## UNIT 3 RUSSIA UNDER TSARISM AND COMMUNISM

## 1914 - 1917

| Event | Significance | Evidence |
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| Aug 1914: Russia enters the war | Causes of Russia’s loss:   * Poor leadership: generals chosen for loyalty to Tsar, not expertise * War Ministry failing: short of supplies, no structure of command, no war plan.   Effect of Russia's losses   * Losses weakened internal support from duma and society * Loss of land in west cut railway line to Petrograd: supplies cut. * More people turned to the liberal zemstva for support | * By mid-1916 around 30% of Russia’s railway was unusable (Llewellyn et al, 2014) * By 1916, Petrograd receiving 1/3 of the daily food and fuel supplies required (Fiehn, 2011) * Production of agricultural goods was at 15% of pre-war levels by 1915 (Fiehn, 2011) * Wages doubled, but prices of food and fuelled quadrupled between 1914 and 1916 (Fiehn, 2011) * Zemstva and municipalities joined to make Zemgor, supplied own medical care and uniforms, tents, Established more than 3000 hospitals (Peeling, 2014). Highlights incompetence of Tsar, provided an alternative to monarchy |
| WW1 | * 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. |  |
| Aug 1915: Tsar takes direct control of the army from Mogliev | 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. | “Alexandra’s ‘sexual corruption’ became a kind of metaphor for the diseased condition of the tsarist state” - Orlando Figes |
| Sep 1915: Duma reconvenes | Progressive bloc of 2/3 of Liberal deputies is formed. Tsar refuses their demands for reforms and replacement of incompetent war ministers. His move weakens his internal support. | Wages were less than 1/3 of average Western European industrial worker, little government attempt to improve conditions. Strikes increased 466-3,500 1911-1914 (Fiehn, 2011) |

## 1917

| Event | Significance | Evidence |
| --- | --- | --- |
| February Revolution | February Revolution saw the end of the Tsar and the emergence of the Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet.    February Schools of Thought:   * Soviet: Revolution was a natural progression, would have occurred with or without the war, and if the Tsar had been more competent. Socialist revolution is inevitable in societies. * Liberal: Revolution not inevitable. War most important factor. Revolution was spontaneous rather than caused by long-term factors. * Revisionist: revolution generally not inevitable, but government failed to prevent it. Was not spontaneous. Emphasise role of the Petrograd Garrison | 23 Feb: women’s protest joined by those protesting for food. By 25th Feb, 300,000 workers had gathered  27 Feb: 160,000 of the Petrograd Garrison mutinied - had been only body capable of enforcing Tsar’s authority, staying in cramped conditions fit only for 20,000 men, identified personally with the strikers of the previous day.  27 Feb: Provisional Committee formed from duma.  March 2: Tsar abdicates the throne, end of 300 years of Romanov dynasty  'collapse of Russian autocracy was one of the most leaderless, spontaneous, Anonymous revolutions of all time' - Chamberlain  'the great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight' - McKean  War was ‘the midwife of the revolution’ - Lenin  ‘There is no doubt that the instigators of the revolution were the workers and reserve troops of the capital’ Beryl Williams  ‘Rebellions happen, revolutions are made’ Pipes  By 1917 the Bolshevik party had 2 million members |
| Problems of the Provisional Government | * Continued with War: highly dependent on foreign loans, wanted to make territorial demands if Allies won. Soviet outraged, wanted defensive war only. * Relationship to old regime: Self-appointed - dictatorial remnants of the old regime caused issues. PG began moving to the right - no more land reform, military discipline, defence of private property. 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 * Dual power: Soviet possessed significant power, control of army, railways, post, telegraphs. Influence of PG declining: moderate socialists out of touch with workers and soldiers, lacked decisive leadership - Kerensky was forced to be the middle man of the PG and Soviet. Increasing support for Bolsheviks: workers, soldiers and sailors becoming increasingly radical, PG not meeting their needs. * 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. * Rapid drop in support for PG saw creation of power vacuum which enabled the more radical Bolsheviks to offer an enticing alternative. | Additional 100,000 jobs lost in Petrograd Feb-July 1917  Rise in support for Bolsheviks - party membership rose from 20,000 to around 280,000 in months surrounding October Revolution. |
| Soviet Order Number 1  19 Mar 1917 | * Soviet controlled the Military, would follow duma as long as didn’t conflict with Soviet’s aims. Soldiers demanded representation. * Meant that the Soviet had the control of the military, main instrument of the maintenance of the state. * Becomes significant later, when the Soviet uses the military to bring down the Provisional Government by disarming the Winter Palace * Meant that the Bolsheviks could capitalise on support from the soldiers by harnessing the Soviet’s popularity |  |
| April Theses | Delivered theses to SD meeting: rejected to Mensheviks, thought he was abandoning pure Marxism. Bolsheviks thought was too radical. By end of April, Lenin had negotiated for April Theses to become party policy - compelling leader  Bolsheviks now radically different to socialists and PG (radicalised)  Slogans: Peace, Land, Bread and All Power to the Soviet  Appealed to workers and soldiers, demands becoming more radical. Demonstrated the persuasive strengths of Lenin, the significance of a single leader in influencing historical outcomes | “bread, peace and land”  “all power to the Soviets” |
| June Offensive | May 5, Menshevik leader Tsereteli and SR leader Chernov joined PG - would be blamed if war went badly. Bolsheviks were now the only alternative to the PG  16 June: PG believed that military success would increase control of army, give Russia better bargaining power in peace negotiations with Germany. Still financially dependent on Western Allies, could not leave war   * 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. * 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. * Alliance between Kadets and socialists in PG fell apart. * Tensions heightened btw Soviet and PG - Soviet claimed that PG had sent 1st Machine Gun Regiment (main Bolshevik support of Petrograd Garrison) to front to break power of garrison and strengthen PG - weakened internal support | * Kerensky’s July Offensive 1917 in Galicia was a huge defeat -200,000 casualties, 40,000 of them killed (John Shea, 2014). * Russians retreated 240km (Livesy, 1994). * Had been unpopular with the soldiers - 170,000 had deserted before beginning (Perfect, 2014) * Under the P.G. conscripts had a 73% chance of dying, life expectancy on front was one month. |
| July Days | * Failed Bolshevik coup de état - failed as a result of Lenin’s ‘wait and see’ mindset - largely regarded as a missed opportunity for the Bolsheviks * Letter leaked from the PG that Lenin was sent by the Germans to undermine Soviet troops - Trotsky arrested, Pravda shut down * Lenin exiled | 2nd July: Trotsky addressed 1st Machine Gun Regiment to criticise Kerensky for June Offensive  3 July: protests requesting PG step down, supported by 20,000 Kronstadt Sailors and 20,000 workers.  After June Offensive, July Days was a period of unrest - strikes 50,000 protest outside Tauride Palace (Flanagan, 2015)  The uprising was put down with 700 Bolshevik sympathisers dead (John Shea, 2014) |
| Kornilov Affair | * 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. 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 * 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 opposition * Created hostile environment that was sympathetic to revolutionaries, especially the Bolsheviks who were called on to ‘save the day’ | * Bolsheviks gained control of Petrograd Soviet by September 9 1917. * membership rose to about 200,000 (Flanagan, 2015). * Between 15000 and 16000 Red Army troops were given arms from the Kornilov affair (to defend Petrograd) that ended up being used in the Oct Rev |
| October Revolution | October Schools of Thought:   * Soviet: October was a popular uprising carried out by the working class, and led by the Soviet in opposition to the bourgeois PG. Lenin given most credit, Trotsky barely mentioned. * Liberal: October is a coup d’état by a small minority party who imposed their ideas violently upon the Russian people. Lenin is blamed as a particular figure. * Revisionist: critical of Liberal school. Bolsheviks weren’t really centrally organised, Soviets were created and functioned autonomously. * Introduction of the Bolsheviks - would lead to establishment of Communist Rule, would last for over 70 years in Russia and lead to some of the most repressive, harsh conditions for Russian people. | As historian E Action wrote, ‘the [Bolshevik party] owed its strength to identification with the cause of Soviet power’.  “The Bolsheviks did not seize power, they picked it up.” - Adam Ulam  'If it was a coup, then it was one enthusiastically supported by the proletariat and accepted by the peasantry' - Beryl Williams  Feb Bolsheviks had 11% of the vote by September they had 58%  'October was not a revolution but a classic coup d'tat' - Pipes / 'The October insurrection was a coup d'tat' - Figes |

