**Chapter 1: Late Imperial Russia 1894-1905**

1.1: Characteristics of the Tsarist State

**Key features**:

1.2: The Problem of Reform in Imperial Russia

**Reasons why reform was difficult to achieve**:

Due to the structure of tsarism, reform could only start from the top of the hierarchy which in the eyes of the tsar would be counter-productive as it would mean relinquishing his power. This is why Alexander II’s reforms were only half-hearted. Ministers distrusted each other which limited co-operation and in turn limited reform.

Nicholas II was only taught how to rule autocratically by Pobedonostev who believed autocracy was the only way to control the masses as they were too ill-educated.

Within the ruling classes, views on reform clashed. While some wanted to westernise (**Westerners**), others wanted to preserve Russian traditions (**Slavophiles**).

**Problems faced by Nicholas II**:

Opposition from the intelligentsia. Nicholas declared he would be a reactionary and dismissed reforms as “senseless dreams” which angered the intelligentsia that formed under the reign of Alexander II as a result of his reforms such as the emancipation of the serfs, greater press and university freedoms and the mir and zemstva.

Nicholas II lacked the potency and imagination needed to rule which made him very indecisive. He failed to delegate tasks effectively and wanted to be at the forefront of everything which was problematic given the size of the Russian empire. He feared confrontation with the Cabinet of Ministers so talked to them individually and spurred competitiveness between them, causing chaos. He appointed friends and family to high positions which encouraged incompetence and corruption. Russia’s economic and political backwardness.

**Nicholas II’s policies**:

Russification was used to preserve Russian culture by making Russian an official first language, making discrimination against non-Russians more open and imposing Russian values and norms on the public.

Encouraging pogroms through sponsorship, against the Jews.

**Effects of Nicholas II’s policies**:

Made opposition to tsarism more organised e.g. the formation of the Jewish Bund in 1897.

Many Jews fled to the west carrying hatred of tsarism with them.

1.3: Economic Reform under Witte, 1893-1903

**Reforms made by Witte:**

Improved Russia’s infrastructure by building the Tran-Siberian railway in order to encourage workers to move to where they were needed. However, the project proved ineffective as east-west migration was slow but it helped to boost exports and increase industrial output. Nevertheless, industrial output per head was low given the rising population.

Negotiated large amounts of foreign direct investment as loans and imposed high taxes and interest rates domestically.

Increased protectionist measures e.g. tariffs on imports.

Put Russia on the gold standard to stimulate international investment and strengthen the Russian currency, encouraging consumers to buy Russian goods. However, this also raised the prices of imports for domestic consumers.

**Limitations**:

Though economic growth was high, Russia still lagged behind other countries.

Russia was too dependent on foreign direct investment.

Russia’s agricultural needs weren’t addressed.

1.4: Opponents of Tsardom

Opposition to tsardom wasn’t organised because political parties were suspicious of each other. Before 1905, they were illegal and had to resort to extremism but after this they began to form legitimate groups though this made collaboration harder to achieve.

This was because each group had different ideas. The economic spurt of the 1890s saw the development of a middle class of industrialists, lawyers and financiers with liberal ideas which included independence from Russian control.

1.5: The Russo-Japanese War 1904-5

**Causes of the Russo-Japanese War**:

To obtain an ice-free port. All of Russia’s major ports were frozen for most parts of the year.

To distract attention from Russia’s domestic issues.

To expand Russia to make up for its relative decline in Europe.

Russians thought Japan was an easy victory as they viewed it as an inferior nation.

Russia rejected negotiations with Japan over Manchuria and Korea.

**Reasons for failure**:

Japan had modernised far more than Russia so were better equipped and prepared.

Russian military commanders were ill-prepared as the misunderstood the enemy and their territory.

Supplies had to be transported over a large distance so reinforcements were hard to provide given the incompletion of the Trans-Siberian railway.

**Effects of the Russo-Japanese War**:

Increased social unrest and opposition.

National humiliation.

Revealed the incompetence of the government.

**Chapter 2: The 1905 Revolution and Its Aftermath**

2.1: The 1905 Revolution

**Causes of the revolution**:

Government incompetence causing dissatisfaction amongst all social classes e.g. repression and taxation caused by the Okhrana and censorship.

Increased religious persecution and raids.

Peasants anger over mortgage repayments, unemployment and falling wages despite their emancipation.

The “**rural crisis**” due to peasants’ poverty caused by frequent famine, bad harvests and overpopulation.

**Features of the revolution**:

**January 1905**, **Bloody Sunday**:

An orthodox priest leads a peaceful march of workers to St. Petersburg to present a petition for better conditions to the tsar. The tsar was absent but 200 marchers were killed with hundreds of other casualties. This damaged the image of the tsar as the “**Little Father**”.

Bloody Sunday rouses more social unrest via strikes and terrorist acts led by the SRs against government officials and landlords.

Public buildings attacked and land properties were seized by peasants. Peasants feared repossession of their homes after their emancipation.

Non-Russians demanded independence e.g. Georgia declared itself an independent state, the Poles demanded autonomy and the Jews demanded equal rights.

**May 1905**:

The Kadets form a “**Union of Unions**” with other liberal group to unite peasants and factory workers.

**June 1905**, **Potemkin mutiny**:

Russian soldiers begin to disobey orders to shoot strikers and expel peasants from their properties.

The crew of the naval battleship “**Prince Potemkin**” mutinied over inedible food and the consequent execution of their representative. The crew took over the ship and sailed to Odessa to join a strike that was already happening albeit other ships didn’t follow.

Troops suppressed the strike killing thousands in the process rendering the mutiny futile.

Though it failed to gain support it made the authorities reconsider the loyalty of the army and navy.

**August 1905, Russo-Japanese war ends**:

Witte negotiates peace terms with Japan and becomes head of the Cabinet of Ministers. He remained wary of the tsar’s policies and thought they were the cause of their own difficulties describing them as a “**mixture of cowardice, blindness and stupidity**”.

**October 1905, Soviets form**: In Moscow and St. Petersburg, an elected council of representatives (soviet) was created attracting support from Trotsky, a Menshevik leader who helped organised further strikes.

**The tsar’s response**:

October Manifesto is issued, which established the duma (parliament), free speech and legalised parties and trade unions. This helped to suppress the need for reform amongst the liberals.

Debts over land were gradually reduced and ultimately written off which provided a disincentive for peasants to continue to seize properties and reduced lawlessness.

Veterans from the Russo-Japanese war, under Nicholas’ orders, destroy the soviets and round up its ringleaders including Trotsky.

**1906**: Nicholas mistakenly dismisses Witte revealing how misconstrued he was with Russia’s needs.

**Effects of the 1905 Revolution**:

**Significance of the 1905 Revolution:**

2.2: Stolypin and Land Reform

As the new chief minister, Stolypin was just as conservative as Witte was and was devoted to maintaining tsardom but also acknowledged the need for reform to contain social unrest. He followed a policy of “**suppression first and then, and only then reform later**”.

**Measures introduced by Stolypin 1906-7**:

Abolished the strip system because it was too inefficient and introduced fences to separate land spaces. The strip system meant that peasants’ land spaces were too close to each other which made it difficult for farmers to protect their crops and livestock from being stolen or other external influences let alone expand output.

A Land Bank was established to enable peasants to buy their own land.

Encourage peasants to resettle on a large-scale to areas remoter areas in the empire to increase the area of agriculture in the empire.

Stolypin tried to develop a class of wealthy, prosperous peasants to encourage them to accept tsardom. This policy was called “**wager on the strong**”.

Stolypin’s reliance on the “strong” proved effective because there was a layer of strong peasant farmers with enough money to pay the high taxes that peasants faced which shows that their farming was profitable.

However, the peasantry were still too traditional and resistant to change. Only 10% of peasants adopted the new farm system by 1914 and most were reluctant to resettle.

By 1913 the Ministry of Agriculture lost faith in the policy.

Reforms need time to take effect and with little time to change things most historians are still sceptical as to whether Stolypin’s reforms would’ve been successful had he not been killed in 1911.

2.3: The Russian Economy after Witte, 1903-14:

After the economic spurt under Witte, Russia became part of an international recession. The boom that preceded this led to large increases in the Russian urban population as peasants began to take work in the city for higher wages.

This meant that when recession hit, thousands of workers became unemployed due to the large fall in the demand for Russian exports which contributed to more social unrest which formed into more frequent strikes.

Nevertheless, the Russian economy continued to grow and expand during this period with more factories, workers and banks being found year on year. Yet, most workers suffered from high rates of inflation and exploitation from their employers due to weak trade unions and low legal protection.

2.4: The Dumas, 1906-14

**Reasons for failure of the first Duma, April-June 1906**:

The tsar promulgated the Fundamental Laws which effectively preserved his autocratic powers. It also meant that the duma was bi-cameral so had an upper and lower chamber where members in the lower chamber were elected and members in the upper chamber were appointed by the tsar. The upper chamber had the right of veto (right to dismiss acts) as well as the tsar himself which deprived the duma of real power.

Due to the fundamental laws, duma meetings were characterised by chaotic disputes making it difficult to make decisions. The first duma election results gave revolutionary parties such as the Kadets the majority which showed how much people wanted reform. However, it meant that meetings were dominated by them which Nicholas couldn’t afford to have. This explains why the SRs boycotted elections for the first duma adopting the name, Labourists.

Russia negotiated loans from France in 1906 weakening the financial hold the duma had over the government.

**Effects of the failure of the first Duma, Apr-Jun 1906**:

The Kadets and SRs unsuccessfully appealed to the people of Russia urging them to refuse tax payments and conscription causing uncontrollable violent incidents as opposed to the passive disobedience that was sought.

This gave Stolypin an excuse to intervene and ban the members of the Kadets and SR that protested from the duma and paved the way to a period of severe repression through introducing martial law and a network of military courts with the power to suppress civil disobedience. This led to many hangings nicknamed “**Stolypin’s necktie**”.

Liberal cause was humiliated which incited more people to adopt revolutionary ideas to save Russia.

**Reasons for failure of the second duma, Feb-Jun 1907:**

Elections gave revolutionary parties such as the SDs and SR the majority e.g. SRs said it was “**the duma of the people’s wrath**”. This was met with increased numbers in conservative parties making meetings even more bitter. Overall, the duma was generally anti-government, hungry for revolutionary ideas as opposed to reform e.g. Stolypin’s land reforms and how the army was run were opposed largely by the SRs and SDs.

**Reasons why the third duma survived, Nov 1907-Jun 1912:**

Having a duma gave Russia a good modern image which was projected to the rest of the world.

The third duma was easier to control because Stolypin introduced new electoral laws which restricted the vote to certain classes resulting in a duma which was dominated by right-wing, pro-tsarist parties e.g. rightists and Octobrists. This contrasted the first and second dumas which were dominated by left-wing, anti-tsarist parties.

