

A-LEVEL HISTORY

AT NEWCASTLE SIXTH FORM COLLEGE



UNIT 3: RUSSIA AND ITS RULERS 1855-1964 COURSE GUIDE AND WORKBOOK

NAME: _____

RUSSIA AND ITS RULERS 1855-1964: SPECIFICATION

Thematic Study: Russia and its Rulers 1855–1964

Key Topics	Content: Learners should have studied the following:
Nature of Government	☐ Autocracy, dictatorship and totalitarianism ☐ Developments in central government and local government ☐ Methods of repression and enforcement; the extent and impact of reform ☐ The nature, extent and effectiveness of opposition
Economy and Society	☐ Changes to living and working conditions of urban and rural people ☐ Emancipation, Land Banks, famines, NEP, collectivisation and the Virgin Land scheme, ☐ The impact of industrial growth under the Tsars, War communism, NEP and the Five Year Plans on industrial workers ☐ Limitations on personal, political and religious freedom; reasons for and extent of economic and social changes.
War and Revolution	☐ The effects of the following wars on government, society, nationalities and the economy: the Crimean War, the Russo-Japanese War, 1905 Revolution, 1917 Revolutions, First World War, Second World War, the Cold War.
Empire, USSR, Nationalities and Satellite States	☐ Extent of control (religious, political, social) ☐ The Polish Revolt 1863; expansion in Asia; Russification; Finland; the Baltic provinces ☐ impact of the First World War and the Treaty of Brest Litovsk; Russo-Polish War; Communist advance into Eastern and Central Europe after the Second World War. ☐ Consistency of control and implementation of policy across USSR/Empire

Depth Studies

Alexander II	☐ The effects of the Crimean War ☐ The aims of Alexander II's domestic policies; the nature of his government; changes in central administration ☐ The extent and impact of domestic reform ☐ The extent and effectiveness of opposition ☐ Changes in urban and rural living and working conditions; limitations on personal, political and religious freedom; extent of economic and social change
Provisional Government	☐ Main domestic policies of the Provisional Government; the nature of the government; methods of repression and enforcement ☐ The extent and impact of reform; the extent and effectiveness of opposition; changes in urban and rural living and working conditions, limitations on personal, political and religious freedom; extent of economic and social changes ☐ The impact of the continuing war; reasons for the overthrow of the Provisional Government
Khrushchev in Power	☐ The aims of Khrushchev ☐ The nature of his government; opposition, methods and enforcement of repression in Russia and its satellites ☐ The extent and impact of reform; changes in urban and rural living and working conditions; limitations on personal, political and religious freedom; ☐ Extent of economic and social changes including economic planning and the Virgin Lands Scheme; the impact of the Cold War; Khrushchev's fall.



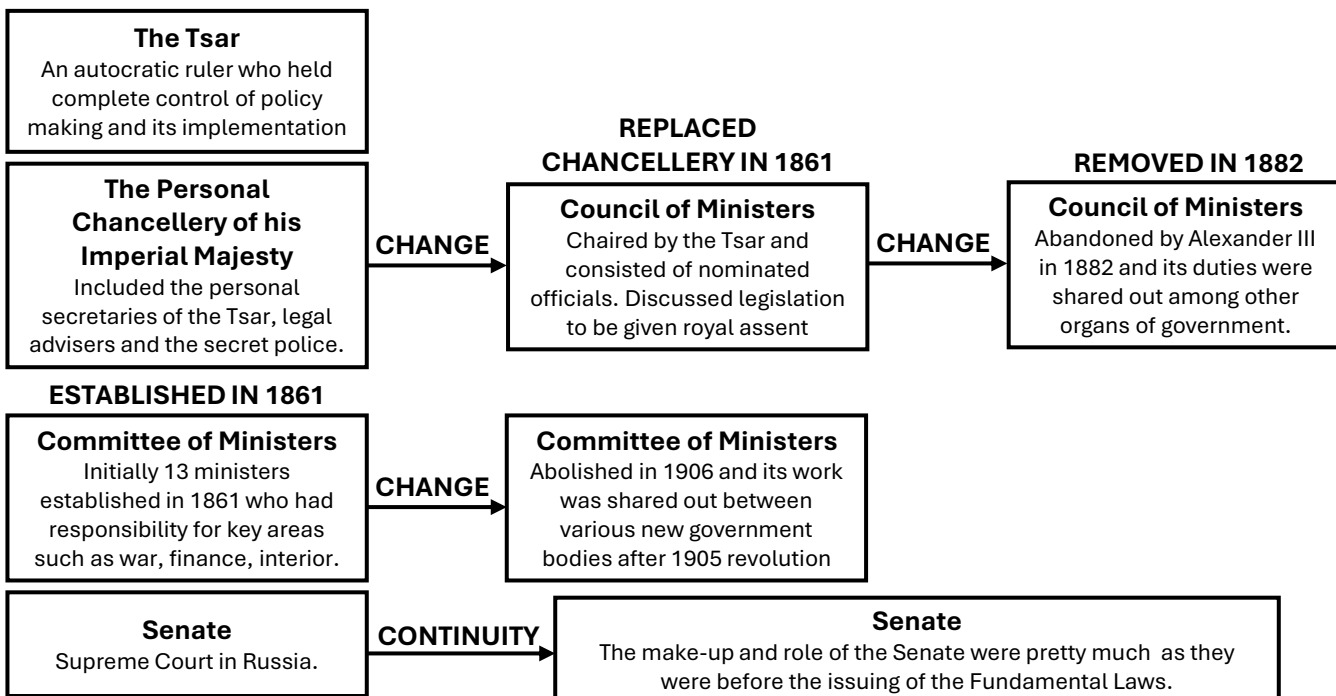
How can we use the specification?

RAG each area of the specification. Your exam board will develop your questions based upon everything listed above – it is important we develop our knowledge and understanding of all areas. For those you are unsure on, access Brainscape!

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

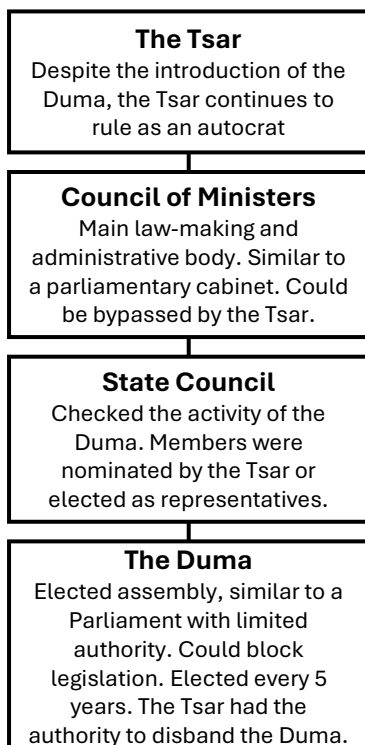
GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE: LOCAL AND CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS PRIOR TO THE 1905 REVOLUTION



How significant were changes to central administration prior to the 1905 revolution?

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS AFTER THE 1905 REVOLUTION



Consider the interpretation below:

Dominic Lieven has pointed out that the 'new' constitution was based to some extent on the one created by Bismark, the first German chancellor, and that, from the start, such a 'hybrid' system of government (the tsar sharing power with the Dumas) was unlikely to work well.

**Why do you think this might be the case?
Does this limit the significance of the structural change?**



What is the significance of the Fundamental Laws?

The pressure for change during the 1905 revolution led to the October Manifesto which established freedoms of speech, civil liberties and a new form of elective government. However, passed in April, 1906, the Fundamental Laws were an additional edict from the Tsar. They confirmed the October Manifesto but also asserting the Tsar's powers over the Duma. In turn, the Tsar had rights such as the right to rule independently of the Duma when it was not in session and the right to dissolve (close) the Duma at any point.

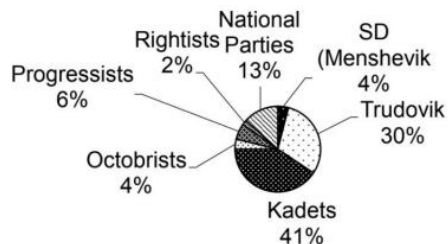
TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE: LOCAL AND CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION



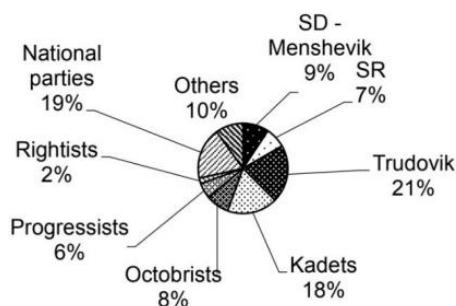
How significant were the Dumas from 1906-1917?

The First Duma: The Duma of National Hope May-July 1906



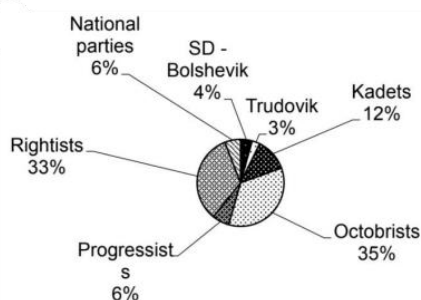
The Bolsheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries refused to participate in the first election campaign leading to an overwhelmingly liberal composition of the Duma. The Kadets dominated and 1/3 of the new deputies were peasants who became strongly critical of the Tsar and his ministers. However, Witte, the first Prime Minister of the Duma resigned due to influences at Court and was replaced by an old-fashioned Conservative, Ivan Goremykin. Following the demand for more reforms such as the abolition of the death penalty, Nicholas II ordered Goremykin to inform the Duma that their demands were inadmissible, and the Duma responded with a vote of no confidence in the government. Nicholas II ignored this and dissolved the Duma 10 weeks later.

The Second Duma: The Duma of National Anger February-June 1907



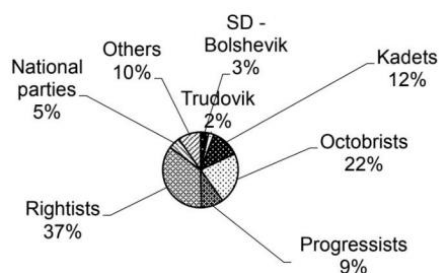
Stolypin became the new prime minister of the second Duma, however, this Duma was plagued with political opposition. The Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries were now participating, and a range of political ideas were present. Stolypin struggled to find support for his programme of agricultural reform and resorted to passing legislation under the emergency powers granted by Article 87 while the Duma was not in session. When the Duma refused to ratify this, he encouraged rumours regarding a plot to assassinate the Tsar from the Social Democrats, and dissolved the Duma, which led to the arrest and exile of SD delegates.

The Third Duma: The Duma of Lords and Lackeys November 1907-June 1912



The groups who favoured the government won the majority of the seats and opposition became reduced in size and divided. Generally, this Duma was far more submissive and it agreed to 2200 of the 2500 government proposals – including important proposals for agricultural reform, presented by Stolypin. By 1911 the Octobrists had turned into government opponents and the Duma had to be suspended twice while the government forced through legislation under emergency provisions. Although the Duma ran its course, by 1912 it was clear that the Duma system was not working and had no control over the actions of the tsar or his government.

The Fourth Duma: November 1912 - 1917



The party groupings were broadly similar in the final Duma, although the Octobrists did considerably less well. However, it was a relatively docile body and the new Prime Minister, Kokovtsov, who replaced Stolypin after his assassination in 1911 and remained in post until 1914, proclaimed, "Thank God we still have no parliament". He simply ignored the Duma and its influence declined. It was too divided to fight back, and in any case, the workers again seized the initiative with a revival of direct action and strike activity in these years down to the outbreak of war. After the outbreak of war in 1914 the Duma became redundant although Kokovtsov was replaced by Goremykin as Prime Minister.

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE: LOCAL AND CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION



DUAL AUTHORITY

Provisional Government

Held formal legal authority, managed state bureaucracy and controlled foreign policy

Chairman

Supreme Executive head of the government (Lvov and Kerensky)

Council of Ministers

A council of heads of various state departments

Provisional Government

Held formal legal authority, managed state bureaucracy and controlled foreign policy

Executive Committee

Main body who negotiated with the PG

Presidium

A committee to manage administration and chair meetings

The new system of dual authority was accompanied by changes to local governance. The government abolished Tsarist governors and replaced them with zemstvo (local council) chairs acting as government commissars. However, there was a lack of central control. Local town Dumas and rural Soviets frequently ignored these commissars, leading to a complete breakdown of administrative power outside major cities.



How convincing is the claim regarding the Provisional Government?

'[The Provisional Government] proved quite unable to deliver what was expected. It was increasingly seen as a product of the old regime and as unrepresentative of the Russians.'

Evidence to support the claim

Evidence to challenge the claim

CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNDER THE COMMUNISTS

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars

Leader of the RSFSR and USSR

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets

The supreme constitutional body. Representatives of local soviets although elections were rigged

Central Executive Committee

A smaller parliament chosen by the Congress to act as the legislature

Council of People's Commissars

The executive cabinet and top government body, chaired by Lenin

CHANGE

ESTABLISHED IN 1936

Supreme Soviets

Replaced Congress of Soviets as the highest legislative body. It was divided into two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

SOVNARKOM

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

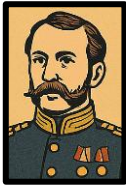
CONGRESS OF SOVIETS

PROVINCIAL AND CITY SOVIETS

LOCAL SOVIETS

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



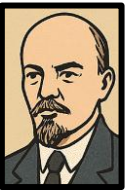
Alexander III
1881-1894



Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: IDEOLOGY

Autocracy

From 1855- March 1917, Russia was governed as an autocracy. Tsars had absolute power which was said to be ordained by God. All Russians had to obey the will of the tsar or suffer punishment. Although there was a variation in how autocratic power was used by the tsars throughout the period, the significance of autocracy was continuously enforced through manifestos, speeches and policies. Nicholas I used propaganda and slogans such as 'Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality', to promote tsarism.