## 1917-1924

| Event | Significance | Evidence |
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| Civil War | * Alliance between Whites and Allies made it seem like the whites were fighting against Mother Russia for international invaders * Eg. Britain donated £100 million to Whites - seen as invaders just as Germans had been * Allowed Reds to exploit propaganda opportunities to characterise Whites as enemies of Russia * Corruption: White generals would sell donated materials on the black market, would often be bought by the Reds - gave more materials to Reds, made Whites seem corrupt. * Victory in the Civil War cemented Bolshevik hold on Russia, increased support as the ‘victors’ of the nations. * Beginning of Cold-War era East/West divisions | 1918 -1920 300,000 were killed by the Cheka (probably more)  Yudenich had 15,000 men & came from the north west. Denikin had 150,000 men and came from the south. Kolchak had 140,000 men and came from the north east  Britain spent over £100 million in allied intervention for the Whites  By 1918 the Petrograd workforce had decreased by 60%  By 1918 -1922 about 5 million starved in the countryside  Any workplace with over 10 employees was collectivised  Red army in 1917 had 100,000 members by 1920 it had over 5 million  Vesenkha (Economic Planning authority before Gosplan) Controlled 3300 enterprises, employing 1.8 million workers  ‘it was the Whites who had the superior generalship and morale’ - Pipes  ‘the whole thing was…amateurish compared with the brilliant propaganda of the Reds’ - Figes  ‘At the root of the Whites’ defeat was a failure of politics. They proved unable or unwilling to frame policies capable of getting the mass of the population on their side’ - Figes  Trotsky ‘transformed the Red Army into a fighting force’ - Service  ‘Throughout the struggle, the Reds were sustained by a driving sense of purpose’ - Lynch |
| War Communism | * Revealed the vulnerability against whites, simply would not been able to defeat them without WC. Despite unpopularity, WC fed soldiers & workers. * Was a massive failure: led to loss of support for Bolsheviks. Starvation in cities: Distrust and dissatisfaction with the Bolshevik government led to need for radical change in the form of the NEP * Method of social control of population to enforce Communism in the early days: 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. | Economic output dropped eg. by 1921, Iron production was 2% of 1914 levels.  Agricultural output fell 135-52 million tonnes 1913-1920.  After Civil War, economy was 14% of what it had been worth 10 years prior.  Around 300,000 people were executed during the terror of War Communism  Famine - killed 2 million people in 1921 (Fiehn)  Wages in 1919 were 2% of 1913 levels  'The policies of war communism was seen by the Bolsheviks as an instrument of struggle against their social or internal enemies’ Figes |
| Kronstadt Rebellion | * Kronstadt Rebellion March 1921 Aim to start Rebellion against Bolsheviks - had previously been strongest supporters of Bolsheviks in October Revolution made it clear to Lenin that drastic change was needed   Outcome led Lenin and the Communist Party leaders decided to loosen their control of the Russian economy by implementing the New Economic Policy. | 10,000 sailors from Kronstadt joined in the Feb rev.  Kronstadt revolt of 1921 had 15, 000 sailors rioting, declaring a revolution in March 21st 1921  500 Shot, 2000 were executed as a result, and the rest were sent to Siberia. It was the result of their rations being cut by ⅔  Kronstadt Rebellion was ‘the flash that lit up reality more than anything else’ - Lenin |
| Red Terror | * The period of political repression and mass killings carried out by Bolsheviks, Cheka after the beginning of the Russian Civil War in 1918 saw the eradication of all opposition. Among the persecuted were Tsarists, liberals, non-Bolshevik socialists, members of the clergy, kulaks and political dissidents of all stripes. | Red Terror estimated 100,000 political executions  Tsars 17 executions per year, Lenin 1000 executions per month |
| NEP | * NEP had been a concession, were forced to increase living standards by introducing a capitalist system. The significance of this was that it undermined the concept of communism by allowing private businesses, purchase of goods to flourish and Open markets meant that food could re-enter cities. the NEP was introduced to deal with the failing economy, however it was an ideological betrayal for its monetary-based system and reinstatement of bourgeoise experts and kulaks. * Upon introduction, was successful as there was economic recovery.. Peasants for once benefited from free trade and private industry and were able to farm land with less govt interference or traditional commune organisation. The NEP was perceived by the world as an end to communism and Russia was able to make trade deals eg. Germany 1922, Britain 1924. * Greater support for private farming through forced concessions by the Bolsheviks eg. in Tambov Rebellion * 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. 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. * Scissors Crisis: food prices dropped (abundant) while industrial goods price increased (short supply). Imbalance meant peasants unwilling to supply food for low prices. | 1921 grain production doubled  Industry rose 7 fold  Coal production tripled  The wage of the average worker increased by 150%  Increased standard of living 40%  Lenin’s policy on the NEP “Two steps forward, one step back”  1920-23 factory production increased 200%  By 1926, economy had returned to pre-war levels for the first time  ‘we are making economic concessions to avoid making political concessions’ Bukharin  By 1929, 90% of industry was privately owned  ‘a tactical retreat’ - Zinoviev  Nepmen flourished - 25,000 in Moscow by 1923, wealthy and affluent, corruption and bribery rampant. By 1923, handled 3/4 retail trade.  by 1922: people moved back to cities, 1920-23 factory production increased 200%  By 1929, 90% of industry was privately owned, and by 1927 production had reached 1913 levels (Staniforth, 2014).  NEP failing: By 1928, the USSR was 20 million tonnes of grain in deficit to feed towns and cities (Clare)  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. |

