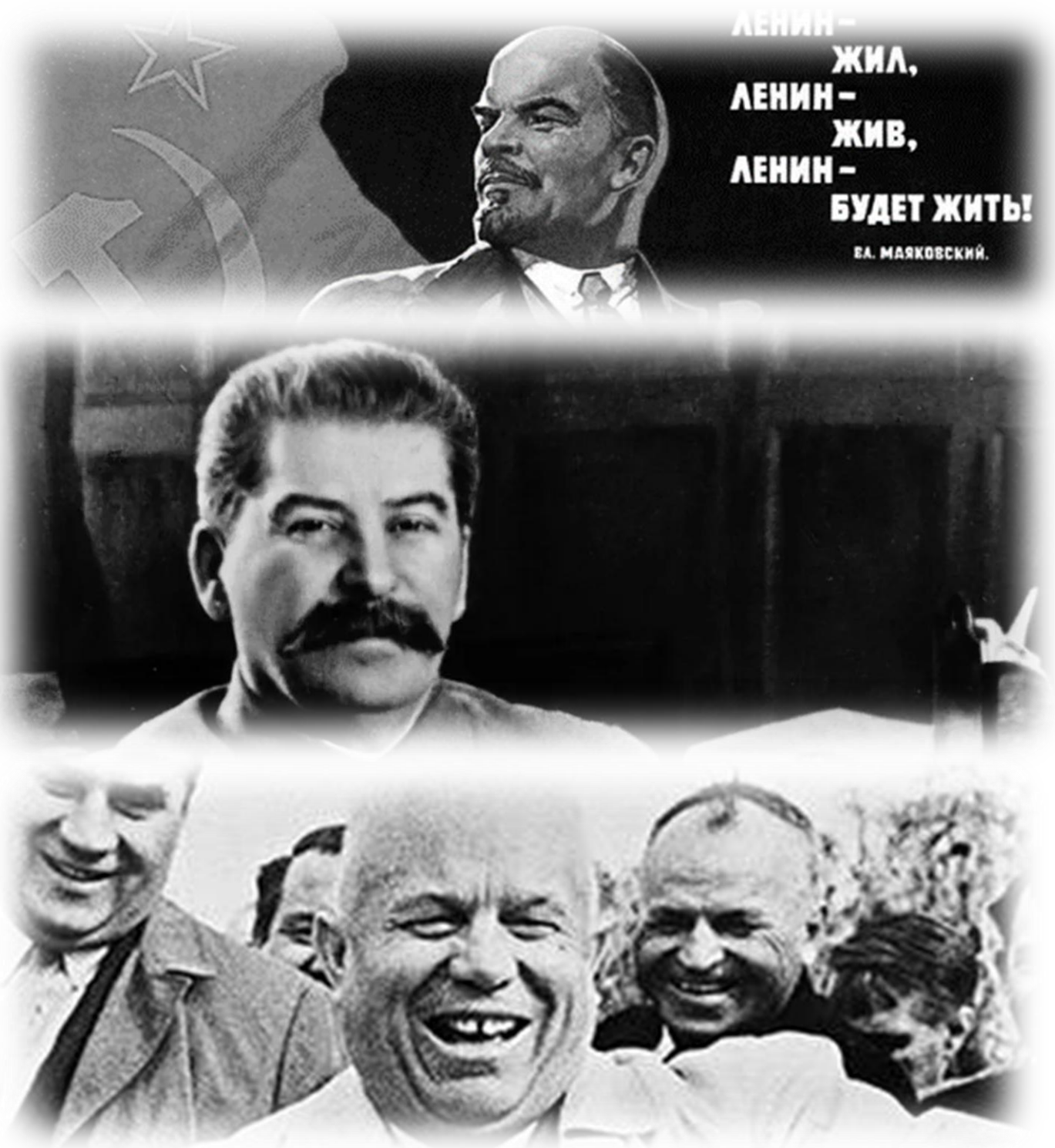


A-LEVEL HISTORY

AT NEWCASTLE SIXTH FORM COLLEGE



NAME: _____ TEACHER: _____



COMMUNISTS 1917-1964

UNIT 3: RUSSIA AND ITS RULERS 1855-1964

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

What problems faced Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the immediate aftermath of the October Revolution in 1917?

Source 1 – O. Figes, *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution 1891-1924*, 1997.

Five days after the Bolshevik seizure of power, Alexandra Kollantai, the new People's Commissar of Social Welfare, drove up to the entrance of a large government building on Kazan Street She was coming to take possession of it. An old liveried doorman opened the door and examined Kollantai head to foot (but would not let her in) Kollantai tried to force her way through, but the doorman blocked her way and closed the doors in her face The employers of the Ministry had joined a Civil Servants' strike in protest at the Bolshevik seizure of power....The early weeks of the new regime were frustrated by similar strikes and campaigns in all the major ministries and government departments, the banks, the post and telegraph office, the railway administration, municipal bodies and other vital institutions Trotsky was greeted with ironic laughter when he arrived at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and introduced himself to a meeting of officials as their new Minister; when he ordered them back to work, they left the building in protest The refusal of the State Bank and the Treasury to honour the new government's cash demands was the most serious threat of all. Without money to pay its supporters, the Bolshevik regime could not hope to survive for long.

Source 2 – R. Pipes, *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime 1912-24*, 1994.

The Bolsheviks were masters only of central Russia, and even there they ruled only the cities and industrial centres. The borderlands of what had been the Russian Empire, inhabited by peoples of other nationalities and religions, had separated themselves and proclaimed independence The Bolsheviks, therefore, had literally to conquer by force of arms the separated borderlands as well as the villages in which lived four-fifths of Russia's population. Their own power base was not very secure, resting on at most 200,000 party members and an army then in the process of dissolution.

Source 3 – Striking workers in the Sormovo factory, June 1918

The Soviet regime, having been established in our name, has become completely alien to us. It promised to bring workers socialism but has brought them empty factories and destitution.

Source 4 – C. Read, *From Tsar to Soviets: The Russian People and their Revolution* 1996

There was significant opposition to the uprising from within the Soviet itself. No major Soviet leader or group rallied to the Bolsheviks The Menshevik leaders organised forces loyal to themselves to put pressure on the Bolshevik leaders to relinquish their power and to share it more broadly. In particular, through the railwaymen's union, they threatened a paralysing strike.

Source 5 – O. Figes, *A People's Tragedy*, 1997, describing what happened when the crowds found thousands of bottles of alcohol in the wine cellar in the Winter Palace.

The drunken mobs went on the rampage Sailors and soldiers went round the well-to-do districts robbing apartments and killing people for sport The Bolsheviks tried to stem the anarchy by sealing off the liquor supply They posted guards around the cellar – who licensed themselves to sell off the bottles of liquor. They pumped the wine on the street but crowds gathered to drink it from the gutter Machine guns were set up to deter the looters – but still they came. For several weeks the anarchy continued – martial law was even imposed – until at last, the alcohol ran out with the old year, and the capital woke up with the biggest headache in history.

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the problems facing Lenin's regime following the October Revolution?

In what ways did Lenin consolidate power and authority following the October Revolution?

How successful was Lenin's consolidation of power?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Lenin

Trotsky

Stalin

Zinoviev

Bukharin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Decree

Sovnarkom

Constituent Assembly

Cheka



Interpretation B

In what year was the Certainly, the act which started it - the storming of the Winter Palace in Petrograd - was a small-scale military action. In contrast to Communist folklore, the events in Petrograd went unnoticed, not only by the population of the Russian Empire as a whole, but even by the citizens of Petrograd itself.

Mike Haynes

What do the interpretations tell us about the strength of Lenin’s position in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution

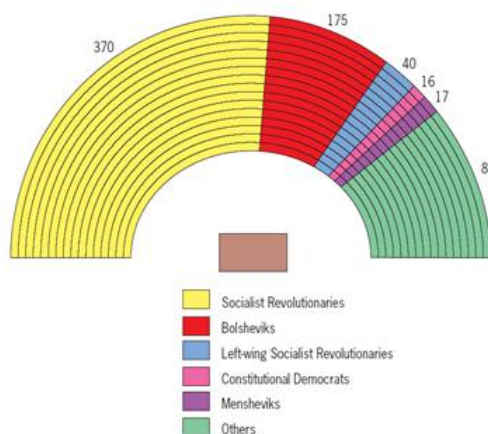
ISSUE	WHY DOES THIS POSE A PROBLEM TO LENIN?	PRIORITISATION – HOW IMPORTANT? JUSTIFY

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

The Constituent Assembly:

Lenin was forced into holding the elections for a Constituent Assembly as promised by the Provisional Government in November 1917, he expected a Bolshevik victory which would give further legitimacy to his regime.

Lenin allowed the Constituent Assembly to meet for one day – 5th January 1918 – then the doors were closed and the deputies were told to go home by the Bolsheviks Red Guards. A crowd which had gathered to protest about this were fired on by soldiers under Lenin's orders. He then established his own government – named SOVNARKOM.

**Decrees made by Sovnarkom in the first few months of power:****NOVEMBER:**

- Max. 8 hr working day / 48 hr working week for industrial workers
- Employment insurance for workers for injuries, illness and unemployment
- Abolishment of all titles and class distinctions – use of the title “comrade” for everybody
- Women declared equal to men
- All non-Bolshevik newspapers banned

DECEMBER:

- Liberal party – the Kadets banned
- All factories put under the control of workers' committees
- All banks nationalised
- Army to be made more democratic – officers to be elected; no ranks or saluting
- Church land confiscated by the state
- Divorce made easier – marriages do not have to take place in church

KEY DECREE: Decree on Land (November 1917)

Gave peasants the right to take over the land of the nobility. This legalised the land seizures which had occurred in the aftermath of the February Revolution.

Land could no longer be bought or sold; it belonged to the “entire” people

**Establishment of the Cheka (December 1917)**

Lenin's secret police. Led by the cold and incorruptible character of Felix Dzerzhinski, its headquarters were set up in Moscow. Many considerable a threat to the revolution were arrested, and often shot without trial. Lenin also used the Cheka to deal with peasants hoarding grain in an attempt to break the food crisis.

EXAM QUESTIONS

Russia under Lenin experienced most change compared to all Russian leaders between 1855 and 1964. How far do you agree?
[25 marks]

STRETCH

How far does Lenin's regime differ from that of rule under the Tsars?