Alexander II did not waver from this sentiment despite showing reformist tendencies however these reforms appeared to represent a dilution of autocracy. After an assassination attempt was made on him in 1866, he adhered very strongly to the concept of autocracy. His successor and son, **Alexander III**, blamed moves towards liberalism for his father's eventual assassination in 1881. In turn, he reigned with what is often referred to as 'the Reaction'. This is perhaps evident most within the passing of the Statue of State Security and his Manifesto in 1881 reasserting the power of autocracy. Opposition such as the People's Will was ruthlessly suppressed and such a change was influenced by Pobedonostsev, who argued that constitutional government or parliamentarianism was unworkable in Russia. **Nicholas II** continued the rather severe form of autocratic rule adopted by his father. The October Manifesto of 1905 and the setting up of the Duma appeared to be a move towards democracy. The impact of these reforms though was cushioned by the passing of the autocratic Fundamental Laws of 1906 and by 1917 the Duma was little more than a talking shop frequented by politicians committed to autocracy.



How consistent was the nature of government under the Tsars?

Perhaps the greatest ideological shift came with the introduction of the **Provisional Government** in March 1917. The reforming nature of the government coupled with dual authority and the promise of a constituent assembly resembled a democracy in the making. However, such a shift was limited by its lack of longevity and its overthrow by **Lenin** and the Bolsheviks in October 1917

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: IDEOLOGY



Dictatorship

The Russian concept of dictatorship was partly derived from the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. By the late 1840s, their work was known among a minority of Russian radicals, but it was not until the 1880s that their ideas had really taken root within the Russian intelligentsia. By the early 1890s, **Lenin** had fully embraced Marxism. Initially Lenin supported worker attempts to gain higher wages and better working conditions. However, when help was given to organise strikes in St Petersburg (1895, 1896,

1897), the authorities reacted by exiling the ringleaders. As a result, when the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party was formed in 1898 to unite Russian Marxists, Lenin and others argued over strategy. Lenin believed that the authorities' reaction to the St Petersburg strikes proved that the 'superstructure' would always prevail to keep workers in their place. Instead of attempting to gain concessions within the capitalist system. Lenin thought it better to overthrow the existing ruling order by attacking the 'base'. He argued that the dialectical phase of Marxism could be speeded up in Russia. He proposed that a Party Central Committee led by professionals could govern in the interest of workers until the workers were ready to control themselves. After the October Revolution, Lenin began to implement Marxism-Leninism. Opposition to the Bolshevik ideology resulted in the Russian Civil War. Although the Bolshevik Reds defeated the Whites, this did not safeguard Marxism-Leninism. Within the party, debate continued over strategy – namely over the NEP.

There is a debate over the extent to which **Stalin** introduced a centralised form of dictatorial government that controlled every aspect of the behaviour of the citizens of the state (totalitarianism). At the very least he appeared to formalise his own ideology based on Marxism-Leninism. The death of Lenin in 1924 resulted in a power struggle within the party over how Russia would be governed. By 1927, Stalin had gained leadership of the Soviet Union through skilful manipulation of individuals and factions. He quickly promoted a refined version of Marxism-Leninism. There were two parts to Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Stalin argued that the 'base of society could only be changed by utilising a particular type of 'superstructure' He went on to implement this through a command economy centred on Five Year Plans and collectivisation. He believed that the superstructure had to be highly personalised under the total control of one individual. The use of propaganda, centring on the cult of personality, and repression would enforce Stalin's ideology.

After Stalin's death in 1953, a power struggle ensued. Collective leadership was adopted but after the execution of Beria and political demise of Malenkov, **Khrushchev** dominated. In the 1956 Twentieth Party Congress, Khrushchev denounced Stalin's former policies and cult of personality and although the contents of the speech were not officially disclosed until 1961, it caused outcry amongst the senior party members. With use of force such as following the Hungarian Uprising and use of the MVD/KGB, it was clear that Khrushchev did not intend to move too far from authoritarian rule; the one party leader, one-leader state was to remain in tact until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.



TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: IDEOLOGY



What are the similarities/differences between autocracy, dictatorship and totalitarianism?

Similarities	Differences



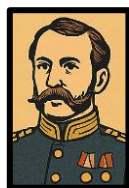
How consistent was the nature of government under the Communists?

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. On the left side, there is a thick black vertical bar, likely representing a binding or a margin. The overall appearance is that of a clean, unused piece of stationery.

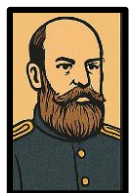
Event	Turning Point?	Event	Turning Point?
Freeing of the serfs		Provisional Government	
Alexander II's Manifesto		Lenin's NEP	
October Manifesto		Death of Stalin	

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: IDEOLOGY THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



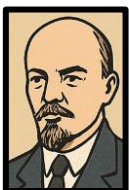
Alexander III
1881-1894



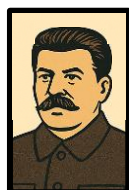
Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: REFORM

Under Alexander II, the Crimean War encouraged a series of reforms. There was to be a system of elected local councils, both at district and provincial levels, known as zemstva. They were to be elected bodies, chosen through a system of “electoral colleges”. There would be separate electoral colleges for nobles, townspeople, Church and peasants, but votes would be arranged in a way that allowed the nobility to dominate. The Zemstva were to have a range of powers to make improvements to public services such as roads, schools, public health and gaols as well as to develop industrial projects. They were to administer poor relief in times of hardship. Judges were given better training and pay (so they were less open to bribery). Local crimes with magistrates dealt with minor offences and could not impose a sentence of more than one year’s imprisonment. These magistrates were elected every three years by the zemstva. They were to be independent from political control. Juries were introduced to courts to encourage fairer trials. Volost courts were established to deal with “peasants leaving serf dependence”. They dealt with minor offences, and judges in these courts were peasants, who had to be literate and without convictions. They were elected for three years by the peasants. Freedom of the press was extended to legal reporting, which was now to be recorded verbatim in a government newspaper called ‘The Russian Courier’ In 1864, responsibility for schooling was transferred from the Church to the zemstva. Primary and secondary education was extended throughout the country – and “modern schools” established at secondary level for those who did not want the traditional classical education offered in the “gymnazii”. Students could progress from both to university. Schools were declared “open to all” regardless of class and sex (allowing women to attend secondary schools for non-vocational education from 1870).

Following the assassination of **Alexander II**, **Alexander III** reasserted autocracy and limited reform, enhancing the powers of the Tsar. Minor changes such as the prohibition of night-time employment and the prohibition of children under 12 from factory employment were introduced with limited impact. Reform under **Nicholas II** included significant changes such as the introduction of the Duma in 1905, however its powers were limited with the Fundamental Laws of 1906. Stolypin, like other members of the government, was aware that social and economic reform was necessary in order to prevent another revolution (and preserve Tsarism). In particular he wanted to modernise Russian agriculture, not just to produce higher yields, but also to create a more prosperous class of peasant who he believed would be more loyal to the tsarist regime. From 1906 until his assassination in 1911, Stolypin embarked on a reform programme which transformed the Russian countryside. In September 1906, the amount of state and Crown land available for peasants to buy was increased and in October, peasants were granted equal rights in the local administration. In November 1906 peasants were given the right to leave the commune and the collective ownership of land by a family was abolished. This made the land the personal property of an individual (usually the eldest male) who was given the right to withdraw it from the commune and consolidate the scattered strips into one compact farm. Land organisation commissions were set up, containing representatives elected by the peasants, to supervise this procedure and a new Peasant Land Bank was also established to help peasants fund their land ownership. However these reforms did not actually become fully operational until approved by the Third Duma in 1910. Redemption payments were officially abolished – as promised in 1905 – as from January 1st 1907, but in reality they had long since ceased to be paid in full. In June 1910 all communes which had not redistributed land since 1861 were dissolved. There was also an increase in government subsidies to encourage migration and settlement in Siberia. Between 1905 and 1915 Stolypin’s encouragement of emigration also took 3.5 million peasants from over-populated rural districts of the south and west away to Siberia.

The **Provisional Government** embarked on a significant programme of reform, ending the use of

THEMATIC SKILLS: REFORM

the secret police, encouraged freedom of religion, the press and speech. To consolidate power, **Lenin** continued a programme of reform with the maximum working day set at 8 hours, employment insurance, abolishment of all class titles and distinctions, women declared equal to men, democratisation of the army and divorce made easier. Despite **Stalin's** high levels of repression, education reform was significant, however was still underpinned by repression. There were very high levels of illiteracy. Approximately 65 million people were illiterate, and only 32% of the population could read and write in 1914. In 1930, Stalin focused again on eliminating illiteracy and made primary school compulsory for all children up to the age of 12. In 1936, Stalin reversed some of the early communist education policies because of the problems they created. In his Great Retreat, he re-introduced traditional teaching methods and discipline, subjects and textbooks set by the government. In the Great Retreat of the 1930s, he introduced stricter controls in education. The government provided official textbooks which had to be used. One example was 'The Short Course of the History of the All Union Communist Party' which glorified Stalin's role in the revolution. The government controlled the curriculum and subjects such as Russian, communist ideology and science were made compulsory. There was very strict teacher discipline and students had to wear uniforms and sit in rows. All children had to attend school until the age of 15. By 1928, about 60% of primary aged children were in school. By 1932, that had increased to 95%. The literacy drive was incredibly successful as 90% of Soviet adults attended a course. By 1939, over 94% of the population was literate.

Khrushchev continued such a programme of reform with free secondary education for all. Textbooks were re-written to reflect destalinisation and Polytechnics were introduced. As part of de-Stalinisation, political prisoners were released from labour camps, there was significant relaxation of censorship and the end of the cult of personality. Stalingrad was renamed Volgograd and his body was removed from the Lenin mausoleum.



To what extent did reform change the nature of government? How consistent was the nature of government?

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. A thick black L-shaped border is visible along the top and left edges, suggesting it's part of a bound notebook. The paper is otherwise blank, with no handwriting or other markings.

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: REFORM

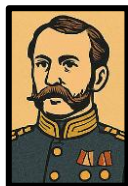


Lenin was the most authoritarian ruler. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

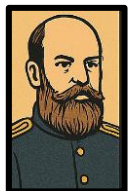
	Ideology	Nature of government	Economic policies	Social policies	Use of force
Alexander II					
Alexander III					
Nicholas II					
Lenin					
Stalin					
Khrushchev					
Judgement					

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: REFORM THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



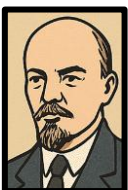
Alexander III
1881-1894



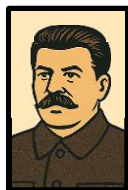
Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: REPRESSION AND ENFORCEMENT

Use of the secret police

The secret police worked beyond the 'law' and complemented the regular police force. Russian leaders had a long tradition of using groups to inflict violence on others to control their behaviour.

AII	AIII	NII	PG	L	S	K
Third Section	Okhrana	Okhrana	Abolished	Cheka	NKVD	KGB

Use of the Third Section:

This was a form of secret police inherited by Alexander II. After his appointment as Head of the Third Section, Pyotr Shuvalov worked to strengthen the police and stepped up the activities of the Third Section who were responsible for rooting out subversion and opposition. By 1874, 1,600 Populists had been arrested. In line with his reformist inclinations, **Alexander II** replaced the Third Section with the 'softer' Department of State Police (Okhrana) in 1880. However, the powers of this body were later enhanced to counter the growing political pressure in the 1880s.

Use of the Okhrana: Foreign books and newspapers were rigorously censored by the Okhrana in order to prevent dangerous foreign ideas – such as democracy and parliamentary government – reaching the Russian people. Following an assassination attempt on Alexander III the Okhrana arrested, and subsequently executed, a university student called Alexander Ulyanov – the elder brother of the future Bolshevik leader, Vladimir Ulyanov, better known as Lenin.

Use of the Cheka: The Cheka was particularly active in the countryside, helping grain requisitioning squads collect grain from the peasants. Peasants did resist – murdering Bolshevik party officials. Official records put the figure for the deaths at the hands of the Cheka for the years 1918-20 at nearly 13,000, but others estimate that the real number was closer to 300,000.

Use of the NKVD: More than 750,000 people were executed in 1937–38 alone, including tens of thousands of party officials and military and security officers. Among the victims were more than half the members of the ruling Central Committee (the Communist Party's highest organ) as well as the NKVD's first two chiefs, Genrikh Yagoda and Nikolay Yezhov.

Use of the KGB: The KGB was created in 1954 to serve as the "sword and shield of the Communist Party." The new security service, which played a major role in the purge of Beria's supporters, was designed to be carefully controlled by senior Communist Party officials.



How effective was the use of the secret police in dealing with opposition?