## 1924-28

| Event | Significance | Evidence |
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| Death of Lenin and Testament | **Left a power and ideological vacuum:** Communism had not been Marxism, it had been Leninism, and now Leninism had lost its figurehead in the power vacuum of Lenin. Stalin stepped into that vacuum - he continued Lenin’s legacy and thus Leninism for some while. Yet he soon changed to Stalinism: dictatorship and centralisation. Under Lenin, the ideological basis of ‘Communism' had been based almost purely upon leadership (evidenced in the deification of Lenin after his death, 3.5 million people came to visit his body in 3 days despite freezing temperatures). Stalin managed to transfer this to himself, replacing ideology with leadership and charisma.  **Death came at a convenient time:** Lenin hated Stalin, would have brought him down if he lived longer.  Lenin had begun the democratisation of the party eg. expansion of Central Committee from 12-100 people, which would have reduced Stalin’s dictatorial power - but he died in time, and Stalin reduced power from 12 to 3 (triumvirate) to 1 by 1927.  **Trotsky not invited to funeral - damaged his reputation.**  Stalin made himself a key figure and the natural successor to Lenin: made a speech in tribute to Lenin, thereby transferring support for Lenin to himself. Carried casket.  **Lenin’s testament** had the potential to upend Stalin's quest for the leadership, but he found out about it and had it read to Central Committee first, rather than being released. Contained incriminating material on Kamenev and Zinoviev, and helped to bolster Trotsky - thus, it was seen as a threat by the Central Committee, who chose not to reveal it. Meant that knowledge never got out - by the time Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev attempted to release it to the press in 1925, was too late as Stalin had already seized power. |  |
| Power Struggle | Lenin had no succession plan  Meant that the fate of Russia was put down to political manoeuvring rather than ideological pursuits or leadership qualities. Meant that Stalin emerged even though he had been opposed by Lenin.  Reasons for Stalin’s Success in the power struggle:   * Ideas:   + **Socialism in One Country appealing over Permanent Revolution:** 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   + **Rapid Industrialisation v NEP:** agreed with NEP at first in a strategic alliance with Bukharin to eliminate Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev. Then, changed ideology to rapid industrialisation (that of Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev) to eliminate Bukharin and the right, claiming that Bukharin wasn’t ‘Communist enough’.   + **Centralised leadership v Collective leadership**: Fears of centralisation helped to eliminate Stalin's opposition: eg. fear of Trotsky becoming dictator of the party as Napoleon had done after French Revolution, couldn’t have Trotsky as he was a divisive leader. Abhorred factionalism: allowed dismissal of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev. * Trotsky:   + Trotsky was divisive, arrogant and confrontative, didn't like to compromise - fear amongst members that he would split the party, weakening its power. Fear of factionalism ie. United Opposition of Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev.   + Trotsky was a Jew: distrusted, thought he was part of conspiracy in other nations. Heightened by his support for permanent Revolution.   + Left out from Lenin's funeral: damaged his reputation.   + General: didn't know how to play the political game. Fears that he would become the 'Red Napoleon' - dictatorship would emerge like it had in France. * Stalin's elimination of Opposition: Alliance with Zinoviev and Kamenev (triumvirate): slander Trotsky in 1924 and exile him in 1928, cover up Lenin’s will   + Alliance with Bukharin 1925 re: NEP, put Stalin supporters in the Politburo, dismiss Zinoviev and Kamenev alongside Trotsky (United Opposition - factionalism) in 1925   + Dismantled NEP in favour of rapid industrialisation, dismissed Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky in 1929 * Ambivalence and political manoeuvring   + allowed Stalin to eliminate and discredit the left and the right, leaving himself as the only viable option as leader for years to follow. No other viable options: Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev posed a factionalist threat, while Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky supported the unpopular NEP - capitalist notions.   + Indicated the lengths to which Stalin was willing to go to preserve his power. Eg. NEP: agreed with it at first in a strategic alliance with Bukharin to eliminate Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev. Then, changed ideology to rapid industrialisation (that of Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev) to eliminate Bukharin and the right. Conceded Marxist ideal of permanent revolution in favour of Socialism in One Country: suited Stalin, as permanent revolution was unpopular overseas, and S.O.C. appealed to nationalist sentiments of Russians. | 10 votes for, 44 votes against the publishing of the last will + testament of Lenin  - Kamenev + Zinoviev joined Stalin in unofficial triumvirate which aimed to isolate Trotsky exploiting his majority unpopularity within politburo despite support he received from the military.  Trotsky failed to build much of a power base within a party due to his otherness  ‘The mask of Bonaparte seemed to fit Trotsky all too well’ - Deutscher  ‘by 1922 Stalin was already the most powerful man in the Soviet Union’  The very name of permanent revolution sounded like an ominous warning to a tired generation that it should expect no peace and quiet in its lifetime’ - Deutscher  ‘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’  ‘The great secret of Stalin’s invulnerability…was his monopoly on Lenin’ - Volkoganov  Stalin introduced the Lenin Enrolment as a tool of cementing his own influence, by convincing the population that Stalin was committed to Lenin’s legacy. Within 2 years of 1924, party membership increased from 500,000 to 1 million members. Were young, inexperienced and lacked education - 8% had secondary education - easy to indoctrinate  Stalin’s position in party: could hire and fire top 5,500 executives of the party and thus insert his supporters |