Though, the duma was dominated by right-wing parties, many reforms were able to be passed because of the committee system which allowed bills to be discussed more democratically. This led to more schools for the poor and the introduction of national insurance to provide benefits for the poor. This meant that the SRs had a smaller impact on reforms, allowing Stolypin to proceed with his land reforms.

**The fourth duma, Nov 1912-Aug 1914**:

This was similar to the third duma but was more openly critical of government policy which increased public tension e.g. there was talk of “ **overthrowing the present system by the united strength of the proletariat**”.

Proposals put forward by the duma weren’t acknowledged by the cabinet of ministers which aroused social unrest amongst the public.

2.5: Growing tensions in Russia 1911-1914:

**Reasons for increased social unrest:**

The social, economic and political advances that Russia had achieved were insufficient enough to modernise Russia in a way that would counteract that inefficient and oppressive tsarist regime. This is what undermined the work of Witte and Stolypin as they struggled to gain trust from the government albeit they were very loyal to it. The failure of the government to recognise this caused social unrest.

After Stolypin’s downfall, the ministers that replaced him were incompetent and were unable to identify Russia’s pressing needs thus the only outcome was repression e.g. strikes rose from 24 in 1911 to 2401 in 1914. Ministers were too reactionary and were unwilling to bring about change.

The Lena Goldfields incident (**1912**) raised awareness of the need for more rights for trade unions. Many miners who demanded better wages and conditions were shot after their employers appealed to the police initially calling for their arrest. This contributed to further social unrest.

Reformists began to lose faith that the tsarist government would ever bring about change needed to modernise Russia and feared that only revolution would succeed.

Some revolutionists liked violence as opposed to any interest in changing society so they infiltrated revolutionary parties to achieve this.

**Chapter 3: War and Revolution 1914-1917**

3.1: Long-term reasons for Russia’s entry into WW1

**Long-term causes for Russia’s entry into WW1:**

3.2: Short-term causes for Russia’s entry into WW1

**Short-term causes for Russia’s entry into WW1:**

The assassination of Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austria-Hungarian throne, by Serbians drew Russia into conflict due to its loyalty to the Serbs as their protector which led to Austria-Hungary to declare war on Serbia.

Russia fully mobilised in hope of drawing out Austro-Hungarian forces from Serbia as it had formidable manpower. However, this risked war as it was a direct attack on Austria-Hungary which prompted Germany to join in. Partially mobilising would have risked confrontation from Germany anyway but at least if Russia was fully mobilised it wouldn’t be left completely defenceless.

Russia refused to cease mobilisation, invoking Germany to mobilise itself in order to make the Schlieffen Plan (lightning war) feasible and declare war on Russia. Austria-Hungary declared war soon after.

3.3: Russia at war

**Short-term effects of WW1 on Russia**:

Enhanced popularity & status of the tsar as the key figurehead and increased nationalism.

Weakened support for Bolsheviks as people were focused on defending their country while they still had it resulting in Lenin going into hiding.

WW1 was a **total war** in that it involved the entire nation, its people, resources and institutions putting the tsarist regime to the real test to see if it was efficient.

**Long-term effects of WW1 on Russia**:

The government printed more and more money after abandoning the gold standard due to high increases in government spending which increased inflation dramatically to the extent to which money was practically worthless. This was the reverse of the situation prior to 1914 where prices were stable and capital was high.

The war put a strain on food supplies for civilians as the military had first priority albeit agricultural output was higher during the first 2 years of the war however this was only due to the effects of inflation which made trading unprofitable leading to many farmers saving their stock.

3.4: The Growth of Opposition to Tsardom

Most extreme opposition came from the Tsar’s original supporters in 1914.

Nicholas failed to fully co-operate with the **Union of Zemstva** and **Union of Municipal Councils** albeit they were supportive of the war effort at the start of it. They joined to make the **Zemgor** which was more successful at helping Russia’s war wounded than the govt.— gave impression that there are better alternatives to tsardom.

Russia’s poor military drove the Duma to demand it be recalled by Nicholas in 1915. Nicholas refused to replace his incompetent cabinet of ministers with members from the Duma.

Led to a **Progressive Bloc** of party members—Kadets, Octobrists, Nationalists and Party of Progressive Industrialists joined and tried to persuade Nicholas to make concessions in terms of how the war was handled. Nicholas ignored their demands.

Some members i.e. **Vasily Shulgin** viewed the bloc as a means of ending the war without revolution so were outraged when Nicholas didn’t acknowledge it.

Empress Alexandra was deemed a German agent after she continuously defended **Rasputin,** a false healer and sexual predator who characterised the opposition of tsardom, by demanding he remain at court sessions.

Rasputin reorganised the army’s medical supplies system which albeit competent angered those who wanted him out of the way.

Nicholas’ long absences from Petrograd allowed Rasputin to stir up mischief which didn’t dissatisfied protestors in the court, damaged the tsar’s reputation and gave impression that tsardom wasn’t worth saving.

3.5: The February Revolution—1917

**Background to revolution**:

Rumours of public disturbances spread in Petrograd since the beginning of 1917.

Was the result of several challenges to the tsar e.g. Octobrists demanding removal of unwanted ministers.

Differed from previous challenges in terms of speed of events and range of opposition to govt.

Peasants & working classes both took part due to prohibiting trade unions, labour press & labour meetings.

All loyal members of the Duma had either been dismissed/left.

**Features of Revolution**:

**18th February**: Full-scale strikes occur by workers in the Putilov steel factories. They were joined by other workers when false rumours spread that there were cuts in bread supplies.

**23rd February**: International Women’s Day brings women on streets demanding food and an end to the war.

**26th February**: Most of the original garrison troops had deserted which reduced the efforts made by the General to reinforce the garrison.

Commander of Petrograd’s garrison futilely requests martial law be declared to use force against protestors. Breakdown of life in the capital meant martial law couldn’t go through necessary channels for declaration.

The absent tsar orders the commander of Petrograd garrison to restore order. Commander responds detailing that the police and militia are unavailable as they either joined the protests or were too sympathetic to the demonstrators. His own troops were disloyal and the situation was out of control.

**27th February**: Nicholas ignores suggestions from the Duma that he give the protestors concessions and orders the dissolution of the Duma. 12 members disobeyed the dissolution and remained a **Provisional Committee**—the first constitutional defiance of the tsar. Soldiers, sailors and workers join with Mensheviks to make the **Petrograd Soviet** who along with the **Provisional Committee** become the **de facto** govt. of Russia.

Remaining tsar cabinet ministers used an electrical failure as pretext to abandon their posts and flee.

**28th February**: **Petrograd Soviet** publishes first edition of its newspaper promising an end to tsardom and universal suffrage. After an intercepted attempt for Nicholas to return to Petrograd by mutinous troops, the President of the Duma and a group of generals advise Nicholas to abdicate to save tsarism.

**2nd March**: Nicholas signs his abdication and nominates his brother to take over who refuses on the grounds that the role wasn’t offered by a Russian constituent assembly.

**3rd March**: the Provisional Committee renames itself the Provisional Government and broadcasts Russia’s revolution to the world.

**Key characteristics of the Revolution**:

There was no external revolutionary pressure. The unwillingness to save tsardom by generals and politicians meant tsardom institutionally collapsed internally from top to bottom. Members of the Duma were the first to go against Nicholas’ orders and were the first to advise his abdication. It was only until the police and army did the same that Nicholas lost all authority.

The revolution didn’t involve the Bolsheviks as most of them, including Lenin, were in exile.

No one, in Petrograd and the rest of Russia, was willing to save tsardom e.g. casualties of 1500-2000 people were small compared to Russia’s war wounded.

Nicholas, by extension, was unwilling to save tsardom. His leadership failures and quick surrender show this.

3.6: The Key Debate: Why did the Tsarist System Collapse in February 1917?

**Institutional crisis**: the institutions that made up tsardom were clearly inadequate at enduring war in the first place let alone the effects the war had on Russia. Regardless of any attempts to save tsardom and win the war, Russia’s institutions were defective. Explains why revolution was led by those at the top.

**Wartime difficulties**:

Famine, inflation and war casualties all led to the tsardom’s shortcomings and lower morale esp. after Nicholas made himself commander in chief which mean all military failures were attributable to him.

However, the driving factor behind the revolution wasn’t the effects of the war but rather the failure of tsardom to work well with the Russian people. The war only catalysed the situation.

Even without war, tsardom was a weak backwards system:

Large population with a disproportionate illiterate peasantry

Food shortages and land hunger

Repressive, nepotistic political system which rewarded incompetence

Weak ruler who lack understanding of nation’s needs

Economy that failed to take advantage of agriculture (no agrarian economy)

Other historians argue Russia had made many advances, and had the war not happened, could have fully modernised. Russia was;:

Rich in natural resources e.g. oil

Capable of economic growth e.g. economic spurt of 1890s.

Capable of democracy e.g. duma.

Nevertheless, tsardom couldn’t guarantee these advances even without war due to its backwardness and institutional weaknesses.

**Chapter 4: The October Revolution—1917**

4.1: The Dual Authority

**Weaknesses of the Provisional Government**:

Wasn’t an elected body so lacked legitimate authority & a constitutional claim on the loyalty of people.

Had to share its power with the Petrograd Soviet. All military affairs had to be approved by them and the Soviet ensured that soldiers’ and workers’ rights were protected in all cases.

**Strengths/achievements of the Provisional Government**:

Despite sharing power, the Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet were able to co-operate at first as there were strong incentives to maintain order.

Both organisations were represented by moderate parties with the Provisional Government having all parties in the political spectrum.

Amnesty for political prisoners

Legalising trade unions

8-hour days for industrial workers

Replacing tsarist police with **people’s militia** (voluntary police force)

Full religious and civil freedoms

Preparations for elections and a constituent assembly

4.2: The Bolsheviks Return

Stalin and Kamenev were the first Bolsheviks to return to Petrograd, followed by Lenin who tried to control the Bolsheviks from afar. They had different views on how to bring about the final revolution:

**3rd April**: German govt. illegally arranges for Lenin to return to Petrograd in a sealed train.

Anti-Bolsheviks were highly suspicious of German intervention and thought they were working with Bolsheviks to defeat Russia esp. as they aided them financially during the war to withdraw Russian armies from the war.

**Effects of Lenin’s Return**:

Lenin publishes the **April Theses:**

Abandon co-operation with other parties

Work for true revolution only by Bolshevik efforts

Overthrow provisional government

Struggle to transfer power to workers

Demand authority be passed to soviets which Lenin could then exploit to overthrow govt.

**Key issues Lenin’s strategy aimed to solve**:

**Peace**: the continuing war with Germany

**Bread**: the chronic food shortage

**Land**: the disruption in the countryside

**All Power to the Soviets**: provisional govt. only aimed to please the bourgeoisie class and working class would only gain power once it was swept aside and replaced by a govt. of Soviets.

