rich bastards, and known bloodsuckers'. However, only 44% of those arrested under Stalin's dekulakisation programme were actually kulaks - the rest were clergymen, ex-Tsarist civil servants, landowners or members of the 'rural intelligentsia' such as teachers (Nicolas, 2008).	This evidences the fact that Stalin's push for dekulakisation was, to a lesser extent, ideologically motivated by his desire to eliminate the capitalist class, but to a larger extent it was politically motivated by his desire to remove potential opposition. Stalin's motivation for social change, in the form of dekulakisation, represents continuity of Leninism, simply heightened and adapted to the context of the consolidation of power during the collectivisation push. Thus, socially, Stalin's policies and their impacts changed Russia to a limited extent, and largely represented a continuity of the repression and class warfare of the Leninist era.
Political	Russia under Stalin experienced slight political change from the Leninist era, in that Stalin's purges represented simply an escalation of Lenin's prior scheme of political elimination in order to consolidate absolute power in Stalin's autocracy	As Professor Gerhard Rempel said, '...Lenin and Dzerzhinsky, not Stalin, organised the first Soviet institutions of police coercion and terror' in the Red Terror of 1917-22. Yet Stalin's era saw elimination of opposition turn inwards to the party itself - 98 of the 139 members of the Central Committee elected by 17th Congress (who had favoured Kirov, Stalin's main rival for leadership) were shot (Rempel).	In this way, Stalin's Purges represented moderate social change within Russia, as Stalin was the first to eliminate members of his own party en masse. Stalin sought to create a party that supported his own personal ideology. This represented an escalation and progression of Lenin's use of terror, as Stalin transformed the USSR from a one-party state ruled by the vanguard, to an autocratic dictatorship ruled only by himself. As a result of this restriction of power within the state, elimination of any potential rivals proved to be increasingly necessary in Stalin's era. The Party was purged of the 'Old Bolsheviks', Lenin's original supporters, and replaced with younger Stalin loyalists, and by 1940, Stalin was the only remaining member of Lenin's original 1917 Politburo, evidencing his deliberate consolidation of his own personal ideology through political elimination (Staniforth). Therefore, the Soviet Union under Stalin experienced moderate political change, but overall represented a continuity and escalation of Leninist practices.
Economic	Lenin had always called for collectivisation since December of 1918 - however, as a result of the need to consolidate support for the Bolsheviks as well as fend off the Whites during the Civil War, collectivisation had not been a priority	the number of collectivised farms increased only slightly from 3,100 in 1918 to 4,400 in 1920 (Carr, 1952). Stalin had ultimately begun to pursue Lenin's ideological ideals of collectivisation, industrialisation and modernisation when he swept to power from 1929, and by 1940, over 250,000 collectivised farms existed, and 94.5% of sown area was collectivised, up from 27.4% in 1930.	Collectivisation under Stalin was a direct response to the worryingly capitalist notions of Lenin's NEP. Stalin sought to finally attain the Communist ideals that Lenin had been forced to concede to maintain power following the Civil War - collective ownership of agricultural land, not only for increased production to fuel industrial growth, but also to facilitate industrialisation. This change was accomplished to a large extent as peasants moved away from the new collectivised farms and to the cities. As a result, by 1939, 50% of Russia was in the working class, as opposed to 2.5% in 1914. Thus, although economically, collectivisation under Stalin created significant change in the Soviet economy, it largely represented the continuity of Lenin's economic ideology.

Impact of a economic policy on Russian society			
War Communism	'The policies of war communism were seen by the Bolsheviks as an instrument of struggle against their social or internal enemies' Figes	300,000 people executed by the Cheka during the period (Fiehn)	Was a tool of social control. Period of strict enforcement of socialism in order to secure its success in the long-term. Squeeze out internal enemies. Gain control of the peasantry in order to squeeze out sufficient grain (grain requisitioning) to feed the workers and soldiers to ensure Civil War could be won.
NEP	Tambov Rebellion Aug 1920 to June 1921. Incited by increased grain requisitioning. Red Army attempted to quash - led to 200,000 deaths. Indicated to the Bolsheviks that they needed to radically change their economic policies.	'we are making economic concessions to avoid making political concessions' Bukharin By 1929, 90% of industry was privately owned	NEP tactical retreat to gain support End to economic strangling of grain requisitioning: free markets allowed Had war communism continued, Bolsheviks would have been overthrown Encouraged self-achievement and returned an incentive to work Peasants could be involved in private trading deals and were more conducive to letting their products flow into cities to sell Return of traditional private commune organisation = more trust and support for government
Rapid industrialisation	Stamping out capitalist sentiments Enforcement of Marxist Communist totalitarianism eg. In Ukraine Stalin driven to wipe out Ukrainian nationalist sentiments that were a threat to his rule. Collectivisation was a political exercise	1932 Stalin raised Ukraine's grain quotas by 44%. As a result, an estimated 7 million people died (Conquest)	Million starved, and those who did not look on the brink of starvation were often suspected of hoarding grain. Police, NKVD, party officials were brutal against those who did not meet quotas Death penalty for taking a handful of grain