## 1928-1941

| Event | Significance | Evidence |
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| Man-made famine in Ukraine | The famine allowed Stalin to consolidate the power of his state. It wiped out opposition to the regime, specifically targeted at the nationalist elements in the Ukraine and the Ukrainian Communists who had opposed Stalin’s collectivisation programme in July 1932. Removing opposition to the program through forced famine enabled Stalin to secure its success: those who failed to meet agricultural quotas were blacklisted, meaning food imports were banned to them and their businesses were shut down, forcibly ensuring adherence to the quotas.  The famine contributed significantly to Stalin’s pursuit of industrialisation. Strict enforcement of grain quotas enabled Stalin to export some grain (1.8 million tonnes) while ironically millions starved to death in the Soviet Union. The increased revenue allowed the state to increase the rate of industrialisation, finally working towards Communist ideals. | 1.8 million tonnes of grain exported (Werth, 2008).  Meat quotas in Kazakhstan tripled between 1931-33, which resulted in 85% fall in livestock count in Kazakhstan. Consequently, 1.1-1.4 million people died of hunger or epidemics in Kazakhstan between 1931 and 1933 |
| First 5 Year Plan  1928-1932 | The Five Year Plan (1928-32) was a special type of 'revolution from above'  Reinforced by army and police units, they used coercive measures to herd the peasants into the collective farms.  For the first years the collective farms were a dismal failure. Few had tractors to replace the horses slaughtered by the peasantry (human draught was used). They were badly run by managers appointed for their loyalty to the Party rather than their expertise. | ‘thousands participated in the ‘great construction of socialism’ with a will to self-sacrifice, accepting hardship with a real sense of comradeship’  Agricultural output declined by 23% by end of 1932 (Jeffrey Hays 2008)  From 1928 to 1940, the number of Soviet workers in industry, construction, and transport grew from 4.6 million to 12.6 million.  Figes “Investment was to triple; coal and steel production to double; and pig-iron to quadruple by 1932.”  “Soviet propaganda persuaded people that hard work and sacrifice today would be rewarded tomorrow, when everybody would enjoy the fruits of their own labour in a Communist society.” |
| Second 5 Year Plan  1933-37 | gave priority to heavy industry. One of the weaknesses revealed during the First Five-Year Plan was that of the Soviet infrastructure, especially roads, railways, and canals. | During the first two five-year plans nearly twelve million people moved from the countryside to the cities. |
| Third 5 Year Plan  1938-1941 | The Third Five-Year Plan, begun in 1938, produced poorer results because of a sudden shift of emphasis to armaments production in response to the worsening international climate. Agriculture, which had been exploited to finance the industrialization drive, continued to show poor returns throughout the decade. | Soviet economy had become industrialized by the end of the 1930s. |
| Collectivisation | **Reasons for collectivisation**   * Soviet economy and agriculture was backward and required modernisation: highly inefficient farming methods including subsistence farming * Food needed for town workers - required for rapid industrialisation * NEP failing * Encourage peasant migration into cities to aid industrialisation * Produce more grain to export, raise capital for industrialisation * Eliminate Kulaks: enterprising peasants who would withhold grain from market until prices were high, meaning cost of food was greater   **What did collectivisation mean?**   * Combine lands into large communal farms (kolkhoz) * cattle, tools were to be shared * Machinery such as tractors to be provided by government * 90% produce sold to state, profits were shared. 10% was to feed the peasants of the kolkhoz   **Resistance**   * Peasants reluctant to hand over land, livestock and equipment to the government collective - wanted NEP-style private farming * Government sent out activists and secret police to persuade peasants through: propaganda of benefits, coercion, deportation, execution, sent to labour camps * Peasants would slaughter animals and burn crops rather than hand it over to the collective * For peasants that were unable to meet the grain quota, they were fined five-times the quota. If the peasant continued to be defiant the peasants property and equipment would be confiscated by the state. If none of the previous measures were effective the defiant peasant would be deported or exiled.   **Continuity or change?**  the policy of collectivisation represented a natural progression of Lenin’s economic ideology. 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, and thus the number of collectivised farms increased only slightly from 3,100 in 1918 to 4,400 in 1920 (Carr, 1952). Historian Richard Pipes said that ‘Stalin was a true Leninist in that he faithfully followed his patron's political philosophy and practices… and that includes…collectivisation’. Collectivisation under Stalin did not represent a distinctive break in, but rather a return to, the ideology of Bolshevism which had been pursued by Lenin. Stalin’s intensification of the collectivisation programme included the abolition of NEP-style private farming, and an increase in grain quotas, to serve the rapid industrialisation of the Soviet economy. As such, 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, for increased production to fuel industrial growth. | By 1928, the USSR was 20 million tonnes of grain in deficit to feed towns and cities (Clare)  By 1940, 94.5% of sown area was collectivised, up from 27.4% in 1930. A quarter of a million collectivised farms existed (Clare)  By 1937, 97 million tonnes of grain produced - some exported for cash (Clare)  17 million peasants moved to work in the towns, 1928–37 (Clare). By 1939, 50% of population were working class  Livestock fell: peasants would kill off their livestock in protest of joining collective farms. Head of sheep and goats fell from 150 to 66 million between 1928-37 (Clare)  Peasants killed 50% of cows and pigs  1929, 30000 arsons occurred  Grain export rose from 2200 tonnes in 1924 to 5.9 million tonnes in 1932  By 1940 90% of farms were collectivised    10 million peasants were displaced by 1940  Grain harvest actually went from 72 million tonnes 1928 to 68 million tonnes in 1933  ‘by the end of the 1920s NEP had run out of push’ - Fiehn  Gatrell: without collectivisation, Russia would not have been prepared for WWII nor changed sufficiently  ‘higher than the total death of all countries in WW1’ Conquest  Nove: simply bad economics, didn’t produce any economic growth or improvement in working conditions  Volkoganov: more about asserting central control than economic policy |
| Rapid Industrialisation | Cause of man-made famine, terror, collectivisation - all were ultimately working towards the goal of an industrialised Communist society able to compete with the capitalist West  Reasons for industrialisation:   * Security   + Losses of WW1 resulted from Russia’s backwards industry and economy for armaments   + Needed coal and steel to run these industries too   + Fear of German invasion within 10 years - foresight to WWII * Socialism in One Country   + Industrialisation was an opportunity to breed nationalist pride and thus support   + Wanted to make USSR self-sufficient and a viable alternative to the capitalist West * Power and control   + Used support for industrialisation programme to undermine and eliminate Bukharin   + Could send political prisoners to labour camps   + People who opposed Stalin could be accused of undermining Russia’s progress * Ideology: Communism   + Industrial nation   + 1928 only 1/5 Russians were industrial workers   + More industrial workers would benefit from Communist rule and therefore support Stalin * Reputation   + Wanted industrialisation to be his point of fame   + Propaganda used to promote his programme * Agriculture was integrated into the industrial economy with the primary aim of serving industrialisation | “Russia was 50 to 100 years behind the advanced nations, we make this up in 10 or they will crush us” - Stalin 1931  1929-1932 Petrograd workforce increased from 3 to 6 million people  All stats of production estimated to be exaggerated by ⅓  50% of tractors in the first year plan didn’t work  30,000 roubles spent on defence 1937 to 174,000 in 1940  Electricity production went from 20 million kw in 1929 to 80 million by 1940  As a result of the measures taken, Soviet national income over the period from 1928 through 1940 increased by more than 5-fold, electric power production rose by 9.7-fold, coal mining by 4.7-fold, steel casting by more than 4-fold, oil output by 2.7-fold, while machine products increased by 20-fold. |