4.3: The Provisional Government and its Problems

4.4: The October Revolution

**Causes of the October Revolution**:

**Kornilov affair and war**: reduced support for provisional government and increased support for Bolsheviks.

**Lack of land reform**: provisional government was little different from tsardom in that it didn’t introduce the necessary land reforms for the peasants.

**Internal support**: the Kornilov affair also meant many members stopped attending meetings and allowed the Bolsheviks to gain majorities in them and exert greater influence. In contrast, the Bolsheviks gained more support via its “Peace, Bread, land and All Power to the Soviets” campaigns which addressed the provisional govts. shortcomings.

**Features of the October Revolution**:

The Provisional Government becomes more right-wing and the Petrograd Soviet becomes more left-wing.

Kerensky creates a “**Pre-Parliament**” as a prelude to the Constituent Assembly with authority to advise govt.

Lenin sees this as an attempt to increase govt. power. He didn’t want an elected constituent assembly as he didn’t know how well the Bolsheviks would perform in elections. Bolsheviks follow Lenin’s orders and attend it only to walk out afterwards.

**7th October**: Lenin urges Bolsheviks to overthrow govt. and returns to Petrograd to silence internal opposition.

**10th October**: The central committee of the Bolshevik party pledges to an armed uprising but fails to date it.

**23rd October**: After seeing a Bolshevik article which advised against their own uprising, Kerensky closes down Pravda newspapers and rounded-up Bolshevik leaders.

**25th-27th October**: Lenin orders the uprising and the Red Guards seize the Winter Palace with little resistance. Kerensky flees as a disguised female nurse to the US and becomes a professor of History.

**28th October**: the All-Russian Congress of Soviets begins its first meeting with Lenin as chief minister. Right-wing SRs and Mensheviks walk out in protest.

4.5: Reasons for Bolshevik Success

**Weaknesses of the provisional govt.**:

**Army**: Provisional govt. had no army to call upon. The Petrograd garrison was few in number due to mutiny and desertion. The provisional govt. could have destroyed Bolshevik headquarters with only 500 men but lacked the arms to do so. Any members left were submissive to the Bolsheviks as they knew any fighting against them would be pointless. The desertion of other members also weakened their willpower.

**Lack of support:** the inability to fight the war successfully and reluctance to reforms meant it couldn’t arouse enthusiasm when it needed it most so was considered not worth saving.

**Fear of reactionaries**: Kerensky feared tsarist reaction to the revolution and viewed reactionaries e.g. Kornilov as a bigger threat than left-wing extremists. This led to half-hearted arrests of Bolsheviks during July Days.

**Legitimacy**: until a constituent assembly was created, the provisional govt. had no legitimate power so challenges against them carried great weight. It was only meant to serve as a temporary measure to govern Russia whilst an elected government was found.

**Strengths of Bolsheviks**:

**Solidarity**: Bolsheviks had a driven desire for revolution and huge willpower unlike prov. govt. or other parties.

**Control of Military Revolutionary Committee (MRC)**: Trotsky’s control over the MRC meant he had the only effective military force in Petrograd which exercised legitimate power on authority of the Petrograd Soviet.

**Radicalisation of politics**: failings of the prov. Govt. to produce reform increased support for a new revolution. This led to more members of the Bolshevik party which strengthened it.

**Lack of competition**: other parties accepted the February revolution and the prov. govt. which allowed Lenin to lead a propaganda campaign claiming they sold out to the bourgeoisie. Mensheviks were willing to wait until a constituent assembly was made to start the proletariat revolution.

**Chapter 5: The Bolsheviks in Power—1917-1920**

5.1: The Problems Confronting the Bolsheviks

**Long-term problems facing the Bolsheviks**:

**Control**: Bolsheviks were still a small party and needed to consolidate power over the whole of Russia as opposed to just Petrograd and Moscow. The Provisional Govt. was replaced by the Soviets who at face value took over. Still, the Bolsheviks needed to pull the strings by infiltrating Soviets and exercising power from the top downwards. This meant they ruled by de facto and not by de jure. Until the Bolsheviks consolidated their power their had to frame policies that fit current circumstances. By 1924, the power of the party and the government overlapped, but being a Bolshevik member was a prerequisite for any position in govt. as shown:

**Ending the war**: Russia endured many setbacks due to the war and Lenin wanted it to end quickly to fully implement the revolution.

**Short-term problems facing Bolsheviks:**

**Food shortages**: a 13m shortage of grain supplies to meet the nation’s needs. This worsened when Germany ceded Ukraine , a key producer of grain.

**Industrial output**: low capital investment and insufficient raw materials led to a 66% drop in output compared to 1914.

**Infrastructure**: transport system was crippled.

**Hyperinflation**: this characterised Russia since 1914.

**Measures introduced by Bolsheviks**:

**Decree on Land**: legalised the unauthorised peasant occupation of landlords’ property which had occurred since February 1917.

**Decree on Workers’ Control**: legalised the takeover of factories by workers but instructed the workers to maintain efficiency and “strictest order and discipline in the workplace”. This was difficult to enforce as the Bolsheviks weren’t part of workers’ committees.

**Vesenkha**: body set up to oversee economic development. Cancelled foreign debts, nationalised banks and railways and brought order to the transport system.

**Cheka**: secret police used to impose Bolshevik rule and destroy counter-revolution and political opposition.

Red Army founded.

Moscow was brought under Bolshevik control.

Titles were abolished, replaced with the greeting of “comrade”

Legal system was replaced with “people’s courts”.

Bolshevik party retitled the communist party.

Marriage Code gives husbands and wives equal rights.

Russia becomes the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic (RSFSR).

Russia modernises its calendar.

Schools were centralised.

5.2: Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly—January 1918:

October Revolution came too late to prevent the election for the Constituent Assembly in November which the Bolsheviks lost to a great extent. Lenin disliked the idea as it would be mostly non-Bolshevik in membership hence would be difficult to work with.

Lenin uses the Red Guards to coercively dissolve the assembly in its first session via gunpoint.

**Reasons for the dissolution**:

**Power**: Bolsheviks hold on power wasn’t secure/consolidated. There was widespread opposition to them. Allies feared Russia would make peace with Germany and planned to exert their power over Russia to prevent it. This increased Lenin’s needs to prevent power-sharing.

**Functionality**: Lenin argued the assembly was no longer needed since revolution led to an all-Soviet govt. which he felt expressed the people’s needs better.

**Corruption**: Lenin felt the election was rigged by SRs and Kadets so results didn’t reflect the people’s wishes.

**Class**: Lenin felt the assembly was just a means of exerting bourgeoisie power.

**Reactions to the dissolution**:

Some Bolsheviks in Russia criticised the event e.g. Maxim Gorky.

Foreign communists were appalled e.g. Rosa Luxemburg who thought the Bolsheviks made matters worse.

Lenin justified his actions as necessary to maintain loyalty of party members to the leaders.

5.3: The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 1918

While Lenin wanted an immediate end to the war to reduce the strains on Russia, Trotsky preferred a revolutionary war against Germany.

**Terms of the Treaty**:

Ukraine and other territory was ceded to Germany and its allies.

Land population of 45m was lost to Germany and its allies.

Russia had to pay 3bn roubles of reparations

5.4: The Russian Civil War 1918-1920

**Reasons for the Russian Civil War**:

**Reds**: the Bolsheviks needed a military war to consolidate their power over Russia and eliminate opposition rather than facing challenges from political enemies (whites) from years to come.

**Whites**: anti-Bolsheviks saw civil war was a means to end Bolshevik absolutist rule.

**Greens**: national minorities e.g. Ukrainians and Georgians saw civil war as an opportunity to gain independence from Russia.

**Famine**: the new regime failed to end famine which had riddled Russia since 1914. Ration allocations continued to fall which forced many people out of work and out industrial cities. This reduced workforce by 60% and the population by 33%.

**Features of the Russian Civil War**:

After the SRs rejected the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk they were driven out of govt. Civil war began as an attempt of other revolutionaries to steal power from the Bolsheviks. The rising arranged by the SRs failed but left Lenin with a bullet in his neck which led to his death 6 years later. The SRs then joined the Whites.

Czechoslovakian troops who fought for Russia to gain independence felt neglected. They organised a journey to Vladivostok to join the Allies to gain support for an independent Czechoslovakian state. Bolsheviks resented this betrayal so fierce fighting broke out between local soviets and troops along the Trans-Siberian railway.

The Czech Legion encouraged:

**Kolchak** to form a White Army in Siberia

**Denikin** to form a White Volunteer Army in southern Russia from tsarist loyalists and Kadets.

**Yudenich** to form a White Army in Estonia.

SRs to organise more uprisings in Russia and Samara—an established anti-Bolshevik republic.

**Reasons why the Bolsheviks won the civil war**:

**White weaknesses**:

**Aims**: the Whites didn’t all have the same aims albeit they wanted to overthrow the Bolsheviks. They were merely a group of displaced socialists, liberals and moderates who had political differences between fighting for independence and strong central government.

**Fragmentation:** the Whites fought as separate detachments across Russia. When they considered combining, the pressure wasn’t enough to fight off the Bolsheviks.

**Individuality**: the Whites were unwilling to sacrifice individual needs and interests to form an anti-Bolshevik front which allowed the Reds to pick off armies separately.

**Supplies**: Whites were over-reliant on supplies from abroad which hardly arrived promptly in the right places in the right amounts.

**Leadership**: Whites lacked quality leaders like Trotsky.

**Red strengths**:

**Solidarity**: the Reds were by far more solid than the Whites in that they shared the same aims and a driving sense of purpose which boosted morale. This increased the strength of the Red Army.

**Territory**: the Reds had secured control of major areas such as the railways, Moscow, Petrograd and industrial centres. This gave them access to munitions and resources at the expense of the Whites which allowed them to gain maintain supply lines and communications that gave the control of the rest of western Russia.

**Red Army**: Trotsky’s strategy of defending lines of communication, denying Whites to concentrate forces in any location and then preventing them from gaining supplies proved very effective. This was due to the control that the Red Army had over the railways which was needed to transport troops/supplies.

**Peasants’ support**: the peasants supported the Reds out of fear of execution and the Red threat that the land they seized would be relinquished if they supported the Whites. The Whites were fighting for the govt. Russia used to have which didn’t appeal to peasantry. Many were either enlisted or executed.

**Effects of the civil war on Bolshevism**:

**Toughness**: The communist party that formed afterwards was largely made up of Bolsheviks that fought in the civil war. This increased the obedience and solidarity of members of the Bolshevik party, later named communist party (1919).

**Authoritarianism**: the civil war increased the tendency of members of the Bolshevik party to rule by command and coercion which some historians argue was necessary for any regime in 1917-1921.

**Centralisation**: the emergence of war increased awareness that decisions needed to be made quicker. This led to the formation of the **Politburo** (inner cabinet of the central committee of the CPSU) and the **Orgburo** (responsible for developing communist party policies) which both could act quickly.