SUMMARY NOTES**Notes Due:**

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Define the key terms

Constituent Assembly

Sovnarkom

Cheka

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

Reform	Repression

Think back to the activity of Stolypin following the 1905 Revolution.
In what way was Lenin’s activity following the October 1917 Revolution similar?

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REV/ECONOMY AND SOCIETY/EMPIRE

Ending the First World War was of crucial importance to Lenin. The war was hugely unpopular with the Russian people and a promise to end it had been a key pledge in Lenin’s “Peace, Land and Bread” slogan throughout 1917. The war had helped lead to the collapse of two previous governments (Nicholas II and the Provisional Government) and Lenin recognised that his failure to end the conflict could also topple his new regime.



NEGOTIATION PROCESS:
A Bolshevik delegate, led by Trotsky met the Germans in November-December 1917 in the Belorussian town of Brest-Litovsk. Trotsky attempted to drag out the negotiations in the hope that the revolutionary mood would spread into Germany. Aware of Trotsky’s “game-playing”

the Germans applied pressure by entering into separate negotiations with Ukraine and discussed support for their campaign to gain independence from the Russian Empire.

Lenin disagreed with Trotsky and other members of SONVARKOM (such as the SR representatives) that negotiations should be extended and the war should be used to start a revolutionary wave across Europe. Lenin ordered Trotsky to complete the negotiations as swiftly as possible. However, events were running away from the Russians.

Germany signed a separate peace treaty with the Ukrainians on 9th February 1918 and on the 18th February ordered a force of 700,000 troops to push further into Russian territory. It took them only 5 days to advance over 150 miles towards Petrograd. Emboldened by these successes the Germans pushed for more stringent terms in their peace talks. Under pressure, Lenin stated the terms should be accepted and on the 3rd March the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed.

KEY QUESTIONS

- What were the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk?
- Why did Russia agree to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk?
- How did the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk affect Lenin’s consolidation of power?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

- Lenin
- Trotsky

KEY DEFINITIONS

- Belorussia
- Sovnarkom
- Republic
- State

1/6 of its population
(62 million people)

1/3 of its agricultural
land

1/3 of its
railways

RUSSIA LOST:

Almost all of
its oil

2/3 of its coalmines

Half of its heavy
industry

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REV/ECONOMY AND SOCIETY/EMPIRE



EXAM QUESTIONS

Cultural and political freedoms across the Empire were greatest under Lenin's communist rule, How far do you agree?
 [25 marks]

What happened in the newly-independent territories following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk?

Case Study 1: Poland

Despite gaining independence from Russia in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the country continued to be occupied by Germany until the German defeat in World War One in November 1918.

Josef Pilsudski, a key figure from the Polish Socialist Party was appointed as Chief of State. Pilsudski had a long-running record of radicalism (for example, he had been a member of the People's Will and had been arrested in 1887 for his part in the plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III. Despite this radicalism Pilsudski set about leading a coalition government. Despite facing huge structural and economic devastation caused by the war – his government did achieve some notable reforms such as introduction of an 8 hr working day, free school education and women's suffrage. Polish sovereignty was formalised German defeat in WW1 and the Treaty of Versailles.

Case Study 2: Ukraine

Following the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Ukraine became a virtual puppet state of the German government. Ukraine found themselves heavily reliant on Germany for both military and financial support and the German government's influence in the region remained strong. Ukraine became a key source of food stuffs that could be extracted and sent back to Germany.

A conservative-style government was established in Ukraine and some improvements were made – for example millions of Ukrainian language textbooks were printed and thousands of schools set up. However, politically Ukraine remained very unstable – especially as German defeat in the war approached. In November 1918 a socialist government was declared in Ukraine, and following German defeat in the war the USSR annulled the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Ukraine and launched a series of attacks.

STRETCH

How had the make-up of the Empire changed between 1855-1918?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

What impact did the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk have on Russia and its Empire?

POLITICALLY

VAST

SUBSTANTIALLY

QUITE

SOMEWHAT

IRRELEVANT

SUPPORTING EVIDENCE:

ECONOMICALLY

VAST

SUBSTANTIALLY

QUITE

SOMEWHAT

IRRELEVANT

SUPPORTING EVIDENCE:

EMPIRE

VAST

SUBSTANTIALLY

QUITE

SOMEWHAT

IRRELEVANT

SUPPORTING EVIDENCE:

ANALYSIS DEVELOPMENT: For each factor consider whether the impact was positive or negative. Consider this from different perspectives – i.e. Lenin's perspective, the Russian people's perspective, those living in the broader Empire

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REV/EMPIRE, THNIC MINORITIES, SATELLITE STATES

**Origins of the 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.

Who were the different sides in the conflict?**Reds**

The Bolsheviks or Communists

Wanted to stay in power and strengthen their position

"Red Army" formed by the Red Guard and Kronstadt sailors, volunteer workers.

Red Army led by Trotsky.

Whites

Broad grouping of liberals, former tsarists, nationalists, SRs and moderate socialists.

Varied aims and were deeply divided. Only thing all sides agreed on was to remove the Bolsheviks.

Named the whites after the white uniforms worn by former Tsarist generals.

General Deniken/
General Yudenich /
Admiral Kolchak

Greens

Peasant armies - often made up from deserters from the other two sides.

Some fought for the Bolsheviks, some fought against them.

Often resembled groups of bandits who did well out of looting villages and towns.

Most famous Green army was led by Ukrainian nationalist Nestor Makno.

Foreign intervention

The Whites also had support from foreign powers. Britain, France, Japan and the USA, along with several other countries sent forces to help them. Their governments did not want to see Bolshevism spread across Europe. However, many have argued that the intervention of foreign countries helped the Communists. They portrayed the Whites as being used by foreign capitalist powers, while they themselves were the defenders of ordinary Russian people from foreign invaders. In the face of a series of White army defeats – the foreign powers withdrew their support by the end of 1919.

Reason for Bolshevik victory - Geography

The Communists dominated the heartland of Russia – an area between Petrograd, Moscow and Tsaritsyn, with a population of approximately 60 million. Moscow and Petrograd were important industrial centres and the area included most of Russia's

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the origins of the Civil War?

What was the main reason for Bolshevik victory during the Civil War?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Deniken

Yudenich

Kolchak

Lenin

Trotsky

KEY DEFINITIONS

Reds

Whites

Greens

Civil War

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REV/EMPIRE, THNIC MINORITIES, SATELLITE STATES

railway network. This territory was continuous and unbroken by areas of opposition control. This was a huge advantage to the Communists for the following reasons:

- They could produce more munitions than the White armies, who had to rely on foreign support
- They could use the railways to distribute munitions to the various Fronts
- They could use the railways to quickly send troops to wherever they were needed
- They could communicate more effectively because their territory was continuous, allowing them to coordinate attacks against their enemies.
- By contrast, the Whites were geographically dispersed.
- In addition, White generals launched offensives at different times, allowing Red forces to move around and defeat them one by one.

Reasons for Bolshevik victory – Trotsky

When Trotsky was made Commissar for War in 1918, the army was on the point of disintegration. He restored discipline and professionalism and turned it into an effective fighting force. Conscription was introduced and he reorganised the army along strict hierarchical lines and brought back thousands of former tsarist officers to train and command army units. Many of these officers were unemployed, hungry and poor, and seized the opportunity to get back into the world they knew best. To ensure their loyalty, Trotsky had their families held hostage. Trotsky appointed a political commissar to each army unit to watch and report on the actions of the officers and make sure they were politically correct. Trotsky ended the democratic activities of the army which had emerged after the October Revolution, such as the election of officers. This was not well received by the soldiers. But Trotsky went further – he re-established harsh military discipline, bringing back the death penalty for a range of offences such as desertion or selling your weapon. He thought that this was essential to make men fight. However, Trotsky was also able to inspire his men through his intense energy, passion and bravery. Travelling in a specially equipped train, he often rushed to the points where the fighting was fiercest to provide support. His presence did seem to make a difference and he genuinely inspired men in a way that other leaders, especially the White leaders, could not.

CIVIL WAR IN POLAND	CIVIL WAR IN UKRAINE
The Russian Civil War created the prospect of Poland losing its newly found freedom – Lenin believed that the Polish proletariat would welcome him – but this did not happen. Russian forces were halted outside Warsaw before being forced to retreat. By October 1920, an armistice between Russia and Poland was signed: → Polish independence was confirmed → Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia would come under Polish authority	Following the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, activity in Ukraine against Lenin's Bolsheviks fell into guerrilla style fighting. However, these campaigns (First Winter Campaign 1920 and Second Winter Campaign 1921) ultimately were unsuccessful. In a treaty in 1922 Ukraine formally became an SSR – "Socialist Soviet Republic". Throughout the 1920s Ukraine was allowed to have its own government and a period of "Ukrainization" led to the promotion of Ukrainian language and culture.

Jozef Pilsudski: Dominant Polish statesman during 1920s. Despite having been involved in the creation of the newly independent Polish state, he became disillusioned with democracy staging a coup in 1926.

Josef Stalin: Commissar for Nationalities under Lenin. Cautioned against the idea that national minorities would willingly join USSR believing their nationalist feeling was too strong.

EXAM QUESTIONS

The Civil War had the greatest impact on the lives of ordinary Russian people between 1855 and 1964. How far do you agree?
[25 marks]

STRETCH

What were the social, political and economic impacts of the Civil War?

How does the Civil War compare to WWI?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Factor	Detail	Analysis
Failures of the Opposition		
Geography and Organisation		
Trotsky		
War Communism		
POLICY	DEFINITION – WHAT DOES THIS MEAN IN PRACTICE?	CONSEQUENCE? WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF THIS?
Decree on Nationalisation – mass nationalisation of all economic activity.		
Ban on private trade.		
Grain requisitioning and rationing.		
Increased use of terror.		

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION/ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

In order to support the Red Army during the civil war, Lenin introduced a new economy policy called War Communism.

War Communism: Key features:

- A Supreme Economic Council was formed to run the economy.
- Nationalisation of industry. 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.
- Private trade was banned.
- Grain surpluses were seized from the peasants. -Anyone caught withholding grain was liable to be shot.
- A steep decline in the use of money. This was replaced by rationing organised by the state.
- The use of terror, slave labour and seizure of goods and grain by the state.