Impact of War Communism			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Inflation Drop in economic output	Non-monetary system meant no tax, so banks had to print more money to fund the Civil War - inflation.	Rouble became worth 1/20,000 of its original value. (Langley, 2014).	By 1920, value of wages reduced to 1/50th of 1914 levels (Langley, 2014) - workers moved to rural areas, number of industrial workers decreased from 3 to 1.5 million workers 1917-21 (Langley, 2014). After Civil War, economy was 14% of what it had been worth 10 years prior.
Fall in support	Grain requisitioning, militarisation of labour in order to meet needs of Civil War (food, labour, defence)	Famine - killed 2 million people in 1921 (Fiehn) Wages in 1919 were 2% of 1913 levels	Starvation in cities and country Kronstadt Rebellion March 1921: Aim to start Rebellion against Bolsheviks - had previously been strongest supporters of Bolsheviks in October Revolution - 'the flash that lit up reality more than anything else' - Lenin Distrust and dissatisfaction with the Bolshevik government led to need for radical change in the form of the NEP
Social control	'The policies of war communism were seen by the Bolsheviks as an instrument of struggle against their social or internal enemies' Figes	300,000 people executed by the Cheka during the period (Fiehn)	Was a tool of social control, repress internal enemies Period of strict enforcement of socialism in order to secure its success in the long-term. Squeeze out internal enemies. Gain control of the peasantry in order to squeeze out sufficient grain to feed the workers and soldiers to ensure Civil War could be won.

Impact of NEP			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Greater support for private farming from population	Tambov Rebellion Aug 1920 to June 1921. Incited by increased grain requisitioning. Red Army attempted to quash - led to 200,000 deaths. Indicated to the Bolsheviks that they needed to radically change their economic policies.	'we are making economic concessions to avoid making political concessions' Bukharin By 1929, 90% of industry was privately owned	NEP tactical retreat to gain support End to economic strangling of grain requisitioning: free markets allowed Had war communism continued, Bolsheviks would have been overthrown Encouraged self-achievement and returned an incentive to work Peasants could be involved in private trading deals and were more conducive to letting their products flow into cities to sell Return of traditional private commune organisation = more trust and support for government
Economic recovery by 1922	Open markets = peasants could sell privately, increased incentive to produce and sell goods, increased competition	1920-23 factory production increased 200% By 1926, economy had returned to pre-war levels for the first time	Food able to flow freely into cities, disincentivized selling on the black market International perspective: end of Communism - increased confidence in Russia, trade deals eg. Germany 1922, Britain 1924.

Impact of NEP			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Concession of Communism	Nepmen re-introduced: purchased grain from villages, on-sold in cities for a profit	25,000 in Moscow by 1923, wealthy and affluent, corruption and bribery rampant. By 1923, handled 3/4 retail trade.	the NEP was introduced to deal with the failing economy, however it was an ideological betrayal for its monetary-based system and reinstatement of bourgeois experts and kulaks.
Scissors crisis	food prices dropped (abundant) while industrial goods price increased (short supply).		Imbalance meant peasants unwilling to supply food for low prices.

