**Ch1 – Autocracy in Russian society 1905-1914**

Autocracy: A system of government by which one person has absolute power; a dictatorship.

* In place for several hundred years since Ivan the Terrible (1547-84) until Alexander III (1881-94).
* Tsar [ruler] of Russia was head of state, head of government, head of military.
* Head of Orthodox [traditional accepted beliefs] Church was the patriarch [male head of family] – chosen by tsar. Urged people to obey tsar.

**Autocracy maintained by:**

* Ruled by divine right – thus those who opposed him were rebelling against the will of God.
* Government ministers chosen and dismissed by tsar.
* Tsar controlled head of the Orthodox Church.
* Tsar easily able to control Russia’s vast peasant army as they were ignorant, illiterate and superstitious
* ‘Russification’ [the forced assimilation of non-Russians into Russian culture] ensured that non-Russian national groups were kept under control.
* Secret police – Okhrana, developed by Alexander III. Infiltrated opposition groups and rendered them ineffective.
* No press freedom – strictly controlled to prevent growth of subversive [to undermine the power and authority of an established system] ideas.
* No parliament, no elections, no political parties.
* Trade unions banned.
* Opposition to regime resulted in severe punishment – floggings, execution, imprisonment in Siberian penal [punishment of those who have broken the law] camps.

Autocracy was one of the **three pillars** of the tsarist system. Other two:

* **Orthodoxy:** the close link between the tsarist state and the Russian Orthodox Church.
  + Tsar ruled by divine right = committed to defending the rights of the church, and in turn the church committed to defending the autocracy.
  + Word of God taught acceptance of and obedience of the tsarist system.
  + Obedience of the tsarist system led to salvation.
* **Nationalism:** Russification.
  + All national groups in Russia required to learn Russian and leave their previous cultures behind to assimilate into Russian culture.
  + This was enforced to prevent the rising of any anti-Russian opposition to the regime.
* Alexander III (1881-94) was exactly the kind of tsar Russia needed – under him the regime was stable and firmly in control of the country.
* Alexander’s son Nicholas was weak and easily influenced by others. When Alexander died suddenly from nephritis at age 49, Nicholas was thrust onto the throne at age 26, severely underprepared for ruling as his father had expected to rule for many years yet.
* Nicholas was determined to maintain the tsar’s absolute autocratic powers.
* Nicholas had no personal secretariat [secretary office] to monitor his decisions and ensure he handled the most important issues.

**Bolsheviks and Mensheviks**

By 1890s Marxist thinking was spreading in Russia.

Essence of Marxist ideas were:

* History is the story of class struggle: the exploited against the exploiters.
* The struggle would only end when socialism was achieved.

1890 the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party was established. However in 1903 the party was split into two factions:

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| **Bolsheviks** | **Mensheviks** |
| Led by Lenin | Led by Martov |
| Party membership should consist of small number of highly disciplined and dedicated revolutionaries | Party membership should be broad and have a wide membership rather than an exclusive one |
| Party should be centralised and hierarchal | Party should be democratic and encourage debate |
| Aim was to educate workers in socialist thinking. Keep the workers under tight party leadership | Believed it would take a long time for workers to develop a revolutionary consciousness |
| Believed Russia did not need an established capitalist order for socialism to be achieved | Believed it was necessary for capitalism to be established in Russia before socialism could be achieved. |

**Russo-Japanese War 1904-05**

* Defeat by a small Asian nation undermined Russian prestige.
* Disastrous war performance caused outrage and provided the spark for a revolution.
* More than 56,000 Russians died.
* War ended when US President Theodore Roosevelt intervened and both countries signed the Treaty of Portsmouth.
* Russia and Japan both had expansionist foreign policies.
* Japan sought to increase its influence in Manchuria and Korea.
* Japan’s confidence was boosted by the 1902 alliance with Britain.

**1905 Revolution**

* 1890s: Russia suffered major economic depression – thousands migrated to cities to seek work and shelter, exacerbating shortages of food, housing and jobs.
* 1902 peasant revolts broke out – led to series of poor harvests.
* Tsar refused to compromise on total autocratic powers – fuelled further revolutionary violence.
* End of 1904 – failing economy, harvest failures, food prices rose, wages fell 25%.
* Thousands of men sent to fight in the war against Japan.
* The constant defeats in the war led to disillusionment, demoralisation and anger in the people.
* Putilov Steel Workssacked several men; thousands of their co-workers went on strike in support of them; approx. 120,000.
* 9 January – protest march of 100,000 marched on tsar’s Winter Palace, led by a priest (Georgie Gapon) carrying a peaceful petition.
* Police and troops fired on the marchers, killing 200 and wounding 800. This became known as Bloody Sunday.
* Nicholas was blamed for this massacre.

**1905**

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| **Month** | **Actions** | **Importance** |
| January | Massive strikes in St Petersburg began to spread to other centres. | Bloody Sunday destroys Nicholas’ reputation; never recovers. Trust that had previously existed between tsar and his people is discredited. |
| February | Widespread peasant revolts spreading across country.  Strike movement spreads to Caucasus in the south.  Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich murdered by SR assassin. | Regime seems to be losing control. |
| March | Battle of Mukden  Strike movement spreads beyond Ural Mountains, towards Siberia. | Russian forces further humiliated. |
| April | First ever National Congress of Zemstvos (local government councils formed in 1864) calls for a constitution, a legislative assembly and civil rights. Demands increasingly taken up across country. | Demands for lessening of tsar’s autocratic powers increase. Reasonable demands of the National Congress of Zemstvos develop a revolutionary feel. |
| May | Battle of Tsushima | Further humiliation on Russian forces; Baltic fleet destroyed by Japanese navy after taking eight months to reach the Far East. |
| June | Sailors on Battleship Potemkin mutiny, killing several of their officers. Sailors fly red flag and take ship to Odessa. Major clashes between troops and demonstrators in Odessa leads to deaths of hundreds. Potemkin reaches Constanza in Romania. Romanian authorities refuse to help mutineers. | Only thing keeping the tsar’s regime alive is loyalty of the army. War worsens, and the mutiny on the Potemkin suggests support of armed forces for the regime may not be guaranteed. |
| July | Pro-tsarist forces in Ukraine launch pogroms [organised massacre of a particular ethnic group] against Jews. | Tsarist regime takes no action to stop this. |
| August | First Conference of the Peasants Union.  First Conference of the Muslim Union | Regional groups appear demanding autonomy [self-governing country]. Territorial integrity [that force of a border change is an act of aggression; the principle that states do not do this] of empire threatened. |
| September | Russia and Japan sign Treaty of Portsmouth.  Russia’s first general strike in Moscow. | War ends. Having been defeated by an Asian country humiliates Russia completely. |
| October | Huge strikes spread in Moscow, St Petersburg and other major centres.  Tsar issues October Manifesto.  St Petersburg Soviet of Workers’ Deputies formed.  Mutinies occur in Kronstadt Naval Base and in Vladivostok. | October Manifesto offers the people a parliament (Duma) = limitation of tsar’s autocratic rule. First crack in powers of autocracy. Also divides opposition forces, allowing middle-class regime opponents what they had been demanding. Revolution now losing momentum. |

**Failure of the Duma**

* System of representation for the First Duma in voting power: 31% to landowners, 42% to peasants, 27% to urban areas.
* For a bill to become law, it had to pass the duma and state council and receive approval from the tsar.
* Radical deputies in the First Duma called for change: a constitution to limit the tsar’s power, begin land reforms and establish greater equality in law, education and taxation. Tsar refused to consider these changes and the First Duma was closed down after only two months.
* Second Duma even more radical than First; closed down after four months.
* To deal with this, the tsar’s new Chief Minister, Pyotr Stolypin, rigged the voting system in favour of those who supported the tsar’s regime.
* To elect one duma deputy, there would be 230 landowner votes, 60,000 peasant votes and 125,000 industrial worker votes required.
* The Third Duma was obedient and conservative and thus was allowed to run its five-year term until 1912.
* The Fourth Duma was obedient and conservative like the Third as again the election procedures were rigged. The Fourth Duma ran its term until 1917, by which time the First World War had begun.

**Ch2 – Russia in the First World War 1914-1917**

Compared to the developed states and economies of Western Europe, Russia’s tsarist regime was relatively backward.

First World War would amplify the weaknesses of the Russian political, economical and social systems and set in place several radical changes.

**The July Crisis**

* June 1914 – Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, assassinated.
* Austrian government convinced Serbian government was behind the murder and thus used it as an excuse to attack Serbia and stop the Slav [an ethnic and language group of Eastern Europe including Russians, Ukrainians, Serbians, Croats, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks] assimilation that threatened Austria’s existence.
* July, Austria gained unconditional support of Germany.
* July, ultimatum [a demand, rejection of which provokes repercussions] presented to Serbia.
* Rejection of parts of this provided Austria with its *casus belli* [act or situation that provokes or justifies a war] and declared war on Serbia.
* Russia began secret Russian mobilisation measures [preparing and organising troops for active service] while in public declaring he was open to compromise and negotiation.
* This secret mobilisation involved preparation against Germany also due to the Austria-Germany alliance.
* Nicholas attempted to work with his cousin, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany to pull their nations back from the brink of war.
* With a million armed Russian troops on its border, Germany declared war on Russia in August.
* Days later, Russia’s allies, France and Britain, were at war with Germany.
* Russia’s traditional warfare tactics was to retreat into their vast lands and launch counter-attacks. On the Eastern Front however, they took the offensive.
* Battle of Tannenburg: 30,000 Russian soldiers dead, 95,000 soldiers and 350 cannons captured.

**Socioeconomic impact of the war on Russia**

* **Shortages**
  + Men lacked boots and had only a few bullets per day. Second wave of infantry unarmed and told to pick up weapons of dead comrades. Field hospitals contained nearly no medical supplies or trained staff.
* **War production**
  + Fuel shortages. Industry declined due to lack of power and raw materials. Skilled tradesmen sent to the fronts.
* **Railways**
  + Rail system collapsed. Lack of skilled labour meant engines couldn’t be fixed. Lack of coordination as military controlled western railway network, civilians controlled east.
* **Government debt**
  + Soared due to war spending. Government resorted to printing money. Banning of vodka removed major source of tax revenue. Inflation rate reached several hundred by 1917 (Australia’s 2014 inflation rate was approx. 2.8%)
* **Lack of coordination**
  + Lack of coordination between government departments. British supplies that reached Archangel rotted in wharfs or sank into harbour due to lack of proper storage.
* **Mass evacuations**
  + 1915, there was a mass evacuation of western areas. Millions pushed east, forced to burn their houses, destroy crops and kill livestock. Typhus and starvation resulted.
* **Imports**
  + Turkey’s entry on Germany’s side closed the Straits to the Mediterranean Sea to Russian shipping, decreasing imports.
* **Agriculture**
  + Farming system broke down. Horses (needed for farming) were sent to war fronts. Chemicals (needed for fertilisers) used for explosives production, millions of peasant workers sent to war. These plus inadequate transportation caused food shortages at front and starvation in towns.

**Political impacts of war on Russia**

* **1914:** Duma suspended. Provisional Government came from the duma.
* **1915:** Nicholas II took over from Nikolay Nikolayavich as army Commander-in-Chief. Nicholas had no military experience and his Chief of Staff Alexeiev made decisions. However taking on this role now meant Nicholas had to take the blame for his military’s failures.
  + Nicholas’s presence on the front left Alexandra in charge. Her obsession with Rasputin allowed him to interfere with government business which resulted in great governmental instability.
  + Many believed Rasputin exerted considerable influence and was sleeping with Alexandra. Murdered by Count Yusupov and accomplices in December 1916, but by then the regime was already doomed.
* **1917:** By now tsar had lost all support of groups in country. The armed forces were especially disillusioned with him. Year opened with riots, mutinies and increasing calls for tsar to abdicate.