5.5: The Foreign Interventions, 1918-1920

**Reasons why other countries intervened in Communist Russia**:

After provisional govt. collapsed, Allies feared Russia would stop fighting Germany and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk made it a reality. Allies thought Russia had betrayed them and wanted to prevent the war supplies that they had given to Russia from falling into the German hands.

Allies feared that communist revolutions would spread to Germany e.g. Spartacists movement arose in 1918 and were especially alarmed when Comintern was created in 1919.

Allies were angry at Russia when they wrote off their debts.

**Features of the foreign interventions**:

Britain, France, Japan, USA, Italy, Finland, Lithuania, Poland and Romania send offences to occupy parts of Russia e.g. Black Sea, Murmansk, Vladivostok, Siberia and the Caspian Sea.

**Reasons why the interventions failed**:

The interventionists hadn’t the stomach for prolonged campaigns after the war which meant many forces mutinied. Trade unionists were sympathetic to the new workers’ state in Russia

Forces didn’t liaise effectively when they arrived in Russia.

Objectives were limited and there was no concerted effort to bring down the Bolsheviks.

**Effects of the interventions**:

Lenin used it to boost Bolshevik support by portraying the failed interventions as a military victory and condemning the Whites as agents of foreign powers intent on restoring tsardom.

Encourage Lenin to launch a communist campaign in Poland which failed to gain support there. This made Lenin rethink international revolution and came to conclusion that the world wasn’t ready.

**Chapter 6: Lenin’s Revolution 1917-1924**

6.1: The Red Terror

**Reasons why Lenin used coercion and repression**:

They were a necessary solution to the issues confronting the Bolsheviks after the October Revolution e.g. the consolidation of power, foreign interventions, famine, social disorder and the need to win the civil war which threatened Bolshevism.

It was a defining characteristic of Marxism-Leninism which in the eyes of the Bolsheviks was unchallengeable.

Lenin was very totalitarian and knew no other way to govern. He thought it essential for revolution to survive.

**Instruments of the Red Terror:**

**Trotsky:**

Became Commissar for War after Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Ended independence of trade unions which were legalised in 1905. Brought under military control, they were forced to meet production targets and lost control of wages/working conditions or questioning orders.

Used conscription during civil war. Workers proved more reliable than peasants who deserted.

**2. Red Army:**

Trotsky assigned political commissars to Red Army to authorise military orders.

Death sentences were imposed for disobedience which marked a change from previous relaxed sanctions.

Election of officers and soldiers’ committees were scrapped.

Trotsky’s leadership/organisation of Red Army instrumental in survival of Bolshevik Russia.

**3. Cheka:**

Directed by Felix Dzerzhinsky who was willing to use any means necessary to destroy anti-Bolshevism.

Had unlimited powers of arrest, detention and torture used in very brutal ways.

**July 1918**: Murdered the Romanovs (Nicholas II’s family) to prevent tsarist reactions to Bolshevism but more probably because Lenin personally detested any administrators of the tsarist regime. Britain refused asylum for the Romanovs to avoid diplomatic problems and Germany refused so as to avoid compromising their neutrality now that they were on good terms with Russia following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Dzerzhinsky believed persecution should be on grounds of class, origin, education and occupation which determined a person’s fate rather than relying on evidence and reason.

Problems confronting the Bolsheviks were used as reasons to stifle criticisms of the Cheka’s methods.

6.2: War Communism

**War communism**: restrictive economic measures via embarking on a policy of centralisation after the Decree on Nationalisation in June 1918. Introduced to add to red terror and consolidate more power and win civil war.

**Effects of war communism on industry**:

Political commissars infiltrated workers’ committees.

Military given higher priority than factories for resources.

Led to lower industrial output.

Less labour due to conscription and mass migration to rural areas in search of food and refuge from civil war.

Scarcity of goods and more printed money led to hyperinflation.

**Effects of war communism on agriculture:**

Lenin ordered the Cheka to take the grain from peasants by force. He falsely blamed a section of peasants called **kulaks** for deliberately hoarding their stock to increase prices and used them as a scapegoat for anti-revolutionary activity. In practice, they were reluctant to produce food as long as the govt. was unwilling to pay fair prices for it.

Lenin orders 100 kulaks should be hanged to send out a message of terror.

Led to peasants producing the bare minimum for survival as they feared most will be confiscated.

Led to national famine with 20% of population in starvation. 50% of civil war fatalities were due to starvation.

Bolsheviks admitted Russia was in famine and received food from USA to feed 10 million Russians.

Used mass starvation as an excuse to execute priests and confiscate church possessions.

**Reasons why war communism ended**:

The severity of the policy reduced Bolshevik popularity and led to more anti-Bolshevik uprisings especially the Kronstadt Rising which originated from the Bolshevik party itself.

It was counter-productive as it led to reduced industrial and agricultural output.

Many Bolsheviks still supported war communism as they saw it as true socialism by ending private ownership, centralising the economy and restricting the peasants.

6.3: The Kronstadt Rising, February 1921

**Causes of the Kronstadt Rising**:

Cheka terror

Grain requisition

Infiltration of commissars in factories/workers’ committees

As Bolsheviks, **Alexander Shlyapnikov** and **Alexandra Kollontai** criticised war communism and led a “Workers’ Opposition” movement which encouraged groups of workers to strike.

**Features of the Kronstadt Rising**:

Thousands of Petrograd workers travelled to the Kronstadt naval base where they joined sailors in protest.

Demand for free speech, withdrawal of political commissars, end of Bolshevik privileges and monopoly power and secret ballots for soviets.

Lenin sends a team of political commissars to pacify them but are mocked upon arrival.

Trotsky orders Red Army to go to Kronstadt.

Ultimatum is issued and rejected by the workers and the general orders an attack.

Sailors and workers savagely broke out in fights with the Red Army.

They were all subdued and ringleaders were condemned as White reactionaries and shot.

**Significance of the Kronstadt Rising**:

Led by the original supporters of Bolsheviks during the October Revolution i.e. workers and sailors of Kronstadt and members of Bolshevik party which revealed the underlying truth that they gained illegitimate power by force.

Lenin realised war communism needed to be softened and the New Economic Policy (NEP).

Led to increased political control had to be tighter.

6.4: The New Economic Policy (NEP), March 1921

**Features of the NEP**:

Replacing requisition of grain with a partial requisition of produce from peasants as a tax.

Allowing peasants to sell surpluses for profit.

Restoration of public markets

Re-introduction of money for trading

Relaxation of central economic control

Trotsky and Preobrazhensky opposed NEP and preferred war communism. They thought it created a group of people called **Nepmen** who profit from the NEP through private trading and reintroduction of money.

Lenin issues decree against factionalism to dissolve factions in the party and eliminate opposition to NEP and condemns the Workers’ Opposition movement that started the Kronstadt Rising.

Lenin outlaws all parties except the Communist Party.

Bukahrin, an original critic of NEP, supported it by rousing peasants as he believed the sale of surpluses would stimulate industry as income would be spent on other goods.

**Effects of the NEP**:

Factory output, electricity and monthly workers’ wages more than doubled by 1924.

Grain harvest increased by 13.8m tons.

State still maintained 85% of workforce and had a higher number of workers in state-owned factories.

**Limitations of NEP and the Scissors Crisis, 1923:**

Industry failed to expand as fast as agriculture in terms of output lead to a large difference in food prices and prices of goods.

Food prices were much lower than prices of goods due to better harvests which meant farmers had to sell even more cheaply to cover costs of manufactured goods.

Lenin feared it would disincentivise farmers to produce which was counter-productive for NEP.

Led to more divisions in communist party about NEP. Trotsky joins the Platform of 46 group which condemned it. Gosplan, the new Vesenkha failed to draft an economic plan which fuelled his distaste of NEP.

**Significance of NEP**:

Overall, NEP was effective as the scissors crisis ended quickly in 1923 as prices of industrial goods began to fall and harvests remained fruitful which guaranteed food supplies.

Future of NEP was uncertain as economy was volatile and unstable.

Showed that Bolshevik policy was usually circumstantial as NEP didn’t concur with revolutionary socialism Marxism-Leninism.

6.5: The Shaping of Soviet Society under Lenin

Trotsky believed a communist state would produce a new Soviet man—**homo sovieticus**.

Lenin appoints **Lunarcharsky** as Commissar of Enlightenment after he creates **Proletkult** (proletarian culture).

Works of writers, artists and composers had to express proletarian, pro-revolutionary Russian values in order to serve the state which eliminated free expression and individualism.

This dictated what ordinary people were exposed to in the media.

**Proletkult organisations were set up**:

Amateur drama groups

Art studios

Writers’ circles

Poetry workshops

Musical appreciation societies

The Proletarian University for workers

**Successes of the Proletkult**:

Increased literacy rates from 43% to 51%.

Works of artistic merit were still produced.

Experiment with form still permitted but messages had to be socialist.

**Limitations of the Proletkult**:

Became too loose for Lenin’s liking and was eventually disbanded in 1922.

Writers and scholars who objected war communism and the NEP were exiled/incarcerated.

The GPU (Cheka) was ordered to enforce strict censorship in the press to discredit radical writers.

6.6: Lenin role as a revolutionary

**Lenin as heir to Russian tradition**:

continued absolutist rule that governed tsarist Russia and used the civil war and foreign interventions as excuses for it. In practice, Bolshevism was so intolerant of other ideas that repression was the only way to govern. Dissolution of Constituent Assembly, crushing Kronstadt Rising and the Red Terror were prime examples.

**Lenin’s Marxism**:

Lenin reshaped Marxism into his own contemporary Russian ideology of Marxism-Leninism to direct the revolution from the top downwards.

**Lenin’s view of the Russian proletariat**:

Lenin saw the proletariat as the main means of starting the revolution so made it the Bolshevik mission to guide them to revolution.

Believed **democratic centralism** was the only way to gain proletariat support i.e. through genuine obedience.

**Lenin’s adaptability**:

While Lenin claimed he acted according to the Marxist dialectic, he was an opportunist who adjusted theory to gain power.

Thought the proletariat revolution could be telescoped into one revolution (**telescoped revolution**). Encouraged bourgeoisie revolution before the proletariat revolution. Allowed proletariat to grow in size while eliminating the provisional govt. in the meantime.

Wanted to solidify the revolution in Russia before embarking on international revolution which contradicted Marxism.

Reversed war communism via the NEP which increased capitalist features in Russia. Marxism dictated that politics was based on economic structure but Lenin used economic structures to dictate politics.

Lenin sent money to other communist parties in Britain e.g. CPGB and spent more on foreign policy than domestic economy.

In Lenin’s view, the end justified the means so was unprincipled in his methods.

**Lenin’s legacy**:

Russia was a one-party state.

Increased number of govt. institutions and officials leading to higher central power.

Cheka and later GPU became new secret police force.

Factionalism was banned in parties i.e. no free speech.

Trade unions destroyed via Decree on Workers’ Control

Politicised law to extend political control rather than protecting individuals from injustice.