Impact of Collectivisation			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Famine	Stalin driven to wipe out Ukrainian nationalist sentiments that were a threat to his rule. Collectivisation was a political exercise	1932 Stalin raised Ukraine's grain quotas by 44%. As a result, an estimated 7 million people died (Conquest)	Million starved, and those who did not look on the brink of starvation were often suspected of hoarding grain. Police, NKVD, party officials were brutal against those who did not meet quotas Death penalty for taking a handful of grain
Political control			
Exports	Exports had dropped, led to subsistence farming which was antithetical to Stalin's Communist ideal. Stalin needed exports to increase pace industrialisation - meant Stalin ordered grain requisitioning and collectivisation	5 million tonnes of grain exported 1931-32 (Davies, 1995)	Historians estimate that this amount of grain alone would have been enough to prevent the famine Deliberate parting with Stalin's ideology of Socialism in One Country for pragmatic reasons - needed to increase cash crops for industrialisation
Feeding industrialisation	Agriculture was integrated into the industrial economy with the primary aim of serving industrialisation	17 million peasants moved to work in the towns, 1928-37 (Clare). By 1939, 50% of population were working class	Attainment of Marxist ideals - Communism in an industrialisation context As a result of greater workforce and capital, industrialisation boomed: between 1928 and 1937, electricity increased by seven times, coal by four times, Oil doubled

Methods of repression and control			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Dekulakisation	Stalin outraged at some 40% of kulaks (richer peasants who owned land, labour and livestock) who were supposedly putting the priorities of their own personal benefit above the benefit of the Soviet Union.	Set quotas for arrests and executions, Feb to September 1930, 284,000 persons were arrested as "1st category kulaks," five times the original estimate (Werth, 2008)	Setting of quotas demonstrated that dekulakisation was not just an attempt to eliminate the kulak class - it was an exercise in political control, intended to intimidate the population into adherence. Only 44% were actually kulak farmers - rest were clergy, Tsarist civil servants, landowners or members of the 'rural intelligentsia' such as teachers, people affiliated with former SRs (Werth, 2008). Elimination was politically motivated to maintain power and ensure the success of collectivisation, rather than ideologically motivated to eliminate capitalist elements of society
Purges	Deviation from Leninism - turned terror inwards to the party itself, eliminating fellow Communists.	98 of the 139 members and candidate members of the Central Committee elected by 17th Congress (who had favoured Kirov) were shot (Rempel)	Destruction of alternative ideas: Cohen argues that Stalin accomplished his aim, having purged party of old, 55 year old Leninists, in favour of pro-Stalin 35 year olds. Eliminated any sentiment of Leninism, in order to ensure he couldn't be accused of betraying Lenin. Eliminated alternative ideas to his own personal ideology. Strengthened Cult of Stalin and established him as the static centre of an otherwise constantly shifting party - strengthened personal ideology.
Komsomol	eg. Komsomol - formed 1918 under Lenin Lenin enrolment - young men	Following Stalin's rise to power, indoctrination increased significantly, revolutionary role replaced by a defensive/enforcement role.	Was made up of youth who had been born in the early days of the Revolution - Stalin was all they had ever known, were committed to building socialism - more easily indoctrinated. Meant that they provided an essential tool for the enforcement of the regime eg. With over 400 disturbances against collectivisation in the 1930s, over 200 of these were put down by Komsomol or ex-Komsomol members
Economic policy - industrialisation allowed him to justify his repressive control over individuals and groups	Stamping out capitalist sentiments Enforcement of Marxist Communist totalitarianism eg. In Ukraine Stalin driven to wipe out Ukrainian nationalist sentiments that were a threat to his rule. Collectivisation was a political exercise	1932 Stalin raised Ukraine's grain quotas by 44%. As a result, an estimated 7 million people died (Conquest)	Million starved, and those who did not look on the brink of starvation were often suspected of hoarding grain. Police, NKVD, party officials were brutal against those who did not meet quotas Death penalty for taking a handful of grain