POLICY IN TOWNS ...

The state took control of industry and told factories what to produce. The factories had been handed over to the control of workers' committees in 1917, but the committees had proven ineffective. Lenin, now put in his own managers, and strict discipline was imposed on the workers. Trade unions were banned and workers were prevented from leaving the cities. Food was rationed, but people were only entitled to a ration card if they were working. The bread ration was meagre – sometimes as low as 200 grams a day. Larger rations were only accessible for essential workers and soldiers. The only other way of getting food was via the illegal black market. Money became virtually worthless (the rouble of 1920 was worth only one % of its 1917 value). By 1920, wages were often paid in food or other goods, and many people bartered goods instead of using money.

POLICY IN COUNTRYSIDE

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

Source 1 – an eye-witness account of the Black Market

“The Black Market sells everything. There are former rich selling their last items. The best grand piano sells for half the price of an ordinary record player The formerly richest and most spoiled are now satisfied if they get some black bread and potatoes each day. An acquaintance of mine, formerly owner of a palace in Moscow, was given, as his place of residence, the bathroom of his former home.”

Source 2 – From V. Serge's *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*

“Parties which were sent into the countryside to obtain grain by requisition might be driven away by the peasants with pitchforks. Savage peasants would slit open a Commissar's belly, pack it with grain and leave him by the roadside as a lesson to all”.

KEY QUESTIONS

What was the impact of War Communism?

How successful was the policy of War Communism?

How did the policy affect various social groups within Russia?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Lenin

Trotsky

KEY DEFINITIONS

SEC

Decree

Nationalisation

Cheka

Black Market

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION/ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

By 1921 Russia had been at war (either against external enemies – i.e. Germany, or internal enemies – i.e. Civil War) for 8 years and the country was at near collapse.

There is no word of strong enough force to use when one comes to the situation in Russia in those years. Total industrial output fell to around 20 per cent of pre-war levels Total output of finished products in 1921 was 16% of 1912 levels. For unfinished products it was 12%. Production in key sectors was down to around 29% in mining; 36% in oil; less than 10% in the metal industries; 7% in cotton textiles; 34% in wool. Transport (mainly rail and river) also collapsed to about 20% of the pre-war level. Agricultural production was more robust but it became centred on the subsistence of the producers. Surpluses became smaller and smaller. The grain harvest in 1921 was only 48% of the 1913 figure.

From C. Read: From Tsar to Soviets, 1996

Population of Petrograd 1914-20

Year	City population in millions	Births per thousand of population	Deaths per thousand of population
1914	2.2	25	21
1917	2.5	18	25
1918	1.5	15	44
1919	0.8	15.5	81.5
1920	0.6	12	Uncertain – between 90 and 100

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.



By March 1921 Soviet power in the countryside had virtually ceased to exist. The consignment of grain to the cities had been brought to a virtual halt within the rebel strongholds. As the urban food crisis deepened and more workers went on strike it became clear the Bolsheviks were facing a revolutionary situation. Lenin was thrown into panic ... “We are barely holding on,” he acknowledged in March.

In March 1921, sailors at the Kronstadt naval base (just outside Petrograd) staged an uprising because ‘life under the yolk of the Communist dictatorship has become more terrible than death.’ The sailors had been strong supporters of the Bolsheviks during the Revolution. By 1921 these were not the same men – most had gone off to fight in the Civil War – but the uprising was still a shock to the government. Lenin described the rebellion as the ‘flash that lit reality more than anything else’. Trotsky had used troops to crush them, and 20,000 men were killed and wounded in the attack. The sailors were executed in batches or sent off to labour camps.

KEY QUESTIONS

What was the state of Russia by 1921?

How does this compare to 1917?

To what extent was Lenin a Red Tsar?

How successful was Lenin in comparison to his Tsarist predecessors?

What is the significance of the 1921 famine?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Lenin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Cheka

Tambov Rising

Petrograd

War Communism

Civil War

Famine

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

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 details of the NEP were

**Grain requisitioning abolished**

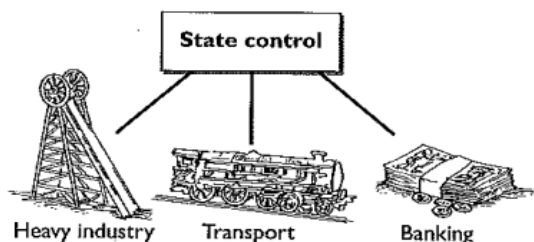
Grain requisitioning was replaced by a 'tax in kind'. Peasants had to give a fixed proportion of their grain to the state, but the amount that they had to hand over was much less than the amounts taken by requisitioning. They could sell any surpluses on the open market.

**Ban on private trade removed**

The removal of the ban on private trade meant that food and goods could flow more easily between the countryside and the towns. Privately owned shops were reopened. Rationing was abolished and people had to buy food and goods from their own income. The money economy was back!

**Small businesses reopened**

Small-scale businesses under private ownership were allowed to reopen and make a profit. This included businesses like small workshops and factories that made goods such as shoes, nails and clothes. Lenin realised that peasants would not sell their produce unless there were goods that they wanted on sale.

**State control of heavy industry**

The state kept control of large-scale heavy industries like coal, steel and oil. It also retained control of transport and the banking system. Industry was organised into trusts that had to buy materials and pay their workers from their own budgets. If they failed to manage their budgets efficiently, they could not expect the state to bail them out.

worked out among members of the Politburo and presented to the party with the full support of the party heavy hitters. However, the policy was presented to the party in a very delicate way, as many party members considered the NEP to be a betrayal of the principles of the October Revolution.



'I ask you comrades, to be clear that the New Economic Policy is only a temporary deviation, a tactical retreat'.

Zinoviev



'We are making economic concessions to avoid making political concessions'.

Bukahrin



Lenin compared the NEP to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, something that had to be done but which would not last forever

KEY QUESTIONS

How does the NEP differ from the policy of War Communism?

Why was the NEP introduced?

How successful was the NEP?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Lenin

Trotsky

Zinoviev

Bukharin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Grain requisitioning

Kulaks

War Communism

Heavy industry

Scissors crisis

NEPMEN

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

Impact of the New Economic Policy

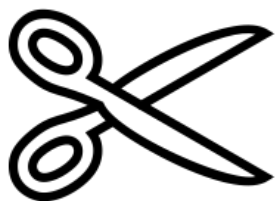
The shock of the Kronstadt rebellion worked to help Lenin to gain the support of the party for the NEP. However, he followed up the passing of the NEP with further calls for unity and an end to splits and factionalism within the party. At the Tenth Party Congress in 1921 a **“ban on factions”** was passed.

This meant that once party policy was agreed by the Central Committee then everybody was expected to accept it and not form “factions” to challenge the party line.

The penalty for factionalism was expulsion from the party. Therefore, the introduction of the NEP saw a loosening of economic controls, but a tightening of political control. From March 1921, Russia was governed by a dictatorship more absolute than any government under the Tsarist autocracy.

The economic results of the NEP were better than anyone expected:

- There was food in the markets in the cities and brisk trade in other goods. Shops, cafes and restaurants opened and life began to flow back into the cities.
- By 1923, cereal production had increased by 23% compared with 1920.
- 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%.
- 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.



Rising industrial prices

Falling agricultural profits

One of the biggest changes lay in the revival of the private traders – “Nepmen” as they came to be called. They scoured the villages buying up produce – grain, meat, eggs, vegetables – to take into the markets in the cities and sell for a small profit. This group expanded quickly, and by 1923 Nepmen handled as much as three-quarters of the retail trade. This group made deals, often acting in corrupt ways. Lenin had inadvertently created a “get-rich-quick” society and the Nepmen openly displayed their accumulating wealth. They crowded the restaurants, where dinners with French wine cost \$25 a head, and then went on to gaming clubs or brothels. Prostitution and crime flourished.

The kulaks did do well out of the NEP. Many made money from selling to the Nepmen and were able to farm their land without too much state interference.

Many people inside and outside of Soviet Russia thought that the NEP marked the end of the Communist experiment. They believed that Lenin’s government had realised that centrally directed industry and food supply could not work and had returned to the capitalist fold. Foreign powers wanted to encourage this trend and started to make trade agreements, Germany in 1922 and Britain in 1924.

EXAM QUESTIONS

Lenin’s economic policy had the least impact on economic progress in Russia in comparison to all Russian leaders between 1855-1964. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

STRETCH

To what extent does the NEP demonstrate a pragmatic form of leadership from Lenin?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

KNOWLEDGE	ANALYSIS	EVALUATION
Summarise the key features of the NEP. Identify key statistics highlighting the impact of the NEP: Define: Ban on Factions: NEPMEN: Scissors crisis	How similar was the NEP to War Communism? What impact did the NEP have on Russia’s peasants? Why was the NEP controversial to many within the Communist Party? What does the “ban on factions” tell us about Lenin’s political control of government?	Was the NEP a success? “The NEP was a policy not in line with Communist ideological principles”. How far do you agree?

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

How did Lenin deal with threats from people who opposed him?

**CENSORSHIP:**

One of his first measures was to close down the opposition press: first the newspapers of the centre and the right, and later the socialist press.

**ARREST:**

The Kadets, who had done fairly well in the elections to the Constituent Assembly were denounced and outlawed. Leading Kadets were arrested and two were brutally beaten to death by Bolshevik sailors. The Kadets were soon followed into prison by leading right-wing Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks – all before the end of 1917. This pattern continued with 5000 Mensheviks being arrested in 1921.

**ASSASSINATION:**

After addressing a meeting of workers in August 1918, Lenin was shot in the neck and badly wounded by a Ukrainian SR called Fanya Kaplan. She claimed that she was protesting about the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This assassination attempt prompted the Cheka to launch the Red Terror in the summer of 1918. Following three days of torture from the Cheka, Kaplan was executed.

**SHOW TRIALS:**

In the aftermath of the introduction of the NEP – former members of the SRs who were already in prison were put on trial for their supposed links to attempting to assassinate Lenin. 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.

**EXECUTION OF THE ROMANOVs:**

During the Civil War, the former royal family were consistently moved around Communist controlled territory to prevent the White army freeing them. In July 1918, the order was given to deal with the problem of the existence of the Romanovs once and for all and they were executed in Ekaterinburg.