**Grigori Rasputin**



* Born in Pokrovskoye in 1869
* Became a wandering *staretz* – a spiritual teacher with alleged powers of healing
* Came to St Petersburg in 1903 – aristocratic women were attracted to his mystical ways
* Rasputin’s womanising and drunken behaviours became the stuff of legend
* Alexandra firmly believed Rasputin could heal her haemophiliac son Alexei (Nicholas II’s only male heir)
* Rasputin’s influence over Alexandra led to the appointment and sacking of various ministers
* When Nicholas II left in September 1915 to be with his troops, rumours abounded of Alexandra sleeping with Rasputin, engaging in lesbian orgies, working for Germans with Rasputin
* These rumours had no base fact but worked to mobilise the angry public against the monarchy
* Rasputin murdered by Count Felix Yusupov December 1916. Attempted to poison him by lacing his wine with poison cyanide but had no effect on him so decided to shoot him instead
* Allegedly Rasputin came alive and attempted to claw Yusupov’s heart out, making Yusupov believe Rasputin was a reincarnation of Satan

**February 1917 Revolution timeline**

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| --- | --- |
| **Thursday 23rd** | 90,000 people went on strike in Petrograd  Street marches and demonstrations against shortages of food and fuel |
| **Friday 24th** | 200,000 workers now on strike  Protesting crowds fill Nevsky Prospect  Cossack troops and police kept control of crowd  Most of city’s factories closed |
| **Saturday 25th** | Cossack troops fire into Nevsky Prospect crowds  Trains and trams no longer operating in Petrograd |
| **Sunday 26th** | Demonstrations turned political – crowds carrying banners ‘Down with the German woman, down with the war’  Cabinet asks Nicholas to form a government acceptable to the duma. Nicholas refuses  Troops refuse to fire into the crowd  Officer of the Volinskii regiment murdered. Regiment mutinied and officers fled  Other regiments joined the mutiny; tsar had now lost the backing of his troops which was the only thing keeping him in power |
| **Monday 27th** | Troops and police joined crowds  Government lost control of Petrograd; mob now in control  Calls from duma to replace tsar |
| **Tuesday 28th** | Duma established a committee to assume the powers of the government. From this the Provisional Government emerged  Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers created. Issued Order No.1 – troops only to accept instructions the Soviet agreed with |
| **Wednesday 1st March** | Tsar unable to get his train into Petrograd  No troops in Petrograd remained loyal to regime, defected to either Soviet or duma  Soviets appeared in other cities such as Moscow |
| **Thursday 2nd March** | Tsar signed abdication agreement. Abdicated for his son Alexis also – gave the throne to his brother Grand Duke Michael who refused the throne  304 years of Romanov rule came to an end  Duma established Provisional Government |

**Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet**

**Points of agreement:**

* End of tsarist-style censorship; freedom of speech and press.
* Political and religious prisoners released from tsarist prisons.
* Workers allowed to form trade unions and strike.
* Religious, racial or classism discrimination abolished.
* Constituent Assembly elections needed – draw up a democratic constitution for Russia.
* Elections would be free, equal, and voters allowed a secret ballot.
* Tsar’s secret police Ohkrana to be disbanded.

**Points of disagreement:**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **The Provisional Government** | **The Petrograd Soviet** |
| Russia must honour treaties, support allies and continue to oppose Germany | Peace be pursued with Germany, return to pre-war boundaries |
| Land remain in hands of landowners until reforms with compensation implemented | Land taken from landowners, split up among peasants without compensation |
| Government work cooperatively with grain sellers to ensure supplies for towns and troops | Government take control of grain supplies to ensure supplies for towns and troops |
| New police force under government control should be formed | Instate a people’s militia whose officers were elected |
| While in field, normal military discipline should be practised | Army should elect its own officers and end previous brutal tsarist discipline |

**March-October 1917 – under control of Provisional Government**

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| **March** | After abdication of tsar, political power fell to Provisional Government and Soviet. Shared power uneasily.  Provisional Government decided to continue war with Germany.  Soviet issued Order No.1. |
| **April** | Bolshevik leader Lenin travelled back to Russia from Switzerland and announced April Theses.  Alexander Kerensky entered government as War Minister. |
| **May** | Provisional Government claimed to be the legitimate government of Russia but its authority was shaky.  Government unable to stop countryside anarchy – peasants seizing land and attacking landowners.  Many soldiers deserted army to grab their share of land. |
| **June** | Offensive launched on South Western Front. Brief success against Austrian forces.  Arrival of German forces broke Russia. More than 170,000 Russian troops deserted.  Russia lost hundreds of thousands of men and several million square kilometres of territory. |
| **July** | 500,000 people demonstrating against government and the war.  Kerensky, believing Bolsheviks to be behind the trouble, gave orders to loyal troops to restore peace, destroy Bolsheviks and arrest revolutionary leaders.  Kerensky’s forces prevailed. Trotsky captured, Lenin fled to Finland disguised as worker. Kerensky took over from Prince Lvov as prime minister. |
| **August** | Kerensky’s Commander-in-Chief Kornilov sought restoration of death penalty, removal of socialists from government, reduction in Soviet power. Kerensky opposed this, fearing civil war.  Kerensky suspended Kornilov and ordered him back to Petrograd.  Kornilov led military coup against Kerensky. |
| **September** | Kornilov and Kerensky’s forces refused to fight each other. Kornilov arrested, Kerensky’s government survived.  Bolsheviks seen as defenders of revolution and achieved electoral success in Moscow and Petrograd Soviets. |
| **October** | Lenin returned from Finland and called Bolshevik meeting. Decision made to take power.  Military Revolution Committee set up to plan a takeover. |

**Return of Lenin**



* Germans allowed passage of Lenin back to Russia from Finland as the possibility of ending a two-front war had major strategic advantages.
* Once Lenin had arrived in Russia, he demanded that Bolshevik support for Provisional Government cease immediately.
* “All power to the Soviets” became Lenin’s catchcry.
* “Peace, land and bread” was Lenin’s other catchcry. Encapsulated hopes and dreams of Russian people.
* Soon after his return Lenin published his April Theses explaining what Bolshevik policy was to be.
* Lenin wished to push Russia into socialism immediately.

**April Theses**

1. The war is a capitalist war so we should pull out.
2. This country must be led by an elite group who does what the peasants, workers and soldiers need the most. There can be no more capitalism or bourgeoisie [rich upper class].
3. No support for the Provisional Government.
4. This country must be led by the Soviet of Workers’ Deputies. No more violence from the masses because we will supply what people need the most.
5. No more government parliament; instead, a republic of Soviet workers, agricultural labourers and peasants. No one’s salary will exceed that of the peasants and workers.
6. All land is to be owned by the Soviet Republic then to be distributed to the workers and peasants.
7. Soviet Republic must own all banks. Close all banks then open one major banks for all of Russia.
8. We must start by using a socialist method where all industry comes under the country of the Soviet Republic.
9. Party tasks: make the elite party first to lead this country, stop the war, sort out the biggest issues first, rearrange our first policies so that they are up to date and create a name for the party.
10. Encourage other modern countries to do the same as us; i.e. have a world revolution.

**The July Days**

* Led by Bolsheviks – used the mutinies and refusals to work to their advantage to increase their support
* 2 July thousands of people began a protest.
* 3-6 July up to half a million people joined the protests.
* Not coordinated or organised – Provisional Government able to suppress them easily
* Hundreds of Bolsheviks arrested, leaders charged with treason
* Party newspaper *Pravda* closed down
* Party’s headquarters taken over
* Documents proving German financing for party’s activities allegedly discovered, allowing Kerensky to accuse Bolsheviks of treason
* Lenin fled to Finland disguised as a worker
* Lenin realised he needed a mass movement led by a tight party – but had no wide base of popular support so he sought to achieve a majority in Soviet

**The Kornilov Affair**

* Kerensky appoints Lavr Kornilov as Supreme Commander of the army in July 1917. Kornilov demanded stricter army discipline and restoration of death penalty to deal with decline of order within army.
* Kornilov called for strikes to be outlawed and was opposed to involvement of socialists in government. Sought to end influence of Soviet.
* Kerensky feared Kornilov’s anti-socialist campaign may lead to his removal of power.
* Late august, Kerensky sacked Kornilov, demanded he return to Petrograd. Kornilov believed Bolsheviks were in league with German army, and ordered his troops to march on Petrograd.
* Kerensky released Bolshevik prisoners who organised Red Guard units to face Kornilov. Revolt collapsed as troops refused to fight each other. 13 September Kornilov arrested.
* Bolsheviks became very popular due to their efforts to defend the revolution against Kornilov’s forces.
* Kornilov escaped from prison shortly after Bolshevik Revolution in November.

**Reasons why the Provisional Government failed:**

* Decided to stay in the war with Germany – severely alienated the people, who wanted peace.
* Had no answer to Lenin’s skill and determination.
* Gradually alienated all social groups within Russia.
* Kerensky alienated groups due to his love of his new luxurious lifestyle, his alleged use of cocaine and having a mistress. Made him a polarising figure – either hated or loved, no in between.
* Lacked any real coercive power (using force or threats) – power without authority.
* Had to contend with the growing power and popularity of the Soviet.
* Internal divisions within the Provisional made formulating policy very difficult.
* Lacked legitimacy.

**Ch3 – The New Bolshevik Regime 1917-1918**

* Lenin secretly returned to Russia in October 1917, determined to take power.
* Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 was led by Trotsky, thus was well organised and almost bloodless.
* Kerensky’s support had died and he fled the country.
* New Bolshevik government called the SOVNARKOM (*Soviet narodnykh kommissarov*).
* New government established new secret police called Cheka which dealt with opponents mercilessly.
* By mid-1918 Bolsheviks were still in power but its pool of enemies was growing.

**Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924)**

* Born Vladimir Ilyrich Ulyanov.
* Hailed from a rich, well-educated family.
* Attended university to study law – exposed to revolutionary ideas and people he met there.
* Greatly affected by brother Alexander’s execution in 1887 caused him to turn to Marxism.
* Activism led to his expulsion from university.
* By early 1890s he was using his intellect to pen revolutionary tracts and agitate for overthrow of tsarism.
* 1897 exiled to Siberia.
* 1900 released from Siberia; left Russia and went to Munich.
* 1903 at the Second Congress of the Marxist Russian Social Democratic Labour Party he triggered split in the party, resulting in creation of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.
* 1916 he wrote *Imperialism: the highest stage of capitalism.* In this he argued that wars between imperialist powers could spark a revolution; revolutions could then spread to more developed nations.
* Returned to Russia in April 1917 and announced April Theses.

**Objection to Lenin’s decision to act**

* Lenin believed any Soviet government had to be Bolshevik dominated as only they had a real revolutionary program, he argued.
* Party was split as many believed Bolsheviks should not risk their current popularity with violent action.
* Zinoviev and Kamenev published their objections to Lenin’s ideas.
* Trotsky persuaded Lenin to delay any takeover until the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets in late October – argued that after a successful coup, a new government could be presented to Congress.

Kerensky’s error of **moving against the Bolsheviks** and sparking **fears** of a **right-wing coup** galvanised the Bolsheviks into action.

Trotsky enabled that the new government could be presented to the Congress and the **claim** could be made that the takeover had been done in the **name of the Soviet**. It was Trotsky who **coordinated** Red Guard units to seize key installations in Petrograd such as bridges and railway stations. Trotsky sent Red Guard units into Winter Palace to **arrest** members of **Provisional Government**.

**October/November Bolshevik Revolution 1917**

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| **10 October** | Lenin addressed the Party Central Committee and won the argument about attempting a coup. |
| **16 October** | Formation of the Military Revolutionary Committee. |
| **24 October** | Petrograd garrison rose up against Provisional Government.  Red Guard units captured strategic city locations including bridges, railway station, post office, telegraph and banks. Very little violence.  Provisional Government totally paralysed in face of Bolsheviks. |
| **25 October** | Red Guard troops attacked Winter Palace.  Cruiser *Aurora*, moored in River Neva, fired blank shells on Winter Palace.  Artillery from Peter and Paul fortress, to north of Winter Palace. Most missed, damage minimal.  Provisional Government ministers arrested – Kerensky managed to escape.  Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened. Lenin announced power had passed into hands of Petrograd Soviet.  Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary members walked out in protest of Bolshevik action. |
| **26 October** | New government – Council of People’s Commissars – announced, with Lenin as chairman. |
| **27 October** | Bolsheviks faced attacks from opposition groups outside Petrograd, including Georgia and Don Region. |
| **28 October** | Signs of increasing opposition to Bolsheviks. |
| **29 October** | Kerensky lead Cossack troops to Tsarskoye Selo on outskirts of Petrograd.  Troops inside Petrograd refused to lay down arms – Kerensky’s men fired on them. Disastrous for Kerensky, reputation never recovered. |
| **30 October** | Red Guard troops defeated opposition Cossacks in Don Region and Kerensky’s troops at Tsarskoye Selo. |
| **31 October** | Bolsheviks gained control of Moscow. Hundreds of casualties. Bosheviks still remained weak in parts of country. |
| **1 November** | Bolshevik support firming. |
| **2 November** | Lenin announced Bolshevik control of country. Truth was, Bolshevik hold on power was tenuous at best. |

**SOVNARKOM**

* Many non-Bolshevik deputies walked out of 10th Party Congress in protest at Lenin’s takeover.
* With only Bolsheviks and their left-SR allies present in Congress, Lenin easily achieved his majority.