Causes of the Purges and Great Terror

Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Ryutin Platform	Martemyan Nikitich Ryutin was an early member of the Bolsheviks, an outspoken opponent of Stalin's collectivisation programme. 1932, released Ryutin Platform, demanded end of collectivisation, slowing down industrialisation, a restatement of expelled members of the party (including Trotsky) and a removal of Stalin by force. Under the name of Leninism - accused Stalin of betraying Lenin	Was seen by Stalin's rivals: Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Tomsy, Rykov. Ryutin and 17 of his group arrested 23 September 1932. 1 million of 3 million party members expelled as 'Ryutinities' (Staniforth).	Secret police had taken Ryutin Platform as a call for armed revolution against Stalin - heightened Stalin's paranoia, built up need for a mass removal of opposition Demonstrates Stalin's willingness to eliminate potentially threatening ideas. Ryutin later tried during the Great Purge and executed, alongside his family - elimination of the man and all trace of him was the equivalent of eliminating the idea.
Need for economic performance	Push for industrialisation and collectivisation - by 1930, opposition was rising against these policies. Stalin knew that war was fast approaching - push to catch up to the industrialised world, USSR was supposedly 100 years behind. Needed the USSR to unite beneath Stalin to ensure the success of these plans, eliminate 'wreckers' and 'saboteurs' who would jeopardise the collectivisation push.	'the economic problems of 1936-41 and the Great Purges appear to be inexorably linked... the subconscious temptation to seek scapegoat became irresistible' Manning	Show trials: public displays of punishment. Visible punishment of wreckers and unfaithfuls, those who spoke against the USSR who were supposedly 'traitors' and counter-revolutionaries The public nature of the purges ensured that nobody dared speak against Stalin or his policies - ensured support for collectivisation and industrialisation, enabled Stalin to push forward for industrial production and modernisation, with brutal means, as the second world war approached
Kirov	Kirov high-ranking member of politburo, rising in popularity with party.	Feb 1934 Kirov proved more popular than Stalin at 17th Party Congress: 3 votes cast against Kirov, 292 cast against Stalin - pro-Stalin electoral chair destroyed 289 ballot papers so there were only 3 votes against each man. (Staniforth)	Stalin threatened, Kirov's assassination in August 1934. While Stalin's involvement in the affair is disputed, Stalin used his death as a pretext for the mass elimination within his own party
Internal Opposition	some Communist leaders calling for less violent, more moderate policies of Collectivisation, posed a threat to Stalin - eg. Lominadze the party chief in Transcaucasia 'if there is to be a spring cleaning every piece of furniture has to be removed, including the biggest one' (Clayton, n.d.). Was later arrested	The one fundamental drive is the strengthening of his own position' - Conquest	Destruction of alternative ideas: Cohen argues that Stalin motivated by purging of old, 55 year old Leninists, in favour of pro-Stalin 35 year olds. Eliminated any sentiment of Leninism, in order to ensure he couldn't be accused of betraying Lenin. Eliminated alternative ideas to his own personal ideology. Strengthened Cult of Stalin and established him as the static centre of an otherwise constantly shifting party - strengthened personal ideology.

Impact of the Purges and Great Terror			
Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Terror became institutional feature of Russian socialism (social control)	Show trials designed to indoctrinate fear and terror into the population.	The one fundamental drive is the strengthening of his own position' - Conquest	Show trials: Only high profile party members had show trials (e.g Kamenev and Zinoviev). Designed to make Soviet people believe country was under attack from enemies of the people. Ensured loyalty by punishing those whose objectives were antithetical to socialism.
Consolidating Stalin's autocracy (internal elimination)	Deviation from Leninism - turned terror inwards to the party itself, eliminating fellow Communists.	98 of the 139 members and candidate members of the Central Committee elected by 17th Congress (who had favoured Kirov) were shot (Rempel)	Destruction of alternative ideas: Cohen argues that Stalin motivated by purging of old, 55 year old Leninists, in favour of pro-Stalin 35 year olds. Eliminated any sentiment of Leninism, in order to ensure he couldn't be accused of betraying Lenin. Eliminated alternative ideas to his own personal ideology. Strengthened Cult of Stalin and established him as the static centre of an otherwise constantly shifting party - strengthened personal ideology.
Army and navy weakened for WWII		60% Soviet Marshals executed (Staniforth, 2014)	Poor generalship in WWII: especially in Russo-Finnish Winter War with Finland in November 1939 which offered tremendous initial losses for the Soviets. Unprepared for Operation Barbarossa attack from Germans in 1941, huge initial losses.