Censorship

Under **Alexander II**, censorship laws were relaxed, Foreign publications could be sold in Russia, with government approval. In 1865 the press was allowed to print editorials with comment on government policy for the first time. The numbers of books published grew from 1,020 in 1855 to 1,836 in 1864 and 10,691 by 1894. However, editors were still subject to a degree of censorship – particularly since there were still both military and Church censors and the government was very wary of anything that suggested subversion (although sometimes they made mistakes, as when Chernyshevsky's book, inciting peasants to rebellion was published). **Alexander III's** government took action to prevent the spread of radical – and even liberal – ideas. Press freedom was severely restricted, with fourteen major newspapers being banned between 1882 and 1889 for displaying "liberal" tendencies. The universities were a particular area singled out for strict government supervision. University fees were increased to exclude all but the very wealthy, and in 1884 the

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: REPRESSION AND ENFORCEMENT

universities lost their self-government and came under government control. Universities across Russia were temporarily closed in 1889 because of student demonstrations against government control. Following the 1905 revolution, **Stolypin** attacked the bases of revolutionary activity. Between 1906 and 1912 a thousands newspapers ceased publication and six hundred trade unions were forced to close. Such censorship was reversed under **the Provisional Government** who allowed freedom of press and freedom of speech. Such changes were not long lasting, however, as **Lenin** closed down the opposition press: first the newspapers of the centre and the right, and later the socialist press. Liberal parties were also banned extending censorship to the political landscape. In 1918 the Bolsheviks introduced the Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State and School from the Church. This banned the teaching of any religion in any educational institution. In 1922, Lenin ordered the confiscation of church valuables all over Russia under the pretext of helping the hungry. The violent confiscations led to conflict. Some 2,000 priests and others who sought to protect churches were shot.

Stalin established a totalitarian state, ensuring that the press and propaganda was controlled by the state. From 1928 until World War Two when some restrictions were relaxed, the totalitarian dictator shuttered churches, synagogues and mosques and ordered the killing and imprisonment of thousands of religious leaders in an effort to eliminate even the concept of God. By 1938 there were only 16 working Orthodox churches, compared with 224 in 1930 and tens of thousands before the October 1917 Revolution. However, a survey in 1937 revealed that 57% of the population still classed themselves as a “religious believer”. **Khrushchev** as part of his destalinisation campaign, eased censorship. Between the 1920s and 1950s the number of books published doubled and by 1959 there were 135,000 libraries with a newspaper readership of 60 million. However, religious repression still remained under Khrushchev with the number of religious institutions across the USSR falling from 22,000 to 7,000.

Execution, Arrests, Show Trials

The new Minister for Justice Konstantin Pahlen, **under Alexander II** ensured that the judicial system made an example of those accused of political agitation. Even radicals who fled the country and settled in Switzerland or Germany were liable to be tracked down by the Third Section and recalled to face justice. Pahlen held open show trials, which members of the public were invited to witness, with the intention of deterring others from similar activity, but the whole experiment backfired. The “Trial of 50” and the “Trial of 193” in 1877-78, both set up to prosecute those arrested for involvement in revolutionary populist activities, were a resounding failure for the minister. At the latter, 153 of the 193 defendants were acquitted and the others received only light sentences from a sympathetic jury. **Alexander III**, in the wake of the assassination, introduced the Statute of State Security, which set up government controlled courts to try government opponents. The government could now arrest and put on trial political opponents, without the need for a jury. Those convicted faced possible execution, and thousands were exiled to Siberia. Although these courts, which helped maintain political stability, were only meant as a temporary measure, they stayed in existence until the end of the Tsarist autocracy in 1917. During 1908 and 1909 **Stolypin's** courts convicted 16,500 people of political crimes, of which 3600 were sentenced to death and 4500 to hard labour in prison camps. The impact of government action was impressive – in 1908 political assassinations by revolutionaries had fallen to 365. The restoration of law and order was one of Stolypin's great achievements.

The **Provisional Government's** short abolishment of the secret police did little in the long-term as In the aftermath of the introduction of the NEP under **Lenin**, former members of the SRs who were already in prison were put on trial for their supposed links to attempting to assassinate Lenin.

TOPIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

THEMATIC SKILLS: REPRESSION AND ENFORCEMENT

Many of the accused were actually already in prison when the crimes they were accused of had occurred. 34 were found guilty and 11 executed. The most repressive measures of all occurred under Stalin. Kamenev and Zinoviev were executed in the Trial of the Sixteen (1936). Bukharin was executed in the Trail of the Twenty-One (1938). Trotsky's former allies were executed in the Trial of the Seventeen (1937) with 13 of the 17 executed and 4 sent to gulags where they soon perished. In July 1937, the Politburo passed a resolution condemning 'Anti-Soviet Elements' in Russian society. An arrest list of over 250,000 scientists, artists, writers, musicians as well as managers and administrators was drawn up. Historians were particularly vulnerable and many were accused of leading terrorist groups. A quota system was applied to geographical areas and to public bodies. It was estimated that up to 90% of Russia's generals were purged. Approximately 18 million individuals were sent to gulags under Stalin between the 1920s and 1950s. **Khrushchev's** secret speech led to a resulting "thaw" in the Soviet Union which saw the release of millions of political prisoners and the "rehabilitation" of many thousands more who had perished. Khrushchev's rule was not without its dark side—including an intensified persecution of religion. Renewed hopes for liberal reform encouraged opposition in the satellite states which were subsequently suppressed such as the Hungarian Uprising.

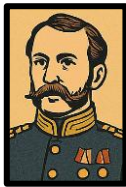


To what extent were methods of repression and enforcement consistent?

Statement	Evidence supporting the statement	Evidence challenging the statement
Peasants consistently rejected the policies of Russian leaders.		
The Social Democrats provided more effective opposition to Russian leaders than the Socialist Revolutionaries.		
Opposition to Russian leaders was strongest during the reign of Nicholas II.		
Workers were less inclined to oppose Russian leaders after October 1917 as they had been before that time.		
Opposition to Russian leaders disappeared during the rule of Stalin.		
The most violent opposition was during the reign of Alexander III.		

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: REPRESSION AND ENFORCEMENT THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



Alexander III
1881-1894



Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

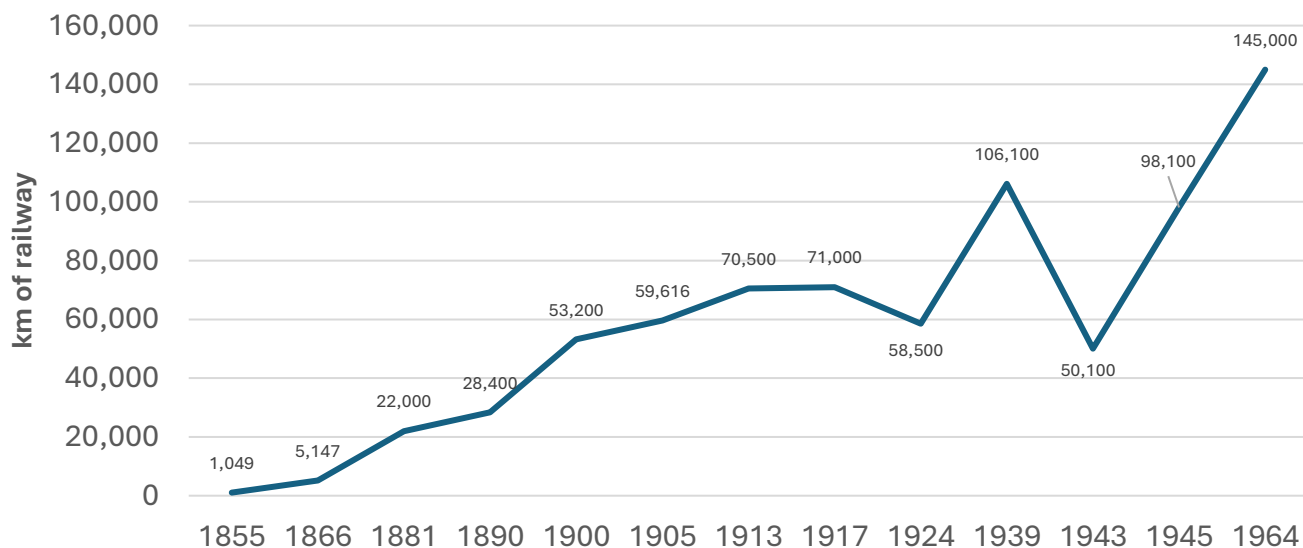
TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Growth of railway in across Russia 1855-1964



What do you notice about the growth of railway across Russia in the period?



Year	Factory workers	Year	Urban Population
1855	500,000	1833	2 million
1881	1.1 million	1867	7 million
1887	1.3 million	1894	12.5 million
1908	2.6 million	1917	28 million
1913	6 million	1924	17.5 million
1917	3.5 million	1926	26.3 million
1939	7.9 million	1939	55.9 million
1953	16 million	1945	42 million
1964	27 million	1964	71.8 million

Industrial Policy 1855-1964

Although slow, industrial development became noticeable under **Alexander II**. The framework laid down by von Reutern certainly encouraged expansion. Welsh industrialist John James Hughes was invited to the Russian Empire in 1869 by Tsar Alexander II to jump-start the region's metallurgy and build ironworks. Manchester-based businessmen such as Ludwig Loop were invited and heavily subsidized by the Russian government to develop Russia's cotton industry. Government subsidies were offered to enable private entrepreneurs to develop the railways leading

a growth to 22,000 km by 1881. Under **Alexander-III**, Ivan Vyshnegradsky was appointed finance minister in 1887 and strove to improve Russia's finances and build up the country's gold reserves. He also negotiated some valuable loans to kick-start growth, for example, from the French in 1888. In the 1880s, the state began to buy up private railway companies and the construction of new long-distance state railways began. In 1883, the Batum-Baku railway line was completed linking the Baku oilfields to the Black and Caspian Seas greatly increased the opportunities for exportation. The building of the Trans-Siberian railway also began in 1891. Vyshnegradsky, however, was dismissed in 1892 following a major national disaster exacerbated by his agricultural policy and therefore had little additional impact on industrial development.

Following 1892 and largely under **Nicholas II**, the newly appointed Sergei Witte stimulated major growth in industry. By the time that Witte came to power, the total industrial output of the textiles trade was one and a half times greater than that of coal mining, oil, minerals, and the metal trades put together. Witte believed that, by concentrating production in key areas and by developing large

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: INDUSTRIAL POLICY

factory units of over 1,000 or so workers, big increases in heavy goods production could be achieved. Although textiles still dominated, accounting for 40% of the total industrial output in 1910, there was still some impressive growth in heavy industry. Witte had put Russia on the Gold Standard in 1897 and created a new rouble in order to increase confidence in the Russia economy. Foreign capitalists saw an opportunity to make money in Russia and foreign investment increased considerably. Russia's rate of annual growth, at more than 8% per annum 1894-1904, was the highest of any industrial country in the last decade of the nineteenth century, although it had begun from a very low base compared with other countries. Russia moved up the league table of industrialised nations from 1887-97, to become the world's fourth largest industrial economy.

Year	Coal production
1850	300,000 tonnes
1880	3.2 mill tonnes
1890	5.9 mill tonnes
1900	16.1 mill tonnes
1910	25.4 mill tonnes
1920	16.5 mill tonnes
1928	35.4 million tonnes
1933	64.3 million tonnes
1945	119.3 million tonnes
1950	261.1 million tonnes
1960	513 million tonnes

WWI proved to be an economic disaster. Although only 9% of the Russian population was actually mobilised for war, 15 million conscripts and volunteers were enlisted for military service between 1914 and 1917 and this was, of course, at the expense of the rural and industrial workforce. As a result, production slumped. The **Provisional Government's** failings to enact economic policy led to further problems. Shortages of fuel and raw materials led to factories cutting output or closing and laying off workers; 568 factories in Petrograd closed between February and July with the loss of 100,000 jobs.

Following the overthrow of the Provisional Government, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed 1918 hindered economic growth. The end of WWI under **Lenin** led to loss of territory which left Russia without 1/3 of its railways, 2/3 of its coal mines, half of its heavy industry and almost all of its oil. In order to support the Red Army during the Civil War, Lenin introduced War

Communism. A Supreme Economic Council was formed to run the economy and the Decree on Nationalisation in the summer of 1918 made all large industries liable to nationalisation without compensation. By 1920 around 37,000 businesses had been nationalised. The state took control of industry and told factories what to produce. The policy was devastating and by 1921 the country was near collapse. Total industrial output fell to around 20 per cent of prewar levels and transport (mainly rail and river) also collapsed to about 20% of the pre-war level.

In March 1921, faced with economic collapse and widespread rebellion, Lenin felt compelled to make a radical turnaround in economic policy abandoning War Communism and making significant concessions to private enterprise. This turnaround is called the New Economic Policy (NEP). The ban on private trade was removed, however the state retained control of heavy industry. Industrial production also made a rapid recovery as small-scale enterprises responded quickly to surging demand. From 1920 to 1923, factory output rose by almost 200%. Foreign powers also entered trade agreements with Russia in 1922 (Germany) and 1924 (Britain).

By the late 1920s however, the NEP was failing with high unemployment and slow growth of real wages. At the fifteenth party congress December 1927, **Stalin** announced the end of the NEP and a major shift in Soviet economics. This was known as his "Great Turn". This introduced idea of the "command economy" with Stalin's 'Five Year Plans' and intense state economic planning. The plans involved the setting of targets by Gosplan for individual industries. As the first plan got underway, there was a wave of planning fervour or "target-mania". The original targets set in the first plan were optimistic, but almost before it was begun targets were revised upwards. To many,

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: INDUSTRIAL POLICY

these seemed hopelessly unachievable. The high targets placed enormous strain on the economy. Materials of all sorts were in short supply and there was intense competition to get hold of them. Materials and workers – shock brigades – were rushed into key industries to do certain jobs, often on the order of a senior party official, despite the fact that this left other areas short and waiting for supplies.