**Difficulties facing SOVNARKOM:**

* **Lenin’s paradox**
  + Lenin wanted order and control, but he wanted the people to experience revolution. Lack of law enforcement meant that there was little Lenin could do to stop the violence, attacks and looting sweeping his country.
* **Lack of support for the Bolsheviks**
  + Much of Russia was still not under Bolshevik control. SOVNARKOM had no proper army. Though power had been seized in the name of the Soviets, many of the Soviets across the country were non-Bolsheviks.
* **The war**
  + Russia was still at war with Germany. German troops still occupied much of the country. Fear of German troops marching on Petrograd was very real.
* **Lack of bureaucracy**
  + The bureaucracy refused to cooperate with SOVNARKOM. State bank refused to hand over money, whole government departments walked out, workers’ unions threatened to strike and cut off supplies to Petrograd.
* **Lack of experience**
  + The men in SOVNARKOM had no real experience in running a nation. This was particularly difficult as Russia was still at war and in danger of falling into anarchy.

**SOVNARKMON passed 116 decrees in its first few months in power. The main ones:**

* **Peace Decree**
  + Lenin wished to end the war with Germany for two reasons: the war was imperialist [a country ruled by an emperor] and consolidation of Bolshevik power had no chance if the war continued.
* **Land Decree**
  + Lenin had no choice but to grant the peasants their wish of land ownership; the peasants were given the right to seize land with no compensation required.
* **Decrees for the proletariat [working class people]**
  + An eight-hour working day was established. Welfare benefits introduced. Workers’ control of factories was introduced. Government cancelled Russia’s foreign debts.
* **Attack on the Church**
  + Church lands confiscated, civil marriage introduced, traditional link between Church and state severed.
* **Measures for female equality**
  + Alexandra Kollontai was a key leading figure in the revolution – she championed women’s rights. 1918 Marriage Code granted women legal equality with their husbands. Divorce and access to abortion was made easier. 1921 a special Women’s Department called the *Zhenotdel* was established.
* **Changes to the Russian alphabet**
  + Unnecessary symbols and letters were removed.
* **New calendar**
  + 31 January 1918 Russia adopted the Western-style Gregorian calendar to bring them in line with the rest of Europe, making the following day 14 February.
* **Granting of self-determination**
  + 2 November decree was passed promising Russia’s various national groups the right to rule themselves.
* **Changes in the armed forces**
  + Traditional aspects of army life such as uniforms, saluting and ranks disappeared. Officers were to be elected and brutal discipline was temporarily ended.



**Alexandra Kollontai (1872-1952)**

Close to Lenin – appointed her Commissar of Social Welfare in SOVNARKOM.

Her leadership in the Workers’ Opposition in 1921 led to her being squeezed out of party leadership.

Very skilled in languages, leading to a successful ambassadorial career and she also became a writer of fiction.

**Key events in Alexandra’s life**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **1872** | Born in St Petersburg into a liberal-thinking family. Well-educated and acquired fluency in several languages. |
| **1893** | Married Vladimir Kollontai. Had one son. |
| **1898** | Left Russia without her husband; went to Zurich to study Marxism. Soon working for Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and became expert on its Finnish affairs – had spent several years living in Finland. |
| **1904** | Joined Bolsheviks. |
| **1905** | Supported Trotsky and St Petersburg Soviet. |
| **1908** | Fled Russia to avoid arrest. Travelled widely promoting her ideas. By 1914 had become closely acquainted with Lenin. |
| **1917** | Post-February Revolution, returned to Russia with her lover Alexander Shlyapnikov. Backed Lenin in his opposition to Provisional Government. Following October Revolution became Commissar of Social Welfare. |
| **1918** | Resigned due to her opposition to Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Worked hard pushing women’s rights and became head of the *Zhenotdel*, women’s department within party. |
| **1921** | Opposed to bureaucratisation of party – became part of Workers’ Opposition to this process. Ban on factions decided at 10th Party Congress ended her career. |
| **1922-52** | Held several ambassadorial posts and became Advisor to the Soviet Foreign Affairs Ministry in 1946. |
| **1952** | Died, aged 80. |

**Coercive measures**

* In Lenin’s 1917 work *State and Revolution* he stated the need for a strong coercive apparatus if the government was to survive:
  + Constituent Assembly to be dissolved after only one day
  + Opposition newspapers closed down
  + Various political parties banned
  + Those in the civil service who did not support the new regime was purged
  + Traditional legal system replaced by one advocating revolutionary justice
  + Anyone perceived as an ‘enemy of the people’ or a ‘parasite’ was referred to as a *burzhui.*
* Most significant aspect of the Bolsheviks’ coercive power was the Cheka.

**The Cheka**

* December 1917 Lenin established The Extraordinary Commission Against Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation, became known by its Russian acronym Cheka.
* Originally intended to be temporary, beginning with 23 members, in order to deal with the immediate issue of opposition to new regime.
* Leader was **Felix Dzerzhinsky.**
* By June 1918 had 10,000 members.
* By early 1921 had 100,000 members.
* By end of 1930s had evolved into state secret police employing millions – infiltrated every aspect of Soviet life
* Cheka extremely brutal. Sought to enforce conformity and acceptance. Key weapons fear and intimidation.
* During civil war Cheka inflicted a ‘red terror’ on enemies of the revolution – scalping and skinning prisoners, boiling officers alive, crucifying priests, severing bodies with saws.

During Russian Civil War, Bolsheviks referred to as the **Reds** due to their use of the colour red**.** The enemies of the Bolsheviks were referred to as **Whites.**

**Felix Dzerzhinsky**

* Became known as ‘Iron Felix’.
* If innocent people suffered “so be it” as the regime must be protected “no matter the cost”.
* Born in Poland – well educated.
* Fluent in three foreign languages.
* Expelled from school for revolutionary activities.
* 1897 arrested by tsarist Okhrana 10 times – experienced torture in prison. Sent to Siberia same year but escaped.
* 1917 joined Bolshevik party. Head of security at Bolshevik headquarters.
* December 1917 became head of Cheka.

**Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly**

* Bolsheviks did not achieve majority in the November 1917 Constituent Assembly election, only receiving 25% of the votes – 175 seats.
* Debate in the first Constituent Assembly held at the Tauride Palace continued until 5am the following morning – proceedings closed, announced a second session would resume at 5pm the following day.
* Before the second session could resume however Bolshevik troops locked down the Tauride Palace and a SOVNARKOM decree dissolved the Constituent Assembly.
* Lenin claimed he did not receive enough votes as his voters were still off fighting in World War I.
* News of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly did not concern the average Russian – they were more concerned about the famine hitting their families.

**Treaty of Brest-Litovsk**

* Lenin knew that invasion of Germany troops on Petrograd would mean an end to his power – thus he demanded peace with Germany “whatever the cost.”
* Lenin also feared that the Western powers would make a deal with Germany to end the Bolshevik regime as they did not want Russia to become communist.
* Trotsky argued Germany would welcome Russian disengagement on the Eastern Front due to their desperate position on the Western Front.
* 3 March 1918 Germany and Russia signed Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, ending Russia’s involvement in WW1.
* This treaty had consequences however as Russia had to hand over vast territories and 62 million people.
* Coalition with the Left Socialist Revolutionaries broke down because of the Treaty.
* Attempted SR revolt in July 1918 following the murder of German ambassador Count von Mirbach by a Left SR finally destroyed the coalition link.
* Further stimulus for civil war outbreak – enemies gathered for the sake of Russia’s territorial integrity.
* March 1918 Bolsheviks changed their name to All-Russian Communist Party.
* By late 1918 several Allied nations had landed troops in Russia to force it back into the war.
* Several of these troops remained in Russia until 1922 – suggests their main purpose was to help bring down the Bolshevik regime.
* 1922, Germany and Russia signed Treaty of Rapallo, cancelling ay claims each nation may have raised against the other because of the war.

**Bolshevik enemies – became known collectively as the Whites.**

* Leading White generals mobilised forces. Wished to bring down Lenin’s regime, reverse Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and establish a military-style government.
* Bolsheviks were opposed by all the active political parties.
* Still some people who wished to restore the monarchy.
* Allied forces gathering on the borders to support the Whites and return Russia to the war.

**National minorities in the Bolshevik regime**

* Comprised up to 57% in former tsarist regime.
* Had been forced into the Russian empire – were not allowed to leave.
* Lenin believed these groups should be allowed to secede and eventually recognise they had more in common with socialist Russia than capitalist West.
* Many of these ethnic minority areas did not support the Bolsheviks – thus a loose federalist union was established, allowing the national minorities considerable autonomy.
* By mid-1920s most of the non-Russian regions had been forced back into the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Lenin believed that “the end justified the means” – thus anything is justified if it makes possible the retention of power.

Through **populist measures, stern repression and an unpopular peace treaty** with Germany he managed to consolidate Bolshevik power.

**Ch4 – The Bolsheviks Triumphant: 1918-1924**

**Civil War**

* Bolsheviks (Reds) outnumbered by enemies (Whites)
* Whites backed by Britain, France, USA
* Amongst the Red and White armies were Greens (supporting neither, fighting for their own interests) and various other smaller forces
* 1920-21 Bolsheviks involved in brief war with Poland
* Nearly a million Russians died
* 500,000 displaced or deported
* After emerging victorious, Bolsheviks’ hold on power threatened by Russia’s weakness – Lenin countered this by ending unpopular War Communism and introducing the New Economic Policy (NEP) which meant a return to small-scale capitalism

**Bolsheviks – Reds**

* During the war, aim was to survive and retain power at all costs – satisfying people and building socialism put on hold
* Trotsky’s leadership led to the Red Army becoming ruthless, disciplined, effective and obedient – largely the reason to Bolshevik victory – ranks, saluting, uniforms and strict discipline were reintroduced

**Whites**

* Aim was to destroy Bolsheviks, its leaders and all they stood for
* Controlled more territory, had backing of Western powers, but had inferior leadership and organisation
* No unified leadership; long-term political aims differed; each of the five leading White generals believed that he should be the saviour of Russia; forces scattered across the vastness of Russia
* Three main White armies:
  + 15,000 strong force of General Yudenich. Reached outskirts of Petrograd in October 1919 but repelled by Red forces.
  + Southern Volunteer Army under Generals Kornilov and Alekseev – both died in 1918 and were taken over by General Denikin who had more than 300,000 men – but 1919 were stopped by Red Army, Denikin replaced by General Wrangel, White army evacuated by Western ships
  + 140,000 strong force of General Kolchak – late 1918 linked up with Czech Legion, capturing cities of Samara and Kazan – but by late 1919 this army was in retreat and 1920 Kolchak captured and shot

**Czech Legion**

* Included Czech nationalists who sought freedom from Austrian rule – prisoners of war and Austrian army deserters
* Supported the Whites due to distrust of the Bolsheviks who then tried to disarm the Legion
* By late 1918 mutinies and desertions led to the Legion pulling out of the war

**The Greens**

* Localised peasant armies who wished to protect their own region – often included deserters from Red and White armies
* Once Reds achieved victory Green parties were all hunted down and destroyed
* Famous Green leader was Ukrainian Nestor Makhno – fled to Romania

**Main events of Russian Civil War**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **1918** | March | Russia signed Treaty of Brest-Litovsk  British troops land at Murmansk in northern Russia |
| May | Czech troops in action along Trans-Siberian railway  Trotsky reintroduces conscription and strict army discipline |
| June | Socialist Revolutionaries set up rival govt. at Samara |
| July | Tsar Nicholas II and family murdered |
| August | US troops enter eastern Russia  British and Australian troops attempt to establish anti-Bolshevik govt. at Archangel  Stalin successfully led defence of Tsaritsyn against Whites |
| November | Kolchak’s forces capture Omsk |
| December | French forces land at Odessa |
| **1919** | February | General Denikin takes control of Whites in south-east  Red forces capture Kiev in Ukraine |
| March | Kolchak’s army cross Ural Mountains but stopped from moving on Moscow by Reds |
| April | Allied forces showed lack of enthusiasm for war  French troops leave Odessa |
| June | Denikin’s forces capture Kharkov |
| July | Denikin’s forces capture Tsaritsyn |
| September | Allied forces leave Archangel |
| October | Denikin captures Orel but soon forced out by Reds  Yudenich’s forces reach outskirts of Petrograd |
| December | Reds in major trouble on three fronts – however by year’s end Whites have been pushed back |
| **1920** | January | Red forces capture Kolchak |
| February | Kolchak executed  Red forces invade Georgia |
| April | Denikin’s forces driven towards Crimea  Denikin replaced by General Wrangel |
| May | War between Reds and Poland begins |
| November | Only remaining White general in the field, Wrangel, defeated in Crimea  Wrangel’s forces evacuated, general escaped to Turkey |
| **1921** | March | Peace with Poland: Treaty of Riga signed  Remaining White resistance defeated by Russian forces  Reds emerge victorious |

**Red and White terror**

* Both sides used brutal torturous tactics as a way of terror
* Bolsheviks used terror as a way to destroy any resistance to the revolution – thus the Whites responded in kind
* Some methods of terror included:
  + Prisoners scalped with skin removed like gloves
  + Prisoners buried alive with decomposing bodies
  + Roll prisoners in spiked barrels
  + Placing rats in metal piping with one end sealed; non sealed end placed against a prisoner’s stomach and heated; as the rats became frantic they would gnaw at the prisoner’s stomach in an effort to escape
  + Prisoners were buried up to their necks and then horses were ridden over them
  + White forces guilty of Jewish pogroms – up to 100,000 Jews killed in Ukraine
* By 1922 the Cheka (Red state police that were guilty of major terror) had become a permanent state organisation called the GPU.
* This open use of terror in the civil war led in part to Stalin’s merciless use of terror during his rule

Allies initially intervened as a way of trying to force Russia back into the war; soon became about destroying the Bolsheviks. But this foreign intervention allowed the Reds to claim they were protecting the motherland from foreign intervention. By late 1919 all foreign troops had left Russia.