Social change experienced by a group - peasants

Topic	Explain	Example	Effect
Dekulakisation	Stalin announced, 27 December 1929 at the Conference of Marxist Agronomists that “we have passed from the policy of the limitation of the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to the policy of the liquidation of the kulak as a class.” (Stalin, 1953)	Dekulakisation exiled 10 million, 3 million killed (Clare)	Little change from Lenin’s period, except dekulakisation drive was heightened from unsuccessfulness of Lenin’s dekulakisation: Encouraged class warfare - neighbours turn on neighbours. Failed, as Bolsheviks underestimated community mindset of peasant communities - not willing to denounce each other. Heightened in Stalin’ era, with more intense dekulakisation: Fall in productivity - kulaks were the most productive and innovative of farmers. The share of the gross output of kulak farms in grain producing regions declined from 10.2 percent in 1927 to 5.7 percent in 1929. (Viola, 2000)
Famine	Already experienced famine from 1922 - but Western, Russian, Kazakh and Ukrainian historians all tend to agree that famine of 1932 were not simply a result of weather conditions by of policy decisions from 1930	Meat quotas in Kazakhstan tripled 1931-33, resulted in 85% fall in livestock count in Kazakhstan over three years (1929-1931). 1.1-1.4 million people died of hunger or epidemics in Kazakhstan between 1931-33.	Part of collectivisation drive: Armed ‘activists’ and police units from Russia would ransack farms, even taking seed grain - thus, was motivated by retribution, not the increased production and acquisition of grain. Villages that failed to meet quotas were blacklisted, food imports were banned to them, shops shut down - enforced famine. To further isolate the starving peasants and prevent famine from moving to city, train ticket sales were stopped and police and troops were sent in along regional borders to prevent migration to cities. In February 1933 alone, 220,000 Ukrainian peasants who had tried to flee their villages were stopped by OGPU troops, thus condemned to near certain death
Collectivisation	Forced them off their own private plots, abandon commune, in favour of collective farms. Western liberal historians such as Conquest and Pipes tend to emphasise the tremendous human cost of collectivisation, particularly for peasants.	‘higher than the total death of all countries in WWI’ - Conquest	Pushed out of traditional farming communes: 17 million peasants moved to work in the towns, 1928–37 (Clare). By 1939, 50% of population were working class . Harsh response to resistance: government sent out requisitioning brigades to obtain grain by force, high deaths

Argue for and against the view that ‘Stalin’s social transformation reversed or altered most of Lenin’s social changes’

Introduction: After the death of Lenin in 1924, a fierce battle ensued between five contenders for the leadership of the Soviet Union, from which Joseph Stalin emerged victorious as the sole leader by 1928. Stalin and Lenin had often been at odds in their beliefs and policies - but during his rule, as historian Richard Pipes described in his book *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*: ‘Stalin was a true Leninist in that he faithfully followed his patron's political philosophy and practices’, particularly applicable to Stalin’s social policies. **Ideologically, Stalin’s social transformation did not reverse, but represented a continuity of Leninist social changes. However, within society, his rapid escalation of Lenin’s social policy caused significant change.** The social policies of dekulakisation and collectivisation which had their origins in Lenin’s era, and were forced to be ceded for pragmatic reasons by Lenin in the Russian Civil War (1918-21), were re-implemented and escalated under Stalin, causing significant social but little ideological change from Leninist policy. On the other hand, it can be argued that Stalin’s social transformation of the experience of groups, particularly women, represented a reversal of Lenin’s social changes, both ideologically and socially.