Despite this, with revision of the plans and continued propaganda and coercion, the plans were successful. The USSR was turned into a modern state which was able to defeat Hitler's 1941 invasion and there was genuine Communist enthusiasm among the young 'Pioneers'. Production levels rose dramatically with a huge expansion of infrastructure; new industrial cities such as Magnitogorsk were built. However, there were significant social consequences.

There was nothing original about the industrial policies adopted by **Khrushchev** as he continued with the approach of Stalin's Five Year Plans. However, Khrushchev did want to alter the direction of the Soviet economy by lessening its dependence in heavy industry and giving greater prominence to light engineering and chemicals. He emphasized the need for sustained effort, but whereas Stalin has used coercion Khrushchev offered incentives. Stalin's neglect of consumer goods was replaced by the promise of material rewards. In a radio broadcast Khrushchev excited the interest of many Soviet women, by suggesting that if they continued to work hard they would soon be able to buy nylon underwear. A new focus of the Cold War in the later 1950s and 1960s became competition with the United States to be the first leading world power to dominate space. Large amounts of investment and resources were given to these space projects in the 6th and 7th plans and did lead to significant technological development in the Soviet economy.

Plan	Focus	Impact
1 st Five Year Plan 1928-1932	Heavy industry	Largely did not meet targets. Target-mania. Oil did meet and exceed its target by 2.4 million tonnes.
2 nd Five Year Plan 1933-37	Infrastructure (Railway) New industries	Achievable targets, rapid expansion – especially electricity
3 rd Five Year Plan 1938-1941	Armaments	Uneven progress due to war, fuel crisis, Gosplan weakened by purges
4 th Five Year Plan 1946-1950	Heavy industry Post-War Recovery	Significant post-war recovery, limited focus on consumer goods
5 th Five Year Plan 1951-1955	New industries (hydro-electrics)	Rapid growth overall – some limited success with hydroelectric
6 th Five Year Plan 1956-1960	Consumer goods Modern industries	Over-optimistic targets led to the plan being largely abandoned after 2 years
7 th Five Year Plan 1961-1965	Consumer goods Modern Industries	Growth rates slowed, more realistic targets



STRETCH: What thematic judgements can we draw? Are there clear trends of change/continuity?



The Five-Year Plans encouraged the greatest developments more so than any other industrial policy. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Statement	Evidence supporting the statement	Evidence challenging the statement
Witte's policies propelled industry forwards.		
There was little industrial growth under Alexander II		
The NEP was a significant turning point		
The 5 Year Plans turned Russia into an industrial powerhouse.		



Industrial policy remained consistently poor in its level of success across the period. How far do you agree? [25 marks]



STRETCH: Consider the interpretation below:

Passage A: Alec Nove

The Plans succeeded in transforming the USSR into a major industrial power... But this was achieved at a cost in human life and suffering, and in the neglect of agriculture and consumer goods, which had the most serious long-term consequences.

How convincing do you find the argument?



SYNTHESIS:

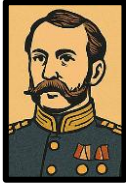
Who was more successful in encouraging economic growth? The Tsars or the Communists?

Are there any similarities between the industrial policies?

Was there continuity in the period?

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: INDUSTRIAL POLICY THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



Alexander III
1881-1894



Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

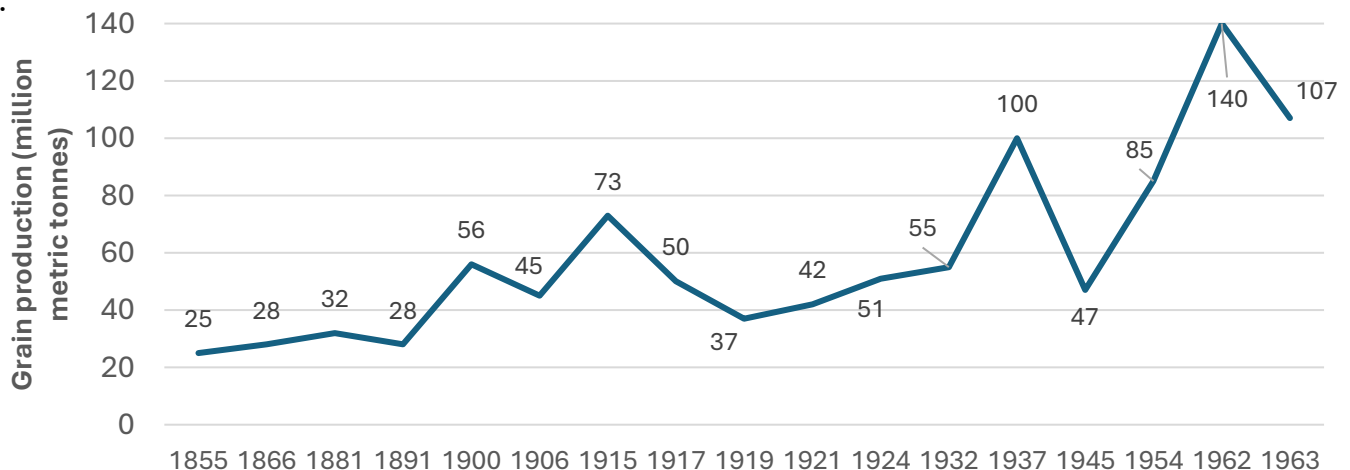
THEMATIC SKILLS: AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Agricultural Policy 1855-1964

The population of the Russian Empire in 1858 was 74 million, of whom nearly 85% worked on the land. Russia relied heavily on this population as grain made up 1/3 of their exports and the economy was largely agrarian. In 1861, **Alexander II**, motivated partly by the desire for modernisation, freed the serf population with the Emancipation Edict of 1861. The impact of the edict was varied. The edict encouraged some social mobility with 800,000 moving to urban areas however, the limitations of redemption payments prevented many from experiencing such freedoms. The creation of 1.8 million kulaks demonstrated agricultural development with these wealthier peasants increasing the size of their estates and production of a surplus. However, the dominance of the nobility over the volost and the mir meant on average, 9 acres of poor-quality land was allocated to the peasantry and meant peasants were unable to adopt new methods or farm efficiently as the edict had intended. Furthermore, in the more fertile regions of the country, the peasants saw a vast decrease in their landholdings. In the Ukraine, for example, they fell by 30.8%. Subsistence farming and technical backwardness continued and in 1878 only 50% of the peasantry were capable of producing a surplus.

Ivan Vyshnegradsky was appointed finance minister under **Alexander III** in 1887. The Mendeleev Tariff of 1891 imposed heavy taxes on foreign imports. Designed to protect Russian infant industries, it drastically raised the cost of essential consumer and agricultural goods for peasants. To afford these inflated prices and pay state taxes, peasants were forced to sell their grain surpluses. By 1891 import duties had reached 33%. On the surface, the policy appeared very successful. Between 1881 and 1891, grain exports increased by 18%, as a percentage of total Russian exports, and by 1892, the Russian budget was in a surplus. However, this was achieved at the expense of the peasants. At the same time, the price of goods rose because of the import taxes and their grain was being requisitioned by the government to sell abroad. It was put about that Vyshnegradsky said, "We ourselves shall not eat, but we shall export", and one of the results of this policy was witnessed in 1891 when a bad harvest brought widespread famine. Over 350,000 died from starvation or disease. Vyshnegradsky was dismissed in 1892, largely because of this national disaster which had been exacerbated by his own policy.

The government had introduced a new scheme in 1882 – the Peasant Land Bank to allow the kulaks to purchase and develop larger farms. However, they often exploited poorer peasants by buying their land for low amounts. The kulaks had become a small "capitalist peasant" class – employing labour and perhaps acting as "pawn brokers". In contrast to the upward mobility of the kulaks, the poorer peasants found life getting harsher. Increasing numbers were forced to leave their farms and join the bands of migrant labourers looking either for seasonal farming work or



TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Industrial employment. Under **Nicholas II** Witte's industrial policies largely neglected the peasantry, although there were some impacts as a by-product of rapid industrialisation. Most farming was small scale and in the hands of former serfs and state peasants, tied to their local mir by the redemption dues they were re-paying. A minority migrated to Siberia, encouraged by government schemes from 1896 to sponsor emigration to the new agricultural settlements opened up by the Trans-Siberian railway. However, 750,000, from a peasant population of 97 million, were able



to take advantage of this and the scheme was clearly inadequate to alleviate the pressure of a growing population on resources. Pyotr Stolypin offered economic and social reform for the peasantry address such failings and unrest following the 1905 revolution. From 1906 until his assassination in 1911, Stolypin embarked on a reform programme which transformed the Russian countryside. In September 1906, the amount of state and Crown land available for peasants to buy was increased and in October, peasants were granted equal rights in the local administration. Redemption payments were officially abolished – as promised in 1905 – as from January 1st 1907, but in reality they had long since ceased to be paid in full. There was also an increase in government subsidies to encourage migration and settlement in Siberia. Between 1905 and 1915 Stolypin's encouragement of emigration also took 3.5 million peasants from over-populated rural districts of the south and west away to Siberia. This move turned the region into one of the Empire's major agricultural regions, particularly for dairy farming, eggs, butter and cereal production. In addition, agricultural production across Russia rose from 45.9 million tonnes in 1906 to 61.7 million tonnes in 1913.

As a result of WWI and the failings of the **Provisional Government** in their lack of economic policy, agricultural policy had minimal impact and saw rapid deterioration. During the summer, land seizures increased – 237 cases were reported in July. Following a bad harvest in 1917, grain prices doubled between February and June, but peasants remained reluctant to bring their grain to sell in the cities, as there were few goods to buy. The Provisional Government seemed unable to do anything about the shortages and resorted to the Tsarist policy of sending out grain requisitioning squads to forcibly take grain from the peasants. Many peasants responded to this activity with violence. Once again the Provisional Government modelled their response on the Tsarist regime by sending in the army to deal with rebels.

By October 1917, the Bolsheviks proclaimed that they were the party represented peasant and worker interests. Once **Lenin** seized power, they immediately issued the Decree on Land, which aimed to ensure that the majority of peasants were kept onside. However, this did not stop the Communists treating the peasants as an underclass in the same way that the tsars had done. War Communism was the prime example of the contempt shown for peasants, especially with the imposition of grain requisitioning. Private trade was banned and a Supreme Economic Council was formed to run the economy. Grain surpluses were seized from the peasants and anyone caught withholding grain was liable to be shot. There was a steep decline in the use of money. This was replaced by rationing organised by the state. Many peasants decided to produce less grain, because they knew it would simply be taken away. This only worsened a desperate

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: AGRICULTURAL POLICY



situation. The grain harvest in 1921 was only 48% of its 1913 figure and this stimulated famine which killed 5 million. It was partly caused by a drought in southern Russia which led to crop failure. But it was also caused by Bolshevik grain requisitioning programme which had depleted the peasants' reserve stocks of grain. The net result was one of the worst famines in the 20th century. It was so bad that it attracted international aid from the USA. In some areas there were reports of cannibalism.

This encouraged uprisings with 118 uprising in February 1921 alone. The best known and most widespread was the Tambov uprising from 1920-21. In March 1921, faced with economic collapse and widespread rebellion, Lenin felt compelled to make a radical turnaround in economic policy abandoning War Communism and making significant concessions to private enterprise. This turnaround is called the New Economic Policy (NEP).

Grain requisitioning was abolished and replaced with a tax in kind. Private trade was once again allowed and this encouraged the growth of NEPMEN who dominated $\frac{3}{4}$ of retail trade. Kulaks despite being viewed as the more cultured and educated peasants, suffered from higher taxes, were disenfranchised and their children were refused entry to state schools. By 1923 cereal production increased by 23% compared with 1920 and so much food was flooding into the cities that prices dropped significantly. This encouraged the scissors crisis as industrial prices rose leaving peasants unable to modernise their farms. Lenin did attempt collective farming on a voluntary basis but only 3% of peasants lived on collective farms by 1924. It was under **Stalin** that mass collectivisation became prominent and carried out forcibly.

Stalin officially replaced the NEP with collectivisation in 1927 as part of the first five-year plan. This began as a voluntary scheme which aimed to unite small, inefficient farms into one productive collective farm known as Toz, Sovkhoz or Kolkhoz. It was not popular with the peasants, however, as many ignored the calls for collectivisation. As a result, in 1929, collectivisation was made compulsory and this encouraged widespread peasant unrest with peasants killing livestock and burning crops. Collectivisation encouraged widespread migration as a form of resistance leaving areas such as Kazakhstan seeing population decreases of 75%. This led to a famine in 1930 and forced Stalin to temporarily halt collectivisation until 1931. Upon the renewing of collectivisation, enforced through use of the NKVD, more resistance and famine occurred. In 1932-33 widespread famine occurred with 5-7 million deaths and this significantly affected Ukraine. Stalin targeted the kulaks as the source of this failure and unrest and called for kulaks to be 'liquidated as a class'. 30,000 kulaks were shot and 1-3 million kulak families (6-18 million people) were deported to inhospitable territories. By 1937, 93% of peasants worked on the Kolkhozy's and by 1941 this increased to 98%. It was clear, again, that economic development had come to the detriment of the people as despite such social impacts, collectivisation did help Stalin achieve most of his aims. Grain production rose to 100 million tonnes in 1937 and 17 million left the countryside to work in the towns which supported industrial development.