**British Intervention**

* November 1917 British Prime Minister Lloyd George – did not want Russia to leave the war
* Treaty of Brest-Litovsk caused Britain to see Bolsheviks as traitors
* August 1918 British Embassy in Petrograd attacked – leader murdered and mutilated
* Britain believed Bolsheviks threatened world peace
* By the conclusion of the Civil War Britain had spent nearly £150 million on Russian intervention
* Despite Britain’s efforts to bring down the Bolsheviks, in November 1920 they signed a trade treaty with them.

**Russo-Polish War**

* Poland invaded Ukraine in April 1920 – Reds fought back and ejected them on June 11
* Some in the Soviet government believed an advance against Poland may spark revolution in Germany; “Our way towards worldwide conflagration passes over the corpse of Poland” –Red Army General Tukhachevsky
* Poles were imbued strongly with nationalism.
* With help of French General Weygand, Poles saved their capital Warsaw – battle known as the Miracle of the Vistula.
* Armistice signed October 1920 – March 1921 Russians and Poles ended the brief war by signing the Treaty of Riga.
* Led to six million Ukrainians and White Russians under Polish domination, but Lenin was unperturbed.
* Soviet Union’s defeat by Poland destroyed all hope of revolution spreading across Europe thus Lenin’s government pursued normal diplomatic relations with its neighbours and adopted NEP at home.

December 1922 the formal proclamation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was announced. This new state comprised Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, and three members of Trans Caucasian Federation – Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

**Red Victory in the Civil War:**

White Disunity:

* White forces had widely varied objectives – made it impossible to develop cohesive political strategy. Differed in their views on national minorities.
* Lacked military unity- generals distrusted each other, occasionally even fought.

Geography:

* Red area of control was small, thus easy to coordinate. Moscow railway hub, thus much easier for Reds to move supplies and men to the front.
* The Reds were able to keep their armies supplied, controlled most of Russia’s factories.
* Red-controlled areas were the most densely populated areas – enabled Trotsky to conscript large numbers of soldiers.

Allied intervention:

* Support was half-hearted – Western supplies and arms were stolen and sold on the black market.
* Lenin used Allied presence to argue that the Reds were defending Russia against foreign invaders.

Leadership:

* Red forces tightly disciplined – White troops were corrupt and unmotivated – desertion rates high.
* White generals were self-seeking, poor quality, were much like the old tsarist generals. Had little loyalty.
* Trotsky was a courageous, charismatic leader who was able to raise morale. He was very organised and ruthless.

Popular support

* Peasants supported the Reds as Lenin had promised them land whereas the Whites were promising a return of the land to the landlords.
* Nationalists knew White victory meant a return to the tsarist regime, and decided that a Red victory might bring them autonomy.
* Urban workers and soldiers sought to protect the gains of 1917 – only a Red victory could ensure this.

Propaganda

* Too many workers and peasants believed that a White victory meant a return to the horrible old days.
* Only the Reds offered the hope of a bright future for peasants and workers.

**War Communism**

* Workers allowed to form committees to run the factories – incapable of running factories – Ukrainian grain fields lost due to Treaty of Brest-Litovsk – production plummeted
* Peasants allowed to seize land from landlords

Lenin knew that the Red army had to be fed and the workers in the factories sending the army food had to be fed. He believed anything else to be of minor importance.

The basics:

1. All industrial enterprises put under government control (*Vesenkha*). Workers’ committees ended, running of factories returned to bourgeois. Called specialists.
2. Strict labour discipline – internal passport system introduced to stop workers moving to countryside. Fines for lateness and absence, piece work/bonus system implemented to encourage productivity. All workers on rations; ration book only accessed by the employed.
3. Strict rationing system – class-based. Essential workers (workers, soldiers, doctors) given the most; lowest rations went to former bourgeois (*burzhai*).
4. Market economy ended – trade was replaced with barter and a huge black market.
5. Grain requisitioning (have to hand in the grain) – land was socialised, peasants became government employees. Forced to hand over produce to grain-requisitioning squads. Cheka became involved – Lenin demanded no mercy be shown to peasants holding back produce. This system was called *prodrazverstka*.

**Impact of War Communism**

* Grain requisitioning system ensured the soldiers and other essentials were always fed.
* Peasants resisted in any way they could; burned crops, killed livestock, gorged on their food, refused to plant new crops.
* Violence became widespread – it became acceptable to attack anyone who was declared a class enemy (someone who looked/acted like a bourgeois)
* First Soviet labour camps appeared during the civil war
* By 1921 there was large-scale starvation in many areas – approximately 5 and 8 million people died from famine during the war. Famine was the result of dislocation caused by 7 years of war, government indifference and mismanagement and a serious drought.
* Prior to the Civil War the Bolshevik party still encouraged debate, whereas after the Civil War the commanders were used to being obeyed without question.

**The Kronstandt Revolt**

* Sailors located at the Kronstandt Naval Base on the Gulf of Finland (about 25km from Petrograd) revolted against Bolsheviks – were considered one of the Bolsheviks’ most loyal supporters
* 15,000 sailors in the base – ships could threaten Petrograd
* “This was the flash which lit up reality more than anything else.” –Lenin
* Rebels had a series of political and economical demands – called for free elections
* As a result Trotsky ordered 50,000 Red Army troops to attack Kronstandt under the control of Bolshevik leading general Tukhachevsky.
* Took 10 days for base to fall – 10,000 Red troops and 5000 rebels killed
* Post gaining the base, 2000 rebels executed by Cheka, 6500 sent to labour camps
* Showed that the party would do anything to retain power.

**Leon Trotsky**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **1879** | Born Lev Bronstein to Jewish parents – one of eight children. Family not very devout |
| **1888-97** | Educated in Jewish school, then a school in Odessa, finished school in Nikolayev |
| **1897** | Organised South Russian Workers’ Union. Arrested, few months in solitary confinement, 18 months in Odessa prison |
| **1902** | Post-prison in Siberian camp, this year escaped to London. Took the name Trotsky. Met Lenin and started working for Russian Social Democratic Labour Party |
| **1903** | Party split; Trotsky opposed Lenin but didn’t become a Menshevik |
| **1905** | Late in 1905 Revolution, became chairman of St Petersburg Soviet. Arrested after a week |
| **1906-17** | Sentenced to Siberian exile for life. Escaped before he got there. Travelled widely, developed ideas, tried to reunite party. Often worked as a journalist. |
| **1917** | Briefly imprisoned in Canada when returning to Russia from USA for revolution. Found common cause with Lenin. Arrested after July Days, freed during Kornilov affair. September became chairman of Petrograd Soviet. Persuaded Lenin to delay Bolshevik takeover. Organised the takeover of Petrograd – heralded Bolshevik Revolution |
| **1918-20** | Commissar of Foreign Affairs – led negotiations for truce with Germany. By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, had become Commissar of War. Became an able and charismatic leader – inspiring yet ruthless. His five million strong Red Army won Civil War. |
| **1921** | Ordered 50,000 Red Army soldiers to crush the Kronstandt Revolution. |

**The 10th Party Congress**

* Lenin was forcefully arguing that factionalism was harmful as it could be used by counter-revolutionary forces to undermine the party – speaking of the Workers’ Opposition led by Alexandra Kollontai and Alexander Shlyapnikov
* The Opposition believed that autocratic rule was acceptable and necessary during times of crisis (the recent Civil War) but once peace was restored democracy should occur
* Wished to achieve this by decentralising power to working-class groups such as trade unions
* These views were denounced at the 10th Party Congress – party discipline would be enhanced, not weakened

**New Economic Policy**

* In 1921, Russia’s industrial output was 16% of the 1912 level; mining output was 29%; oil was 36%; grain was 48%. Birth rate had fallen by 50%, death rate had increased fourfold.
* Lenin intended the NEP to be temporary.
  + Grain requisitioning ended. Peasants now had to hand over only a portion of their produce (a grain tax); considerably less than had been demanded during War Communism.
  + Famine-ravaged areas to be let off payment for 12 months.
  + Once peasants had paid their grain tax they were permitted to sell their surplus on the open market.
  + Aim was to alleviate the desperate food situation by encouraging grain output from peasants while also encouraging them to make a profit in order for them to be able to buy goods from the cities.
  + Ban on private trade ended.
  + Privately owned shops reopened.
  + End to rationing.
  + Currency returned; wages paid in cash – inflation gradually brought under control.
  + Small businesses reopened – profit motive returned.
  + Workshops and small factories permitted; Lenin realised peasants would not sell their grain if there was nothing for them to buy from their profit.
  + Government still retained control of major industries such as coal, steel, oil and transport. Banks also still owned by government.
  + Factories run by trusts that bought materials and paid workers fairly.
  + Strict military discipline ended.

**Impact of the New Economic Policy**

* Food flowed back into cities, shops and restaurants reopened.
* Famine receded, but only after Lenin accepted relief aid from US.
* With grain requisitioning ended, peasants’ opposition to regime ended. Peasants were now able to own their land and be left alone to work that land.
* However, the NEP was rife with corruption – government officials could be bribed.
* Major increase in crime, prostitution became a big business again.
* Moscow local government received most of its revenue from taxes on gambling clubs.
* Industrial production rose sevenfold between 1920-26.
* However, most industrial areas still had not reached their 1912 levels.
* The Soviet Union was alone in a continent of hostile capitalist countries.

**Soviet Foreign Policy**

* Soviets believed that socialist revolution would spread across Europe and that they were there to assist the bringing about of these revolutions – purpose of the Comintern [Communist International; sought to bring all Communist parties together and assist in bringing about foreign revolution]
* By 1920 it became apparent that this was not going to happen; Soviets were alone

**Soviet foreign policy 1917-late 1920s**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| December 1917 | SOVNARKOM issues Decree for Peace | Bolsheviks’ main concerns are peace and survival |
| March 1918 | Treaty of Brest-Litovsk | War with Germany ends; Russia pays high price for peace – Lenin does not expect treaty to last; Bolsheviks cast aside all debts owed to Western powers |
| 1918-20 | Allied intervention in civil war | Allies claim to be seeking Russia’s return to war; soon becomes clear they wish to destroy regime |
| June 1919 | Germany forced to sign TOV. League of Nations established. | Russia does not attend Paris Peace Conference. Not invited to join League of Nations – seen as a capitalist club. Attempted revolutions in Austria and Hungary fail. |
| 1919 | Creation of Comintern | Purpose is to stir up revolution across Europe |
| 1920-21 | War with Poland  Treaty of Riga – March 1921 | Bolshevik enthusiasts wish to use Russo-Polish War to launch revolutions across Europe. Defeat puts an end to those ideas |
| 1920 | Friendship treaties signed with neighbours Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania | Bolsheviks already given up claims to former tsarist lands. However Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia reintegrated into Soviet Union |
| 1921 | Commercial treaties signed with Italy and Britain | Coincides with the introduction of the NEP |
| 1922 | Germany and Russia sign Treaty of Rapallo | Resolves territorial and economic disputes between Germany and Soviets, lays foundation for later secret military cooperation |
| 1924 | Diplomatic relations established with Britain | Anglo-Soviet relations constantly established, broken and established again depending on political British events and the activities of the Comintern |
| Late 1920s | Diplomatic relations established with all great powers except United States | Soviet Union dedicates itself to building internal socialism – effectively given up on world revolution |

**Treaty of Rapallo – 1922**

* Germany and Russia found common ground after the war – both were outcast countries.
  + Germany because of the Treaty of Versailles
  + Russia because it had lost territories and repudiated loans given to the tsarist regime.
* German army chief and Trotsky set up factories inside Soviet Union making arms for German army and Reichswehr (German army during Weimar period 1919-33) trained Soviet forces.
* The Treaty of Rapallo stated these:
  + All claims for reparations, debts and compensation cancelled.
  + Any trade concession either power gave to another power, automatically flowed to each partner.
  + Each promised to cooperate in spirit of goodwill to meet each nation’s economic needs.