Purges and public trials first created by Lenin (later used by Stalin).

Higher number of concentration camps and people in them.

Prohibition of public worship and atheism replaced religious belief in theory.

USSR had strained international relations.

6.7: Interpreting the Russian Revolution

**Post-Soviet revisionism (1990s)**: Albeit Soviet Russia survived for 75 years, its collapsed disproved Marxist theory and Russian historians accepted that the revolution wasn’t according to a theoretical dialectic but by actions of groups of individuals which rejects the idea that history follows a fixed inevitable course as asserted by the Marxist school of thought.

**Cultural revolution**: idea that the Russian revolution was the start of Russia’s modernisation that represented a deeper force for social change. Hence, it was a revolution that emerged out of a cultural revolution rather than the Bolsheviks deterministically initiating the revolution movement.

**Post-glasnost view (1980s)**: Bolsheviks had made mistakes by choosing repression.

**Pessimist view (1960s):** Asserts Russia was suffering from institutional crisis and WW1 made little difference to this. Viewed the revolution as inevitable regardless of who took power.

**Optimist view**: Russia was modernising after the provisional govt. took power but was held back by WW1 and had the Bolsheviks not stolen power would have continued to modernise.

**Unfinished Revolution theory**: Trotsky believed the October Revolution for the workers was achieved but Stalin betrayed this by re-introducing repression and bureaucracy under the Communist Party.

**Traditional Soviet view**: Bolsheviks seized power in the name of the people and created a workers’ state. This was the only view accepted until 1990s.

**Chapter 7: Stalin’s Rise to Power, 1924-9**

7.1: Lenin and Stalin

Lenin thought greatly of Stalin who worked closely with Lenin and was very loyal. He supported abandoning co-operating with other parties and an immediate Bolshevik uprising in October 1917.

Lenin disliked Stalin’s conduct with Georgians during diplomatic meetings and indeed his wife who Stalin accused of being nosy and called her a whore.

**1922: Lenin’s testament:** criticised Stalin for his misconduct. This wasn’t made public which allowed Stalin to gain power.

**Things which helped Stalin gain power before 1924**:

**Political position**:

**People’s Commissar for Nationalities (1917)**: Stalin held responsibility over officials in different USSR regions.

**Liaison Officer between Politburo and Orgburo (1919)**: could monitor the Party’s policy and the Party’s personnel.

**Head of Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspectorate (1919)**: could oversee work of all govt. departments.

**General Secretary of the Communist Party (1922)**: recorded and conveyed party policy and allowed him to gain information on all members of the party and their dealings. Also gave him power to appoint his own supporters to key positions whom Stalin could count on during committees as they owed him their positions.

**Lenin enrolment (1922):**

The expansion of the party to enrol true proletarian members gave Stalin reliable votes in committees. This was done by the Secretariat that worked under Stalin’s direction giving him the power of patronage.

**Lenin’s attack on factionalism**: reduced the likelihood that Stalin would face opposition to his rise to power.

**Lenin’s legacy:** Stalin was willing to adopt Leninism as a means of influencing ideas and gaining referent power. Only Leninism was the accepted ideology in the communist party so Stalin was willing to use it to gain a foothold of power.

7.2: The power struggle after Lenin’s death

Stalin quickly gained an advantage by delivering Lenin’s eulogy after he died in January 1924. In this he promised to honour his memory and command which created the impression that he was his successor.

Trotsky declined the offer to read the eulogy and also didn’t attend.

**Weaknesses of Trotsky**:

He didn’t have the party machine at his disposal like Stalin so couldn’t mould a following.

He lacked a following because he was dangerously ambitious and was a complicated character which made him an outsider.

His quick conversion from Menshevism to Bolshevism in 1917 aroused suspicion amongst colleagues.

Trotsky let the fact that he was a Jew hold him back from gaining advantages over Stalin e.g. his decision to decline offers for funeral eulogy and the position of the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Government.

Trotsky agreed to the filing of Lenin’s Testament against Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and himself.

**Triumvirate**: Stalin joined Zinoviev and Kamenev in a triumvirate against Trotsky to isolate him and eliminate his opposition. Members from the Lenin Enrolment were unlikely to take to Trotsky’s cultured traditional values.

**Challenges from Trotsky**:

**Bureaucratisation**:

Condemned the growing power of the secretariat (civil service) which started implementing policies without consulting party members and reduced discussion of matters within the Party.

Wanted a return to party democracy where power in the party wasn’t centralised.

Produced essay “Lessons of October” which criticised Zinoviev and Kamenev’s disloyalty to Lenin which was then responded by Kamenev’s pamphlet “Lenin or Trotsky?” which highlighted Trotsky’s Menshevik past.

The campaign was futile as many members had a vested interest in maintaining bureaucracy on which the Bolshevik party was founded and had exercised since 1917 hence campaign was unlikely to gain support.

This left Stalin undamaged.

**NEP**:

It was unclear as to how long the NEP was meant to last after Lenin died.

Lenin saw the continuation of it as a betrayal of revolutionary principle and wanted war communism to return.

He led the Platform of 46 who accused the Gosplan of putting Nepmen before the needs of the revolution.

Stalin used the issue to accuse Trotsky of being anti-Marxist in order to undermine him.

**Modernisation**:

Left and Right communists agreed the peasants should be used to produce food surpluses which could be exported.

Trotsky and the Left demanded the peasants should be forced but Rights wanted to use persuasion.

**Revolution**:

Trotsky wanted a permanent international revolution whereas Stalin preferred socialism in one country.

Believed an international revolution was needed for Russia’s survival against Europe.

Stalin preferred to turn USSR into a modern state and fulfil Lenin’s revolution first which would help defend Russia against internal and external opposition. To do this Russia should be self-sufficient to overcome agricultural and industrial issues.

Stalin used this to depict Trotsky as an enemy of the state. Fear of foreign invasion made Trotsky’s international war less appealing/practical.

7.3: The defeat of Trotsky and the Left

**1925**: Stalin’s patronage and the triumvirate allowed them to outvote Trotsky during the Party Congress which consisted of pro-Stalin, anti-Trotsky members, leading to his relinquished role as Commissar for War.

**1926**: Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev form the “United Opposition” which calls for an end to NEP.

Stalin, Bukharin and Tomsky form a bloc which outvote the United Opposition and Zinoviev and Kamenev were dismissed and replaced by Stalin’s allies, Molotov in Moscow and Kirov in Leningrad.

**1926**: Trotsky was expelled from the Politburo and Central Committee

**1927**: Trotsky unsuccessful rallies support against Stalin’s authority and is expelled from the party altogether.

**1929**: Trotsky is exiled form USSR.

7.4: The defeat of the right

Since he defeated the left, Stalin thought it fine to implement their policies:

**Collectivisation**: Stalin concerned of the grain shorted so called for private property to be abolished and peasants to live and work in communes. Grain procurements were enforced on peasants so that fixed quotas of grain would be collected.

**Industrialisation**: Stalin called for the specialisation of producing heavy goods e.g. iron/steel.

Bukharin and other Right communists felt that less repressive policies would naturally lead to peasants increasing output and the development of industry.

**Weaknesses of the Right**:

**Ideas**: ideas were viewed as too timid in light of fear of invasion. Appeasing the peasants didn’t appeal to the need to eliminate anti-revolutionaries which Stalin used to suggest they were guilty of underestimating the party’s needs. Members were more likely to support hard-line policy than soft policy which risked civil war.

**Organisation**: Stalin remained master of the party machine and Bukharin and his supporters wanted to retain their positions which reduced their attempts to challenge Stalin. In fear of factionalism they hoped they could win the whole party over. Stalin could use his publication powers to belittle the Rights via propaganda campaigns as weak and irresponsible.

**Support**: this only came from trade unions whose central council was chaired by **Tomsky** and the CPSU’s Moscow Branch, chaired by **Uglanov**. Stalin ordered trade unionists and party officials who supported them to be purged which reduced support entirely.

By 1929 Tomsky was dismissed as trade union leader and Uglanov was replaced.

**Molotov** was replaced as premier by **Rykov** and **Bukharin** lost his place in the Politburo and was outvoted as chairman of the Comintern.

Rykov, Tomsky and Bukharin were allowed to remain in the party as long as they publicly admitted their errors.

Stalin became the new **vozhd** (supreme leader).

**Chapter 8: Stalin and the Soviet Economy**

8.1: Stalin’s economic aims

Stalin aimed to modernise Russia by changing it from an agrarian economy to an industrial one using collectivisation and industrialisation.

He called Russia’s modernisation a second revolution that would be directed from above rather than below like the October Revolution in 1917.

**Motives for modernisation**:

Stalin wanted total control over the economy unlike Lenin who controlled the economy indirectly through the Gosplan. Stalin wanted a more hard-line policy to confirm his authority over party and the government.

He believed the survival of the revolution and Russia’s needs to catch up with the economies of other countries could only be met with modernisation

8.2: Collectivisation, 1928

Stalin put the needs of urban workers before that of the peasants as he saw them as pre-revolutionary. This meant food surpluses were sold to gain finance for industrialisation and excess peasants were sent to factories.

Land was taken from the peasants and given to the state. Peasants would then pool their efforts in **collective farms** (co-operative farms where peasants pooled resources) and gain wages.

**State farms** were also set up where peasants worked directly for the state in exchange for wages.

**Aim**: to eliminate all capitalist features of the land and use collective profits to finance a massive industrialisation programme.

This would create large farms in need of less farmers due to new machinery (motorised tractor) which Stalin thought was more efficient and would release more workers into the factories.

**Kulaks**: Stalin persecuted them through a propaganda campaign as he felt they were deliberately hoarding produce to keep prices high and make themselves rich at the expense of poorer peasants by monopolising the best land for farming and employing cheap labour to farm it. He blamed them for food shortages. Collectivisation ended this. In practice, these were merely farmers who were more efficient than others.

**De-kulakisation**: Poor peasants attacked the kulaks by seizing their land and terrorising their families. The OPGU (new Cheka) also arrested and deported them. This served as a warning to opponents to collectivisation.

**Consequences of collectivisation**:

**Social upheaval**: peasants found it difficult to adapt and resorted to slaughtering livestock and eating seed corn. This reduced the amount of crops and animals to rear. Increased coercion did nothing to solve this hence produce dropped.

**National famine:** led to mass migration to urban areas (where grain requisition had been used to feed urban workers) which was so heavy that a passport system had to be used to control the inflow of peasants.

**Social unrest**: Led to increased number of civil disturbances in the countryside which almost caused civil war. Women seized grain from the state in retaliation to the programme. Stalin calls for a delay in the programme but restarts it and fully collectivises Russia by the end of the 1930s.

**Silence**: Stalin used heavy censorship to hide the horrors of famine and death caused by starvation which were at his own hands in order to protect his image and avoid solving the issue. In truth, he caused the slaughter of millions of peasants an showed no remorse.