THE CHEKA:

Main instrument of Lenin's terror. Examples of how Lenin used the Cheka:



During the civil war: White officers had their epaulettes nailed to their shoulders in some areas and some naked Polish officers were impaled on branches of trees.

Officials records put the figure for the deaths at the hands of the Cheka for the years 1918-20 at nearly 13,000, but others estimates that the real number was closer to 300,000.

The Cheka was particularly active in the countryside, helping grain requisitioning squads collect grain from the peasants. Peasants did resist – murdering Bolshevik party officials. One Cheka man was found with his stomach slit open and stuffed with grain as a lesson to others. In another village, the twelve members of a grain requisitioning brigade were decapitated and their heads were put on poles. However, the Cheka responded to resistance in a fierce manner. They were supported by Lenin: in a telegram to Bolshevik leaders in Penza he wrote, "Hang no fewer than a hundred well-known Kulaks, rich-bags and bloodsuckers and make sure the hanging takes place in full view of the people".

KEY QUESTIONS

To what extent did Lenin successfully deal with opposition to the regime?

How far did Lenin's methods differ from that of his Tsarist predecessors?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Lenin

Trotsky

Fanya Kaplan

KEY DEFINITIONS

Cheka

NEP

Show trials

Romanov

Kadets

Mensheviks

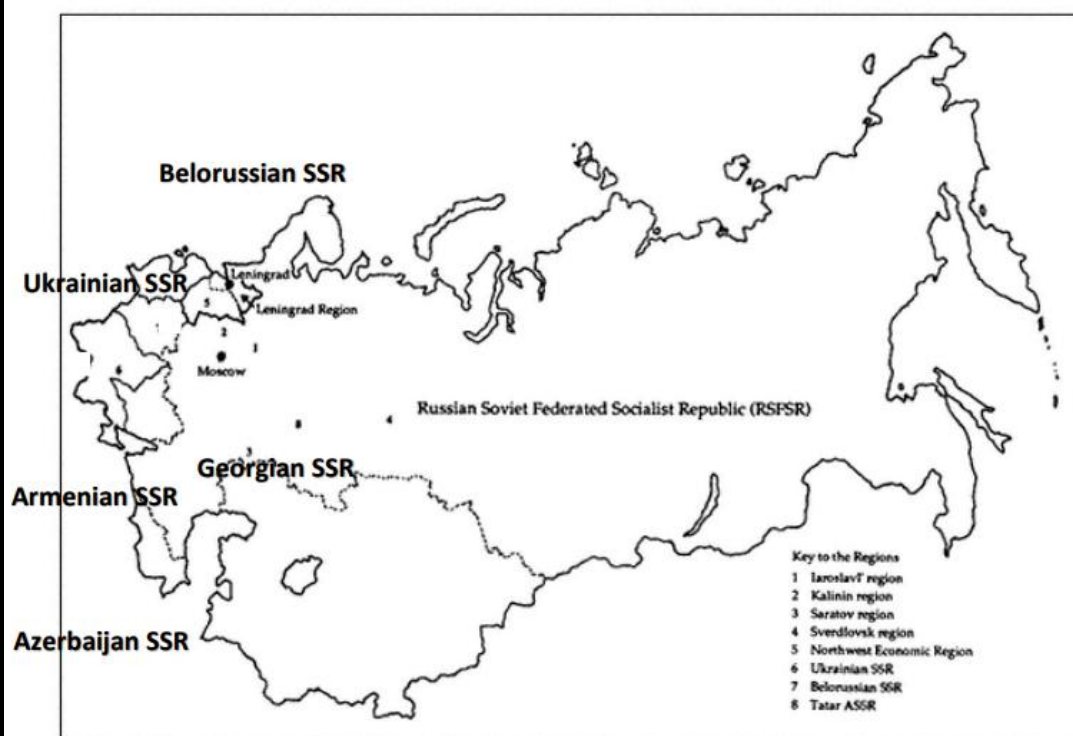
THEMATIC AREA: ETHNIC MINORITIES, EMPIRE, SATELLITE STATES

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.



KEY QUESTIONS

What was the significance of the creation of the USSR?

To what extent did Lenin maintain control over states?

To what extent were cultural, personal and political freedoms of states limited under Lenin’s regime?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Lenin

Stalin

KEY DEFINITIONS

RSFSR

USSR

SSR

Politburo

Sovnarkom

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Lenin died in January 1924, aged 53. Suffering a series of strokes since 1922, when doctors examined his brain, they found that it had shrunk to almost half of its normal size. Lenin had spent much of the period from 1922 until his death, out of the public eye and the day-to-day work of running the government. This gave Lenin time to think about the progression of the party – especially after his death. After the second of his strokes in December 1922, Lenin began drafting his last political testament, a 'letter to the party congress' to be read after his death.



Extracts from Lenin's Political Testament – 25 December 1922

"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has immeasurable power concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand ... is distinguished not only by his outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C (Central Committee), but he has displayed excessive self-assurance These two qualities of the two outstanding leaders of the present C.C can inadvertently lead to a split.

I shall not give further appraisals of the personal qualities of other members of the C.C but recall that the October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev was no accident, but neither can the blame for it be laid on the personally, any more than non-Bolshevism can upon Trotsky. Speaking of the young C.C members I wish to say a few words about Bukharin Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered a favourite of the whole Party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist.

(Section added later on 4 January 1923)****

Stalin is too rude and this fault becomes unacceptable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades that a way be found to remove Stalin from that post and replace him with someone else who differs from Stalin in all respects, someone

Stalin and Krupskaya

It is thought that this additional comment on Stalin came after Stalin insulted Lenin's wife Krupskaya. Fearing that Lenin was positioning Trotsky as his successor, Stalin tried to visit the very sick Lenin. Krupskaya refused to let Stalin do this, and in a telephone conversation he insulted her, using crude and abusive language. Lenin was extremely angry at this.

KEY QUESTIONS

What is the significance of the response to the death of Lenin?

How did Stalin respond and what is the significance of this?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Lenin

Stalin

Trotsky

Krupskaya

Bukharin

Zinoviev

KEY DEFINITIONS

Lenin's political testament

Lenin's funeral and the Lenin cult

The unexpected news of Lenin's death led to widespread displays of public grief. Theatres and shops were closed for a week while portraits of Lenin draped in red and black were displayed in windows. Over three days, three and a half million people queued for hours to file past his body lying in state. However much they hated the regime the people seemed to have a genuine affection for Lenin, much as they had for the tsars.

Stalin made the most of Lenin's funeral to advance his position in the party. Just before Lenin's death, Trotsky was ill and had been sent to the south of Russia for a rest-holiday. Stalin contacted him and told him that he (Trotsky) would not be able to get back in time for the funeral. So Trotsky did not attend and it looked as though he

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

could not be bothered to turn up. His reputation and political prestige were severely damaged by his non-attendance. Stalin, on the other hand, acted as one of the pallbearers and made a speech in which he appeared to be taking on the mantle of Leninism. Stalin hoped to transfer to himself the prestige, respect and loyalty associated with Lenin. He set himself up as Lenin's disciple, the person who would carry on Lenin's work. He was already thinking of the looming power struggle.



Source 1 – J.V. Stalin, *Collected Works*. These are extracts from Stalin's speech at Lenin's funeral

There is nothing higher than the calling of the member of a Party whose founder and leader is Comrade Lenin Leaving us, Comrade Lenin ordered us to hold high and keep pure the great title of member of the Party. We vow to thee Comrade Lenin, that we shall honourably fulfil this commandment Leaving us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to keep the unity of the Party like the apple of our eye. We vow to thee, Comrade Lenin. That we will honourably fulfil this, thy commandment



Source 2 – Picture from Lenin's funeral
Stalin keen to present himself as a key mourner is pictured close to Lenin's body.

EXAM QUESTIONS

STRETCH

How does the transfer of power differ from that passed between Tsarist leaders?

What problems might this pose?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

FOR EACH KEY THEME NOTE DOWN ANY RELEVANT EVIDENCE

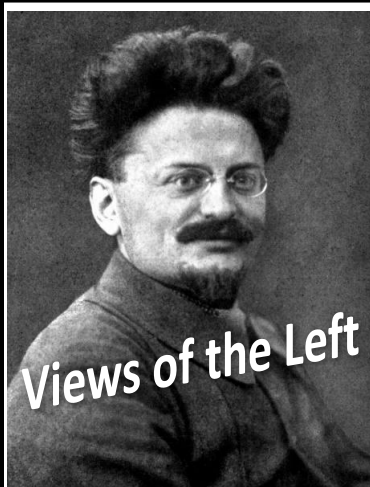
NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

WAR AND REVOLUTION

ETHNIC MINORITIES, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, EMPIRE AND SATELLITE STATES

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

**NEP AND INDUSTRY: “the dictatorship of industry”**

In 1921, following the famine and devastation of the Civil War, the NEP was accepted by all sections of the Party. However, by 1923 the economy had stabilised. This led Trotsky and other left-wing Communists to call a radical change in policy. The left of the Party argued that the NEP was both ideologically and economically misguided. It was ideologically wrong because it favoured the peasants and returned power to the capitalists at the expense of the working class. This was clearly a betrayal of the principles of the Revolution which was supposed to give power to the

industrial workers. Economically, the NEP was failing to deliver industrial growth. The NEP had successfully stimulated agriculture, but conditions for workers were yet to improve and unemployment in the cities remained high.

To address these ideological and economic problems, left-wing economist Yevgeni Preobrazhensky proposed “squeezing” the peasants through heavy taxes. The profits raised from this taxation would be invested in heavy industry. Trotsky described this approach as “the dictatorship of industry”. The primary aim of this policy was to accelerate industrialisation at the expense of the wealthy peasants.

WORLD REVOLUTION: “permanent revolution”

Trotsky’s theory of “permanent revolution” suggested that no socialist society could exist alone. Fundamentally, he did not believe that Russia had the economic resources or technological sophistication to complete the transition to socialism on its own. Therefore, Trotsky hoped for a revolution in western Europe, believing that the communist regimes in more advanced countries would then provide Russia with the resources needed to build socialism.

FUTURE OF THE REVOLUTION – “bureaucratic degeneration”

The left wing were concerned that the Communists had transformed from radical revolutionaries into government bureaucrats. They feared that bureaucrats who had joined the Party for the main purpose of getting well-paid jobs lacked the revolutionary spirit and commitment necessary to fight capitalism.