Khrushchev's Virgin Land Campaign in 1954 sought to improve food production and address the failings of collectivisation. Khrushchev sought to decentralise decision making and allow more localised leadership and expand the production of corn through cultivation of unused territory such as Kazakhstan. 250,000 volunteers were enlisted to work in these regions with the provision

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: AGRICULTURAL POLICY

of 120,000 new motorised tractors. 6 million acres were ploughed in the first year of the scheme alone with 165 million acres given over to the production of wheat by 1964. Between 1952 and 1958 farm-workers incomes more than doubled. However, poor management and short-sighted planning caused significant issues for the long-term success of these policies. For example, crops were often sown into unsuitable soil, with limited fertilisers or facilities available to repair tractors. This led to 1 tractor being available for every 200 hectares by 1959. As a result, production dropped in 1963 to 107 million tonnes from 140 million tonnes the year prior. This led to riots at the Budyenni Locomotive Works in Novocherkassk where the KGB killed 23 protesters.



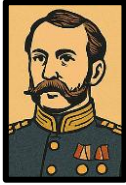
Collectivisation demonstrated the greatest success across the period. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. On the left side, there is a dark vertical strip, likely representing the binding or edge of a notebook. The overall appearance is that of a clean, unused piece of stationery.

Statement	Evidence supporting the statement	Evidence challenging the statement
The Peasant Land Bank helped revolutionise agriculture.		
The NEP only benefitted industrialists.		
Collectivisation was designed to benefit industry rather than agriculture.		
The Virgin Land campaign was a major step in helping agriculture recover.		

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: AGRICULTURAL POLICY THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



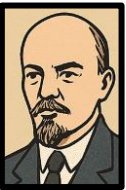
Alexander III
1881-1894



Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964



Peasant Housing

The East Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian) izba **remained fundamentally unchanged through to the 1930s**. The Russian izba is a house built from square frames of logs. There was only one room which the owners separated into several parts. The stove corner which was separated with a curtain was an obligatory part of the izba. There were also separate zones for men and women. All corners in the house were built according to the four cardinal points, and the most important among them was the Eastern (red) corner, where the family had the iconostasis. It was the icons that the guests had to pay attention first after entering the izba. The izba was around 20-25 square metres with 7-15 people living in each space. During severe winter freezes, peasants routinely brought their vulnerable livestock (calves, lambs, and piglets) inside the izba to keep them from freezing to death. Tuberculosis,

cholera, dysentery and typhoid were common. However, it was at least cheap to construct an izba and, once it was erected, peasant families had control over how the accommodation could be used. Minimal changes occurred under **Lenin** with the majority of peasants still living in izbas although 3% did move to collective farms as part of Lenin's voluntary campaign under the NEP.

Under **Stalin** and his Collectivisation however, there was a change to this situation with the construction of special housing located on the periphery of collective farms. The Peasants were generally housed in one-bedroom wooden huts or hastily constructed barracks (kommunalkas) if they were relocated or migrated to industrial cities. They were severely overcrowded, lacked basic plumbing or electricity, and were typically damp and unclean. Poor build quality also meant that living standards remained low for the typical rural worker. The most brutal form of special housing was reserved for the kulaks. During the dekulakisation campaign, millions of peasants were expropriated and forcibly deported to remote and inhospitable areas of the USSR such as Siberia and Kazakhstan. They were housed in isolated, heavily guarded labour camps and barren exile colonies. This led to significant mortality rated with 3 million kulaks perishing as a result. **Khrushchev's** Virgin Land Scheme, somewhat addressed the housing crisis following World War II. Khrushchev revolutionised the Soviet peasant housing landscape by shifting away from wood to prefabricated industrial concrete. The scheme introduced 'agro-towns; with the mass production of five-story, low-cost buildings known as Khrushchyovkas. Millions of former peasants and rural migrants moved out of traditional wooden structures into these apartments with running water and plumbing. Although the housing stock doubled, the quality of these homes were often poor.

Urban Housing

By the end of the 19th century, 15% of the Russian population lived in towns and cities, compared with 80% in Britain. Only 19 cities had more than 100,000 inhabitants. Urban housing conditions from **Alexander II** to **Nicholas II** deteriorated drastically as the emancipation of the serfs sparked migration to cities like Moscow whose population surged from 350,000 in 1856 to over 1 million by 1897. Private developers struggled to meet housing demands, leading to severe overcrowding, high rents, and widespread squalor in the working-class districts. Because the majority of urban dwellers were renters in an unregulated market with very low homeownership rates, developers maximised profits by packing people into high-density "rental barracks". By the end of this era, average flats were heavily subdivided. It was common for up to 16 people to share a flat, with 6 or more people



TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: LIVING CONDITIONS

living in a single room. In St. Petersburg, for example, about 40% of houses had no running water or sewage system. Excrement was simply set up in piles in the backyards and collected by workers with wooden carts at night. It is hardly surprising that 30,000 of the capitals inhabitants had died of cholera in 1908-1909. Urbanisation continued at a rapid rate after 1897. For example, the populations of Riga and Kiev doubled by 1914. At the start of WWI there were 1000 towns with 2 million buildings. Over half of all housing was constructed from wood and therefore prone to fire damage. 74 towns had access to electricity and 35 to gas. But even where facilities were fairly widespread, disease still multiplied. Cholera claimed the lives of 100,000 in 1910 alone.

Under **Lenin**, the Decree on Peace issued after the Bolsheviks seized power, partly focused on what the party intended to do about property, including housing. Dwellings in towns and cities were to be handed over to the proletariat and the redistribution was placed in the hands of the Soviets. Some improvement occurred but this was short-lived. During **Stalin's rule**, housing conditions deteriorated. Overcrowding became the norm. In Moscow, in the mid-1930s, for example, 25% of the population lived in shared rooms. A further 25% lived in communal dormitories. Living space reduced from 8.5 metres squared to 5.8 metres squared by 1935. Housing developed into tenements similar to blocks of flats, but many social projects to improve them were put on hold so that attention could be focused on achieving the aims of the five-year plans. This is evident in Magnitogorsk with the absence of housing in the newly established industrial cities. Conditions were so poor that of the 295,000 workers that entered the city, 260,000 left.

Khrushchev launched a housing programme of huge proportions and between 1955-1964 the housing stock doubled. The principles behind shared living were abandoned and although some aspirations of the population had been met, some benefitted more than others through the housing cooperatives. These were organisations formed by employees who belonged to the same work enterprise or union. They were often given first pickings over new state housing as long as they could meet government set pricing. Although living standards were improving, the Kitchen Debate of 1959 demonstrated that Russia was still behind the West.

Food and Famine

The staple food for all Russians throughout the period was grain, especially rye. Cereals were often eaten with meat dishes although in many areas there was a scarcity of animals. Fruit, vegetables and in some areas, fish were also high in consumption. Overall, it would appear that the Russian diet was relatively rich and varied and that, given the emphasis on agriculture, there was little need for the Russian people to go short of food. The reality was, however, that the whole of the period was characterised by intermittent food shortages and full-blown famines. This was due to a number of reasons:

- A tendency towards monoculture (overreliance on grain)
- The restrictive practices of the mir on the growing of certain crops
- Severe weather conditions in particular years
- Government policies (such as grain requisitioning and collectivisation)

When Alexander II came to the throne he was concerned that there would be widespread unrest. To this end, he placed the Zemstva in charge of drawing up emergency measures to deal with famines in 1864. This still did not prevent people starving and dying from hunger in large numbers

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: LIVING CONDITIONS

There were a number of famines before the First World War, but the most severe was that of 1891.

Food shortages and crop failures were frequent under **Alexander II** and were primarily rooted in systemic agrarian issues rather than absolute, widespread state famine. The most significant period of food scarcity during his rule occurred between 1879 and 1880, driven by the economic strains of the Russo-Turkish War and poor harvests. Only 50% of peasants engaged in subsistence farming suggesting emancipation had not been as revolutionary in food production as had been hoped for. Under **Alexander III**, adverse weather and Vyshnegradsky's increase of

Year	Death Toll
1891	350,000
1907	1 million
1918-20	4 million
1921	5 million
1931-32	3.5-7 million
1930-33	1.5 million
1946-47	900,000 – 1mill

grain exportation by 18% led to the deaths of 350,000 across 17 of 39 provinces in Russia. The result was the dismissal of Vyshnegradsky and the eventual set up of a Special Committee on Famine Relief in 1891 and a donation of 5 million roubles from the Tsar. Despite this food shortages continued into the reign of **Nicholas II** and a combination of weather, unrest and agrarian policy failings, once again stimulated a famine in 1907 killing approximately 1 million people. Recognizing the structural weaknesses that led to frequent crop failures, the Tsar backed his Prime Minister, Pyotr Stolypin and Stolypin's reforms sought to modernise agriculture, abolish redemption payments, and dismantle the village commune (the mir) to allow peasants to own and manage their land privately.

Further famine and food shortages continued however due to the growing pressure of WWI. Under the **Provisional Government and Lenin**, severe food shortages led to starvation of around 4 million during the post-war period and beginning of the Civil War. Such issues were exacerbated by Lenin's War Communism policy with grain requisitioning and poor production leading to the 1921 famine killing 5 million people. Lenin's New Economic Policy did support in leading to a 23% increase in cereal production although following **Stalin's** Collectivisation policy, further famine was encouraged on a far greater scale. Stalin's policy led to a drastic reduction in agricultural productivity and allowance of the state to extract nearly all grain from rural areas, even when crops failed, to fund rapid industrialization and suppress peasant resistance. This led to the deaths of 3.5 – 7 million individuals with the Holodomor famine in Ukraine and 1.5 million suffering in the Kazakh region. Following World War II, another severe food shortage occurred due to a major drought, wartime infrastructural devastation, and government policies that maintained high food exports and raised prices. This disaster claimed an estimated 900,000 to over a million lives. It was actually under the government of **Khrushchev** where Russia witnessed no famines. Despite the initial success of the Virgin Land Campaigns, however, there were food shortages and a decline in production reducing from 140 million tonnes to 107 million tonnes in 1963. This led to Khrushchev seeking foreign aid with an import of 20 million tonnes of grain from the USA.



How consistent were the living conditions of the peasants and the workers?



How far were the living conditions of the peasants and workers neglected by Russian leaders 1855-1964?

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: LIVING CONDITIONS

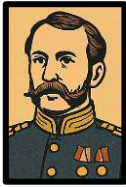


Assess the reasons why the living conditions of the peasants and workers were slow to improve.

Factor	How did it help/hinder?	Analysis of importance	Which period does the factor have most influence?
Ideological changes			
Industrialisation			
Land reforms			
The impact of the First World War			
The Bolshevik revolution			
The Russian Civil War			
Centralised control of the economy			
The impact of the Second World War			
Destalinisation			

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: LIVING CONDITIONS THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



Alexander III
1881-1894



Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: WORKING CONDITIONS

Rural Working Conditions

In general, work on the land was dictated by 'nature's clock'. Specific tasks had to be completed at certain times of the year. The success of peasant farmers was determined more by the quality of soil, the weather and their innate ability to farm rather than by government policies. Following emancipation under **Alexander II**, working conditions saw changes and limitations imposed by the mir. Allocation of land was controlled

Leader	Working Hours	Avg. Wage (estimated)
Alexander II	12-16 hours	12-25 roubles a month
Alexander III	11-14 hours	15-22 roubles a month
Nicholas II	10 – 14 hours	20 roubles per month
PG	8 hours	200 roubles a month
Lenin	8 hours	44 roubles per month
Stalin	7 - 12 hours	300 roubles per month
Khrushchev	7 hours	650 roubles per month

Predominantly by the mir and on average, peasants received 9 acres of land, often poor quality. For most peasants, the main aim was to produce as much as possible so that they could feed their families, pay off debts and save a little for bad years. It is quite incorrect to assume that the Russian agricultural system before communism was simply based on achieving subsistence levels. To achieve a surplus, peasants worked most days of the week from dawn to dusk and often under harsh climatic conditions. There was still time for festivities; holy days (holidays) often coincided with celebrations linked to particular seasons.

Alexander III created the post of "Land Captain" in 1889 to enforce local laws, replacing the locally elected justices of peace. Land Captains were members of the landed classes and were directly appointed by the Minister of the Interior. Land Captains were given wide-ranging powers including the ability to over-ride zemstva elections and disregard zemstva decisions. They could even ignore the normal judicial process, overturn the judgements of local courts and impose punishments. In the following year, 1890, Land Captains were made members of the local government bodies – the zemstva. In addition, the franchise to the zemstva was restricted, to ensure that the landed classes had the most political power. Following the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway, **Nicholas II**, encouraged greater peasant migration. The eastern regions became like America's Wild West as peasants were encouraged to emigrate there, away from the overpopulated areas of western Russia. Siberia had no tradition of serfdom, and the distance from the capital meant that there were fewer restrictions on life. In this respect it was an attractive option for peasants who were happy to take the challenge. Farming in the region increased, supplying the towns and cities of the West, and also foreign countries. The gap between richest and poorest sections of the peasantry became wider as the wealthier peasant entrepreneurs or kulaks took advantage of the position of the less favoured. The government introduced a new scheme – the Peasant Land Bank to allow the kulaks to purchase and develop larger farms. However, they often exploited poorer peasants by buying their land for low amounts. The kulaks had become a small "capitalist peasant" class – employing labour and perhaps acting as "pawn brokers". Stolypin embarked on a reform programme which transformed the Russian countryside. In September 1906, the amount of state and Crown land available for peasants to buy was increased and in October, peasants were granted equal rights in the local administration. In November 1906 peasants were given the right to leave the commune and the collective ownership of land by a family was abolished. This made the land the personal property of an individual (usually the eldest male) who was given the right to withdraw it from the commune and consolidate the scattered strips into one compact farm.