**Women in the Bolshevik regime**

* Party adopted a three-pronged strategy to liberate women from conservative social restrictions of tsarist era:
  + Legal and bureaucratic reform
  + Education and training
  + Policies to support women as mothers and carers
* 1918-20 women gained legal and political equality with men – enabled them to own property, have equal suffrage and individual legal status
* Laws that applied to the workplace granted eight weeks of paid maternity leave, maternity clinics and childcare facilities, regular breastfeeding breaks for mothers in the workplace, ban on pregnant women working overtime or overnight shifts
* These laws and provisions were some of the most progressive in the world, laws that many countries did not implement until the 1970s.

**Education**

* One of the earliest decrees of the Bolsheviks was to attain universal literacy
* Party initiated many numerous literacy campaigns – peasants trained in reading and writing = literacy rose from the 1897 measures of 40% for men and 16% for women to 68% for men and 56% for women by end of 1920s

By February 1918 75% of property had been confiscated from its former owners.

**The Bourgeoisie**

* Early 1918 Lenin sanctioned violence against middle classes – many became victims of looting and violence
* During the civil war Trotsky initiated programs of forced labour such as clearing streets of snow or rubbish
* Members of the former bourgeoisie who were not able to flee to other countries also became victims of the Cheka’s anti-bourgeoisie terror

**The Workers**

* Russia had only 2.5 million workers in Russia of its 180 million population – the majority were peasants
* Lenin attempted to unite the peasants and the workers in what he called the *smychka*. Pre-1917 he did not believe coercion would be needed to achieve this union
* By 1920 the size of the proletariat had fallen to one million – many workers had returned to the countryside or joined the Red Army

**Peasants and Kulaks**

* The *smychka* was unpopular with the peasants because all they wanted was land
* Grain requisitioning led to a huge gap between the proletariat and the peasants
* After the NEP was implemented, many peasants prospered greatly – these middle-class peasants were known as kulaks. Some became quite wealthy
* However, if socialism were to be achieved the NEP could only ever be a short-term solution

**Nationalities**

* The Bolsheviks sanctioned non-Russian ethnicities declaring their independence
* As civil war progressed, Bolsheviks became less accepting of ethnic minorities

**Summary**

* By mid-1918 Russia was embroiled in civil war – odds heavily stacked against Bolsheviks.
* White armies aided by Western allies had the upper hand, but the Bolsheviks’ superior organisation and geographic advantages led to a Red win.
* The policy of War Communism, while unpopular, kept Red troops fed and supplied.
* Kronstadt Revolt indicated the country needed a change in economic direction – led to the New Economic Policy.
* NEP brought with it capitalist evils that went against everything the Party stood for.
* 10th Party Congress also outlawed factionalism (arguments/disputes within the party); party affairs became much more rigid and disciplined.
* Soviet Union began establishing normal state-to-state relations as dream of world revolution ebbed away. Relations with Germany became particularly close.

**Chapter 5 – The Struggle for Power: 1924-1929**

* By early 1920s Bolshevik party was rigidly disciplined and tight
* In Lenin’s last will and testament he called for Stalin’s removal from the party – but with Zinoviev’s help Stalin survived the reading of the will
* By 1929 Stalin was hailed as “The Lenin of today” whilst Trotsky was exiled, never to see his country again

**The end of democratic centralism**

* Ban on factionalism and the enormous growth in party membership were the two key factors in the end of democratic centralism in the Bolshevik party
* Three new party bodies were created:
  + **The Politburo** – made key decisions
  + **The Orgburo** – Organisation Bureau overseeing party efficiency
  + **The Secretariat** – responsible for record-keeping, allocating jobs and membership
* Secretariat became most important body
* Central Committee of the Party had the right to determine who filled new positions of government in the Party
* Between 1921-23 the bureaucracy purged party membership, resulting in the expulsion of 25% of Party members
* Thus democratic centralism had been replaced by bureaucratic centralism

**Josef Stalin**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **1878** | Stalin born Josef Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili in Georgian town of Gori on 18 December. |
| **1878-88** | Stalin’s parents were of peasant background but moved to Georgian capital Tiflis where his father worked as a cobbler. Stalin had a tough and poor childhood – father was a violent alcoholic who beat his son, while his mother did her best to protect her son. Stalin had smallpox as a child and face remained scarred forever as a result. Childhood accident left him with a slightly withered left arm. |
| **1888-94** | Attended school in Gori where he was forced to speak Russian – but he would always have a Georgian accent |
| **1894-99** | Attended Tiflis Seminary, seemed to be heading for a religious life – expelled from seminary in 1899 due to involvement in Georgian Social Democratic Group (Mesame Dasi). Next few years, worked with various left-wing Georgian groups, adopting party alias ‘Koba’ (fictional hero of Russian literature) |
| **1902** | Following his organisation of a strike at Batumi, Stalin arrested and exiled to Siberia |
| **1903** | Married first wife, Ekaterina Svanidze  December – joined the Bolsheviks |
| **1904** | Escaped from exile |
| **1905** | December – had first meeting with Lenin at party conference in Finland |
| **1907** | Stalin and Ekaterina have a son, Yakov. Ekaterina died later in the year. Stalin said of her death: “With her died my last warm feelings for humanity.” |
| **1909-12** | Involved in robberies raising funds for party – January 1912 appointed to Central Committee by Lenin; at this time he adopted the name Stalin, meaning ‘man of steel’ |
| **1913-17** | Co-wrote a party piece with Lenin called ‘Marxism and the national question’. Arrested again and exiled to Siberia – saw out the war years there |
| **1917** | Post-February Revolution, Stalin released, returned to Petrograd. Supported Provisional Government until Lenin’s return in April with ‘All power to the Soviets’ |
| **1918-19** | During civil war Stalin gained prestige for his leadership in the defence of Tsaritsyn – also heavily criticised for his dictatorial and violent behaviour |
| **1919** | Married his second wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva. Had two children, Svetlana and Vassily. Nadezhda committed suicide in 1932 |

**Stalin’s secret rise to power by 1923**

* Post-Lenin’s death the five main Bolshevik leaders were Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and Stalin.
* Most party members believed Trotsky to be the man most likely to take power, and Stalin the man least likely.
* Stalin was most concerned with party bureaucracy, a factor which was critical to his success in power.
* By 1923 Stalin was:
  + Commissary of nationalities
  + Member of the five-man Politburo (key decisions)
  + Commissary of workers’ and peasants’ inspectorate
  + General secretary
* Stalin knew that when Lenin died, the man with the largest backing would gain power – this was why control of the bureaucracy was so important.
* 1919 Stalin appointed Commissar of Nationalities, a position which involved spending time in the regions and talking to the minorities – allowed Stalin to build up contacts and support and place his people in positions of power in regional party organisations.
* Commissariat of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspectorate established to weed out corruption and increase efficiency, came to oversee all branches of government and civil service across Russia – 1919 Stalin appointed to head the Inspectorate.
* Politburo made key decisions and decided high policy – contained five members: Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin.
  + Trotsky’s job was the running of the civil war.
  + Stalin’s job was running day-to-day party business.
* Stalin provided the only link between the Politburo and Orgburo (in charge of party personnel).
* 1922 Stalin appointed general secretary – coordinate overlapping bodies of the party – responsible for promotions and demotions, countless number of party appointments.
* Soon there were thousands of party officials across Soviet Union who owed their job and their future to Stalin.

**Death of Lenin**

* Had long been a workaholic, often putting in 15-16 hour days.
* Long record of insomnia and migraines.
* While in exile, had been diagnosed with erysipelas, a potentially fatal bacterial infection of skin and tissue.
* Failed assassination attempt in August 1918 left him with a punctured lung and two bullets permanently lodged in his neck and collarbone.
* November 1921, he noticeably faltered during a major speech, unable to remember his words. Next few months, suffered bouts of aphasia (inability to speak) and agraphia (inability to write), both common symptoms of strokes.
* May 1922 suffered a stroke but recovered.
* Second stroke led to him withdrawing almost completely from public life.
* Third stroke in May 1923 left him paralysed down his right side.
* Suffering from advanced cerebral arteriosclerosis.
* With the help of his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya he slowly started to relearn how to speak and became able to walk with a cane.
* 21 January 1924 Lenin suffered his final stroke and died that evening.

**Impact of Lenin’s death**

* Lenin mourned by the Russian people as only few leaders in history have been mourned. To many he still epitomised the hope of an equal and free society.
* Funeral an enormous and elaborate ceremony.
* Lenin’s status raised to a near divine level.
* Stalin inaugurated what would become the Leninist cult with his ‘oath to Lenin’ read at the Second Congress of the Soviets.

*“In leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordained us to hold high and keep pure the great title of members of the party. We vow to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we shall honourably fulfil thy commandment too…in leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordained us to guard the unity of our party like the apple of our eye. We vow to thee, Comrade Lenin, that we shall honourably fulfil this, thy commandment.”*

* However, the relationship between Lenin and Stalin had severely deteriorated in the past couple of years.
* Stalin misinformed Trotsky of the day of the funeral, encouraging him to stay home and continue recovering from his illness – Trotsky’s apparent snub of Lenin was never forgotten.

**Lenin’s last will and testament**

* From middle of 1923 Stalin had been working with two other Politburo members Zinoviev and Kamenev to undermine Trotsky.
* May 1924 Lenin’s will was revealed – Trotsky received praise for his talents, Stalin was condemned the most – stated that Stalin could not be trusted with power and that he should be removed.
* This was catastrophic for Stalin, as, due to the developing Leninist cult, it would be seen as sacrilegious not to honour Lenin’s wishes.
* Zinoviev argued that Lenin’s fears about Stalin were baseless as relations between Stalin and other branches of the party were very harmonious – that Stalin should be left in office.
* Lenin’s widow, Krupskaya, who Stalin had once disrespected, angrily disagreed but she was overruled.
* The meeting voted 44 votes to 10 against publishing Lenin’s will – only to give it to selected delegates.

**Stalin:**

* Dour
* Grey
* Lacking charisma

**Trotsky:**

* Charismatic
* Intelligent
* Support of the Red Army
* Reputation from the Civil War

**Zinoviev** leading party figure in Leningrad (Petrograd) and head of Comintern.

**Kamenev** leading party figure in Moscow and head of government.

**Bukharin** most popular figure in the party.

**Factors of Stalin’s success:**

* Stalin had control of party bureaucracy
* The nature of the ideological debate
* Stalin’s skill at political manoeuvring
* Party’s suspicion of Trotsky

**Grigory Zinoviev (1883-1936)**

* Joined party in 1901
* Sided with Lenin to Bolsheviks in 1903
* Spent much time in exile, became one of Lenin’s closest associates
* During WWI in Switzerland with Lenin
* Returned to Russia April 1917 with Lenin
* Fell out with Lenin over his opposition to decision to seize power in October 1917
* Defended Petrograd in civil war
* Non-voting Politburo member in 1919 – gained full voting rights in 1921
* President of Comintern from 1919
* 1923 joined anti-Trotsky triumvirate with Stalin and Kamenev – persuaded party not to publish Lenin’s will
* At Lenin’s death his power was limited to Leningrad

**Lev Kamenev (1883-1936)**

* Met Lenin in London 1902 and sided with Bolsheviks in 1903
* In St Petersburg during 1905 Revolution but played minor role
* Married Trotsky’s sister, Olga
* Next few years involved in party work both in Russia and abroad, became close associate of Lenin
* Returned to St Petersburg at outbreak of WWI, arrested and exiled to Siberia – released March 1917 and returned to Petrograd
* Opposed Lenin’s decision to take power in October 1917
* During civil war head of Moscow Soviet and became full Politburo member in 1919
* During Lenin’s illness he chaired the Politburo and acted as head of government
* 1923 joined triumvirate against Trotsky with Stalin and Zinoviev

**Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938)**

* Played a minor role in 1905 Revolution
* Joined Bolsheviks in 1906
* 1907 helped organise nationwide youth conference – early version of Komsomol (Communist Youth League)
* Next few years arrested on several occasions, 1911 exiled to Arctic – soon escaped and lived overseas next few years
* Met Lenin and Zinoviev in Switzerland, met Trotsky and Kollontai in New York

**Ideology and the future**

* Politics always about gaining power, wielding it and holding onto it
* The Bolsheviks’ goal was to create a communist paradise
* There was doubt as to how this goal was to be reached
* After Lenin’s death, the players in the inter-party struggle had to base their claim for leadership on a sound, ideological basis.
* The biggest question was: How was the Soviet Union going to modernise and industrialise?
* Marx had envisioned communism beginning from a place of abundance from a capitalist society
* Revolutions across Europe had not occurred, thus Russia was a socialist country surrounded by capitalist enemies and had to develop quickly in order to modernise itself to defend itself from foreign attack
* Party narrowed down its options to two alternatives, referred to as the ‘left model’ and the ‘right model’:

The **left** and **right** agreed on some things:

* Traditional sources of capital for development were not open to Soviet Union
* Profits from colonies could not be used
* Profits from capitalist enterprises were not available – a socialist state could not expect funds from the capitalist West
* A means had to be worked out to squeeze the maximum revenue possible from a population that was still predominantly peasant

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| **Left model** | **Right model** |
| * Main promoter Trotsky * Industrialisation had to be rapid and massive – end to NEP * Peasants had to be squeezed, taxed hard, return to War Communism-style policies * Small private farms replaced by large collective farms – increase output for export = earn foreign exchange and provide capital for industrial investment * Heavy industry and armaments built up for defence capability = end Russia’s isolation, aggressive foreign policy could encourage revolution in the West * Could not be condemned as capitalist   Would inevitably bring massive peasant opposition; could lead to lower output as peasants refused to cooperate; could lead to conflict with the West. | * Main promoter Bukharin * Continuation of NEP, as it had brought rapid economic growth by mid-1920s * Peasants should be allowed to prosper, taxed mildly and sell surplus = increased productivity * Increased grain production = more grain exports = more foreign exchange to purchase these goods needed for industrialisation * Prosperous peasants would buy more industrially produced goods = “multiplier effect” feed into economic growth * Would guarantee peace at home and good external relations = could lead to return of foreign loans   This system was capitalist; favoured peasantry over proletariat; very slow; ‘scissors crisis’ would show it to be unworkable. |

Trotsky’s left model = ‘permanent revolution’.