Dekulakisation	Stalin’s social policy of dekulakisation largely represented continuity of Lenin’s policy, and of Marxist-Leninist ideology, but escalated the policy to create significant social change. Kulaks were the more affluent, enterprising peasants of the USSR. Lenin had already waged a battle of extremely harsh measures against the kulak population of Russia, in accordance with Marxist ideals of the elimination of the bourgeois class.	Announcing the first dekulakisation policy in 1917, Lenin said ‘If the kulaks remain untouched, if we don't defeat the freeloaders, the tsar and the capitalist will inevitably return’ (Arutyunov, 1999). However, the need to consolidate support for the Bolsheviks, with rising social opposition during the Civil War (such as the year-long Tambov Rebellion in the country) meant that Lenin’s aggressive dekulakisation policy was relaxed to enable the NEP of 1921-27. From 1928 to 1941, Stalin re-escalated Lenin’s original policy of dekulakisation, setting targets and quotas for elimination - Conquest estimates that up to 5 million kulaks were killed as a result, and over 10 million exiled (Conquest, 1986), a significant social change.	Stalin’s escalation of the dekulakisation programme was a response to the more capitalist features of the NEP which had allowed the wealthier, enterprising kulaks to flourish. This evidences that Stalin’s ideological motivation for social change, in the form of dekulakisation, represents continuity of Marxist-Leninism, in its desire to eliminate capitalist, bourgeois classes in Russian society. However, the escalation of the policy, despite its continuity from Leninism, caused significant social change, in the tremendous death toll and elimination of the kulak class that benefitted under Lenin’s NEP, bringing society under Communist control. In this way, Stalin’s dekulakisation demonstrates the continuity of Marxist-Leninist ideology, but significant social effects and change as a brutal escalation of Lenin’s original policy that had been conceded for pragmatic reasons in the Civil War to gain support for the Bolsheviks. Therefore, Stalin’s social transformation represented the ideological continuity of Leninism, and only escalated Lenin’s social changes.
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Collectivisation	<p>Lenin had always called for collectivisation since December of 1918, believing that the transition from small-scale property ownership to large-scale farming and collective social organisation was an essential element of the construction of socialism. However, as a result of the need to consolidate support for the Bolsheviks as well as fend off the Whites during the Civil War, collectivisation had been forced to be ceded.</p>	<p>The number of collectivised farms under Lenin thus increased only slightly from 3,100 in 1918 to 4,400 in 1920 (Carr, 1952). Stalin had ultimately begun to pursue Lenin's ideological ideals of collective ownership of land when he swept to power from 1929, and by 1940, over 250,000 collectivised farms existed, and 94.5% of land was collectivised, up from 27.4% in 1930 (Clare, 2019)</p>	<p>Stalin sought to finally attain the Marxist-Leninist ideal that Lenin had been forced to concede to maintain power following the Civil War - collective ownership of agricultural land as a reorganisation and social restructuring from a rural to an urban society in accordance with Marxist social ideals. However, while Stalin's social policy represented the ideological continuity of Leninism, his escalation of Leninist policy caused significant social change. Lenin's policy had seen a mass rural migration to the countryside in search of more reliable sources of food and income. But as a result of Stalin's intensive collectivisation drive of 1929 onwards, peasants moved away from the new collectivised farms and to the cities - by 1939, 50% of Russia's population belonged to the urban working class, as opposed to 82% belonging to the peasantry under Lenin. The significant social consequences of Stalin's all-out collectivisation drive were also manifested in the devastating Ukrainian famine of 1929-33, largely considered to be a direct result of collectivisation, which killed an estimated 7.5 million people (Marples, 2007). Thus, although socially, collectivisation under Stalin was a special transformation which created significant change in the structure of Soviet society, it largely represented the continuity and escalation of Lenin's Marxist-Leninist ideology and social changes, which had been forcibly conceded by Lenin due to the social pressures of the CW.</p>
Women	<p>However, the treatment of women under Stalin's social policy, represented a complete social <u>and</u> ideological change from Lenin's social policy.</p>	<p>In one of the most progressive social policies for women in Europe at the time, the Bolsheviks under Lenin legally established "complete equality of rights for men and women", in accordance with the Marxist destruction of the oppressive, bourgeois family unit. Women were granted equal rights to own land, and the Family Code of 1918 gave women equal status to men and granted illegitimate children the same legal rights as legitimate ones (McElvanney, 2019). Divorce and abortion were introduced and used freely in 1920. Paid maternity leave and special maternity wards in workplaces were established. However, Stalin's more conservative social policy transformed Lenin's liberation of women, and saw a return to traditional family structure and roles for women. For instance, abortion and divorce were outlawed in almost all cases in 1936.</p>	<p>Stalin's social policy marked a shift from Lenin's in regards to the treatment and rights of women. While some continuity of women's liberation is evident as more women became employed in the workforce (10 million more women entered the workforce, and 800,000 women fought in the Soviet Army during the Second World War (Fiehn, 2011)), overall this evidences the fact that women's role in society became largely an apparatus of the state, while the individual freedoms and social rights of women were largely removed. While Lenin's liberation of women focussed on their personal freedoms in accordance with Marxism, Stalin's policy contradicted Marxist ideology, in that he saw women's role as little more than a productive resource to further the interests of the autocratic state (both in his push for industrialisation and in the Great Patriotic War). Thus, Stalin's social policy in regards to women represented a total ideological and social change from Lenin's policy.</p>