**Successes of collectivisation**:

Introduction of the mechanised tractors.

Encouraged peasants to leave land and take up positions in factories. This helped solve the issue that pre-dated revolutionary Russia of the large number of people who unproductively lived on land.

Stalin’s increased power over the economy.

**Failures of collectivisation**:

The famine was man-made and wasn’t caused by natural disaster/bad weather.

Despite coercion, peasants were unable to produce the surpluses needed to finance industrialisation.

Productivity didn’t pick up to the desired level.

8.3: Industrialisation

**Aim**: to modernise Russia by specialising in heavy industry to equip Russia for war.

Used the Great Depression as a reason for rejecting capitalism and choosing communism to achieve it.

**The Five Year Plans**:

**1st FYP:** October 1928 to December 1932

**2nd FYP**: January 1933 to December 1937

**3rd FYP**: January 1938 to June 1941

**The First Five Year Plan (1928-1932)**:

**Purpose**: was a set of production targets that the Gosplan drafted.

**Response**: local officials falsified their output levels in order to meet quotas. The plan was used to convince people that they were taking power into their own hands to ensure Russia’s modernisation.

**Successes**: coal, iron and electricity production all increased in huge proportions despite rigging of figures.

**Failures**: Living standards dropped as consumer goods declined and accommodation remained substandard. However, better living standards was never the aim. Personal sacrifice was necessary hence the 1st FYP was successful.

**Resistance**: any resistance against it was deemed anti-Russian as Stalin promoted it as defensive against foreign intervention. Resistive workers were publicly trialled to warn off opposition. He used them as scapegoats for the failings of untrained peasants who found it hard to adjust to urban life.

**Sabotage**: anyone who wasn’t pulling their weight e.g. workers and managers who didn’t meet output targets were branded as sabotage and were publically trialled. This encouraged more misleading output figures.

It was the Gosplan who drafter output targets and the local officials and managers who formulated schemes to achieve them hence Stalin wasn’t the main master-planner of the first FYP.

This is why Stalin could easily blame those below him for shortcomings.

**The Second and Third Five Year Plans (1933-1941)**:

**Purpose**: targets set were more realistic than the first FYP.

**Effects of the Second and Third Five Year Plans**:

**Resources**: Some industries hoarded resources as there was fierce competition and they didn’t want to be deemed as sabotage. This meant there was overproduction and underproduction in different industries as resources remained scarce and machinery unrepaired for long periods of time.

**Scapegoats**: workers were reluctant to complain as they feared charges which hindered productivity.

**Living standards**: workers weren’t rewarded with consumer goods and with famine had low living standards. While nominal wages rose, rationing and inflation meant living standards were lower in 1937 than 1928. Workers lived in overcrowded accommodation with scarcity of food. Money spent on armaments rather than social welfare. Demanding better living standards was seen as betraying the nation as there was strong fear of invasion and working was seen as the best way to defend Russia.

**Propaganda**: a false claim that Stakhanov, produced over 100 tons of coal in 5 hours was set as an example for all workers to match. This helped create the view presented in media that they were all happy. A Stakhanov movement in 1935 who aimed to increase output to match his example but scarcity meant little progress.

**Trade unions**: workers’ rights to strike and demand higher wages were removed and were subject to a code of maximising effort and output otherwise they would be sent to labour camps/imprisoned.

**Strengths of the Second and Third Five Year Plans**:

Coal, steel, oil and electricity output had all increased.

Enabled Russia to endure German occupation in 1941-1945.

**Weaknesses of the Second and Third Five Year Plans**:

Agricultural productivity and living standards didn’t rise leading to food shortages which had to be reduced by buying foreign supplies. This drained USSR’s resources.

Old, backward methods of industry were still used i.e. labour rather than investing in machinery (inefficient).

Stalin only focused on heavy industry and failed to produce quality goods which could be sold abroad.

8.4: The Key Debate

**Chapter 9: Stalin’s terror state**

9.1: The early purges

**Examples of early purges**:

Imprisoning/deporting saboteurs against the FYPs.

Defeating Left and Right Communists e.g. **Ryutin Group** (right communists that condemned Stalin) in 1932.

Confiscating party cards from party members and then expelling them. Members without them lost privileges e.g. employment, housing and food rations. Encouraged members to follow party policy.

**1934**: Stalin begins terrorising party members and political opponents.

**Mechanisms of control**:

Civilian police

Secret police

Labour camp commandants and guards

Border and security guards

They were all led by the NKVD (new OGPU) which was directly answerable to Stalin.

Legal proceedings were centrally controlled and a military court was made to cover counter-revolutionary offences i.e. any that threatened the authority of Stalin and his ministers.

9.2: The post-Kirov purges, 1934-6

**Nikolaev** kills **Kirov**, a rebellious member of the communist party over an affair with his wife. Kirov opposed Stalin’s industrialisation programmes and extreme measures of disciplining party members hence Stalin gained much out of his murder.

**1934**: Stalin issues a Decree against Terrorist Acts which gave the NKVD unlimited powers of hunting down enemies of the party and state. NKVD begins hunting down Leftists and Trotskyites who he used as scapegoats for Kirov’s murder.

**Yagoda**, head of the NKVD leads the first full-scale purge in 1934 after the party congress:

1108 out of 1996 delegates were executed during 1934-37.

98 out of 139 central committee members were executed during the purges.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were arrested on charge of “opposition” to the party.

Existing members with privileges supported the elimination of anti-Stalin aspects in the party as they wanted to keep these privileges and improve chances of promotion.

Purges left empty positions to be filled which motivated members to stay loyal to Stalin.

No one remained safe.

9.3: The Great Purge 1936-9

Victims of the Great Purge were high-ranking hence the purge was “Great”.

**1936**: Bukharin drafts the **Stalin Constitution** which claimed that there was:

Socialism with no classes in Soviet society.

Civil rights of free speech, assembly and ship in Soviet society.

**Purge of the Party (1936-1938)**:

**Purge of the Left (1936)**: After Zinoviev and Kamenev confessed to being involved in Kirov’s murder and plotting to overthrow the state in 1936, a mass purge of apparent supporters was carried out. Their confession made it difficult for the accused to plead innocence which Stalin used to justify the continuation of the purges.

**Purge of the Centre (1937)**: In 1937, 17 communists known as the “**Anti-Soviet Trotskyist Centre**” were charged for spying for Nazi Germany. Radek, Pyatakov and Sokolnikov were among the accused.

**Purge of the Right (1938)**: Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky were initially investigated but not charged until Stalin replaced **Yagoda** with **Yezhov** as head of the NKVD. Radek’s confession incriminated Bukharin which Yezhov used as evidence to publicly trial Bukharin, Rykov and 18 other Trotskyite-Rightists for conspiracy to murder Stalin and spying. Tomsky had committed suicide by this time. Yagoda was also one of the accused which showed how quickly the purges could escalate.

**Purge of the armed forces (1937-1939)**:

June 1937: **Vyshinsky** arrests Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky and charges him for spying for Germany and Japan. Falsified evidence supplied by Germany at the request of the NKVD was used to execute him and 7 other generals after they confessed. The president of the secret court was personally jealous of Tukhachevsky hence took pleasure in sentencing him.

All 11 War Commissars were removed from office.

3 out of 5 Marshals of the USSR were dismissed.

91 out of 101 members of the Supreme Military Council were arrested and 80 were executed.

14 out of 16 army commanders and nearly 66% of the 280 divisional commanders were removed.

Half of the commissioned officer corps were imprisoned or shot.

All navy admirals were shot and 1000s of naval officers sent to labour camps.

Only one of the senior commanders of the air force survived.

The purge of the armed forces was illogical as Stalin stressed the need to defend Russia. The result was an undermanned military that was replaced with incompetent people. Shows Stalin lost touch with reality.

**Purge of the people**:

1 person in every 8 was arrested during the purges.

Almost every family suffered a loss of one of its members to the purges.

The NKVD under Yezhov entered communities and dragged away 100s of people to be executed.

Number of people to arrest were set as quotas

Purposed to frighten national minorities and enforce the industrialisation programme by purging saboteurs.

The purges ultimately led to the arrest of interrogators who then became victims of their own crime and were sent to labour camps among those they’d condemned.

This frightened the population and destroyed ideas of innocence/morality. The only aim was survival by any means necessary be it betrayal or otherwise.

9.4: The purges as a study in Stalin’s use of power

**1934**: 1 million were arrested and executed in the first major purge.

By 1937, 17-18 million had been sent to labour camps, 10 million died.

By 1939, another 5-7 million had died.

1940: USSR occupies the Baltic states resulting in the deportation of 2 million most of which died.

1941: 4 million national minorities were deported to Siberia, a third of which died.

**Stalin’s motives**:

Stalin was unhinged and paranoid which made him too suspicious and fearful of others.

He wanted complete absolutist control yet still the purges continued after this was gained.

He needed collectivisation and industrialisation to progress and modernise USSR.

He knew how selfish party officials were so needed to gain more control and sincere loyalty.

**Stalin was only the initiator**:

Subordinates wanted the purges to continue so they could assume higher roles in government.

Some Russians supported it as they felt it was what Russia needed to prevent backwardness.

Violence was intrinsic in soviet communism which dated back to Lenin.

They were a logical extension of obedience and authority that Russia was familiar with since tsarism. Russia had no experience of civil rights

The **nomenklatura** was a group of party members completely loyal Stalin and would do anything to keep their privileges that other members of society didn’t have.

Yezhov, Beria and Molotov all enjoyed the purges as much as Stalin did and had no moral obligations. They believed it would to a full revolution with a communist paradise.

**Chapter 10: Stalin and Stalinism**

10.1: Soviet Culture

**Socialist realism**: form of representational art that the people can understand and relate to their own lives.

**1934: Soviet Union of Writers** was formed which announced that writers work had to:

Be acceptable to party in theme/presentation.

Be written in style that could be easily understood by workers.

Have characters which would appeal to workers as socialist role models or recognise as class enemies.

Have optimistic messages which promoted socialism.

Writers that didn’t conform were arrested, sent to labour camps and/or executed.

Amateur writers saw it as an opportunity to advance their careers by exposing the more professional writers.

Artists were to be seen as workers for socialism.

**Theatre/film**:

In 1936-7, 68 films were withdrawn and 30 were taken out of circulation. 10 out of 19 plays and ballets were withdrawn.

In 1937-8, 60 plays were banned and 20 theatres were closed.

Paintings of Stalin would depict him as a divine saviour.

Stalin claimed he could recognise inspirational, socialist music when he heard it.

**Dmitri Shostakovich**, a musical composer managed to express his works freely after WW2 due to his international reputation despite his earlier repressions under Stalin before.

10.2: Stalin’s cult of personality

**Figurehead**: Stalin was indistinguishable from the party and the country. Any attack on him was an attack on them and vice versa. This meant Soviet Communism had become Stalinism (term coined by **Khrushchev** 1936). He transcended politics and represented all that was best about USSR.