Right model = ‘socialism in one country’. Promoted by Stalin – patriotism well received within Russia.

**Party Manoeuvring**

It was very unlikely that Stalin followed a long-term plan. He often simply needed to stand back and watch as his rivals destroyed one another.

He would achieve success by:

* Using the numbers he’d mustered as general secretary and other positions
* Forming and then breaking brief party alliances
* Playing on party’s dislike and suspicion of Trotsky
* Taking advantage of the fact that his political skills and intelligence were underestimated by other party members
* Manipulating the course of the ideological debate
* Despite the breaking down of Lenin and Stalin’s relationship, Stalin strongly promoted the ‘cult of Lenin’. From mid-1920s Lenin’s image was everywhere – his word became holy.
* Stalin’s speeches were filled with quotes from Lenin.
* Stalin argued that everything he did was in the name of Lenin.
* He attacked opponents for lack of loyalty and disrespect to Lenin.
* Stalin regarded himself as a disciple of Lenin, whereas Trotsky considered himself an equal – Stalin played on this arrogance.
* Bolsheviks frequently looked to history to guide their revolutionary activities – in particular the French Revolution of 1789 🡪 begun with notions of freedom and equality but ended up as a dictatorship under Napoleon.
* The question was, if the Russian Revolution went the same way, who would be Russia’s Napoleon?

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| **Struggle for Power** | * Luck, circumstance and hard work had put Stalin in a strong position by early 1920s. * If Lenin had survived, he would have removed Stalin. * Trotsky’s absence from Lenin’s funeral (Stalin’s misinformation) hurt his reputation. * Stalin gradually built up power in bureaucracy. * Zinoveiv’s underestimation of Stalin enabled Stalin’s survival of the reading of Lenin’s will. |
| **Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev v. Trotsky** | * 1924 13th Party Congress the triumvirate defeated Trotsky following his criticism of party centralism and bureaucratisation. * Stalin sat back and watched his enemies tear each other apart. * Stalin supported the ‘right’ model while Trotsky supported the ‘left’ model. * 1925, Trotsky sacked as Commissar of War. |
| **Stalin, Bukharin v. Zinoviev, Kamenev** | * Stalin turned on Zinoviev and Kamenev; supporting right model as Zinoviev and Kamenev started supporting left model – Trotsky refused to work with them. * 1925 14th Party Congress, Zinoviev and Kamenev outvoted – temporarily expelled from party. |
| **Stalin v. Bukharin and the right** | * Scissors crisis developed – NEP no longer working. * Stalin began promoting left model 🡪 rapid industrialisation. * 1929 Party Congress Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky removed from Politburo and replaced with Stalin’s men: Kaganovich, Molotov and Voroshilov. * Trotsky has been banned from Soviet Union and Stalin controlled party. |
| **In power** | * By 1929 Stalin was being hailed as ‘the Lenin of today’. * Leninist cult gradually smothered by Stalinist cult. |

**Stalin – ‘The Lenin of today’**

Stalin’s 50th birthday celebrated in 1929 – hailed by the nation as ‘the Lenin of today’ – severe propaganda.

The propaganda cult of Stalin raised Stalin up onto a pedestal as high as Lenin was held – they emphasised photos of Stalin and Lenin together and edited out other party leaders from the photos such as Trotsky and Bukharin.

**Ch6 – Soviet Union transformed: 1928-1941**

**Scissors crisis and end of NEP**

* 1921, supporters of the left wanted rapid industrialisation – it was argued that this could only occur if resources were transferred from the agricultural sector – this went against early 1920 thinking, which was a continuation of the NEP.
* Falling prices of produce meant peasants were cutting production and putting less produce on market.
* Majority of population working in agriculture – main source of capital for industrialisation had to come from rural sector.
* Failures in manufacturing centre meant peasants stopped trying to increase output by 1926 – would not increase without improvements from manufacturing centre, which could only happen with capital from agricultural centre.
* **Catch-22** situation – two outcomes, neither of which can be achieved as each requires the other to be achieved first.
* Scissors crisis referred to the large industrial gap between agriculture and urban areas.
* It was argued that if the NEP continued, it would be impossible for the Soviet Union to industrialise and this also had defence implications.

**Industrialisation**

* Required three economic essentials: **capital** (money/other assets), **labour** (a work force; urban factory workers) and **resources** (raw materials such as coal and oil).
* Thus the Soviet Union employed **capital accumulation** – squeezing the countryside of money/other assets to invest in the economy. It involved forcing peasants onto collective farms, maximising grain output and exporting as much as possible.
* Thousands of people were sent to **gulags** (forced labour/prison camps) to provide another source of labour.
* By mid-1930s, Russia had been successful in creating a canal and railway network across the country which made possible the movement of Russia’s vast resources to where they were required.

**Five-Year Plans**

**First Plan – October 1928-December 1932.**

* 1931, Stalin said: “We are 50 or 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in 10 years. Either we do it, or we shall be crushed.”
* Class A industries such as coal, iron, steel, oil and machine building were to triple their output.

**Second Plan – 1933-1937.**

* Emphasis on class B industries such as those producing consumer goods – they were to double their output.

**Third Plan cut short by outbreak of WW2.**

* Emphasis on build-up of Soviet Union’s military power.

By 1933, Soviet Gross National Product (GNP) was planned to be 236% above 1927-28 level.

**GNP:** total money value of all goods and services produced inside a country over a particular period.

Electrical power level expected to rise 600%.

Few sectors of the economy reached these targets.

Some enormous achievements did occur however:

* Massive iron and steel centre, Magnitogorsk, beyond Ural Mountains, rose from almost nothing.
* Under guidance of American Hugh Cooper, giant Dnieper Dam and its hydroelectric works were built.
* Coalfields near Moscow and in Donets Basin, at Karaganda in Kazakhstan and Siberia were developed.
* Transport network totally transformed – canals constructed (forced labour) which linked major waterways of Russia from Black Sea to White Sea in far north.
* Tractor plant built in Chelyabinsk covered an area that was larger than the town itself.
* Urban areas grew significantly – not only of old established cities like Moscow and Leningrad but also smaller centres that grew with industrialisation such as Minsk and Sverdlovsk.

Success of Five-Year Plans:

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|  | | **First Five-Year Plan** | | **Second Five-Year Plan** | |
| Production in millions of tonnes | 1927-28 level | Target for 1933 | Actual result in 1933 | Target for 1937 | Actual result in 1937 |
| **Coal** | 35.4 | 75 | 64 | 152.5 | 128 |
| **Oil** | 11.7 | 21.7 | 21.4 | 46.8 | 28.5 |
| **Pig iron** | 3.2 | 10 | 6.2 | 16 | 14.5 |

**The costs of industrialisation**

* Workers experienced loss of freedom as the Plans began to falter:
  + Hours lengthened
  + Fines for absenteeism
  + Workers could not change jobs or travel without permission – internal passports
  + Factory managers had great power over workers
  + Sickness, fatigue and injuries were seen as attempts to sabotage industrialisation
* Led to collectivisation and the man-made famine in the Ukraine – led to deaths of millions due to working in labour camps or starvation.
* The rapid growth of urban areas led to the living conditions in these areas becoming horrendous and unsanitary.
* Famous foreigners visited Russia to see for themselves the ‘happiness’ of the people under Stalin’s visionary rule: people such as George Bernard Shaw were taken to areas where people *were* happy, and thus these people spread inaccurate ideas of the reality of Soviet life.
* Millions ended up in gulags (labour camps) – provided steady stream of forced slave labour; death rates were extremely high. Conditions were awful; health and safety were low priority. These workers were expendable.
* Lack of coordination between different sectors of economy – catch-22 situations. Managers dismissed for political, not economical, reasons.
* Environment low priority – these views became ingrained in Soviet people. Results of dead seas and toxic land still present today.
* If targets were not met factory managers falsified figures – atmosphere of fear was all-pervasive and many managers bought off state officials. Bribery and corruption became rampant.

**Stakhanovisms**

* September 1935 a coal miner by the name of Aleksei Grigorievich Stakhanov allegedly dug up 201 tonnes of coal in his shift – 14 times his quota.
* Stakhanov’s name became used to either inspire or shame workers into similar selfless feats.
* Technicians who raised practical objections to this became known as saboteurs.
* November 1935 – First All-Union Stakhanovite Conference held – Stakhanovite thinking to be incorporated into industrial training and special courses.
* Authorities claimed that due to Stakhanovite thinking, labour productivity almost doubled during Second Plan.
* This was all merely a part of Soviet propaganda.
* Stakhanov was used by the regime, hated by his fellow workers who were forced to work harder – ended up in Moscow and became an alcoholic. He died a lonely and depressed man in 1977.

**Collectivisation**

Aims of collectivisation:

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| **Economic** | **Ideological** | **Political** |
| Squeeze countryside for increased grain production 🡪 export the grain in order to buy Western mechanical goods and hire technicians | A way to end the capitalist interlude of the NEP | Ensure Stalin’s long-term control of country and towns due to his liquidation of the kulaks. |

* Resistance of the peasants towards collectivisation was strong.
* More and more peasants were being given the label of kulak.
* To many, this was the only way to begin industrialisation.

Success v. failure of collectivisation:

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| **Success – for Stalin** | **Failure – for the nation** |
| * Grain procurements increased from 15%-34% between 1928-34. * Grain exports rose from 0.029 million tons in 1929 to 5.05 million tons in 1931. * By destroying private ownership Stalin destroyed any economic power peasants might have had to use against the regime – peasants now dependent on state. * Forced famine in the Ukraine destroyed another source of opposition – Ukraine nationalism. * Church power weakened. * Kulaks destroyed – rural areas could never return to capitalist ways. | * Approximately 5-7 million people died during collectivisation due to GPU violence, executions, deportations and famine. * Cattle numbers **60.1 million in 1928** 🡪 **33.5 million in 1934** 🡪 50.9 million in 1938. * Sheep numbers **97.3 million in 1928** 🡪 **32.9 million in 1934** 🡪 57.3 million in 1938. * Grain output **74.5 million tons in 1928** 🡪 **32.9 million in 1934** 🡪 57.3 million in 1938. |

**GPU:** State Political Directorate – Soviet secret police force, est. 1922; successor of Cheka.

**Liquidation of the kulaks**

* Kulaks were the classic Bolshevik definition of a class enemy:
  + Larger farms
  + Success during NEP years
  + Hired others to work for them

“We must break down the resistance of the kulaks and deprive this class of its existence … we must annihilate them as a social class.” –Stalin

* Conflict between Bolsheviks and kulaks became akin to civil war in the countryside.
* Millions exiled – transported in open cattle trucks in the middle of winter.
* Soviet propaganda claimed collectivisation was a raging success – Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw taken to model collective farms 🡪 upon his return to the West he raved about the successes of Soviet agriculture.
* Approximately 38% of the population of Kazakhstan died.
* More than 5 million people forced into Siberian and Arctic labour camps in 1930s.

**Socialist Realism**

* During 1930s all artistic endeavours must be used to support the regime.
* All art had to be in line with party views.
* Art had to be optimistic and teach people party views.