Churches	<p>Bolsheviks under Lenin had tolerated religion - rallying force in the Civil War. Lenin intended to destroy Christianity gradually, through education, not through revolutionary force.</p> <p>Lenin's decree on the separation of church and state on January 23, 1918 (Julian calendar) deprived the formerly official church of its status of legal person, the right to own property or to teach religion in both state and private schools or to any group of minors. This measure was meant to cripple the church and allow for its collapse.</p> <p>During the Russian Civil War, the Red Army massacred large numbers of clergy and believers often on grounds of alleged support for the Whites; much of these killings were not officially instigated from the top, but were done on the initiative of local units of soldiers. Many claimed these orders came from central control.</p> <p>The persecution entered a new phase in 1921 with the resolutions adopted by the tenth CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) congress. The NEP brought in some measure of limited free enterprise, and was meant to compromise with the general population as well as to present the new regime in a more respectable light to the world community and thus acquire a place in the world market. To acquire a better reputation, the regime considered it detrimental to continue with the civil war policy of murdering religious believers without trials or plausible accusations. Therefore, the anti-religious campaign needed to be conducted under more respectable pretexts. However, the elimination of religion remained a fundamental ideological goal of the state.</p> <p>The tenth party congress met in early 1921 and called for "wide-scale organisation, leadership, and cooperation in the task of anti-religious agitation and propaganda among the broad masses of the workers, using the mass media, films, books, lectures, and other devices".</p> <p>In 1928 at the fifteenth party congress, Joseph Stalin criticised the party for failure to produce more active and persuasive anti-religious propaganda. This new phase coincided with the beginning of the forced mass collectivisation of agriculture and the nationalisation of the few remaining private enterprises.</p> <p>The massive famine in the early 1930s (which was organised partly by the state) was blamed on religious believers who supposedly were infiltrating the collective farms and wrecking them from within. They were blamed in similar ways for the failures of the Soviet economy in the 1930s.</p> <p>At its peak in 1932, the Godless League had 5 million members who would ransack churches, torture and arrest religious leaders etc. Stalin called "to bring to completion the liquidation of the reactionary clergy in our country". Stalin called for an "atheist five year plan" from 1932–1937, led by the LMG, in order to completely eliminate all religious expression in the USSR. It was declared that the concept of God would disappear from the Soviet Union.</p> <p>During the purges of 1937 and 1938, church documents record that 168,300 Russian Orthodox clergy were arrested. Of these, over 100,000 were shot.</p> <p>However, by the end of the decade it may have become apparent to the leadership of the anti-religious campaign that the previous two decades of experience had shown that religion was a much deeper rooted phenomena than originally thought.</p>
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On balance, Stalin's social policy represented the ideological continuity of Leninism, but practically, his rapid escalation of Lenin's social policy caused significant social change from Lenin's era. This is particularly pertinent in regards to dekulakisation and collectivisation, policies which were developed by Lenin but stalled by the Civil War, only to be re-introduced and escalated by Stalin, causing significant social change. However, for groups such as women, Stalin's social policy represented a complete reversal, both ideologically and practically, of Lenin's earlier, more liberal, social policy. As one of the most brutal dictators of the 20th Century, Stalin's predecessor, Lenin, had a significant impact on his own ideology, and in particular Lenin's image and ideas were crucial to the development of Stalin's own policy, and to his image and personality cult as he emerged as the sole leader of the Soviet Union for the next 25 years.