Leaders of the left wing set out this view in the Declaration of the Forty-Six (1923). The Declaration claimed that ordinary Party members had lost their power to the “bureaucratic apparatus”. Moreover, it stated that those who disagreed with Party policy were afraid to speak out because of the power wielded by this bureaucracy.

In later years, Trotsky claimed that the process of bureaucratisation had been accelerated by the Lenin Enrolment which admitted poorly educated workers into Party membership. Trotsky’s solution to the problem of “bureaucratic degeneration” was greater openness and democracy within the Communist Party. While Trotsky’s proposals were popular on the left wing, they were clearly threatening to the growing number of Communists with good jobs and powerful positions within the Party bureaucracy.

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the key differences between the views of the left and views of the right?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Trotsky

Stalin

Kamenev

Zinoviev

Bukharin

KEY DEFINITIONS

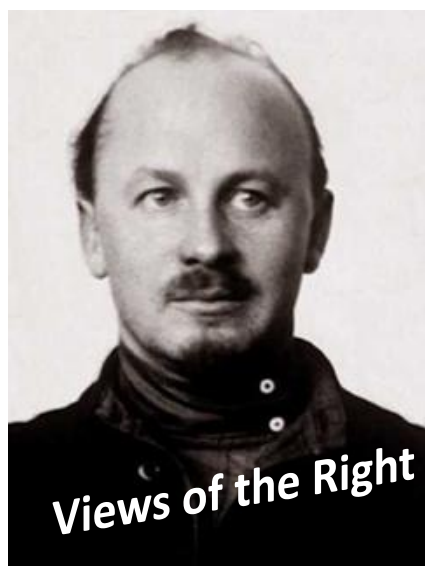
Bureaucrat

Revolution

NEP

Socialism

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

**NEP AND INDUSTRY: socialism “at a snail’s pace”**

The right wing of the Party was more cautious. For the right wing, economic stability took precedence over rapid industrialisation. They emphasised the fact that the Soviet government was based on an alliance of two classes – the workers and the peasants. This “smychka” (alliance) would be threatened by increasing taxes on the peasants. Consequently, the right wing favoured continuing the NEP. Bukharin – the leading advocate of the NEP – suggested that the NEP should last for a period of perhaps twenty years. He summed up this position by stating that socialism in Russia would be

achieved “at a snail’s pace” – industry would grow, but slowly. Stalin’s position was similar to the right wings, but unlike Bukharin he was never a “150 per cent Nepist”. For most of the 1920s, Stalin agreed with Bukharin that the NEP was the correct policy. However, Stalin was always more interested in industrialisation than Bukharin, and never as enthusiastic about rich farmers. Consequently, when the NEP started to fail, he quickly abandoned it. Nevertheless, Stalin refused to ally himself with the left as it would mean forming an alliance with Trotsky. For these reasons, Stalin was in the ideological centre of the party rather than on the right.

WORLD REVOLUTION– “socialism in one country”

The right wing of the party presented Trotsky’s ideas as pessimistic and defeatist. In 1924, Stalin and Bukharin developed the idea of “socialism in one country”. In direct opposition to Trotsky, they claimed that the unique character of the Russian Revolution would allow “the general victory of socialism” in Russia. Moreover, they claimed that this was the view Lenin had held. They believed that the Russian Revolution could be successful on its own because of the smychka between workers and peasants. This alliance made Russia economically self-sufficient and therefore foreign aid was unnecessary. Socialism in one country was highly appealing because it played on Russian nationalism by giving Russia a leading role in world history.

FUTURE OF THE REVOLUTION – “Bonapartism”

Stalin argued that the real threat to the revolution was Trotsky. Drawing on the history of the French Revolution, Stalin pointed to the danger of a revolution being hi-jacked by a military dictator. Following the French Revolution, Napoleon Bonaparte – a gifted speaker, intellectual, and a leader of the revolutionary army – had installed himself as Emperor of France. To Stalin, the parallels with Trotsky appeared obvious. Many in the Party therefore feared that Trotsky, like Napoleon Bonaparte, would use his position as Head of the Red Army to become a military dictator. This would spell the end of the Communist Party and the degeneration of the revolution. Trotsky’s statement in 1927 that he would assume the position of dictator if Russia was attacked by foreign powers did nothing to allay these fears.

EXAM QUESTIONS

STRETCH

Which views did Stalin align with?

How did the differing ideologies affect Stalin’s rise to power?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

**ROUND ONE: LENIN'S DEATH**

Stalin versus Trotsky: Stalin strikes two significant blows at Lenin's funeral.

→ Trotsky, recovering from illness over 1000 miles away, was told that Lenin's funeral was on Saturday and that he wouldn't arrive back in time. It was actually held a day later

→ Stalin delivered an impassioned speech at Lenin's funeral, creating an impression of friendship and camaraderie.

**ROUND TWO: STALIN DODGES A KNOCK-OUT BLOW**

Lenin's wife gives Lenin's last political testament to the Central Committee in May 1924. It included a concise assessment of the party leaders. It recommended that Stalin be removed from his position, and that he was unfit to lead Russia. If made public it could have ended Stalin's career. The Stalin dominated Central Committee suppressed the document

**ROUND THREE: TROTSKY ON THE ROPES**

Thirteenth Party Congress in 1924: Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev were now all working together to lead the party (the triumvirate). At the congress, Trotsky made brilliant speeches on making the party more democratic; Stalin packed the Congress with his own supporters so Trotsky was easily defeated; 'Ban on factions' prevented Trotsky from appealing.

**ROUND FOUR: THE LEFT SLUGS IT OUT**

In 1924, Zinoviev and Kamenev mounted a vicious campaign against Trotsky. Trotsky retaliated by attacking them in 'Lessons from October.' Stalin waited in the background, continued to build his powerbase. Then presented himself as a moderate peacemaker, who wanted to unite the Party.

**ROUND FIVE: KNOCKOUT BLOW FROM THE LEFT**

1925, Stalin's policy of 'Socialism in One Country' proved very popular with the right wing of the party. A new alliance formed: Stalin and Bukharin. At the 14th Party Congress in 1925, Kamenev and Zinoviev attacked Stalin and called for an end to the NEP. In 1926, Kamenev and Zinoviev joined with Trotsky to form the United Opposition. This led Stalin to accuse them of factionalism and all three lost their positions within the party and were expelled in 1927.

**ROUND SIX: KNOCKOUT BLOW FOR THE RIGHT**

1928, Stalin turned against the NEP and attacked the right wing of the party. Stalin now supported the former policies of Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev. Party Congress of 1929, Bukharin launched a defence of the NEP. Bukharin was outvoted by Stalin's supporters who wanted rid of the NEP. Bukharin was removed from the Politburo and party bodies.

THE WINNER:

December 1929, Stalin celebrated his 50th birthday. He was now the undisputed leader of the USSR.

**KEY QUESTIONS**

Why was there a power struggle following the death of Lenin?

What problems faced Stalin during the leadership struggle?

How well did Stalin navigate the leadership struggle?

How would we describe the nature of government following the death of Stalin?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Trotsky

Stalin

Kamenev

Zinoviev

Bukharin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Decree

Sovnarkom

Constituent Assembly

Cheka

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY



Stalin's first Five Year Plan focused on the rapid industrialisation of Russia. Collectivisation was introduced as part of this and hoped to deal with the inadequacy of Russian agriculture.

- More efficient methods of farming
- Higher production of grain for workers and to sell overseas
- Required less workers, releasing peasants to move to the cities
- The peasantry would be 'socialised'
- Easier for the government to collect grain

Collectivisation is the process of uniting inefficient farms into one productive collective farm.

Toz: Peasants owned their own land but shared machinery and duties

Sovkhoz: Farms owned and ran by the state. Peasants would be paid a regular wage.

Kolkhoz: All land held in common and ran by an elected committee. Peasants farmed the land as one unit.

With the announcement of Stalin's first Five Year Plan came the introduction of voluntary Collectivisation in December 1927. Small, backward peasant farms contributed to continued food shortages and famine (most recently 1927-1928) which highlighted the issues with agricultural production. Collectivisation aimed to unite inefficient farms into one productive collective farm in the form of a Toz, Sovkhoz or Kolkhoz. Stalin hoped that collective farming would be more productive in terms of machinery as well as an effective way of creating surplus food for workers and trade. In addition to this, it was seen that collectivisation would socialise the peasantry and eliminate the wealthy Kulaks that believed in private ownership.

Though Stalin had high hopes for collectivisation, it was not popular with peasants as many ignored the call for voluntary collectivisation. As a result of this, in 1929 collectivisation was made compulsory causing outrage and rebellion among peasants. Peasants would burn crops, farmland and kill livestock so they wouldn't have to work on collective farms. Consequently, another famine occurred in 1930 forcing Stalin to temporarily halt collectivisation.

As Stalin decided to re-start collectivisation in 1931, more resistance and again famine occurred. Between 1932-1933 famine spread throughout the USSR which significantly affected Ukraine where an estimated 5 million perished. Through the use of terror and propaganda Stalin blamed the Kulaks for continued famine and rural unrest. Furthermore, Stalin called for Kulaks to be "liquidated as a class". By 1932 Stalin had "declared war" on the group and ordered for their execution or for them to be sent to the Gulag.

Despite continued resistance and unrest from peasants, by 1937 93% of land was collectivised. This increased by 1939 where 99% of land was collectivised and 90% of peasants lived on one of the 250,000 Kolkhoz.

KEY QUESTIONS

How successful had the NEP been?

What was collectivisation?

How did it differ from the NEP?

What were the reasons behind the introduction for collectivisation?