**Ukrainian famine**

* It is argued that Stalin created the Ukrainian famine to destroy Ukrainian nationalism, which posed opposition to regime.
* Stalin strongly denied that the famine was occurring.
* Roaming blind folk singers of the Ukraine (known as ***lirniki*** or ***banduristy***) were a living embodiment of Ukrainian culture passing on their knowledge 🡪 Stalin had hundreds brought to Moscow to honour their work, only to shoot them all.
* Approximately a quarter of Ukrainians died.

“Travellers to the Ukraine reported unattended corpses of peasants who failed to escape filling railroad stations.” – Historian Dmitri Simes, 1986

**Ch7 – Stalinist totalitarianism: 1929-1941**

**Fascism:** political movement based on extreme nationalism, anti-Communism and opposition to democracy and conservatism.

* + Emphasises cult of leader
  + Militarised style of organisation
  + Terror as a political tactic
  + Advocates racist policies

**Definition of totalitarianism**

* State has control of all institutions in the state – no independent organisations allowed.
* State intrudes into all aspects of an individual’s life – includes work, social, political and personal – seeks to control individual thinking.
* State employs terror to impose its will and maintain control.
* State controls public opinion, media, arts and education.
* Party led by single charismatic dictator – through propaganda is presented as the personification of the nation.
* Party’s ideology acts as a kind of religion holding the nation together.
* No other political parties allowed and no independent political activity permitted – one party has total power.

**Stalinism as totalitarianism**

* By 1930s party had come to dominate all institutions – participation in activities was subject to strict scrutiny by party officials.
* Where a person worked, lived and studied was determined by the state.
* Workers and managers were very careful of breaking the rules as extreme terror was used as a punishment for the slightest crime.
* Party controlled all media (Socialist Realism) – education controlled to institute party thinking into the people – media promoted the Stalinist cult.
* Through propaganda Stalin was presented as a strong, reliable leader in troubled times – became the personification of the Soviet state.
* Ideology justified Stalin’s actions and motivated individuals – party also wished for ideology to replace religion.
* Only one legal political party allowed in the Soviet Union – all opposition to regime ended with the Civil War – ban on factionalism (disputes within the party) also banned any opposition within the party.

Soviet Union in 1930s still inefficient system – such a large country with poor transport and communications made it difficult for Stalin’s commands in Moscow to be obeyed to the letter in far-off places like Vladivostok.

**Constitution of 1936**

* Constitution of USSR known as the Fundamental Law – on paper guaranteed basic freedoms of speech, religion, press, assembly and non-discriminatory elections.
* However, due to the Communist Party being the only party legally allowed to run, there was only one candidate to vote for – Stalin.

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|  | **Shakty Trial** | **Industrial Party Trial** |
| **When** | March 1928 | November/December 1930 |
| **Who** | 53 engineers from Shakty area of southern Russia | Group of prominent economists and engineers |
| **What** | Accused of conspiring with former mine owners to sabotage Soviet economy | Accused of industrial sabotage, conspiring with France, planning new government – all charges false |
| **Result** | 5 shot, 44 sent to gulags | All sentenced to death but reduced to length imprisonment |

**Early purges**

* Lenin had purged party membership as early as civil war years – people who had only joined party when Bolshevik victory was evident
  + Lenin named them ‘careerists’ – did not truly believe in socialism.
  + Also referred to as ‘radishes’ – red on the outside, white on the inside.
* Official purges carried out in 1919, 1924, 1925, 1928 and 1929 – party membership never rose above 5% of population.
* As setbacks appeared in Stalin’s modernisation drive, scapegoats had to be found – those purged were being accused of much more serious crimes and punishments were much more severe.

In 1933, over 20% of the party members were expelled, including some of the party’s former leaders such as Zinoviev and Kamenev.

**1934** – targets for Second Plan more realistic, improved harvest, some prisoners released, some who were expelled allowed to re-join party.

**December 1934** – popular Leningrad party head Sergei Kirov murdered, Stalin used this as an excuse to launch massive wave of terror on Russia – he was the last possible rival of Stalin for power.

* Death penalty could be used on people as young as 12.
* Become a crime to be a parasite, be associated with a parasite or know a parasite – almost anyone the secret police decided was a parasite.
* Vast majority of people subjected to the terror were innocent.

**The Show Trials**

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| **Date and trial** | **Charges and conduct** | **Results** |
| January 1935  First trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev and other leading party figures | Charged with setting up opposition group in Moscow and having links to a terrorist centre in Leningrad | Zinoviev sentenced to ten years; Kamenev to five years; various other sentences for other accused |
| August 1936  Trial of Troskyist-Zinovievist bloc – accused included Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bakayev, Smirnov and Mrachkovsky | Charged with Sergei Kirov’s murder, planning murder of Stalin and creating terrorist centre – Trotsky always accused of masterminding these events from afar | All confessed, all shot. |
| January 1937  Trial of 17 – accused included Radek, Piatakov and Sokolnikov | Charges similar to those in August 1936 – but also included economic sabotage, conspiring with Germany and Japan | All confessed, 13 shot. |
| Mid-1937  Trial of Red Army leaders – included civil war hero Marshal Tukhachevsky, Yakir and Uborevic | Plotting with Nazi Germany to remove Stalin from power – generals tried privately | Leading figures shot – then followed a full purge of leading ranks of army and navy |
| March 1938  Bloc of ‘anti-Soviet rightists and Trotskyists’ including Bukharin and Rykov – former secret police chief, Yagoda, also charged | Economic sabotage, plotting with Germany, Japan, Britain and Poland, working with Trotsky, planning to assassinate Stalin, accused of planning to assassinate Lenin | All confessed, all shot. |

* People accused of meeting co-conspirators who had died years before, in buildings that had been demolished, having taken flights to places that never flew.
* Some of the accused confessed due to physical torture – some gave in to psychological torture of threats against loved ones.
* To oppose Stalin meant weakening the Soviet Union while threats from aggressive countries such as Germany and Japan loomed.
* Recent research since the opening of the Soviet archives following the conclusion of the Cold War suggest strongly that the terror was centrally planned and directed by Stalin.

**Other Terror**

* Principal orchestrator of terror was NKVD chief, Nikolai Yezhov – known as the bloodthirsty dwarf (short man).
* Yezhov gave his name to the terror – the Yezhovshchina.
* Local NKVD offices given arrest quotas to fill – fixed percentages of these quotas were to be executed or imprisoned – guilt/innocence irrelevant.
* Key targets were party members, foreign communists, intellectuals and artists – free thinking not encouraged.
* Trotsky murdered in Mexico in 1940 by a NKVD agent – struck in back of head by ice pick.

Census held in January 1937 expected a population of 180 million – the actual number was 164 million.

* Non-Russian groups especially targeted despite Stalin’s own Georgian heritage.
* Following August 1937 trial, armed forces purged.
* Approximately seven million arrests, one million executions and two million deaths in camps during 1937-38.

**Purge on armed forces**

* 3/5 of the army’s marshals
* 75/80 members of the Supreme Military Council
* 11 Deputy Commissars of Defence
* 35,000 (half) of the army’s officer corps
* All 8 admirals of Soviet fleet
* 136/199 divisional commanders
* 60/67 corps commanders
* 14/16 class I and class II commanders

**Evolution of Secret Police**

* **1917** Cheka formed under Felix Dzerzhinsky – temporary means to deal with opposition to Bolshevik regime; Dzerzhinsky totally loyal to Lenin.
* **1922** Cheka became Political Administration of State (GPU) – permanent organ of state.
* **1923** GPU became Unified Political Administration of State (OGPU).
* **1926** Dzerzhinsky died, succeeded by Menzhinsky – Stalin able to manipulate him to do things Dzerzhinsky would not have done – OGPU now spied on party members and used violence against them.
* Menzhinsky’s ill health meant much of the control fell to his deputy, Yagoda.
* **1934** OGPU and Commissariat of Internal Affairs merged and became NVKD – Stalin angered by Yagoda’s unwillingness to obey him.
* **1936** Yagoda replaced by Yezhov – very loyal to Stalin, owed him his career.
* Through the NKVD Stalin was able to implement a massive surveillance system – nobody was free of this.
* **1938** Yagoda arrested and shot.
* **1938** Yezhov’s deputy, Beria, took control of NKVD.
* **1939** Yezhov arrested and executed.
* **1953** Beria executed.

**Education under Stalin**

* 1920s, Soviet education fell – many teachers lost jobs and students did not attend school.
* However as economic transformation took hold, there was a need for scientists, specialists and engineers – education system became much more conservative: curriculum tightened, teachers given authority, discipline restored, non-political subjects such as physics, chemistry and mathematics emphasised.
* Students taught about Russia’s strong previous rulers such as Peter the Great. Official view of Soviet history enforced – played up Stalin’s role and ‘close’ relationship with Lenin, whilst removing Trotsky altogether.
* While not at school, students forced into the Komsomol – Communist Youth Leagues – taught about Marxist thinking, maintained physical health, and learned to love Stalin.

**Women under Stalin**

* During revolution’s early days, emphasis placed on women’s rights.
* Under Stalin, women given greater educational opportunities and given jobs in factories.
* However, Russia’s ingrained sexist thinking remained strong.
* Easier divorce led to broken homes – many homeless children, juvenile crime rampant.
* Soviet birth rate declining, so Stalin enforced a range of conservative measures regarding women:
  + Abortion outlawed unless essential for mother’s health. Doctors who performed abortion (and women who received them) could be imprisoned.
  + Laws passed against prostitution and homosexuality; illegitimacy frowned upon.
  + Child-support benefits increased – more children a woman had, the higher the rate of benefits.
  + Divorce became more difficult to obtain, made much more expensive.
  + NKVD involved with juvenile crime – homeless children forced into orphanages, parents fined if children were consistently unruly.

**Culture/Arts under Stalin**

* Stalin demanded arts should be mobilised to support the efforts of the nation as it tried to build socialism.
* Framework for Soviet art became known as Socialist Realism.
* 1934 Socialist Realism formally announced as the Union’s ‘official’ cultural style.
* Writers not allowed to stray from the framework; artists attacked if their work reflected Impressionism, Cubism or other modern styles.

During 1930s, the nation’s ‘success’ attributed to Stalin alone instead of Lenin.

Stalin presented as the nation’s ‘father’ – links to the common people emphasised – Stalin knew how they felt and understood that.

Stalin all-powerful and all-knowing.

**The New Elites under Stalin**

* Social revolution brought about by the terror.
* Economic transformation required educated, trained people who could organise the economy – trials of the Shakhty engineers and the Industrial Party led to distrust of the reliability of bourgeois specialists trained under the tsarist regime.
* As the economy grew, there came a new class of managers, many who had come from peasant and worker ranks.
* Many experienced party members lost during 1930s due to purges – they had to be replaced, this introduced a great opportunity for young men to boost their career
  + Future leaders such as Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev and Andrei Gromyko began their careers in this way.
* Vast majority of these new leaders came from peasant or proletarian backgrounds and been educated in technical fields.

**Summary**

* Stalin created the closest thing to totalitarianism the world had ever seen.
* Party and secret police permeated every aspect of Soviet life.
* Terror imposed across society – party members especially subjected to Stalinist terror; Stalin removed thousands of party members.
* Public show trials against former leading Bolsheviks were the most obvious sign of terror.
* Secret police grew to dominate the party but always remained under Stalin’s control.
* Conservative values began to become more enforced – especially in education, women and the arts.
* Demands of economic change and opportunities presented by the purges led to the appearance of a new elite in Soviet society.

**Ch8 – The Great Patriotic War 1941-45**

**Origins**

* Comintern (international communist organisation) assisted communist parties across the world to overthrow capitalism.
* The Great Depression heralded a crisis in Western capitalism, but Stalin ordered European communist parties not to resist fascist groups.
* Once Nazi expansion plans became clear, Stalin sought cooperation with the West against Germany.
* Stalin ordered communist parties to join **Popular Front Governments** (coalition governments established to provide a united front against fascism).
* However the West distrusted communism and Britain wished to make concessions to Nazi Germany, believing its demands to be reasonable, wishing to avoid war.