**Sensation**: Exorbitant claims that the greatest achievements were made by Russians e.g. Shakespeare was Russian, discoverers of the New World were Russian and Russian mathematicians founded atomic theory.

**Creditability**: Every achievement of USSR was credited to Stalin who’s picture was all over the media. In every publication, a reference to Stalin’s greatness was found. Fictitious achievements e.g. Stakhanovite movement were also credited to him.

**Propaganda**: Stalin used propaganda to enforce support for him from above to below as product of the party machine which controlled the press.

**Worship**: Stalin was worshipped as an icon in churches whose image was carried on flags. His birthday was publicly celebrated annually each December. Children were taught that Stalin was the provider of all good things and their guide and protector. Every textbook in every subject praised Stalin.

**Komsomol**: a youth movement created in 1926 by the CPSU. This was open to 14-28-year olds who pledged themselves to Stalin and the party. It attracted those who wanted full membership of CPSU. They performed during parades on Stalin’s birthday and supported FYPs.

**Ways in which Stalin was popular:**

Russia’s triumph in the Great Fatherland War 1941-5 and WW2 increased Stalin’s popularity as national hero.

**Ways in which Stalin wasn’t popular**:

Praise to him was due to the political correctness that was embedded in Russian society and the terror that Stalin used to repress people.

Stalin was a bad orator and failed to arouse enthusiasm in speeches. He was a distant figure which albeit enhanced his powerful mystique, made him out of touch with the people.

People selected Stalin as someone to praise for the modernisation of Russia as a symbol for the achievement rather than owing direct devotion to him.

10.3: Education

Reversed the Bolshevik decision to close schools and put young people into work.

**Features of the education system**:

10 years of compulsory schooling for all children.

Core curriculum set: maths, reading, writing, science, history, geography, Russian, Marxist theory.

State-prescribed textbooks

Regular homework

School uniforms

State-organised exams

Fees to be charged for non-compulsory education (15-18).

**Results of the new education system**:

Attendance rose form 12 million to 35 million between 1929 and 1940.

By 1939, schooling was mandatory in urban areas for 8-14 year olds.

Literacy rate increased from 51% to 88% between 1926 and 1939.

It created an elite of students who secretly attended private schools. The party could nominate those who would get higher training to go to university. Party members’ children had first priority. Graduates would then enter the party creating a group of privileged administrators whom Stalin could rely on.

The Academy of Sciences was put under govt. control and researchers had to engage in politically correct methods which produced work which reflected Stalinist values. Historians research was shaped into what Stalin wanted.

Led to the **Lysenko affair**, a researcher who produced false findings of a crop that would grow in any season. Stalin approved and anyone who rejected the false results were deported to the gulag. Wasn’t until 1965 that he falsity of the results was exposed after long years of famine.

10.4: Health

**People’s Commissariat of Health**: organisation setup under Lenin to provide a free health service.

**Successes of Health under Stalin**:

NEP reduced infant mortality rates and spread of contagious diseases.

Areas unaffected by famine experienced higher no. of doctors.

Treatment for tuberculosis was introduced.

Rest homes for retired workers.

Holiday centres for the nomenklatura and privileged workers.

Clinics for pregnancy and higher standards for midwifery and gynaecology introduced.

**Failures of Health under Stalin**:

NEP created greatest famine which caused health standards to fall in Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

Stalin refused to acknowledge the famine so no aid was sent to affected areas.

Main beneficiaries were members of the nomenklatura.

Rationing restricted diets which caused starvation during WW2 in German-occupied areas. This denied food supplies to rest of USSR.

Stalin prioritised defence over healthcare even after WW2.

Without black markets for food people would have perished.

A public health system was a dream people shared that failed to reach reality. It got to the point where living conditions were so bad that the idea of healthcare became j

10.5: Religion

Stalin agreed with Lenin that religion had no place in socialist society as it posed a threat to conformity.

He closed down all monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques and exiled clerics who didn’t co-operate.

The suppression was easier in urban areas than rural areas where peasants revolted. Authorities claimed the revolts were really against collectivisation so rebels were branded as kulaks and their property seized.

The suppression caught worldwide attention in 1930 so Stalin softened the purge. However, suppression picked up later as more priests, clergy and laity were imprisoned.

Stalin reopened churches in wartime to increase morale and uplift spirits but subjugated all churches to the Orthodox Church which prevented organised religion becoming a source of political opposition.

10.6: Women and the family

Stalin announced his disapproval of sexual liberty and wasn’t impressed by high divorce rates. H

He stressed family values as being important to socialist society

**1936**: Stalin issues a decree which reversed Bolshevik policy:

Unregistered marriages no longer valid.

Divorce made more difficult.

Abortion rights restricted.

Family declared basis of Soviet society.

Homosexuality outlawed.

**July 1944**: Stalin introduces measures to increase birth rates to offset losses in war.

Restrictions on divorce tightened.

Abortion fully outlawed.

Mothers with at least 2 children were “heroines of the Soviet Union”.

Taxes higher for parents with less than 2 children.

Right to inherit family property re-introduced.

Women were less liberated under Stalin as family values/conjugal roles were reinforced.

The **Zhenotdel** set up under Lenin’s govt. to represent views of female party members was closed down on grounds that it no longer had a purpose.

**1936**: Stalin’s patronage leads to creation of a “Housewives Movement” consisting of wives of industrial workers. Its purpose was to improve conditions of workers for war effort.

Due to war, women had role of rearing children and working in factories to contribute to the modernisation of the USSR. However, they received lower wages compared to men.

This meant more women fought in armed forces which led to sexual abuse by Red Army veterans.

Overall, women were exploited.

10.7: Stalin’s record

**Stalin’s achievements**:

Fulfilled socialist revolution begun by Lenin.

Purged USSR of internal enemies.

Modernised USSR via collectivisation and industrialisation.

**Limitations of Stalin’s achievements**:

Had to use terror to achieve his aims which proved purposeless in the end. Conformity wasn’t genuine but due to self-interest and coercion.

Collectivisation led to the greatest famine and starvation that USSR ever saw.

Industrialisation policy only produced good results in short-term but wasn’t enough to fully modernise the economy due to the element of terror used.

Deportations of national minorities increased hatred of USSR which contributed to its future downfall.

**Ways in which Stalin didn’t exercise absolute power**:

People had ulterior motives for executing Stalin’s policies than what Stalin wanted.

Control depended on loyalty of a large population.

Stalin was still the main motivator and Stalin always got his way.

It wasn’t until 1956 that Stalin’s image was destroyed when Khrushchev read a secret report criticising Stalin and his horrific methods and calling for de-Stalinisation after Stalin died. Yet, to this day Stalin is still seen as a great leader in Russia.

**Reasons why communism failed**:

Some communists assert Stalin diverted true communism away from its Marxist course in order to gain personal power showing that his policies were a departure from Lenin’s.

Trotsky asserted Stalin abandoned Lenin’s legacy and embarked on personal pursuits of dictatorship. Still, elements of repression were already in place when Stalin came to power so can be seen as a logical progression of Lenin’s revolutionary Russia. **Robert Service** discovered this in 1990s and concluded Stalin’s tyranny was inherited from Lenin.

**Features of Stalinism and Stalinist Russia**:

Bureaucratic system of govt.

One-party state with one ideological belief (Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism).

Terror to maintain political, economic and social control via purges/show trials.

Climate of fear to prevent challenges to Stalin’s policies.

Command economy.

A cult of personality where Stalin was the embodiment of the party and country.

Development of an elite nomenklatura.

A siege mentality and fear of invasion even in peacetime to justify policy.

Strongly nationalist as he rejected international revolution and promoted socialism in one country.

Comintern, initially purposed to international revolution, focused on USSR.

Agreed with Lenin’s theory of democratic centralism which rejected true democratic ideas.

Cultural conformity in hopes of creating the Soviet man (homo sovieticus) under socialist realism. Enforced by strict censorship in media and terror.