| Dekulakisation | Motivation:   * Destruction of Kulaks: anti-communist, new bourgeois class. Stalin wanted to wipe them out through collectivisation. * Had potential to be influential opponents to communism, concealed capitalist elements of Russian society. Would never support Stalin, as had prospered from the NEP * Eliminate opposition to collectivisation * Deportation to colonise potentially productive areas eg. Siberia   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. 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 (Werth, 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, and by 1938 he had been largely successful. 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. 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. | 3 million Kulaks were killed  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 (Werth, 2008).  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.”  Dekulakisation exiled 10 million, 3 million killed  Jan 30 1930 Politburo resolution ‘on measures to be taken for the liquidation of kulak ownership in complete collectivisation regions’ created quotas for arrests and deportations of Kulaks: goal of arresting 60,000 ‘First Degree Kulaks’ who were ‘activists, engaged in counter-revolutionary activities’ and deportation of a further 129,000 to 154,000 families (Werth, 2008)  Feb to September 1930, 284,000 persons were arrested as "1st category kulaks," five times the original estimate (Werth, 2008)  Figes -In January 1930, a Politburo commission drew up a target of 60,000 'malicious kulaks' to be sent to labour camps and 150,000 other 'kulak' households to be exiled to the North, Siberia, the Urals and Kazakhstan. The figures were part of an overall plan for 1 million 'kulak' households (about 6 million people) to be dispossessed and sent to labour camps or 'special settlements.' |
| Cultural Revolution | A process of orienting the culture and ideology of Soviet society away from the old ways of the Russian Empire and towards a ‘scientific’ society based on socialist principles.  When:  It began under Lenin in 1918 with the official separation of church and state, but was at its most intense 1928-1931, coinciding with the Great Turn and the first five year plan as a broad push to reform all aspects of the nation. After failures, support faltered in late 1930s in favour of preparing for winning ww2 at all costs (including reviving old cultural heritage- see ‘Alexander Nevsky’ (1938)) The cultural revolution was dropped completely by 1941.  Why:   * Marxism was a materialist ideology, Marxists such as Lenin wanted to build a society based on science and equality, saw itself opposed to religion and old ‘backwards’ Tsarist and bourgeois culture * Communists wished to weaken the strong conservative force and pillar of the old regime, the Orthodox church, fear of counter-revolution (bolshevik leaders were well-read on other failed revolutions in France) * Stalin wished to crush ethnic cultures and replace with a uniform, Soviet culture that was linked to the totalitarian state   How:  Religious suppression  Cultural suppression  encouragement of new culture  -the new soviet man and woman | "The cultural revolution is... a whole revolution, a whole strip of the cultural development of the whole mass of the people"  -V. I. Lenin 1923  1.25 million Ethnics exiled  Number of Churches fell from 30,000 1927 to less than 500 by 1949  Death toll ranges anywhere from 20million to 60million  ‘By May, 1st, 1937, there should not be one single church left within the borders of Soviet Russia, and the idea of God will have been banished from the Soviet Union as a remnant of the Middle Ages, which has been used for the purpose of oppressing the working classes’. -Stalin |
| Stalin Constitution Dec 5, 1936 | * the Central Committee of the Communist Party had proposed to the Seventh Congress of Soviets in February 1935 that the 1924 Constitution be changed to reflect the profound transformations in Soviet society wrought by the First Five Year Plan (1928-1932). * According to the Soviet government, the main goals of the new constitution were to:   + reflect the successful attainment of socialism in the USSR   + to institute universal suffrage   + to grant basic civil rights to the entire Soviet population. * Former class enemies such as the nobility, the bourgeoisie, priests, and so–called rich peasants or "kulaks" would now be incorporated into Soviet life as equal citizens with full civil rights. * The constitution affirmed that "socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production … shall constitute the economic foundation of the USSR," though it did allow "the small–scale private economy of individual peasants and artisans based on their personal labor"; private ownership of small plots of land, houses, and domestic property; and inheritance of private property. * The document expanded the state's role in providing social welfare by guaranteeing the right to work, free secondary education, and medical aid for all toilers and by furnishing social insurance and paid vacations for industrial and white–collar workers. * The constitution also reorganized the Soviet government based on direct elections and reshaped the federal structure of the Soviet Union. * In a marked departure from previous Soviet political practice, a draft constitution was circulated beginning in June 1936, and the population was invited to take part in a "nationwide" discussion to propose changes.   + Throughout the summer and fall of 1936, the Soviet government put extensive pressure on local officials to organize collective discussions of the draft.   + Soviet figures claim that as many as seventy–five million people, or 80 percent of the adult population, took part in these discussions.   + In spite of the dangers of speaking out, the population actively criticized certain aspects of the draft constitution, such as the privileged status of workers in comparison to peasants.   + Many also protested the granting of equal rights to former class enemies.   After polling citizens on their views, the government largely ignored the opinions gathered. Few of the changes proposed by the Soviet population made it into the final version of the constitution.   * Significance:   + Inclusion of civil rights: but rights and freedoms were only on paper, were trampled on in reality by the government   + Represented a move toward greater political centralization at the expense of the Soviet republics - rearranged party structure to favour centralisation   Analysts have sharply diverging views of the importance of the Stalin Constitution. Because of the egregious failure of the Soviet government to respect the civil rights it guaranteed in the constitution, most critics from the 1930s onward have dismissed the constitution as mere propaganda or window–dressing intended to woo Western European allies in the popular front against Fascism. In the early 1990s, a new interpretation (Getty) suggested that the constitution, and the elections that followed in 1937, were a genuine but abortive attempt to democratize the Soviet Union. According to this view, the constitution was both an attempt to tighten political control over the vast Soviet territory and a potential turn toward democracy that Stalin ultimately decided not to take. |  |