Under the communists the nature of rural work changed. How much was produced and the methods used were dictated by central government policy. **Lenin's War Communism** encouraged

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: WORKING CONDITIONS

Harsher working conditions. Lenin desperately needed food to feed the workers. Since the peasants were often unwilling to sell their grain for money which had no value, he sent out units of the Cheka to seize surplus food. Those found hoarding supplies were punished harshly. The peasants resisted, and this became a bitter struggle. Many peasants decided to produce less grain, because they knew it would simply be taken away. This only worsened a desperate situation. According to Cheka sources there were 118 separate risings throughout Soviet Russia in February 1921. But the best known and most widespread was the Tambov uprising which began in August 1920 and lasted until June 1921. At the height of the rebellion, large parts of the countryside of three districts of the Tambov province were no-go areas for Soviet power.

In March 1921, faced with economic collapse and widespread rebellion, Lenin felt compelled to make a radical turnaround in economic policy abandoning War Communism and making significant concessions to private enterprise. Grain requisitioning was replaced by a tax in kind. Peasants had to give a fixed proportion of their grain to the state, but the amount that they had on hand over was much less than the amounts taken by requisitioning. They could sell any surpluses on the open market. By 1923, so much food was flooding into the cities that the prices dropped significantly whilst the price of industrial goods rose because they were in short supply. Trotsky called this the “scissors crisis”, as the earnings of peasants were increasing stretched. This imbalance was problematic because it made peasants reluctant to supply food. The government were forced to intervene to bring down industrial prices.

Under **Stalin**, collectivisation encouraged harsh conditions but greater modernisation. Peasants were subject to repression with grain requisition, forced collectivisation and deportations. 3 million kulaks were affected by deportation or exportation. Machine Tractor Stations were introduced to support collectivisation. The stations kept heavy machinery, like tractors and combines, owned directly by the state rather than the collective farms (kolkhozes). Farms rented this machinery and paid for the service using a portion of their crop harvest. Communist Party officials used the stations to monitor rural areas, enforce production quotas, and limit peasant independence.

Khrushchev's Virgin Land Campaign led to some improvements in working conditions with Machine Tractor Stations sold off to the peasantry, wages doubling for farmers and a reduction of taxes on farming profits to try and encourage peasants to expand their farms. However, such conditions were not sustained in the long-term. The much promised mechanisation of agriculture also failed to materialise and by 1959 there was only one tractor for every 200 hectares of land. Furthermore, if tractors broke, there were inefficient parts to mend them.

Urban Working Conditions

Those who worked in towns and cities were employed in either the service industry or manufacturing. The worst conditions were present in factories, although most of these, along with other heavy industry were located on the edge of conurbations. As there was no factory inspectorate until 1882, working conditions for many industrial workers, especially those employed in textiles, were dangerous and unhealthy. Even when inspectors were introduced, they were largely ineffectual as they were too few in number and had limited powers of enforcement. Thus, for example, despite factory legislation of 1882 banning the employment of children under the age of twelve, it was possible for employers to continue to use child labour as they were unlikely to be found out. By Western standards, industrial wages were low during the whole period, although it is difficult to provide details as accurate statistical evidence is lacking. Women received less than men on average even when they were employed in the same work.

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: WORKING CONDITIONS

Low pay was partly offset by the introduction in 1903 of a workers' insurance system and, under the communists by bonus schemes. The latter were popularised by the Stakhanovite movement and some workers did very well out of them. From the beginning to the end of the Five-Year plans however, real wages fell by 50%. They rose again after his time but it was not until 1954 that they started to reach the levels of the 1920s.

The use of fines (often ten percent of wages) as a punishment for petty wrongdoings was especially disliked by workers. Workers were also threatened by being 'purged' especially if they were considered to be anti-revolutionary. Officials sometimes claimed that certain workers were intent on disrupting production by damaging machinery (wrecking) or purposely working slowly so as to prevent the implementation of the Five-Year Plans. Furthermore, women and children were treated more severely than men. It took some time for all of this to change.

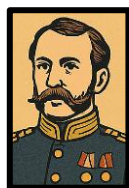


Each of the following events might be considered a turning point in social change in Russia from 1855 to 1964. Which was the most significant? You could simply explain the importance of each, but in order to score well you need to compare their importance. This is best done thematically. For each event explain the impact it had for each theme. When you have completed the table for each event, consider which event had the greatest impact for each theme and fill in the last column – explain your choice of event for each theme.

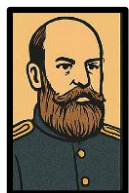
	Elites	Peasants	Workers	Judgement
Emancipation of serfs				
School boards and Zemstva were appointed to run elementary schools				
Factory inspectorate was established				
1891 Famine				
First census				
Workers' insurance system				
Dekulakisation				
1932–34 Famine				

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: WORKING CONDITIONS THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



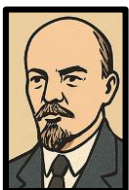
Alexander III
1881-1894



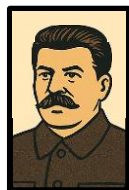
Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

The Crimean War 1853-1856

Within the conflict, Russia fought against Britain, France and the Ottoman Empire. The Battle of Balaclava (1854) was a particularly devastating battle given that it led to 70% of the men losing their lives. Peace talks began in 1856 and the war came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. The Black Sea was named a neutral territory and more than 300,000 casualties had been suffered by Russia. Russia's lack of modernisation had been dramatically revealed during the war. Russia appeared backwards and inferior in regards to their military and industry. Russian infantry's small-arms were no match for modern West European rifles which could open fire at four times the distance of Russian antiquated handguns. The Black Sea fleet, composed of wooden sailing vessels, could not compete with the steam-propelled warships of the allies. In addition, the country's transportation system failed to serve adequately the needs of the war. The catastrophe of the war and Russia's 54 million roubles in debt underlined the pressing need for fundamental reforms.

Event	Date	Casualties
Crimean War	1853-1856	300,000
Russo-Turkish War	1877-1878	30,000 – 110,000
Russo-Japanese War	1904-1905	40,000 – 100,000
1905 Revolution	1905	200 – 1000
World War One	1914-1918	1.6 - 2.2 million
1917 Revolution	Feb 1917	1,300 – 1,500
1917 Revolution	Oct 1917	'Bloodless'
Russian Civil War	1918-1921	9 – 10 million
World War Two	1939-1945	27 million
Cold War	1947-1964*	*Proxy Wars



The Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878

Russia sought another conflict with the Turkish Ottoman Empire in a bid to regain security in the area, especially around the Black Sea, where Russia's need for a warm-water port was of vital importance. Under the pretext of protecting its allies and freeing them from Turkish rule, the Russians went on the offensive. The Russians fielded around 300,000 troops in the Balkans, while the Turks had 200,000. Although outnumbered, the Turks had the advantage of having fortified positions and being on the defensive. The Turks offered a truce on January 31st 1878, but the Russians continued the hostilities while they considered their options. Under pressure from the British, the Russians finally accepted a peace agreement, and the war officially ended. Russia suffered 30,000 battle-related casualties with 80,000 suffering due to disease. The biggest death toll, however, was the Muslims who were killed by the Russians and their allies. Not only the army but civilians carried out ethnic cleansing, and it is estimated that more than 400,000 Ottoman Muslims were massacred. Following the conflict, the Ottomans ceded crucial territories to the Russians in the Caucasus and the Balkans with an 800 million franc payment to be made to Russia agreed formally in a contract signed 1882. However, Russia's territorial gains were heavily impacted by the Congress of Berlin (1878). The Congress of Berlin scaled back Russia's initial territorial gains from the Treaty of San Stefano (1878) to prevent a total Ottoman collapse and check Russian influence in the Balkans. Great Britain and Austria-Hungary led the revision, forcing Russia to accept major compromises.

The Russo-Japanese War

By the late 19th century, Russia's attention had shifted eastwards to China. Japan had defeated China in the war of 1894-5 and in victory took the important port of Port Arthur in Manchuria. The Russians wanted this port. It was a warm water port and offered the potential of all-year round trading links, unlike Russia's northern ports which froze in the winter. Russia and the other Great Powers were worried that Japan might expand further and threaten their own economic interests in the east. Using skilful diplomacy, the Great Powers were able to persuade Japan to return Port Arthur to China. However, Russia used the fact that they helped China pay off its war debts to negotiate a 25-year lease of Port Arthur and turned it into a naval base. Japan began to feel threatened by what was perceived as the Russian's attempts to gain influence in the Japanese sphere of influence. Negotiations between the Russians and Japanese failed to ease the ongoing conflict and Japan launched a strike on Port Arthur in January 1904 without warning or an official declaration of war.

Russian tactics were largely defensive and the Russian forces endured a long siege at Port Arthur. Attempts to break the siege failed and Port Arthur fell on 2nd January 1905. Many defeats followed and the Russians really had very little idea of their enemy, of the inadequacies of their own forces. Running a war 6,000 miles from the capital was far from easy. Troops had to be sent on a six-day journey across Russia from the west, and the Trans-Siberian railway was only single-track. Obviously, this placed the Russians at an immediate disadvantage compared with the Japanese short lines of supply. The organisation was chaotic. Ammunition was in short supply and one officer, having waited for some weeks for reserves of ammunition was disheartened to find the expected train had arrived filled not with munitions but with icons (religious symbols) for the soldiers. A long siege of Port Arthur, plus a series of defeats, turned the initial surge of patriotism into an attitude of hostility and opposition to the government. For Russia the disastrous course of the war had seriously aggravated unrest inside the country, and the surrender of Port Arthur led Nicholas to turn to negotiations. In the resulting Treaty of Portsmouth, Japan gained control of the Liaodong Peninsula (and Port Arthur). The Treaty of Portsmouth effectively ended Russia's expansionist East Asian policy. The war had cost 6.5 billion roubles and 40,000 – 100,000 Russian lives. Furthermore, the humiliating defeat at the hands of an Asian power that had until so recently been preindustrial and isolationist added to the national anger and disgust.

The 1905 Revolution

The revolution began as a relatively peaceful protest. Angered by poor working conditions, an economic slump and the ongoing war with Japan, thousands marched on the Winter Palace to plead with Tsar Nicholas II for reform. The tsar was not present, however, and the workers were instead gunned down on the streets by panicky soldiers. The day after the Bloody Sunday killings, around 150,000 in the capital showed their disgust by refusing to work. Over the course of 1905, tsarism would face the most dire challenge in its 300-year-old history. The Tsar had the choice of giving in or using force, with the likelihood of massive bloodshed. He gave in and issued the October Manifesto on 30 October. This promised; a parliament or Duma elected by the people, civil rights – e.g. freedom of



TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

speech and conscience, uncensored newspapers and the right to form political parties. The liberals and middle classes believed they had won democratic government. They stopped their protests and supported the government. By December, with all the troops back in Russia, the Tsar felt strong enough to take back control. He used force to close down the St Petersburg Soviet and crush an armed uprising in Moscow. He sent out troops to take revenge on workers and peasants who had rioted and bring them under control. In the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution, repression became associated with one man, Pytor Stolypin. The restoration of law and order was one of Stolypin's great achievements. But he was not simply a reactionary – he also embarked on a series of very important reforms.

WWI

Russia's government bodies – both local and national began to assert themselves despite opposition from the Tsar. The zemstva established a "Union of Zemstva" to provide the medical facilities which the state seemed to neglect and in August 1915, some of the deputies (Kadets, Octobrists and Progressives) from the Fourth Duma, organised themselves into a group known as the "Progressive Bloc", and demanded that the tsar change his ministers and establish a "government of public confidence". They were effectively asking for a constitutional monarchy, in which they would have a had a dominant voice. In September, he suspended the sittings of the Duma and it remained officially closed until January 1917, although unauthorised meetings continued. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that liberals and socialists began to lose patience and demand changes in government.



The war proved an economic disaster. The direct cost of war rose from 1,500 million roubles in 1914 to 14,500 million in 1918 but the losses were actually greater. Although only 9% of the Russian population was actually mobilised for war, 15 million conscripts and volunteers were enlisted for military service between 1914 and 1917 and this was, of course, at the expense of the rural and industrial workforce. A 300% rise in the cost of living, rising death rates because of the workers' insanitary lodgings and the inadequacies of their diets left thousands living on the brink of starvation. In such circumstances, in January 1917, 30,000 workers went on strike in Moscow and 145,000 in Petrograd.

Such hardships continued under the Provisional Government with casualties at 1.6 million and 400,000 in the June Offensive alone. Cost of goods increased drastically with bread seeing an increase of 300% and cheese an increase of 754%. 100,000 workers became unemployed and 568 factories closed. In turn, Lenin was eager to withdraw Russia from the war and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed in March 1918. The terms included; loss of 1/6 of its population, 1/3 of its agricultural land; 1/3 of railways, 2/3 of its coal mines, 1/2 of all heavy industry. Poland became an independent state, Ukraine and Georgia became semi-independent governments and Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania became independent republics.