What was the impact of collectivisation?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Stalin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Toz

Sovkhoz

Kolkhoz

Collectivisation

Famine

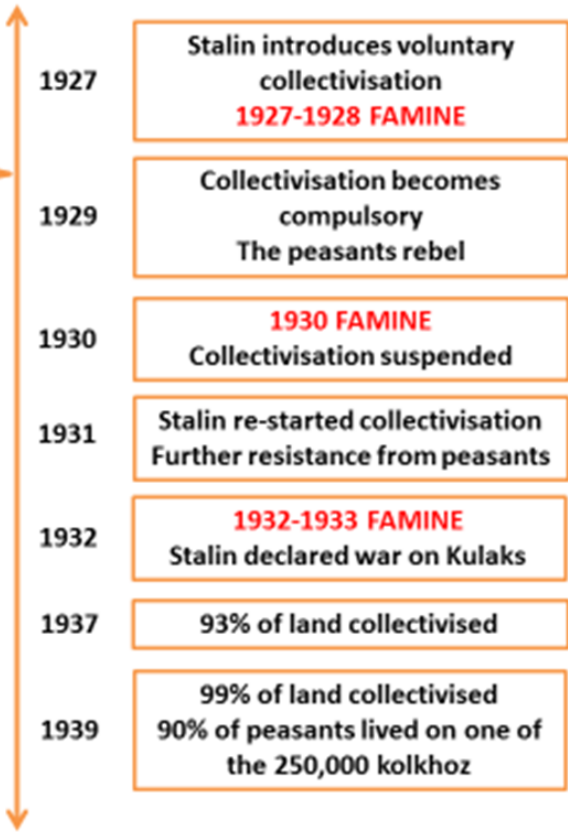
Kulak

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

Was Collectivisation a success?

Collectivisation helped Stalin achieve most of his aims. Grain production rose to nearly 100 million tonnes in 1937 which gave Russia a surplus available to sell to other countries. Also, 17 million people left the countryside to work in towns and cities which further developed industry. By having larger collective farms that were mostly run by government officials, Stalin could closely control peasants and suppress uprisings. Furthermore, the Kulaks were eliminated as a class further spreading socialist ideals throughout rural Russia.

In contrast to this, the human cost of Stalin's success was vast. Approximately 3 million Kulaks were killed. In addition to this, the attempt to force collectivisation onto peasant farms contributed to 1930 and 1932-1933 famines causing immense fatalities.



EXAM QUESTIONS

‘Collectivisation had the greatest impact on the lives of ordinary people in comparison to the economic policies of all Russian leaders’
How far do you agree?

STRETCH

To what extent was the impact of collectivisation greater than the impact of Vyshnegradsky's policies?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

ANALYSE: STALIN'S MOTIVES

WHAT WERE THE BENEFITS OF THE FOLLOWING:

1. More efficient methods of farming and grain collection.
2. Higher grain yields.
3. Freeing up peasants to work in the cities.
4. "Socialising" the peasantry.

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

By the late 1920s the NEP was failing:

AGRICULTURE EVIDENCE:

Grain exportation and export of other goods struggled to reach pre-WW1 levels.

1927 5 million+ wooden ploughs still in use

1927 grain procurement crisis.

1928 – Stalin sent out grain requisitioning squads

INDUSTRY EVIDENCE:

1928 – real wages had only just passed the pre-war level

High unemployment.

Women hit badly – forced out of jobs as Red Army was demobilised and former soldiers given their jobs.

Overcrowding in urban housing remained a problem.

Crime an issue in towns and cities.

Stalin's 'Great Turn'

Fifteenth party congress December 1927 – Stalin announces the end of the NEP and a major shift in Soviet economics. Known as his "Great Turn".

→ Marked a major shift in policy away from Lenin's NEP

→ Introduced idea of the "command economy" and intense state economic planning

→ Cultural shift – "New-Soviet" man

Organisation of the Five Year Plans



Key terms: Define

Command economy

Economy completely controlled by the state

Economic autarky

Complete economic self-sufficiency – no need for international trade

Gosplan

Established in 1921 to oversee economic planning and industrial growth

KEY QUESTIONS

How successful had the NEP been?

What were the five-year plans?

How did they differ from the NEP?

What were the reasons behind the introduction for the five-year plans?

What was the impact of the five year plans?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Stalin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Gosplan

Industrial Commissariats

Five-Year Plans

NEP

The First Five-Year Plan

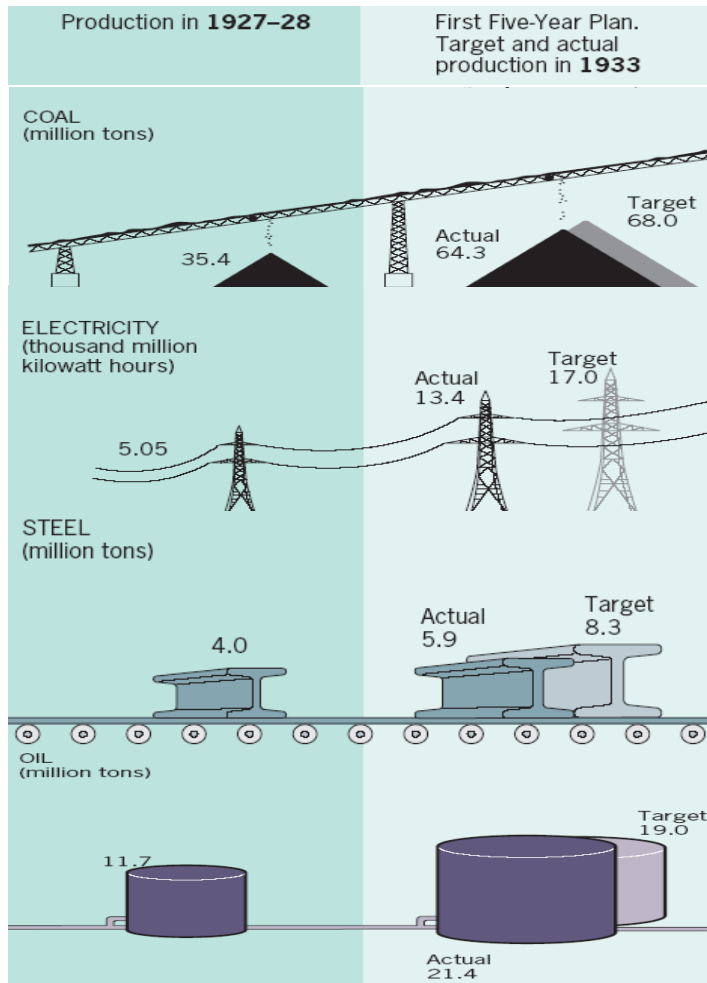
The First Five Year Plan explicitly favoured heavy industry – iron, coal, steel and oil – over consumer goods such as textiles and food. Stalin described coal, steel and oil as the "basic, decisive branches of industry". For Stalin, these industries were "decisive" because they were the first industries developed in the nineteenth-century industrial revolution. Therefore, Stalin believed that if he was to take Russia down the path of industrialisation, he had to start with these heavy industries.

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

The focus on heavy industry was, in part, an attempt to lay the foundation for future industrial development. All industries needed raw materials such as coal, steel, oil and iron in order to develop. The majority of Stalin's industrial labour force were unskilled peasants who had only recently left the countryside following collectivisation. Unskilled peasants were poorly suited to the production of complex consumer goods, but they were well matched to the production of large quantities of raw materials.

Stalin's planners believed that, over time, working in heavy industry would allow the peasants to gain the skills necessary to work in more sophisticated industries, such as textiles.

It was also thought that heavy industry would lay the foundations for rearmament in the case of war.



As the First Five-Year 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, these seemed hopelessly unachievable. Some historians have suggested that planning was more in the realms of socialist fantasy than rational calculation. Consequently, historian Alec Nove has argued, the Five Year Plans do not fully deserve the title “plans” at all. An economic plan, properly defined, carefully matches raw materials to production, and production to consumption. The first Five Year Plan, and its successors, made no attempt to do this. Rather, the government demanded production with no clear idea of how it was to be achieved or what was to be done with the materials produced. In this sense, it is more appropriate to refer Stalin's economy as a “command economy” – a system based on a series of central orders – rather than as a “planned economy”.

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. At

EXAM QUESTIONS

The five year plan had the biggest impact on industrial workers more than any other economic policy. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

STRETCH

How successful was the first five year plan in comparison to the policies of Witte?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

the regional and local levels, factories competed with each other for scarce resources. Bribery and corruption were rife. Managers made illegal deals in their desperation to get the parts or supplies they needed to fulfil their targets. Some were known to hi-jack lorries and ambush trains to get supplies intended for other plants. Bottlenecks appeared everywhere due to shortages of materials and the inadequacy of the transport system. The railways could not cope with what they were expected to transport: it soon became clear that the planners had not invested enough in track or rolling stock.

The net result of this was twofold:

1. In some parts of the economy there was underproduction because factories were held up by shortages of materials. In other parts there was overproduction as factories rushed to exceed their targets.
2. There was a great deal of wastage because:
 - a. Overproduction created thousands of parts that other industries did not want
 - b. Much of the output was sub-standard, such as lorry tyres that lasted for only a few weeks.

What made matters worse was that few managers or officials were prepared to admit anything was wrong. They did not want to be accused of sabotaging the plans or criticising the party. So mistakes were covered up and problems were left unresolved. It was all buried in the colossal amount of paperwork that flowed around the USSR. All that mattered to managers and officials at different levels was that they could show they had achieved targets, whether this was real or invented. In fact, there were extravagant claims of over-fulfilment in many areas. This seemed to confirm that the system was working and discouraged others from speaking out about problems. Of course, not all the mistakes could be covered up and somebody had to be blamed. Class enemies were ready to hand and Stalin was not slow to use this political tool in the same way as he had in the collectivisation drive. The industrial equivalent of the kulak was the “bourgeois specialist”. These were the old-pre 1917 managers, engineers and technical staff who had survived the NEP in important jobs because of their skills and abilities. Now they were identified as saboteurs who were deliberately causing hold-ups, breakdowns and general problems in the supply industries. They were uncovered and imprisoned. Show trials were held to hammer home the point to other managers.

Why were officials and managers too frightened to acknowledge the problems of the planning system?

In March 1928, managerial and technical staff were accused of counter-revolutionary activities at the Shakhty coal mine in the Don Basin. Stalin was closely involved in the proceedings. The staff were forced to confess to subversive activities in a “show trial” for all the public to see. Five were executed and the rest were given long prison sentences. The aim of this was clear – to intimidate managers and party officials who did not go along with the pace of industrialisation. The Shakhty trial created shock waves throughout the planning system. Gosplan was purged of pessimists and non-party members at the end of the 1920s. Statisticians who presented low targets were replaced by those who could paint a more optimistic picture. In the early 1930s, trials of professionals and specialists were held in cities throughout the USSR. In November 1930, the “Industrial Party” show trial was held. This was a party of professionals who were supposedly organising the sabotage and wrecking of the Five-Year Plan. But this party was invented by Stalin. The accused were mainly industrialists, Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries.