**Soviet Foreign Policy 1932-1941**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Date** | **Action** | **Significance** |
| 1932 | Non-Aggression Pacts signed with Poland, Finland and Estonia.  Friendship Treaty signed with Italy. | Stalin indicating he had no aggressive intentions towards his neighbours. |
| 1933 | Diplomatic relations established with United States. | US last major Western power to recognise the Soviet Union. |
| 1934 | Soviet Union joined League of Nations. | Stalin making clear his desire to be part of the League’s Collective Security machinery. |
| May 1935 | Soviet Union signed alliance with France.  Czechoslovakia joined Franco-Soviet arrangement. | Diplomatic makeup of Europe before WW1 appeared to be re-emerging. |
| July 1935 | 7th Comintern Congress announced that communists were to cooperate with all anti-fascist groups in Popular Front governments. | Traditional Russian foreign policy had won out against revolutionary foreign policy. It was the security of Russia that now mattered, instead of the spread of socialism. |
| 1936 | Spanish Civil War | Stalin sent ‘volunteers’, arms and money to help the anti-fascist Republican forces. |
| 1936-38 | Hitler marched into Rhineland (1936) and annexed Austria (1938).  Britain and France pursued non-intervention in Spanish Civil War. | To Stalin, Britain and France’s appeasement of Hitler seemed to be a policy of pushing Germany eastwards towards the Soviet Union.  Failure of collective security made Stalin nervous about his country’s security. |
| 1939 | March: Hitler invaded rest of Czechoslovakia.  Britain guaranteed Poland it would defend it in the event of a German invasion.  Stalin unsuccessfully sought to establish defence links with the West – thus the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany was signed. | Britain’s reluctance to enter defence arrangements with Russia convinced Stalin that the West was bent on pushing the Nazis to destroy the communists. Stalin’s response to this was the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany to avoid German conflict in the short term. |
| 1932-41 | Soviet Union established links with nationalist regime in China – Soviet advisors sent to help China after Japanese attack in 1937.  Soviet-Japanese clashes between 1937-39 resulted in major Japanese setbacks – Japan now started to expand southwards. | Stalin willing to help Chinese Nationalists despite the major Chinese communist massacres in 1927.  Russian security yet again prevailed over international communism.  Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact of 1941 ended clashes with Japan. |

**Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact**

* In *Mein Kampf* (1924) Hitler made it clear he intended to achieve *lebensraum* (living space) in the east at the expense of the Soviet Union.
* Hitler despised Bolshevism, believing it was a product of an international Jewish conspiracy.
* Hitler also looked down upon the Slavic people of the Soviet Union – saw them as *untermenschen* (subhuman). Hitler believed their fate in the new German empire was to be part of the slave labour force of the master race.
* Stalin despised Nazism and all it stood for – ideological opposite of socialism.

**Hitler:** Hitler signed the Pact as a way of ensuring he did not have to fight a two-front war. He still had full intentions of attacking the Soviet Union – he just decided that he would postpone it.

**Stalin:** Stalin signed the Pact as he could not trust the West – he believed this pact would ensure that Germany moved west and a long conflict would ensue, weakening both Germany and the West. It gave Stalin control of Poland and other territories and gave the Soviet Union time to strengthen its military power.

**Barbarossa**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Summer 1941** | Hitler ready to attack the Soviet Union. |
| **September 1939** | Germany invaded Poland – defeated in five weeks. |
| **April-June 1940** | Germany took over Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. |
| Hitler believed he had little to fear from the west after the Battle of Britain. |
| **March 1941** | Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria joined the Axis (Nazi alliances) |
| **May 1941** | Germany took over Greece and Yugoslavia. |
|  | Nazi actions in the Balkans delayed the Russian invasion. |

**Operation Barbarossa began on 22 June 1941:**

* 3 million men, 600 000 trucks, 3350 tanks, 2000 aircraft and hundreds of thousands of horses.
* Three German forces invaded, heading for Leningrad Moscow and Kiev – Soviet forces totally unprepared.
* Winston Churchill had tried to warn Stalin but Stalin had not listened believing Churchill to be trying to trick him into fighting – many Soviet troops on leave when German troops marched in.

**Soviet losses major in the first two months of the campaign:**

* First day, Soviets lost 1200 aircraft.
* By late July, German forces had captured an area twice the size of Germany.
* By September, Soviet forces had lost three million men, most of its aircraft and thousands of tanks.
* By November, German forces had captured Minsk, Smolensk, Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa and Rostov.
* Leningrad was also besieged and Moscow was within striking distance.

In December, the German advance stalled and the Soviet forces launched a massive counter-attack that pushed the Axis forces back, up to 300km in some places.

**Germany’s failure to achieve victory in 1941:**

* **Soviet responses**
  + Stalin used propaganda to motivate his people. They were fighting for Mother Russia, not socialism.
  + Churches reopened to allow people to pray for victory.
  + Stalin was more willing than Hitler to listen to his generals.
  + Defence of Moscow was extremely heavy – 750 000 Siberian troops, trained and equipped for winter fighting, were redeployed to defend Moscow.
* **Timing**
  + Delays in Balkans and autumn rains turned roads into quagmires (soft boggy ground that gives way underfoot) – meant that Russian winter arrived before Germans were able to achieve victory.
* **Scorched Earth**
  + As Soviets retreated they burned anything of value to stop the enemy from getting their hands on it – food, livestock, houses; even the Dnieper Dam was destroyed.
* **General Winter**
  + Temperatures fell to -40°C.
  + Germans ill-equipped for the winter.
  + Thousands of German troops suffered hypothermia, frostbite and disease whereas Russian troops were used to such conditions.
  + German equipment not suited to Russian winter – engines and petrol froze, tanks were immobilised whereas Soviet equipment was built to survive these extremes.
* **Distance and size**
  + Distances in Russia vast – made long communication lines difficult, including keeping troops supplied.
  + Also caused disorientation and melancholy among German troops.
* **Hitler’s leadership**
  + Hitler interfered and argued with his generals – halted advance on Leningrad when its capture was close in order to finish things in the Baltic States.
  + Hitler ordered attack on Kiev when Moscow was near collapse and in a state of panic – gave Soviet forces time to prepare the capital’s defence.
  + If Moscow had been captured, it would have meant the defeat of the Soviet Union, and changed the course of the Second World War.

**World War 2**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **1942** | **May** | * Siege of Leningrad continued but Germans unable to capture the city. German hopes of taking Moscow fading. * German victory near Kharkov resulted in taking of 214 000 Soviet soldiers, 1200 tanks and 2000 guns. * Hitler decided on a major thrust south to oilfields: Operation Blue. * Aim was the capture of Stalingrad – however the city had little strategic value, Hitler was mesmerised by the city’s name. |
| **August** | * Battle of Stalingrad commenced – fighting street-by-street, house-by-house. * Winter deepened – German forces could not get supplies in, reinforcements were bogged down. |
| **November** | * General Zhukov launched Operation Uranus – successfully encircled the Axis forces besieging Stalingrad. |
| **1943** | **January** | * 6th Army starving, frozen, disease-ridden and almost run out of ammunition. * **31st:** At Stalingrad, Germany surrendered after the loss of 300,000 men: 200,000 dead, 91,000 captured. Turning point of the war on the Eastern Front. |
| **July** | * Hitler launched Operation Citadel: attempt to encircle Soviet forces that had become exposed. Tank battle lasted seven days; indecisive results, both sides suffered great losses. |
| **August** | * Belgorod retaken by Soviet forces. * Kharkov retaken by Soviet forces. |
| **September** | * Smolensk retaken by Soviet forces. |
| **November** | * Kiev captured by Soviet forces. |
| **1944** | **January** | * Siege of Leningrad broken. * German forces in north rerouted. |
| **June** | * Crimean peninsula captured. * With more than 1,000,000 men, 6000 tanks and 2000 aircraft, Zhukov launched Operation Bagration; German losses great. |
| **1944** | **August** | * Stalin allowed Germans to destroy Polish nationalists rising against the Germans; intended to destroy the nationalists so that he could impose a pro-Soviet regime on the country. |
| **September** | * Finland made peace. |
| **October** | * Soviet forces in control of Warsaw. |
| **December** | * Soviet forces had: * Liberated Baltic States * Were inside Poland * Taken over Romania and Bulgaria * Entered Slovakia. |
| **1945** | **January** | * Massive Russian offensive launched along 1200km front from Baltic Sea to Carpathian Mountains. |
| **April** | * Hungary fell. * Austrian capital, Vienna, fell to Red Army forces. * Climax of the war was Soviet attack on Berlin: 2.5million men, 6000 tanks, 7500 aircraft and 42,000 artillery guns hurled at Berlin. * Much of Berlin’s defence was made up of young boys and old men. |
| **8 May** | * Germany surrendered. |

**World War 2 major events overview**

* **1942:** German forces launched major offensives – captured more prisoners, Soviet equipment and towns.
* **Summer of 1942:** Hitler became fixated on Stalingrad – situated on River Volga and provided gateway to the oil fields of Caucasus.
  + **Battle of Stalingrad** lasted four months – Germany’s greatest defeat of the war.
* **July 1943:** Hitler committed his forces to a major tank battle at Kursk – inconclusive, led to great losses on both sides.
* **End of 1943:** Kharkov, Smolensk and Kiev retaken.
* **June 1944:** General Zhukov launched Operation Bagration – destroyed main German army group.
* **End of 1944:** No more German troops in Russia – Hitler’s occupation of Eastern Europe greatly diminished.
* **1945:** Russian advance strong, and by April Russians were in Berlin.
* **8 May 1945:** German surrender.

**Nazis and the Soviet population**

* The Nazis believed that in the West, they were fighting against fellow Aryans; however various Slavic groups populated Russia and these were people that the Nazis considered inferior. The Nazis cared little for what happened to them.
* In places where Stalinist repression had been extreme, like the Ukraine, the German troops were welcomed; however from the beginning the Nazis showed no mercy to civilians.
* Whole villages were wiped out and the Soviet population became a source of slave labour to the Nazis.
* Captured Soviet prisoners of war were treated as the sub humans Nazis believed them to be.
* Approximately one million Soviet Jews were killed during the Holocaust.

**Material losses from the war**

* Soviet territory lost by the end of 1941 had previously produced:
  + 60% of Soviet coal, iron, aluminium and steel
  + 84% of the country’s sugar
  + 40% of its cereal
  + Had contained 40% of Soviet railways
* **1941-1945**:
  + 17,000 towns in Russia destroyed
  + 70,000 villages burned to the ground
  + 31,000 factories destroyed
  + 84,000 schools destroyed
  + 60,000km of railway track ripped up/made unusable
  + 45 million head of livestock disappeared
  + By 1945, 25 million people living in western Russia living in basic wooden huts
* By the end of 1941, **Soviet lives lost exceeded five million**.
* By 1945, **the number of lives lost** **rose to 20-25 million.**

It is alleged that upon hearing of the German invasion, Stalin suffered a complete collapse and could not be reached for almost a fortnight – it was Foreign Minister Molotov who ruled the country at this time.

**Industry migration**

* More than 1500 factories were stripped down and rebuilt to the east of the Urals beyond range of German aircraft, along with millions of workers.
* During the war, the Soviet economy produced:
  + 135,000 aircraft
  + 500,000 guns
  + 100,000 tanks
* 3500 new industrial enterprises built.
* Soviet industry was greatly assisted by the **Lend-Lease scheme**: aid given by the US to its allies, which was not to be paid for until after the conclusion of the war.
* Soviet people’s morale remained high; however the NKVD kept tight control of the population and maintained the system of gulags.

**On 3 July 1941, Stalin addressed the Soviet people:**

*“Comrades, citizens, brothers and sisters, men of our Army and Navy! It is to you I am speaking dear friends.*

*“The perfidious military attack by Hitlerite Germany on our Motherland, begun on 22 June, is continuing.*

*“…The enemy is cruel and implacable. He is out to seize our grain and oil secured by the labour of our hands. He is out to restore the rule of the landlords, to restore tsarism, to destroy the national culture and the national existence as states of the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanise them, to turn them into the slaves of German princes and barons. Thus, the issue is one of life and death for the Soviet state, of life and death for the people of the USSR; the issue is whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall be free or fall into slavery.”*

Stalin realised that in order to mobilise the people, it was necessary for him to appeal to more traditional emotions, such as nationalism and love of the Russian motherland, as for these things, the people would work, fight and die.

**Propaganda themes**

* Past Russian heroes brought up and praised highly:
  + Alexander Nevsky
  + Peter the Great
  + General Kutuzov – saved Russia from Napoleon.
* Arts developed patriotic themes – party newspaper, *Pravda*, published anti-German stories and poems.
* Russian cinema focused on patriotic films with wartime themes.
* Anti-religious policies of the 1930s played down or abandoned:
  + Churches reopened
  + Priests allowed to train in seminaries
  + People urged to pray for Soviet victory
  + League of Militant Atheists closed down
* October 1943 an organisation called the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia set up in Tashkent:
  + Stalin sought to keep Muslims on their side and not support the Germans

**The Bolshevik Party during the War**

* Between 1941-1945, 8.5million people joined the party as either full members or candidate members.
* The stress of war changed the party’s priorities from ‘proletarian consciousness’ to ‘getting the job done’.
* More than 40% of new party members during the war came from the intelligentsia.
* Strong bonds created between party members during this life and death situation.