Analyse the extent to which Lenin altered Marxist ideas to suit Russian society.			
Yes - Vanguard as opposed to popular revolution	Proletarian revolution led by Communist intellectuals		Significant, as forced the revolution onto Russia rather than waiting for it to come about naturally (which would necessitate a shift from feudalism to capitalism, then to communism) - enabled immediate change from feudalism to socialism.
Yes - Dictatorship of the Proletariat	Marx was a staunch democrat. He believed that while the Proletariat should hold the Dictatorship just long enough to eliminate class from society, there was no reason that these positions could not be elected.	Marx's theories outline that the leaders of the revolution would be elected by the populace. Lenin seemingly altered this idea however, altered meaning completely undermined in this case. Lenin refused to allow elections to the Politburo. They were the vanguard of the revolution and they would stay that way. Unfortunately this meant that Lenin would ignore democracy entirely, seeing it only as a means for the Bourgeoisie to keep the Proletariat docile. Lenin rejected the elections results of the Constituent Assembly in 1917 which resulted in the Bolsheviks coming second, bested by the Socialist Revolutionaries. If Lenin accepted this result than Marxism would not have been altered, however he did not. Going on to orchestrate the Russian Revolution and seize power. This clearly is not Marxist ideology. Marx argued for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat while Lenin seemed to argue for dictatorship alone. This is an adaptation for Russian society specifically. It had recently come out of a Tsarist dictatorship and was simply not prepared for a democratic system of government. All throughout the world and history it can be seen that dictatorships do not turn into democracies overnight. And if they do it turns violent very quickly. The most relevant example of this being the Provisional Government, which took control and granted democracy to all in the Russian Empire however was quickly foiled by various coup attempts such as the Kornilov Affair in 1917, and then the eventual coup of the Bolsheviks. Therefore it is obvious that Lenin altered the democratic ideals of Marxist ideology to fit into the more authoritarian based Russian society.	
Rapid industrialisation	One of the key aspects about Russian society to note is that it was not industrialised.	By 1914 the urbanite worker class of Russia made up slightly below 11% of the population (Corin and Fiehn, 2011), and while other nations certainly were less industrialised, none of these had the great power status as Russia did. This didn't change when the Bolsheviks seized power in October 1917. While the proportion of urbanite workers did increase due to the demands of the First World War, Russian Civil War and Lenin's social policy, the percentage remained minute in comparison to other segments of the population. So Lenin instead turned to the peasants. They made up nearly 80% of the Russian population pre-1914 (Corin and Fiehn, 2011) and once again, this had changed only minimally.	Even without a strong working class, urbanised proletariat, Lenin proceeded. This is direct violation of Marxist principles. Marx's theories outlined that this very class was needed to begin the revolution, and that uneducated peasants would not begin the revolution or enhance it in any way. This is why Marx predicted the first of his revolutions to take place in one of the German states or Britain, as they fit the requirement of a strong, large, urbanite worker class. This was massive change to Marxist ideology. It underpinned the whole concept of natural Proletariat revolution as put forward in his theories. Lenin altered this simply because to ignore 80% of the population would be suicide for the budding revolution, who he knew would have enemies from all sides. This was validated, taking the Russian Civil War as an example. Thus Lenin's alteration of Marx's natural proletariat revolution theories due to the integration of the peasantry should be seen as a large change he made to Marxist doctrine for the sake of fitting it to Russian society.

Somewhat - religion	Marx's views on religion is possibly some of his most famous, just after class struggle. Marx regarded religion as, "the opiate of the masses" , which held the lower classes down in a tide of delusion. The key to the eradication of religion in Marxist theory however was not violence. The key was instead to let it wither and die as the proletariat finds substance in other means after the revolution. Marx saw a future where, after the revolution, in which religion would simply die off from not being needed to satisfy the troubled existence of the lower classes. This is another key tenant of Marxist ideology, and another which Lenin altered significantly.	After coming to power Lenin was not completely hostile to the church even though his famous April Thesis and his writings in exile posited the eradication of religion in Russia, and then the world. However, this changed during the Civil War. The orthodox clergy, being a loyal component of the former Tsar's grip on power, sided with the Whites. While many stayed neutral, many also advocated for their followers to rather be martyred than live under Communism. This triggered an anti-religious purge. By 1921 nearly 500 monasteries and convents had been liquidated along with several thousand clergy killed (HISTORY.com ,2012).	This, once again, was in stark contrast to Marxist ideology. Marx did not advocate violence against the clergy, while Lenin was doing so. This seems to be an alteration which Lenin made to Marxism which was tailored for Russian society. He knew the hold which the Orthodox Church had on Russian society and sought to break it to advance the power of the Bolsheviks and communism. Nonetheless this still violated Marxist principles, showing that Lenin altered Marxism to a large extent in an attempt to fit it into Russian society.
No - War Communism			
Yes - NEP			

<p>Yes - world revolution (failed)</p>	<p>World revolution was a failed policy - forced to be abandoned by the bolsheviks. Marx theorised that socialists would rise up across the world in a global proletariat revolution until Communism dominated the world. Lenin proposed this in April Thesis</p>	<p>However, failure of socialist revolutions in Germany (1919) and Hungary and Romania, as well as defeat in the Polish-Soviet War of 1919-21, which prevented the Soviets from occupying the capital of Warsaw, crushed hopes for worldwide revolution.</p>	<p>Abandoned, focussed on Socialism in One Country (promoted by Stalin) - believed that focus on development of socialism internally would bring about the inevitable superiority of the socialist system, thereby causing the decline and collapse of capitalism internationally. Meant that Marxism was adapted by Lenin to best suit Russian context - Russians were far behind in terms of industrial, military and economic capacity. In order to bring about the downfall of international capitalism naturally, had to prove and attain Soviet superiority through focussing on internal economic development. Thus, Marxist concept of world revolution was compromised and adapted by Lenin to suit Russian context.</p>
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