| Purges | The USSR under Stalinism experienced moderately significant political change in that, while political purges and elimination had been a continuity of Lenin’s period, Stalin’s era saw elimination of opposition turn inwards to the party itself.  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).  Reasons for the terror   * + Needed to unite the country under Stalin   + Urgency to catch up to rest of the world before inevitable German invasion within 10 years   + Stalin’s paranoia (threatened by plots everywhere) and hunger for power (demanded constant praise and support)   + Increasing unpopularity: by summer 1930, Stalin’s popularity was decreasing due to collectivisation and first five year plan   + 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’. Was later arrested   + Ryutin Platform:     - 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.     - Was seen by Stalin’s rivals: Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Tomsky, Rykov     - Ryutin and 17 of his group arrested 23 September 1932     - Stalin wanted them arrested by Kirov protested     - 1 million of 3 million party members expelled as ‘Ryutinites’     - Demonstrated that Stalin was unwilling to accept other ideas, but his ability to eliminate people was limited. * 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.   Kirov’s assassination   * + 1st December 1934 Leonid Nikolaev   + Stalin rushed to investigate - claimed had uncovered plot to kill Stalin, Molotov and Kirov.   + Campaign to uncover the plot led to 3 million executions or people sent to prison camps between 1933 and 1938 (Clayton)   + Disputed whether Stalin ordered Kirov’s murder: eg. On the day, Kirov’s bodyguards removed from the HQ, one beaten to death and death certificate falsified, saying due to road accident. Stalin benefitted from Kirov’s death - removal of threat.   Beginning of the purges:   * + Jan 1935, Kamenev and Zinoviev found guilty and imprisoned for Kirov’s murder. Over 30,000 others were deported from Leningrad to Siberia (Clayton)   + New penalties introduced: eg. Attempting to leave the country illegally faced death penalty. Anyone over the age of 12 could face the death penalty.   Trial of the Sixteen ie. ”Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center”: Show Trials of Kamenev and Zinoviev, alongside 14 other old Bolsheviks began August 1936   * + 1936 NKVD claimed to have evidence that Trotsky was involved in a plot to kill Stalin.   + Kamenev and Zinoviev brought from prison for show trial. Pleaded guilty to plotting with Trotsky after threats that Kamenev’s son would be killed and promises that their lives would be spared. Found guilty 24th August, shot 25 August 1936   + Bukharin, Tomsky & Rykov put on trial in 1938   + Show trials were a method of eliminating the Old Bolshevik sects of the party that were loyal to Lenin | ⅓ of all party members were purged  ‘The one fundamental drive is the strengthening of his own position’ - Conquest  ‘The Great Terror would not have taken place but for Stalin’s personality and ideas’  Professor Gerhard Rempel said, ‘…Lenin and Dzerzhinsky, not Stalin, organised the first Soviet institutions of police coercion and terror’  Cohen argues that Stalin was motivated by the removal of Old Bolsheviks  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).  ‘the economic problems of 1936-41 and the Great Purges appear to be inexorably linked… the subconscious temptation to seek scapegoat became irresistible’ Manning  “all of the 27 original B members were killed by 1940 & 70% of members at the 17th Party Congress had either been shot and arrested” (Corin et Fiehn)  killed more Russian generals and commanders than WWII did - 15 out of 16 generals killed (Clayton)  20 million people arrested, estimated that around 10 million died (Clare)  "The new generation of Stalinist careerists, who had adapted themselves completely to the new system, still found themselves arrested. ... They were succeeded by younger but similar characters, who again often fell quickly." (Conquest, The Great Terror: A Reassessment, p. 224.  Continued after 1939 when Purges ended officially: "terror was ... by no means abandoned as an instrument of political rule; indeed, four of the six executed members of Stalin's Politburo perished between 1939 and 1941."(Rempel)  Gulags: by 1941, contained 8 million prisoners, mainly purged party members, high mortality (Staniforth).  Richard Pipes 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. Every ingredient of what has come to be known as Stalinism save one -- murdering fellow Communists -- he had learned from Lenin, and that includes the two actions for which he is most severely condemned: collectivization and mass terror. Stalin's megalomania, his vindictiveness, his morbid paranoia, and other odious personal qualities should not obscure the fact that his ideology and modus operandi were Lenin's. A man of meagre education, he had no other source of ideas." |
| Terror | Upon Stalin’s rise to power, some members of the former Bolshevik party began to question his authority. By the mid-1930s, Stalin believed anyone with ties to the Bolsheviks or Lenin’s government was a threat to his leadership and needed to go.  The exact motives for the Great Purge are debated among historians. Some claim the actions of Stalin were prompted by his desire to maintain authority as dictator. Others see it as his way to preserve, enhance and unify the Soviet Communist Party.  The rise of Nazi power in Germany and militarists in Japan also posed a great danger to the U.S.S.R. Many experts believe these threats further encouraged Stalin to carry out the purge in an effort to unite and strengthen his country.  Threat of Kirov  Stalin used terms, such as “fifth column,” “enemy of the people” and “saboteurs” to describe those who were sought out during the Great Purge. | “Between 1937-1939,105,200 Orthodox priests were executed and 87,500 were arrested (Aldred 2014).”  “The estimated figure of 681,192 political executions (Aldred 2014)”  “3 out of 5 marshals were executed. Half the Officer Corp were arrested and 5000 were executed (Aldred 2014)”  According to historian Simon Montefiore “Stalin had always known that the Red Army was the only institution that could have resisted his quest for absolute power.”  The use of Terror by the NKVD described by Conquest as a “different class of terror altogether… from which it is likely 20 million died, at least 1.5 were national minorities"  Terror became a systematic feature of Stalin’s rule: NKVD set targets for arrests and executions by region: 72,500 executions and 177,500 arrests  10-15% Soviet GNP originated from Gulag labour by 1939 - economy depended on purging.  1/3 of Leningrad and 1/18th of the whole population were arrested (Staniforth) |
| Cult of Personality | * Mobilised support through this cult - method of control * Built off Cult of Lenin, also created by Stalin against Lenin’s own wishes, produced memorabilia, body put on public display, cities renamed, harnessed genuine affection for Lenin amongst the people, provided legitimacy for his policies as Lenin’s disciple and successor * ”Stalin is the Lenin of today” * Held society together through the Purges and 5YPs ->Great focus in literature, textbooks, etc * Fulfilled traditional role of strong leader in Russia (Tsars, etc) * Built up a fatherly image of himself -authority position, images of himself were designed to indoctrinate the youth * Transformed peoples loyalties away from Communism as an ideology and towards individual loyalties to leaders like Stalin and Lenin |  |