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

February 1917 Revolution

In the 1920s an American historian, W.H. Chamberlain, claimed that the February Revolution was “one of the most leaderless, spontaneous, anonymous revolutions of all time”. It began as a series of uncoordinated demonstrations in the capital, Petrograd. On 9 January, 140,000 workers went on strike and demonstrated in the streets to commemorate the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, which had begun the 1905 Revolution. On the last day of January strikes about food shortages occurred sporadically across Russia. On 14 February, 100,000 workers again went on strike in Petrograd, protesting against food shortages and poor working conditions. On the same day, the State Duma was reconvened and, instead of supporting the government, it attacked it over food shortages. The government only made matters worse, however, by announcing on 19 February that bread rationing would start on 1 arch. This news led to panic buying of various foodstuffs. The turning point in the Revolution came on 25 February, when Cossack troops refused to fire on the demonstrators. The next day, troops did fire on the demonstrators, killing 40 of them, but the elite Pavlovsky Life Guards refused to carry out orders. This was the first significant sign that government authority had begun to break down. On 1 March, the Tsar made a last bid to retake control. He boarded a train at his army HQ in Mogilev in an attempt to get back to Petrograd. However, on 2 March his train was stopped at Pskov, 250 km short of Petrograd, because anti-government soldiers had gained control of the railway line. In a siding at Pskov, Tsar Nicholas II was visited by members of the State Duma and was asked to abdicate. The Tsar agreed, and also abdicated the throne on behalf of the Tsarevich, his haemophiliac son Alexi, whom he feared would be too ill to serve as Tsar. Although Nicholas II was not technically allowed to abdicate for his son, he passed his throne to his own brother, Grand Duke Michael. On 3 March, however, Grand Duke Michael refused the offer to the throne – and by this act Russia ceased to be a monarchy. The Romanov dynasty, which had ruled since 1613, had come to an abrupt end. On the same day, Prince Lvov was announced Prime Minister in charge of the Provisional Government. In the space of just two weeks the unplanned demonstrations had resulted in political revolution.

October Revolution

Kerensky was well aware that the Bolsheviks wanted to seize power. He responded by sending some of the more radical army units out of the capital. This provided a reason for the Bolshevik-controlled Soviet to claim that Kerensky was abandoning the capital and that the Germans could easily invade. Trotsky argued that he needed to protect the capital from this and established the “Military Revolutionary Committee”. This comprised 66 members – 48 of them Bolsheviks – and it appointed Commissars to military units, to issue orders and organise weapon supplies. The Committee controlled 200,000 Red Guards, 60,000 Baltic sailors and 150,000 soldiers of the Petrograd Garrison and while its declared purpose was to control troop movements (in the face of a German threat) in reality Trotsky was gathering forces to help carry out the revolution. On October 10th Lenin harangued the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party all night and finally succeeded (with a vote of 10-2) in persuading them that “an armed rising is the order of the day”. Only members Zinoviev and Kamenev refused to agree and published their own views in a newspaper declaring that, “If we take power now and we are forced into a revolutionary war, the mass of soldiers will not support us”. Kerensky tried in desperation to close down two Bolshevik newspapers and restrict the Military Revolutionary Committee’s power. He even ordered the bridges linking the working class areas to the centre of Petrograd to be raised. However, his actions, which Bolshevik propagandists suggested were a betrayal of the Soviet and an abandonment of the principles of the February Revolution, gave the Bolsheviks an excuse to act. It therefore just remained for Trotsky, with his tremendous power and influence on the Military Revolutionary Committee, to organise the final stages of the Bolshevik revolution. Through the

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

night of October 24th, 5,000 sailors and soldiers from Kronstadt moved into the city and Bolshevik Red Guards seized key positions around the capital. These included the telephone exchange, post office, railway stations, news agency, state bank, bridges and power stations. Although they encountered some resistance at the main telegraph office, the troops on duty generally gave in without resistance. In the morning a further 3,000 troops arrived. Since Kerensky could not rely on the Petrograd troops to defend the Provisional Government, he left for the Front – borrowing a car from the American Embassy and disguising himself as a nurse. He hoped to be able to make contact with loyal troops who would march to the city and defend it. The rest of the government met in emergency session in the Winter Palace where on the evening of October 25th, as Red Guard soldiers and sailors surrounded the palace, a blank shot from the guns of the battleship Aurora was heard at 9.40pm. This was the signal for the beginning of the Bolshevik attack. Further shots followed, including some from the St Peter and Paul fortress, the headquarters for the Military Revolutionary Committee, across the River Neva from the palace. However, only one shot hit the palace and most went into the river.

Russian Civil War

The origins of the Civil War can very much be found in the events which emerged in the aftermath of the October Revolution. The Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917 marked chaos throughout what was still the Russian Empire. Different political and regional groups reacted accordingly to their individual wants, needs and concerns. For some the new government was wholly unacceptable and they wanted a counter-revolution to remove the Bolsheviks from power. For many of the national minorities it offered an opportunity to attempt to gain long-awaited independence from Russian control.

An estimated 7 to 12 million people died, far exceeding Russia's losses in World War I. Famine and disease: Typhus epidemics and catastrophic famines swept the countryside, killing millions of civilians. Millions were displaced, orphaned, or forced into exile as refugees, draining the nation's human capital. Factories stopped working due to a lack of raw materials, fuel, and workers, with industrial output dropping to about 20% of pre-war levels. Forced grain requisitioning under "War Communism" caused peasants to slash food production, leading to total rural breakdown. Money lost all value, forcing the economy into a primitive barter system. The existential threat of the war forced the Bolsheviks to concentrate absolute power in the hands of the party leadership. The secret police (Cheka) used mass executions and intimidation to eliminate all political opposition and dissent. The Red Army's victory allowed the Bolsheviks to unify former imperial territories into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1922 as a result territories such as Ukraine were reacquired.



WWII

The war had very little impact on the structure of government in Russia. During the conflict, Stalin became the chairman of the State Defence Committee, which had absolute control over the lives of Soviet citizens. He also took the role of supreme commander of the military, just as Nicholas II had done during the First World War. The difference was the Stalin actually took advice from his advisers and even relied on others, deemed to be military experts, to make key strategic decisions. In fact, it would be incorrect to assume that the government became even more

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

totalitarian. That would have been difficult given the high degree of control already in place. Besides, all governments of those countries directly involved in the war passed measures that gave them total authority. Unsurprisingly, until his death, Stalin retained the two key political posts in Russia; those of head of government and party secretary. The composition of the Politburo also remained the same. In 1948, the prominent members included Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Zhdanov (the man being groomed to be Stalin's successor) and Khrushchev. Despite the extremely high number of war casualties, the numbers joining the Communist Party actually increased during the war from 3.76 million in 1941 to 5.8 million by 1945. Much of this was due to additions from the military who were rewarded for their gallantry with official party membership. By the time of the nineteenth party congress, called in 1952 (for the first time in thirteen years), party numbers had declined, although this did not seem to affect the main function of the party. It continued as an administrative tool, especially when it came to economic affairs.

The human cost of the war to the nation was enormous. Over 27 million Russians were killed; representing around 10% of the Russian population. Civilians constituted two-thirds of this total; 1 million alone died in the siege of Leningrad and there were 1.1 million casualties as a result of the Battle of Stalingrad. Politicians in the post-war years were thus faced with the problem of a shortage of all types of labour, which was essential if Russia was to move successfully into the new technological age. At certain points during the war it is estimated that 85 million Russians found themselves under the control of the Germans and 5 million prisoners were taken by the Germans. A significant number switched sides; the historian Anthony Beevor has indicated that around 50,000 Russian citizens fought on the side of Germany at the Battle of Stalingrad. Stalin viewed all prisoners of war as traitors and if they managed to return home they were treated harshly. Despite the patriotic fervour was whipped up, there was still desertion from the armed ranks. About 13,000 deserters were shot. Living standards were significantly diminished by the war. Electricity supplies to the general population were ended in late 1941, and were only restored once the war was over. Workers were sustained by meagre rations, while the government took 90% of the produce from the collective farms. For the Russian population under siege in Leningrad, the population were sustained on little more than "blockade bread", made largely from sawdust. Citizens were also sustained by eating birds, rats, their pets and - in extreme cases - by resorting to cannibalism.

In 1942 Russia's industry was producing only 59% of its 1940 output. The government had a huge challenge in addressing the damage to the industrial and rural infrastructure. Much physical damage was caused both by the German military through shelling and by Stalin's scorched earth policy. Factories, production plants, mines, dams, roads, bridges and the railways were all badly affected. Overall, it is believed that 70,000 villages, 32,000 factories and 65,000km of railway were destroyed as a result of the war. Such physical damage was made worse by the fact that during the war industrial enterprises had to be relocated to the Urals, Volga basin and Central Asia to be protected.

Cold War

Following the death of Stalin in 1953, and after much manoeuvring, in February 1955 Khrushchev was able to bring about Malenkov's dismissal as temporary Soviet premier. Like the rest of the Soviet leadership, Khrushchev had been profoundly affected by the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45. Fully aware of the human and economic devastation his country had suffered, and genuinely fearful of the risks posed by the escalating nuclear arms race, Khrushchev developed his own foreign policy agenda - one known as "Peaceful Coexistence". In a move away from the early

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

post-1917 policies of encouraging “world revolution” and the spread of Communism, Khrushchev declared that violent conflict between the communist and capitalist world was not inevitable in the way that Lenin had described.

However, Khrushchev’s pursuit of this policy during the period 1955-64 was at times inconsistent. He was more of a risk-taker than either Stalin or the collective leadership that replaced him following 1953. nonetheless, Khrushchev tried to achieve real détente between East and West, to avoid the risk of a devastating nuclear world war. However, under Khrushchev “Peaceful Coexistence” also involved a clearly competitive element based on the belief that the socialist system would soon prove to be economically superior to the capitalist system. Ultimately, he argued, there could be a peaceful global transition to socialism.

 Each of the following events might be considered a turning point in the development of the Russian Empire and the USSR from 1855 to 1964. Which was the most significant? You could simply explain the importance of each, but in order to score well you need to compare their importance. This is best done thematically. For each event explain the impact it had for each theme. When you have completed the table for each event, consider which event had the greatest impact for each theme and fill in the last column – explain your choice of event for each theme.

	Political	Economic	Social	Judgement
The Emancipation of the Serfs				
The Treaty of San Stefano				
The October Manifesto				
The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk				
The formation of the Provisional Government				
The Russian Civil War				
The Battle of Stalingrad				
Stalin’s death				

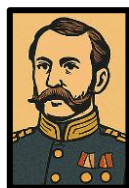
TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR AND REVOLUTION

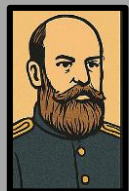
War/Rev	Political Impact/Change	Social Impact/Change	Economic Impact/Change
Crimean War			
Russo-Turkish War			
Russo-Japanese War			
1905 Revolution			
World War One			
1917 Feb Revolution			
1917 Oct Revolution			
Russian Civil War			
World War Two			
Cold War			

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: IMPACT OF WAR/REVOLUTION THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



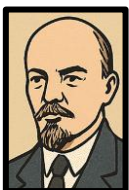
Alexander III
1881-1894



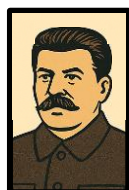
Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: POLAND

Alexander II had faced ongoing difficulties with Poland – as had his predecessors. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Tsar ruled as the King of Poland, effectively combining the two states. Poland enjoyed a constitution, a parliament and the use of Polish as an official language. However, the question of land reform post-emancipation in Russia, and the desire to re-establish Polish nationhood led to growing unrest in Poland. The Tsar did offer



concessions such as the emancipation of Polish Jews and the opening of a university in Warsaw. However, an order for the conscription of Poles into the Russian army sparked further tension, and in January 1863 an armed insurrection broke out. Between 10,000 and 50,000 people were killed and the rebellion took a year to contain with the Poles using guerilla warfare.

A strategy to contain the nationalist tensions in Poland in the longer term was established with the Milyutin Plan of 1864. As part of this hundreds of members of the Polish nobility were exiled to Siberia. Polish peasants were emancipated and gained more favourable terms than their Russian counterparts. For example, Polish peasants were generally given their land without redemption payments. Rural councils, similar to the *zemstvo*, were also established and contained members of a broader section of Polish society. In 1885, **Alexander III**, expanded this policy of Russification with greater force, establishing Russian language and Russian schooling across Poland. At first, all classes of Poles passively acquiesced in their defeat, but under **Nicholas II** in the 1890s two strong, though illegal, political parties appeared - the National Democrats and the Polish Socialist Party. Both wished self-government for Poland. In the Third and Fourth State Dumas, Russian and Polish nationalists were represented. However, speeches of Polish deputies of the Third Duma were blocked by the right-wing majority of parliament, especially the Black Hundred radicals.

With the outbreak of WWI, the Germans and Austrians drove out the Russians from Congress Poland and the chances of Polish independence increased radically in 1917 when the US entered the war and two revolutions shook Russia. The **Provisional Government**, somewhat ambiguously, and the Petrograd Soviet, more explicitly, declared their recognition of Poland's right to independence in March 1917 and **Lenin** renounced claims to Polish territory in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. This did not prevent Lenin from attempting to recover the territory during the Russian Civil War. The subsequent Russi-Polish War 1920 and the Treaty of Riga declaring an armistice between Poland and Russia stimulated a long period of lack of control with the territory remaining untouched until **Stalin's** invasion in 1939. Relations with Russia remained tense even after Russia joined the war on the side of the allies in 1941. The question of governance was raised at the Yalta Conference in 1945. Stalin demanded that Poland had to be governed by a Soviet backed council. In 1947, a provisional Constitution and Council of State was established which was dominated by the Stalinist influenced Polish Workers' Party. By 1948, a one-party state had been established. Those who questioned the move away from social democracy were arrested and in 1950 30,000 workers were sent to concentration camps for strike action. Under **Khrushchev's** leadership, controls over Poland eased despite stirrings of desires for independence. In October 1956, Wladyslaw Gomulka and Khrushchev met and it was agreed that Soviet military intervention in Poland would end, as long as Poland remained in the Warsaw Pact. Gomulka was released from prison to take over leadership of Poland. This led to reforms such as allowing peasants to hold small landholdings and the Catholic Church was allowed to teach religion in school.