FIRST PLAN

Summarise the Targets:

SECOND PLAN

Summarise the Targets:

THIRD PLAN

Summarise the Targets:

Second and Third Five Year Plans

	Second Plan, 1933-7	Third Plan, 1938-41
PRIORITIES	Consolidation Infrastructure – esp. railways New industries – i.e. chemicals	Armaments
TARGETS	Targets scaled down and were more achievable. Years 1934-6 known as “three good years”.	Uneven progress – due to diversion of resources to war related industry
SUCCESSSES	Rapid expansion – electricity / chemicals / metallurgy Engineering self-sufficiency achieved.	Defence and armaments grew rapidly
WEAKNESSES	Consumer goods lagged behind. Oil production slow to expand.	Low oil production – fuel crisis Consumer goods 1938 – harsh winter Gosplan weakened by purges

Case Study: How was Magnitogorsk built?

In many ways, the city of Magnitogorsk represents the best and worst of the First Five Year Plan. Stalin’s planners aimed to build a steelworks – and an entire city – from scratch, in an uninhabited part of Russia that was rich in iron ore. A quarter of a million workers were transported to the “magnetic mountain” and instructed to create Russia’s largest steel factory. In 1929, planners commissioned a radical German architect to design a utopian city where workers would be housed in clean, modern accommodation. Thousands of “shock workers” volunteered to take part in the visionary project. The contrast between the vision and the reality was stark. When workers arrived they discovered that few houses were actually built. The majority of workers lived in mud huts, wooden shacks and tents, with no heating or sanitation. Indeed, as late as 1932, construction of the workers’ accommodation was still pending. Conditions were so hard that on average, workers left Magnitogorsk to find new work after eighty-two days. Nonetheless, the 40,000 prison workers and a hard core of dedicated volunteers miraculously turned desert grasslands into one of Russia’s major industrial centres. Some workers were so dedicated that they worked double shifts, and even through the night, in order to create a modern industrial miracle. The vision of Magnitogorsk was to build a modern industrial society in which workers lived and worked as part of an ideal community. However, in reality, the ideal community was never constructed, and the steelworks was created largely by the slave labour of Stalin’s political prisoners.



FIRST PLAN

Summarise the Outcome:

SECOND PLAN

Summarise the Outcome:

THIRD PLAN

Summarise the Outcome:

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

**Impact of propaganda**

Many workers, especially the young and idealistic, were inspired by the great task of transforming Russia. A huge propaganda campaign was launched in the cinema, on radio and in newspapers to further encourage this feeling. Many volunteered to work on distant projects under arduous conditions – believing in the worth of what they were doing; building a better communist society for their children.

Workers arriving and departing from Magnitogorsk

	Arrived	Left
1930	67,000	45,000
1931	111,000	97,000
1932	62,000	70,000
1933	53,000	53,000
Total	293,000	265,000

Punishments

Not all workers responded to the propaganda campaigns, and measures were introduced to deal with slackers. The fear of being accused of sabotage and sent to a gulag encouraged workers to carry out their tasks obediently. There was also a strict code of labour discipline with tough punishments:

- Absenteeism was punished by fines, loss of ration cards or dismissal. By 1940 it had become a crime and a prison sentence was given for second offences.
- Workers had to carry labour books, which recorded their jobs and unfavourable comments about them. A bad record could lose a worker food rations or lead to imprisonment.

Year	Hours	Comment
1896	11 hour day	6 day week by law
1914	9-10 hour day	Statutory holiday time was introduced in this period
1917	8 hour day	introduced by the Provisional Government
1932	10-12 hour day	Stalin claimed demands of the First Five Year Plan required longer working day
1939	7 hour day	Shorter day a reward for efforts implementing the First Five Year Plan
1940	8 hour day	Due to the war. Holidays banned.

Awards

Awards and honours were given to individuals and groups who worked hard. Groups were also encouraged to compete against each other. One famous work, Alexei Stakhanov, gave birth to the Stakhanovite movement, dedicated to hard work. Stakhanov was a Donbas coal miner who was supposed to have moved 102 tonnes of coal on his own in one shift – some 14 times the amount one man would be expected to produce. He was held up in newspapers and posters as a model for others to follow. Workers who exceeded production targets could become “Stakhanovites”. This entitled them to better housing, free holidays and cash prizes. Although they got rewards, Stakhanovites were often very unpopular with

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the positive and negative social impacts of economic policy under Stalin?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Stalin

Alexei Stakhanov

KEY DEFINITIONS

Targetmania

Record mania

Stakhanovite

Absenteeism

other workers, as they pushed up the production norm on which wages were calculated. Ordzhinikidze, the Commissar for Heavy Industry, had Stakhanov, the “Soviet Hercules”, put on the front page of Pravda. He said, “In our country, under socialism, heroes of labour must become the most famous”. On 11 September, Pravda used the term “Stakhanovite movement” for the first time and in November Stalin called for Stakhanovism to spread “widely and deeply” across the entire Soviet Union. Recordmania swept the country: by December 1935, the records achieved in heavy industry alone filled two volumes.



EXAM QUESTIONS

The five year plan had the biggest impact on industrial workers more than any other economic policy. How far do you agree?
[25 marks]

Women in the Labour Force

Women dominated some professions particularly medicine and school teaching. The less well educated, especially tough ex-peasant women, became labourers or factory workers. Sarah Davies’ survey of women workers in Leningrad in 1935, showed that women workers in the city made up 44% of the workforce but were likely to be paid less, were less literate and less involved in political and technical education than their male counterparts. Their chances of reaching the top were limited. There were only four women head doctors in hospitals, even though 50-60% of all doctors were women.

Forced labour

A large proportion of the workforce consisted of forced labour. These workers were made to work hard by compulsion, fear of physical punishment or being denied food. Often the really heavy work involved in constructing dams, canals and building projects such as digging foundations, was done by prisoners, many of whom were peasants sent to labour camps as a result of collectivisation.

STRETCH

What was the greatest impact on the lives of workers/women under Stalin?

Five-Year Plan	Focal Points
First 1928-1932	Heavy industry New specialised industrial centres Agricultural machinery
Second 1933-1937	Heavy industry Electricity Chemical Industry
Third 1938-1941	Heavy Industry Armaments
Fourth: 1946-1950	Post-War Recovery Heavy industry
Fifth: 1951-1955	Agricultural equipment Projects: e.g. Hydroelectric schemes

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

The Trial of the Sixteen (1936)

Zinoviev and Kamenev were the main accused of the Trial of the Sixteen. Charged with Kirov's murder, as well as plotting to disrupt the Five-Year Plans and conspiring with foreign powers to overthrow the government - in prison, they pleaded their innocence. Zinoviev, in a letter to Stalin, stated "in no way, in no way, in no way, am I guilty before the Party, before the Central Committee, or before you personally I beseech you to believe my honest word". Nonetheless, Zinoviev and Kamenev were "persuaded" to confess. It is believed that Stalin promised that Zinoviev and Kamenev would be pardoned following a full confession.

Stalin broke his promise, and neither of them was pardoned. The trial judge, Andrei Vyshinsky, summed up: "Shoot the mad dogs, every last one of them!". Following this sentence, Kamenev and Zinoviev were both shot. Zinoviev begged for mercy until the very last moment, and had to be carried to his execution, weeping.

The Trial of the Twenty-One (1938)

The trial of Bukharin and his "accomplices" was the last of the great Moscow show trials. Once again, the defendants were accused of attempting to overthrow socialism and of the murder of Kirov. However, in this final trial Stalin went further, and Bukharin was personally charged with attempting to assassinate Lenin. Prior to the trial, Bukharin tried to prove his loyalty to Stalin. But Bukharin's efforts were futile. In contrast to previous defendants, he was never tortured. Rather, Stalin threatened to execute his wife and his newborn baby.

The trial was extraordinarily dramatic. Vyshinsky accused Bukharin and his co-defendants of being a "foul-smelling heap of human garbage", and he described Bukharin specifically as "a damnable cross of a fox and a swine". Bukharin was sentenced to death, but continued to hope for mercy. He wrote to Stalin volunteering to go to America where he "would smash Trotsky's face in" but Bukharin was shot. According to contemporary reports, "Bukharin died with curses against Stalin on his lips. They died standing up - not grovelling on the cellar floor, weeping for mercy like Zinoviev and Kamenev."

The Trial of the Seventeen (1937)

The second show trial dealt with Trotsky's former allies - charges included plotting with foreign powers, terrorism, sabotage and contact with Trotsky. This was the first product of Nicolai Yezhov's "conveyor belt system" of interrogation. Essentially, torture, sleep deprivation and questioning were continued relentlessly until the defendants confessed. Thirteen of the seventeen on trial were executed. The remaining four were sent to gulags, where they soon perished. As in the first show trial, the evidence was concocted and forged by the NKVD

Widening the Terror 1937 +**Purging the party:**

In the spring of 1937 Stalin made it clear that he thought traitors and spies had infiltrated the party at all levels. He encouraged lower-ranking party members to criticise and denounce those in higher positions. This resulted in a flood of accusations as members denounced each other to get their jobs or settle old scores, others to deflect criticism away from themselves.

Purging society:

July 1937, the Politburo passed a resolution condemning 'Anti-Soviet Elements' in

KEY QUESTIONS

How did Stalin enforce terror?

What was the impact of Stalin's regime?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Zinoviev

Kamenev

Kirov

Bukharin

Trotsky

Yezhov

Vyshinsky

KEY DEFINITIONS

Politburo

Show trial

Purge

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

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. A huge propaganda campaign was launched to encourage ordinary people to help seek out the “hidden enemies”. Once suspects had been arrested and subjected to interrogation by the NKVD, they always came up with names of accomplices. Workmates, friends, husbands and wives, sons and daughters – all could find themselves arrested because they had connections with someone who had been accused. Their number of victims increased exponentially.