## 1941-1945

| Event | Significance | Evidence |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Nazi-Soviet Pact (1938) | * Important tactical decision by Stalin as he needed to buy time to rearm and industrialise in case of war * This pact caused Western powers to mistrust USSR, as they kept changing sides |  |
| Poland | * The invasion of Poland in Sep 1939 triggered the start of World War II * sixteen days after Germany invaded Poland from the west, the Soviet Union invaded Poland from the east. Subsequent military operations lasted for the following 20 days. with the two-way division and annexation of the entire territory by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact signed on 23 August 1939, which approximately divided Poland into "spheres of influence" |  |
| Great Patriotic War | * Axis invasion of the Soviet Union (on 22 June 1941) was significant because non-aggression pact in shambles and now Stalin has to ally with West in order to ensure USSR remains USSR or fear that Hitler will kapoosh Stalin’s beloved hard work. Thus victory was the only priority. * Stalin occupied with winning war - leading to relaxing of cultural suppression, relaxing of propaganda against the Western Allies and capitalism, and orientation of the whole state and society towards ‘total war’. Use WW2 primarily as an end mark for policies. * Stalin revived the orthodox churches and reassured there was a higher power in order to restore faith of his people. |  |

## Tracking Themes

| Theme | Significance |
| --- | --- |
| Internal Divisions and Crises | 1914-1917   * Poor leadership of the Tsar/Tsarina * Popular discontent with the war as a result of poverty, starvation, poor resource management etc. * Soldier discontent with the war as a result of under-resourcing, poor management. * Lack of cooperation between Tsar and war departments/Duma etc.   1917   * Dissatisfaction with the continuity of the PG Dissatisfaction with the continuation of war * Dissatisfaction with the continuation of starvation * Dissatisfaction at not resolving issues of land * Increasing pressure for power to the Soviet * Mutiny of the Petrograd Garrison * Women’s protest (grew) * July Days * Kornilov Affair   1918-1921   * Pressure for reforms for peace, land and bread * Resistance against War Communism eg. Tambov Rebellion, Kronstadt Rebellion * Pressure against the Whites’ policies of grain requisitioning * Civil War (internal opponents ie. monarchists - NOT EXTERNAL FACTORS like Allied intervention) * Tambov Rebellion * Kronstadt Rebellion   1921-1927   * Pressure for NEP eg. Kronstadt * Pressure of Nepmen on economy * Socialism in One Country v Permanent Revolution * NEP v Rapid Industrialisation * Political divisions power struggle - Lenin Testament   1928-1941   * Resistance to Stalinism * Resistance to collectivisation eg. kulaks * Internal pressure to present success with statistics eg. in the Five Year Plans * Purges * Terror * Collectivisation   1941-1945   * Pressure for Rapid Industrialisation |
| External forces | 1914-1917   * War   1917   * Continuity of war * July Offensive   1918-1921   * Brest-Litovsk * Civil War Allied intervention   1921-1927   * Treaty of Rapallo   1928-1941   * Nationalist, anti-Soviet sentiment, especially in Ukraine * Beginnings of the War   1941-1945   * War * Operation Barbarossa |
| Ideology | Marxism   * Proletarian revolution inevitable * Popular uprising * Urbanised, industrial economy * Destruction of capitalism * Equal distribution of resources   <1917: Tsardom/Feudalism   * monarchists and aristocrats owned land * social stratification * serfs worked on the land for the aristocrats * Small urban population, mostly peasants   1917: Provisional Government  1917-24: Marxist-Leninism:   * Revolutionary vanguard * Dictatorship of the Proletariat had to be established before full socialism * Power supported by the working class   1924-45: Stalinism   * rapid industrialization * socialism in one country * totalitarian state * collectivization of agriculture * cult of personality * subordination of the interests of foreign communist parties to those of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, deemed by Stalinism to be the leading vanguard party of communist revolution at the time. |
| Control | Economics:   * War Communism - crush internal opposition to consolidate socialism * NEP - appease internal dissent * Industrialisation, collectivisation, dekulakisation - methods of enforcing socialism to quash opposition   + Eg. Famine to crush opposition in Ukraine   Tools of the state:   * Secret police * Propaganda and censorship * Cult of Personality * Media eg. art- Socialist Realism |
| Social/Cultural Change | Lenin’s Avant Garde → Stalin’s socialist realism/Cultural Revolution  Continuity:   * Suppression of ethnic cultures and religions ​ * Destroying old mass culture * Churches closed, religion still remained strong in Russian SSR and southern SSRs * Isolating cultural groups in society * Creation of the new Soviet national identity, mild success particularly amongst slavs, less so amongst other groups * New Soviet Man and New Soviet Woman |
| Economic Change | **Capitalism** → Revolution → **War Communism** → Kronstadt Uprising and other internal opposition → **NEP** → Great Turn → **Rapid industrialisation** |