**AS Level History (F962)—From Autocracy to Communism: Russia 1894-1941 Notes by Jahmal Nicholson**

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|  | | | Cons | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Pros | | | |
| Political | | | Imperial Russia was vast and extensive containing a wide range of people from different ethnicities and cultures making it difficult for rulers to control. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Local government (mir) and regional government (zemstva) was used to control people. Members were appointed by the Tsar and were able to control the police and enforce the law. | | | |
|  | | | Russia was ruled by the Tsar, an autocratic ruler upheld by religious power, who appointed the **Imperial Council** (group of advisers), **Cabinet of Ministers** (heads of departments) and the **Senate** (judiciary) to aid rule. Russia’s autocracy differed from the modern democracies which the rest of Europe developed. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Tsar also enforced control by conscripting peasants into low-ranked positions in the army where they endured disciplinary conditions. | | | |
|  | | | Political parties were illegal and parliament was non-existent so opposition was kept secret. This encouraged extremism e.g. the assignation of Alexander II by **The People’s Will** in 1881. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | | | Commissions were bought and sold rather than awarded on a merit basis which weakened the army. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | | | The civil service was made up of nepotistic, incompetent and selfish members that had the most power. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | | | The Russian Orthodox Church taught Russians that they should be absolutely obedient to the Tsar as he ruled by divine will. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
| Social | | | Censorship | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | | | The majority of the population were peasants with the minority consisting of the ruling, upper, commercial and working classes. Peasants (**dark masses**) were ill-educated, impoverished and repressed by the government as they feared that helping them would be socially and politically dangerous. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | | | Okhrana (secret police) made lots of arrests. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
| Economic | | | Low number of urban workers, lack of banking systems and small-scale production meant Russia lagged behind other countries in terms of industrial growth. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | | | Fertile land was scarce so an agrarian economy couldn’t develop. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | | | Government spending was disproportionately used for the army. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | |
|  | |  | | | |  | **Aims** | | | | **Effectiveness** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reformers (Liberals) | | **The Octobrists (1905)** | | | | Middle-class | “**Peaceful renewal, the triumph of law and order and the establishment of a strong authoritative regime**.”  Supported the duma and October manifesto.  Very loyal to the tsar and his government. | | | | Many revolutionaries dismissed them as being reactionaries as they were unwilling to challenge the tsarist regime. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | **The Constitutional Democrats (Kadets) (1905)** | | | | Intelligentsia | Constitutional monarchy with an all-Russian parliament  Free education  Free press  Equal & civil rights for everyone  Trade unions and right to strike  End to mortgage repayments on land | | | | Appealed to many Russians before 1917.  Revolutionaries rejected ideas as unrealistic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revolutionaries | | **Populists (1879)** | | | | Middle and upper class | Russia’s future should be in the hands of the peasants.  Tsarist regime should be overthrown by the peasants.  To educate peasants of their revolutionary roles by travelling to the countryside and turning them into revolutionaries. | | | | Most peasants weren’t interested in revolution.  Populists turned to terrorism to be heard, by assassinating Alexander II. This weakened the movement as this tsar was a reformer which justified the repression that followed under Alexander III’s reign.  Influenced other revolutionaries by establishing violent anti-tsarist traditions. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | **Social Democrats (1898)** | | | | Proletariat | Believed that the economic spurt marked the end of the dialectic and made the dictatorship of the proletariat possible.  Plekhanov wanted to improve workers’ conditions before revolting (**economism**).  Lenin wanted conditions to get worse so workers would revolt. | | | | Most members rejected Plekhanov’s ideas and longed for revolution.  Lenin founded a newspaper called the “Spark” which he used to ridicule Plekhanov and his ideas.  Eventually, Lenin claimed he had the majority and the SDs split into the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in 1903 during the second congress and by 1912 had become separate parties.  Bolsheviks were dismissed by authorities as extremists despite their terrorist acts to raise money and infiltrate trade unions.  Bolsheviks were more determined than Mensheviks. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | **Social Revolutionaries (1901)** | | | | Intelligentsia and urban workforce | Russian state should be overthrown by everyone (**revolutionary socialism**).  Returning land to those who worked on it. | | | | The SRs were divided between the Left and Right SRs. Those on the left supported terrorist action while those on the right supported revolution by working with other parties to improve conditions for peasants.  Land policy caused rivalry between left and right SRs. Left SRs felt that it ignored the ruling classes while right SRs felt it wasn’t feasible in Russian conditions.  Assassinations were numerous but proved futile as they failed to convert urban workers.  By 1906 the party split into small radical groups.  Managed to gain middle-class & trade union support.  They remained the most popular party until 1917. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | | | **Menshevik (minority)** | | | | | | | | | | | | **Bolshevik (majority)** | | | | | | | |
| Revolution | | | | Wanted the bourgeoisie stage to occur first before revolution | | | | | | | | | | | | Bourgeoisie and proletariat stages could be telescoped into one revolution. | | | | | | | |
| Party | | | | Large group with membership open to all | | | | | | | | | | | | Exclusive group of professional revolutionaries. | | | | | | | |
| Decision-making | | | | Open, democratic discussion with votes on decisions. | | | | | | | | | | | | Decisions to be made by the Central Committee (**democratic centralism**) as they were the only ones sufficiently educated in revolution to take the lead. | | | | | | | |
| Strategy | | | | Alliance with other revolutionary parties and gaining more rights for workers. | | | | | | | | | | | | No co-operation with other parties and no economism. | | | | | | | |
| **Successes** | | | | | | | | | **Failures/Limitations** | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| October manifesto | | | | | | | | | Concessions were half-hearted as he wasn’t in the position to relinquish any of his autocratic powers despite the establishment of the October manifesto. The Fundamental Laws were reinforced by the tsar which meant that laws still need his approval to be passed. The October manifesto wasn’t really attributable to the tsar but to Witte e.g. Nicholas II said “**curse the duma. It is all Witte’s doing**”. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Debt withdrawals | | | | | | | | |  | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Significant** | | | | | | | | | | **Insignificant** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| It was the first broad-based revolution that had formally challenged tsardom resulting in thousands of executions. | | | | | | | | | | Revolutionaries were hardly part of the revolution except Trotsky, but was rather led by individual protesters. It wasn’t a collective, organised incident thus wasn’t a real revolution. Trotsky said “**workers had organised independently of the bourgeoisie in soviets**”. Mutinies also failed to spread. This showed that a leading party was needed for revolution to be successful. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| It was enough to distract the Tsar from the troubles during the Russo-Japanese war and force him to return from a peace conference in the US to Russia to deal with the issue. | | | | | | | | | | Liberals and peasants were ready to accept the concessions without any further changes which shows they weren’t ready for a real revolution. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Paved the way for the 1917 revolution. | | | | | | | | | | Unrest persisted in rural areas showing that the revolution didn’t solve much. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| The image of Nicholas as the “**Little Father**” was damaged. | | | | | | | | | | Showed that the tsarist state was strong as long as the army remained loyal so showed that revolution would be difficult to achieve. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Successes** | | | | | | | | | | | | | **Failures/Limitations** | | | | | | | |
| Government revenue doubled from 2 billion to 4 billion from 1908 to 1914. | | | | | | | | | | | | | Rate of inflation rose by 40% between 1908 and 1914, a higher rate than wage increases. | | | | | | | |
| The number of banks, factories and workers increased. | | | | | | | | | | | | | Mass unemployment due to an international recession. | | | | | | | |
| Industrial production and the increases in foreign direct investment demonstrated that Russia was modernising and could potentially compete with other countries. However, this is conditional on whether the government would introduce the reforms needed to fully modernise Russia. | | | | | | | | | | | | | 80% of the population were still peasants and Russia’s growth still lagged behind that of other countries. | | | | | | | |
|  | | | | | | | | **Features** | | | | **Achievements** | | | | | | | | **Failures/limitations** | | | | | | |
| 1st Duma 1906 | | | | | | | | Dominated by left-wing, reformist parties e.g. Kadets and Labourists. | | | | Little as it was too short-lived. | | | | | | | | Assemblies were dysfunctional as it was dominated by parties that wanted reform. | | | | | | |
| 2nd Duma 1907 | | | | | | | | Increased clashes between reactionary right-wing parties such as the national parties and revolutionary parties such as the SDs and SRs. | | | | Little was achieved as it was chaotic | | | | | | | | Assemblies were dysfunctional as it was dominated by parties that wanted revolution. | | | | | | |
| 3rd Duma 1907-1912 | | | | | | | | Elections rigged by Stolypin resulting in an assembly dominated by right-wing parties such as the Octobrists and Rightists. | | | | Welfare state via national insurance  Schools for the poor  Modernisation of army  Land reforms | | | | | | | | Peasants and industrial workers lost suffrage. | | | | | | |
| 4th Duma 1912-1914 | | | | | | | | Dominated by right-wing parties which were willing to co-operate with government. | | | | Social reforms persisted. | | | | | | | | Deputies were more critical of policy which incited public tension. | | | | | | |
|  | **Causes** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **Outcome** | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Growing imperialism in the German and Austro-Hungarian empire posed a threat to Russia as they feared they could overthrow it. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Russia turned away from Germany and sought alliances with other powers such as Britain and France. It made the Franco-Russian Convention in 1892 and the Triple Entente with Britain and France in 1907 both agreeing to settle their differences in Asia and the Mediterranean and provide military assistance if any member faced war against Germany. France was also a major investor in Russia in 1890s. | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Decline of the ottoman empire threatened Russia’s interests in the Balkans which Russia felt had a duty to protect from the oppression caused by Ottoman rule. Russia feared that it would provide the opportunity for other aggressors to assume control over the Balkans. The Balkans also provided Russia with naval access to the Straits of the Dardanelles which accounted for 40% of its exports. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Russia encouraged Balkan Nationalism by encouraging Balkan states to form an alliance against Austria-Hungary and overthrow it. However, it led to a series of uprisings between the Balkan states themselves (Balkan Wars 1912-13). Still, most Balkan states allied with Russia afterwards. | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | The increasingly strained relationship between Russia and Austria-Hungary: After Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, Russia was denied access to the Straits, against the formal agreement which Austria-Hungary and Russia had established. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | The Serbs in Bosnia demanded nationalism and was backed by Russia leading to Germany to side with Austria-Hungary who both forbade Russia’s interference. This almost led to war but was short-lived due to the lack of readiness on both sides. | | | | | | | | | |
| **Stalin and Kamenev** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **Lenin** | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Accommodationism**:  Accepting the situation in Petrograd.  Co-operating with provisional government and other revolutionary and reformist parties.  Encourage provisional government to make international peace talks to end the war. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Wanted to turn the war into an international class conflict.  Rejection of the provisional government.  No co-operation with other parties. | | | | | | | | | | |
| **War**  Provisional govt. had to keep Russia in the war to continue to receive international aid. While prov. govt. agreed to the Soviets call for peace, it pledged to Allies that it will continue to fight until Germany was defeated. Led to violent demonstrations against govt. and resignation of Milyukov and Guchkov, the foreign and war ministers.Opened positions for Mensheviks and SRs and Kerensky, the new war minister.War failures reduced support for provisional govt.Kerensky tries to encourage military to fight to uphold the revolution but Bolsheviks encouraged mutiny which led to failed offences that reduced morale. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **National Minorities Question—The July Days**  Sailors in Kronstadt (naval base) setup their own govts. and defied central govt. Soviets developed in many towns and workers began to take control of factories.When a provisional govt. deputy offered independence to Kiev, Ukraine caused a ministerial clash.Public protests increased, more against prov. govt. Protests were scattered and easily crushed by the provisional govt. Kerensky, now Prime Minister imprisoned Bolsheviks, closed down Pravda and launched a propaganda campaign showing Bolsheviks in league with Germany.Lenin fled to Finland. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **The Land Question**  Failing to redistribute land to peasants, they seized property of landlords. Supported Lenin’s view that the prov. govt. was a bourgeoisie regime.  Though Lenin saw an alliance with peasants as futile he stole a policy from the SRs—”Land to the Peasants” that legitimised the land seizures in Bolshevik’s views.  This gained peasant support and meant some SRs become Left SRs who sided with the Bolsheviks on major issues. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **The Kornilov Affair**  Kerensky calls on civilians and imprisoned Bolsheviks to take up arms against a rogue commander-in-chief, Kornilov.  Kornilov was hardline right-wing who wanted to use coercion against soviets and protestors to not only keep the prov. Govt. in power but to set up a dictatorship.  Bolsheviks gain popularity as they were viewed as defenders of the prov. Govt. which diverted attention from their failure in the July Days.  Showed how weak prov. Govt. was to military threat. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | | | | **Lenin** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | **Trotsky** | | | | | |
| **Reasons for/against the treaty** | | | | | Russia was militarily weak due to war and Lenin wanted to pull out in hope that Germany would lose the war to the Allies so that Russia would regain lost territory.  Russia had received financial aid from Germany throughout the war in hope that a revolution in Russia would lead to them pulling out of the war. Aid was still given after the revolution so a settlement could guarantee more financial aid in future.  Lenin was an international revolutionary who subordinated Russia’s needs to the needs of leading an international revolution. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Trotsky wanted a delay in the treaty to encourage a workers’ revolution in Germany.  At the signing of the treaty he was deliberately rude and digress into revolutionary speeches.  Trotsky had already set in motion a propaganda campaign to criticise the treaty as a diktat imposed on Russia. | | | | | |
| **Effects** | | | | | The collapse of Germany’s western front in August 1918 led to the withdrawal of German forces in Russia which appeased the Left Communists who wanted to continue the war in hope of driving imperialist German armies from Russia.  This expelled the SRs and all other political parties from govt.  Czechoslovakian troops in Russia felt neglected as they thought they would get independence from Austria-Hungary. | | | | | | | | | | | | | |  | | | | | |