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: UKRAINE

Ukrainian nationals under **Alexander II**, were not demanding outright independence from Russia. Early Ukrainian activists, such as the thinkers, led by figures like historian Volodymyr Antonovych, believed Ukrainian national identity could thrive through cultural and educational development. Tsar Alexander II's government viewed even these mild cultural demands as a mortal threat to the integrity of the Russian Empire. This culminated in the Valuev Circular (1863) and the Ems Ukaz (1876), which banned the publication and importation of Ukrainian-language books, restricted theatre, and prohibited teaching in Ukrainian. **Alexander III**, building upon the earlier Ems Ukase, heavily suppressed the Ukrainian language. In 1888, he banned the use of Ukrainian in official institutions. In 1895, he outright outlawed the publication of children's books in Ukrainian.

From the 1850s, societies called Hromada's (communities) began to develop to promote Ukrainian culture. Towards the end of the century, younger, primarily student-led, Hromada's became involved in more political activities. One such group developed into the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, which in a pamphlet published in 1900 demanded "one, single, indivisible, free, independent Ukraine." During the 1905 Revolution, under **Nicholas II** 5000 workers went on strike in Odessa and unrest escalated into mass protests and rioting by June 1905, most notably with the Potemkin mutiny. The creation of the Duma led to some easing in Ukrainian national life. The ban on Ukrainian language publishing lapsed but the Ukrainian language was still excluded from schools. The Dumas initially provided Ukrainians with a new forum to press their national concerns. In the short-lived First and Second Dumas, Ukrainians had a sizable representation and formed their own caucus. Changes in the electoral law to the detriment of the peasantry and national minorities, however, severely limited Ukrainian representation and effectiveness in the Third and Fourth Dumas. With the collapse of the Russian Empire, the Central Rada formed in March 1917. This revolutionary parliament issued the First Universal on June 23rd 1917, which declared Ukrainian autonomy within a democratic Russia, bypassing the Russian **Provisional Government**. Initially, Russia rejected the Rada's early demands for autonomy. However, after July 1917, a compromise was reached. Petrograd formally recognised the Central Rada. The Rada also agreed not to separate from Russia before November elections.



Following WWI and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Ukraine gained independence. However, this was to be short-lived as by 1920 the majority of Ukraine had been absorbed into the RSFSR during the Civil War. Ukraine's status was further cemented when it became a member of the USSR in 1922. **Lenin** did allow cultural freedoms despite political control, with the policy of Ukrainisation providing linguistic and literary freedoms in Ukraine. Fearing this cultural revival would spark a revolution, **Stalin** banned the Ukrainian alphabet and closed cultural institutions. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian writers, intellectuals were arrested, exiled, or executed. Stalin's collectivisation also had a devastating effect in Ukraine encouraging the 1932-1933 Holodomor famine killing 5-7 million. **Khrushchev** shifted away from Stalin's policies however, the Ukrainian SSR was still heavily controlled. The most prominent legacy of Khrushchev's control occurred in 1954, when the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet transferred the Crimean Oblast to the Ukrainian SSR. While historically framed as a symbolic gift, historical consensus suggests the transfer was a pragmatic economic decision as it allowed the republic to better manage projects, such as the Dniro River hydro-electric projects. Although Khrushchev initially promoted a brief "cultural thaw" that rehabilitated many Ukrainian writers, he clamped down in the late 1950s. In 1959, he passed educational reforms designed to drastically reduce Ukrainian-language instruction in schools.

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: POLAND AND UKRAINE



How consistent was Russia's control over its nationalities in the period 1855-1964?

[25 marks]

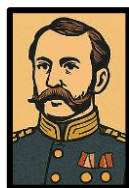
This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is a thick black vertical margin line on the left side, creating a narrow left margin. The paper appears to be a standard notebook page.[illegible]

The Treaty of Brest Litovsk posed the greatest challenge to Russia's control over its nationalities 1855-1964. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

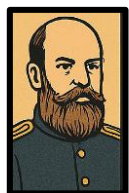
Challenge	How did this challenge control?	Challenge	How did this challenge control?
1863 Polish Revolt		Treaty of Brest-Litovsk	
1905 Revolution		Creation of the Central Rada	

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: POLAND AND UKRAINE THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



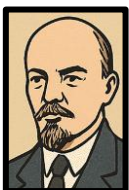
Alexander III
1881-1894



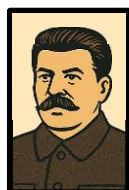
Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Alexander II

Under the tsars, national minorities within the Empire were controlled using a mixture of repression and reform along with the policy of Russification. Finland demanded a separate Finnish Parliament (Diet) in 1863 and a constitution in 1865. Alexander II conceded to both demands. It was not until the rule of Nicholas II that Finland was fully integrated into the Russian Empire and Russified. Jewish people were a unique group in that they did not have a homeland in the Russian Empire. Before the time of Alexander II, an artificial place of settlement had been established (the Pale of Settlement) but this was restrictive for Jewish people. Alexander II therefore allowed members of the Pale to migrate to other regions. Posed very little threat.

Alexander III

Alexander III ruled over a multi-racial empire, and one way for him to bring unity and cohesion to even its far-flung corners was to adopt a policy of “Russification” – insisting on the use of the Russian language. This policy had already been introduced late in the reign of the Tsar Liberator, but it reached new heights of implementation under Alexander III. In 1885 Russian was made the official language for the whole of the Russian Empire. All official documents had to be in Russian, and all other languages were forbidden in schools – even where other races were in the majority. Areas which were badly affected by these developments were Poland and the Baltic lands of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. But the area where this policy caused most resentment was Central Asia, where many people were not only non-Russian but also Muslim in religion. Alexander III followed the long-standing tradition of gradually increasing Russia’s influence in Central Asia. He managed to increase Russian power in the region without prompting conflict with Great Britain. Much of the Central Asian territory had been taken into Russia control by the 1880s through the use of force. Central Asia largely avoided Russification – the tsars seemed to think that, given the complexity of societies there and the difficulties with communication and transport, Russification was no achievable or desirable. However other methods had to be carried out if Russian leaders were to achieve their goals. In 1891 Alexander III passed the Steppe Statute which granted 40 acres of land to peasant settlers in the Kazak region – enough to establish a successful farm unit (although it was of no use to the native nomadic peoples). This made the land the property of the state.

It was the Jews, however, who suffered most under Alexander III as he fully embraced anti-Semitism. A famous comment on a law restricting Jewish entry to university reveals his attitude, “Let us never forget that it was the Jews who crucified Jesus”. Alexander III sought to diminish Jewish communities’ economic, political, and social rights. The May Laws of 1882 encouraged anti-Semitism, banned Jews from specific areas, and stopped them from getting certain jobs.

Nicholas II

The policy of Russification of the non-Russian peoples of the empire, which had been a characteristic of the reign of Alexander III, continued. Nicholas II held anti-Semitic views and favoured the continued discrimination, in economic and cultural life, against the Jews. Russification of the German schools in the Baltic provinces continued, and the old university of Tartu (now in Estonia), which had been closed in 1893, was reopened as the Russian University of Yuryev. Resistance was provoked in Finland by the military conscription law of 1898 and by the imperial manifesto of February 1899, which stated that imperial decrees should have precedence in Finland over Finnish laws, and thus threatened to reduce the Finnish diet to the status of a provincial assembly.

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Lenin

The Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR) had been proclaimed in January 1918. Its constitution, introduced in July, defined the state as “a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat”. Its job was to ensure transition to a socialist society. It employed the principle of “he who does not work shall not eat”. During the civil war, areas conquered by the Red Army were taken into the RSFSR, or in the case of larger areas, with a history of independence, such as the Ukraine, Belorussia or Georgia, it was made into a separate republic. The RSFSR was regarded as “Russia” (since the majority of the population was Russian) and was far larger and more powerful than the other republics. The status of the smaller republics in relation to the RSFSR led to an acrimonious debate between Lenin and Stalin, the Commissar for Nationalities. Stalin wanted all of the republics to be more directly controlled by Moscow. Lenin wanted a federation of soviet republics in which all were on a more or less equal footing. Lenin won the argument and at the end of 1922 the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formally established.

However, despite Lenin’s victory in the debate, the republics were never really free to govern themselves. Communist Party organisations in the republics were considered as regional branches of the Russian Communist Party and the governments of the republics were regarded as regional branches of Sovnarkom. By this point in time both Sovnarkom and the Communist Party Central Committee were controlled by the Politburo – meaning that by extension the republics were too. The Communists were keen to avoid any suggestion that the way they controlled the republics was in any way similar to the tsarist empire, in case this led to national revolts. They tried to establish the idea that they were all part of a benign brotherhood of different ethnic groups and deliberately encouraged the development of national consciousness – setting up native language schools and encouraging theatre and cultural events reflecting national traditions.

Stalin

In Yugoslavia, Tito objected to Stalinist communism. In particular, he objected to the overcentralisation of government associated with Stalin. Tito was also aware that under Russian influence Yugoslavia’s freedom to trade with whoever it wished would be curtailed. As a result of Tito’s non-compliance, Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform in 1948. In conjunction with this, Russia withdrew economic support hoping that a rapid decline in living standards would break the public’s backing of Tito. The envisaged destabilisation of the Yugoslavian government would make it easy for Stalin to step in and restore order. Relations between Yugoslavia and Russia remained frosty until after the death of Stalin.

Hungary emerged as an independent republic in November 1918. For the majority of the Second World War Hungary had operated as a pro-Nazi satellite state under the leadership of conservative Admiral Horthy. Hungary had been directly occupied by the Germans in 1944. At the end of the war, there was a significant change in the governance of Hungary. As with other east European states, “free” elections were held in Hungary but despite gaining less than a fifth of the votes, the communists ended up dominating the cabinet. Clearly, Stalin had influenced the setting up of the new regime. The Hungarian communists were not all pro-Stalin, but those who opposed Russia were made to suffer. For example, the interior minister, Janos Kadar, was imprisoned and tortured, and the foreign minister, Laszlo Rajk, was hanged. By the end of 1949, nearly a quarter of a million Communist Party members had been expelled. Until Stalin’s death, Hungary was governed in a repressive manner by the Stalinist leader Matyas Rakosi.

Khrushchev

After the initial shock of the “secret speech”, the reaction to de-Stalinisation bore a striking

TOPIC AREA: EMPIRE, MINORITIES, NATIONALITIES AND STATES

THEMATIC SKILLS: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTROL

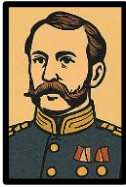
resemblance to that what occurred when Alexander II introduced his reforms. There were strikes (which included newly released prisoners from the gulags), riots and protests for even greater freedoms (especially from the satellite states such as Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary). But Khrushchev resisted the temptation to use violence to deal with unrest. Order was maintained through the MVD which was under the control of the party. However, Khrushchev still dismissed rebellious politicians at will (for example, Zhukov and Bulganin) and used physical force when deemed necessary (for example, tanks were sent into Hungary in 1956 to suppress the Nagy regime). Thus, Khrushchev, like Alexander II, did not intend to move to far from authoritarian rule; the one party, one leader state was to remain intact until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Yugoslavia had been the one eastern-European country to have successfully resisted Soviet domination in the post-war period. It remained Communist but independent of the USSR. Khrushchev made great play of Stalin's mishandling of Tito and the Yugoslav Communists. Khrushchev contended that, had Stalin shown any real understanding of Tito and the national cause he represented, Yugoslavia would have maintained closer ties with the Soviet Union. His main purpose appears to have been a reveal Stalin's foreign policy failures. He was not calling for a revision of Eastern-bloc Communism. Nevertheless, that was how many of the satellites saw it. They read Khrushchev's attack on Stalin as an invitation to seek greater national independence for themselves. Khrushchev visited Tito in 1955 and 1956. Throughout the Eastern-bloc there were stirrings of independence – most notably in Poland and Hungary. How determined the USSR under Khrushchev was to maintain its grip was clearly revealed in its reaction to events in Hungary in 1956. When the Soviet Union felt its own security threatened or its control of the Eastern-bloc challenged, it was prepared to use force against the satellites. De-Stalinisation was a false dawn for those who thought it signified genuine independence for Eastern Europe. Khrushchev was as determined as his predecessor had been to assert the USSR's right to dictate to the rest of the socialist world. This resulted in post-Stalinist Russia strengthening, no weakening its hold over its satellites.

Statement	Evidence supporting the statement	Evidence challenging the statement
Alexander II was the least successful leader in dealing with Russo-Polish relations		
Throughout the period, Russification failed to achieve its aims		
The First World War was pivotal in impacting on the fortunes of the Russian empire, nationalities and satellite states		
Russian expansionism in Asia was a disaster for Russian leaders		
Communist advances into Europe after the Second World War resulted in unnecessary political burdens		

TOPIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

THEMATIC SKILLS: POLITICAL/SOCIAL CONTROL THEMATIC SUMMARY



Alexander II
1855-1881



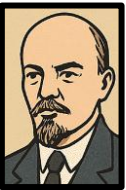
Alexander III
1881-1894



Nicholas II
1894-1917



Provisional
Government 1917



Lenin
1917-1924



Stalin
1924-1953



Khrushchev
1953-1964