## Groups

| Women | **UNDER LENIN**  These first steps were intended to replace Russia’s family laws with a new legal framework that would encourage more egalitarian sexual and social relations. A complete Code on Marriage, the Family, and Guardianship was ratified by the Central Executive Committee a year later, in October 1918.3 The code established a radical new doctrine based on individual rights and gender equality, but it also preserved marriage registration, alimony, child support, and other transitional provisions thought to be unnecessary after the triumph of socialism. | **UNDER STALIN**  Stalin’s reversion to a more conservative/traditional role for women had a major impact on half of society. Under Lenin women were given easy divorce and legal abortion on demand. Lenin gave all the women equal rights and equal pay but in practice they were paid less than men. All this was reversed in Stalin’s Great Retreat back to conservative social ideas where a woman’s place was looking after the family. Under Stalin’s five year plans women were forced to join the workforce (41% in heavy industry by 1940) In addition women had to cope with the double burden of work and family. All of this led to a new type of womanhood, which was not necessarily what the Bolsheviks had wanted, but nonetheless was a major change for Soviet women. Furthermore the key turning point away from feminism was when Stalin authorised the closure of the Zhenotdel or Women’s Department of the Communist Party in 1930. | “The unprecedented commitment to women’s personal freedom of the early Soviet period had disappeared, and women’s diverse social roles could be viewed merely as an expansion of ‘the spheres in which women could be exploited.’   * (Houndsmills, et al. 2001)   Wendy Goldman has used the language of retreat to explain that the family was resurrected as a solution to child homelessness (bezprizornost’) “because it was the one institution that could feed, clothe, and socialize a child at almost no cost to the state.” |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Youth | They represented not only the innocence of youth, but also the promise of the socialist future; in order for the international Marxist Revolution to succeed, the youth had to be treated well and educated politically. Communist authorities took many routes to achieve this goal. Primarily, the Communist Party fostered a cult of childhood, much like Stalin’s cult of personality, which idealized Soviet childhood. The Communist Party formalized this cult through youth organizations such as the Komsomol, Young Pioneers, and Little Octobrists. | Stalin accelerated the Komsomol youth league est. 1918 by Lenin to indoctrinate more Russians in supporting regime  The previously ‘revolutionary’ role of a youngster was replaced by a ‘military’ role  Manipulation of the youth by promoting such “dutiful” propaganda  Able to enshrine his ideas with youngsters who were ready to obey  By institutionalizing this reverence for childhood, the Communist Party isolated those children who did not join such groups, and were in fact able to create a radical other, or class enemy, before citizens even entered the workforce. The force of this institutionalization was seen most strongly in the formative years of the Soviet Union, and was perfected under Stalin. The effect these groups had is undeniable; the Communists created secondary communities for children to align themselves with. Rather than attach themselves most strongly to their families, Soviet children were taught to prioritize Communism above all | Webb depicts the that the influenced youth were committed to “the great adventure of building socialism”  Service states that “Komsomol support was in hundreds and thousands”  Lenin: “In this struggle that generation is training genuine Communists; it must subordinate to this struggle, and link up with it, each step in its studies, education, and training.”  Give me four years to teach the children and the seed i have sown will never be uprooted. |
| Church |  | The Russian Orthodox Church experienced change due to Stalin’s policies. After Oct Rev Lenin attacked churches. Under Stalin a more sustained attack was mounted against this group. The Militant Atheists attacked and killed clergy, looted and demolished churches. Many priests were sent to gulags and died. | Over 5 million members of the Militant Atheists in the 1930s.  Between 1937-1939,105,200 Orthodox priests were executed and 87,500 were arrested (AQA 2014). |
| Peasants |  | Marxist ideology had taught the Bolsheviks to see the peasants as a 'petty bourgeois' relic of the old society. Peasants were too tied to patriarchal customs, too imbued in the individualistic principles of free trade and private property, and too wedded to the family and its farm, ever to be fully socialized.  Peasants burnt their crops and killed their own animals rather than turn them over to the kolkhoz. Decreased livestock resulted in famine in Ukraine. |  |
| Kulaks |  | The war against the 'kulaks' was not a side-effect but the main driving force of the collectivization campaign. It had two main aims: to remove potential opposition to collectivization; and to serve as an example to the other villagers, encouraging them to join the collective farms in order not to suffer the same fate. As Stalin saw it, there was nothing to be gained from trying to neutralize the 'kulaks', nor from attempting to involve them as farm labourers in the kolkhoz, as some Bolsheviks proposed. 'When the head is cut off,' Stalin argued, 'you do not weep about the hair.' Stalin led the liquidation of kulaks with millions of the dead and sent to gulags. |  |

## Leadership

| Leader | Significance | Evidence |
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| Tsar | * Nationalistic support at beginning of the war, evaporated quickly. * ‘ideologically incapable of accommodating the new middle class let alone a more demanding peasantry and working class’ (Fiehn, 2011) * Unwilling and unskilled in politics and management, made it easier for alternative revolutionary or liberal groups to flourish eg. Zemstva and WIC * Unwilling to concede reforms to the duma - rooted in conservative, monarchist ways, egged on by Tsarina who believed he was ‘appointed by God’. Weakened his internal and external support. | * 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 * ‘the obstinate refusal of the tsarist regime to concede reforms turned what should have been a political problem into a revolutionary crisis’ - Orlando Figes * 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…’ |
| Kerensky | To what extent was Kerensky responsible for the October revolution?   * YES → continuation of the war, summer offensive = loss of support from army and citizens * YES → Kornilov Affair weakened PG and strengthened support for the Bolsheviks * NO → dual power meant that Kerensky was forced to accommodate both the moderate Provisional Government and the more radical Soviet, which became a forum by which the Bolsheviks came to power * Summer offensive   + The continuation of Russia in World War one caused outrage by Russian working class and peasantry.   + This revealed the degree to which the Russian army had disintegrated and the extent of the Provisional Government’s failure to address popular revolutionary sentiment. * July Days * Kornilov affair   + Kerensky’s action to call upon the soviet for protection revealed the fragility of the government and how impotent the Government had become.   + Power was now handed over to the Soviets as authorising the release of Bolshevik leaders and arming them paved the way for the demise of the government. | The summer offensive of 1917 was an unsuccessful military operation initiated by Kerensky himself with 200,000 casualties, 40,000 of them killed (John Shea, 2014).  July days - the uprising was put down with 700 Bolshevik sympathisers dead (John Shea, 2014)  Increase Bolshevik support - The small scale Bolshevik party had had 24,000 card-carrying members; by the end of September this figure increased to more than 400,000 members. (Brian Doone Alpha History 2016) |
| Lenin | * Marxist-Leninism: 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. * NEP   + Tactical Retreat’ (Zinoviev) from aggressive policies of War Communism to ensure he could maintain the support of the populus   + 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.   + 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. * HOWEVER - Lenin’s leadership did not play such a key role in the Civil War - it was Trotsky who contributed most significantly to ensuring Bolshevik Victory * HOWEVER - Lenin’s weakness in not planning a succession plan meant that a 3-year battle to obtain power ensued, resulting in Stalin coming to power despite not having Lenin’s preference | ‘we are making economic concessions to avoid making political concessions’ Bukharin  As Trotsky said, the October Revolution would only have taken place ‘on the condition that Lenin was present and in command’. |
| Trotsky | * Role in October Revolution:   + Early October: introduced a 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   + 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:   + 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   + 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. | “David William McAloon “Trotsky's arrogance also may have contributed to his lack of political maneuvering and foresight. he failed to recognise him as a true adversary”  Stalin: “the Party is indebted primarily and principally to Comrade Trotsky for the efficient manner in which the work of the Military Revolutionary Committee was organised.” (During role in Oct. rev)  Pipes: the October Revolution was ‘Masterminded by Trotsky’  ‘Trotsky transformed the Red Army into a fighting force’ Service  ‘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’ |
| Stalin | * Autocracy:   + Elimination of opposition turned inwards to cement his own position.   + Transformed Communist Party from a dictatorship of the vanguard to triumvirate, to autocracy.   + 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. * Marxism   + eg. Collective ownership and industrialisation   + Agriculture was integrated into the industrial economy with the primary aim of serving industrialisation   + 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 Marxism   + 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   + 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. | Stalinism is one way of attaining industrialisation, just as cannibalism is one way of attaining a high protein diet’ - Conquest  ‘The one fundamental drive is the strengthening of his own position’ - Conquest |