PURGING THE ARMY

In 1937 it was the turn of the armed forces. Stalin was convinced that he could not count on the army to follow his policies. The leaders of the army were tough and difficult to intimidate. Marshal Tukhachevsky was the hero of the Civil War, but during this period he had come into conflict with Stalin. Stalin claimed that the army was plotting to overthrow him. Tukhachevsky and other generals had confessions beaten out of them (Tukhachevsky’s written confession actually had blood stains on it) and were then executed. The NKVD then worked its way through the rest of the armed forces to devastating effect. That Stalin should risk wiping out his best commanders when the prospect of war loomed is a powerful indication of how far the terror had gone. It was estimated that up to 90% of Russia’s generals were purged.

ENDING THE GREAT PURGES

Stalin called a halt to the purges towards the end of 1938. By this time, Yezhov had been replaced by Beria. Arrests slowed down as it was felt that the purges were destabilising Russian society. Stalin blamed Yezhov and the NKVD for the excesses of the terror, which is probably true. Yezhov himself became a victim of the terror and was executed in 1940. Also in 1940, a hitman, on Stalin’s orders murdered Trotsky. Now virtually all of the old Bolsheviks had been wiped out.

EXAM QUESTIONS

Stalin most effectively dealt with opposition compared to all Russian leaders. 1855 and 1964. How far do you agree?
[25 marks]

STRETCH

How far does Stalin’s regime of terror differ from Alexander III?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

SUMMARISE:

**Anti-Religious Policy under Lenin**

“Worshipping any god is ideological necrophilia,” Vladimir Lenin, the Bolshevik leader, once wrote to Maxim Gorky. Crushing religion generally and Orthodoxy, in particular, was a central part of their program. Nonetheless, the Bolsheviks never banned the Church entirely “only” oppressing it instead. To begin with, they deprived priests of the right to vote and closed several monasteries and cathedrals.

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.

During the Civil War many churches were closed and their property was confiscated. Anti-religion pressure groups designed to encourage atheism were formed such as the League of the Militant Godless. This group used all means – including lectures, newspaper and films – to inform Soviet citizens that religion was a harmful leftover of the past. By 1941, the League had enlisted around 3.5 million members.

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.

Anti-Religious Policy under Stalin

Stalin tried to enforce militant atheism on the republic. The new “socialist man,” Stalin argued, was an atheist one, free of the religious chains that had helped to bind him to class oppression. 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.

The “Godless Five Year Plan” was launched in 1928 and saw a further escalation of anti-religious methods. Leaders of the church were imprisoned and sometimes executed, on the grounds of being anti-revolution. The few clergy who remained were replaced by those deemed to be sympathetic to the regime, rendering the still more toothless as a possible focal point for dissent or counter-revolution.

Launched in 1929, the new Soviet calendar initially featured a five-day week, designed to do away with weekends and so revolutionize the concept of labour. But it had a secondary function: By eliminating Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, the days of worship for Muslims, Jews and Christians, the new calendar was supposed to render observance more trouble than it was worth.

were shot.

Derelict churches, synagogues and mosques were turned into “Museums of Atheism” where icons and relics were stripped of their mystique and treated as ordinary objects. The general public didn’t seem to have been especially swayed by these exhibits—though they enjoyed the attractions themselves.

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”.



Bolsheviks confiscating church property in the early 1920s

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Method of control	Detail	Impact	STRETCH
Secret Police			Was Stalin the most repressive leader?
Peasant Control			
Show trials			
Religious Repression			
Gulags			
Political Opposition			

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, WAR AND REVOLUTION

Domestic impact of "the Great Patriotic War", 1941-45

POLITICAL

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 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.



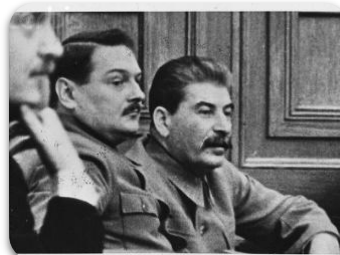
The composition of the Politburo also remained the same. In 1948, the prominent members included Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Zhdanov (the man being groomed to be Stalin's successor) and Khrushchev. Despite the extremely high number of war casualties, the numbers joining 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 NKVD was very active during and after the war. It was involved in the policing of prisons and the deportation of national minorities while the conflict ensued. The secret police were especially harsh on individuals from the Balkans, Chechens, Karachans and Crimean Tartars, all of whom were accused of collaborating with the Nazis. After the conflict, the NKVD reverted to purging the party and other groups of dissidents. Of special note was their involvement in the resolution of the Leningrad affair, which resulted in over 200 supporters of Zhdanov being purged.

It has been argued that of all of the wars Russia had fought in the 100 years previously, the Second World War had the least effect politically, partly because it was one of the major wars of the period which Russia actually won. Russia emerged with the losses of 1918 restored to her. All the lands in eastern Europe which she had been forced to give up, now became part of a new Red Empire.

Leningrad Affair, 1948

Purge of Zhdanov's friends and colleagues after his premature death in 1948 due to his alcoholism. Zhdanov had been the head of the Leningrad party.



KEY QUESTIONS

What were the origins of the Second World War?

Summarise:

- a) Social Impact
- b) Economic impact
- c) Political impact

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Stalin

Churchill

Zhdanov

KEY DEFINITIONS

NKVD

Leningrad Affair

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, WAR AND REVOLUTION

SOCIAL

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.

It has been argued that Russian women bore the brunt of the Russian war effort. They were expected to work in the factories and fields, whilst at the same time continue to care for their families. Women made up the majority of the workforce during the war, and in some areas were expected to carry out the tasks usually performed by machines. For example, in many areas women were yoked to ploughs in the absence of tractors and horses. During the counter-offensive and the March on Berlin, Russian troops reportedly raped over 2 million women. When challenged over the behaviour of the typical Russian soldier, Stalin allegedly retorted with “what is so awful about his having fun with a woman?”

Stalin’s treatment of prisoners of war, deserters and non-Russian women did little to enhance the relations with the Allies both during wartime conferences and afterwards, when proposals for economic aid and reconstruction were discussed.



EXAM QUESTIONS

WWII had the greatest socio-economic impact between 1855-1964. How far do you agree?
[25 marks]

STRETCH

Which had the greatest impact?

WWII or WWI?

WWII or Crimean War?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, WAR AND REVOLUTION

ECONOMIC

German forces quickly occupied a large part of Russian territory, and by 1942, they had gained control of one third of Russia's industry and agriculture. At the same time, Russian labour was being conscripted into the armed forces. Both of these facts led to a significant downturn in production during the war. 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. However, these were not necessarily the best areas for the organisation of efficient and effective production. Also, many factories had to be reconverted from munitions production back to their original function. All of this was a costly business, especially given that the government ran a command economy and was therefore responsible for all industrial enterprise.

The Soviet government's reconstruction programme revolved around a fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-50). The specific aim of this was to get the Soviet economy back to growth levels achieved immediately before the war. The plan would then be followed by two others, which would accelerate the development of heavy industry. As with the first three Five-Year Plans, the production of consumer goods was neglected. Interestingly, the targets set by the fourth plan were achieved after three years, way ahead of schedule. This was due to a number of reasons including:

- The availability of "free" labour (up to 4 million prisoners of war, Soviet prisoners and conscript labour)
- Unilateral trade agreements
- External financial aid (from the United Nations, the USA in the form of lend-lease, Britain and Sweden)
- The commitment of the Russian people; ordinary Russian workers continued to labour for excessively long hours and under very challenging conditions to increase production and productivity in all of the staple industries.

However, there were a number of weaknesses in Stalin's post-war economic strategy:

- The biggest flop was his continuation of "gargantuan" projects. Great amounts of capital were ploughed into schemes such as the Volga-Don Canal but with very little economic return.
- Agriculture also suffered, mainly through neglect. The war years had seen a reversion to a kind of small-scale ownership of land plots and a crumbling of some collective farms. Those who acquired private plots were soon hit by exorbitant taxes. The collectives suffered from shortages of labour and materials. The inevitable consequence was a famine in 1947 and rural unrest.
- Khrushchev, as minister for agriculture, attempted to resolve some of the problems through farm amalgamation (joining farms together to make bigger farm units to share costs and raise production), but this had a limited impact.

ECONOMIC

Summarise

SOCIAL

Summarise

POLITICAL

Summarise

THEMATIC AREA: EMPIRE, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, WAR AND REVOLUTION

Yugoslavia

At the end of the Second World War, Yugoslavia was still a relatively new country, only having been established in 1920. The politicians of the newly established state were determined to create a sense of national identity and to maintain independence from external influences. In 1945, new elections were held in Yugoslavia. The outcome was the installation of a communist government led by Marshall Tito.

At the time there was no reason to expect that Russia would treat Yugoslavia any differently from any of the other Eastern European states. However, Tito a popular leader with his people, wanted to maintain Yugoslavian independence and prevent it becoming dominated by Stalin's regime.

Tito objected to Stalinist communism. In particular, he objected to the over-centralisation 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.

Tito maintained his stance and continued to govern according to his own brand of communism. Economic relations with the west were strengthened and the Yugoslav leader even managed to gain economic aid from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These manoeuvres reassured the people of Yugoslavia that Tito was the right person to govern. With the public support behind him, Tito progressed to make radical changes. These included:

- The handing over of ownership and control of industry from the state to workers' councils.
- Establishment of communes and a Commune Assembly. The communes, under the guidance of the assembly, organised their own welfare, health and education.

These policies were popular with most and led to driving up of living standards. The policies stood in stark contrast to Stalin's governance by centralisation. Some Marxist commentators at the time argued that Tito's communism was how Marx thought it would emerge. Others, though, were soon to find fault with the system. It was pointed out, for example, that the model leaned towards capitalism which, in turn, led to inequalities between workers.

Relations between Yugoslavia and Russia remained frosty until after the death of Stalin. In 1955, Khrushchev visited Tito to make friends and offer help for the future development of Yugoslavia. Tito continued to govern until his death in 1980. However, in his bid to create a unified Yugoslavia he had kept tight control of national minorities in the state. The rise of Croatian and Serbian nationalism in the 1980s, in particular, signalled the start of the break-up of Yugoslavia.

**YUGOSLAVIA
SUMMARISE**

Czechoslovakia

Like Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia was created as a new state in 1920. Initially it consisted of Bohemia-Moravia; Slovakia and Ruthenia. Czechoslovakia was a multinational state and consisted of:

- 6.5 million Czechs
- 2.5 million Slovaks
- 3 million Germans
- 700,000 Hungarians
- 500,000 Ruthenians
- 100,000 Poles
- Pockets of Romanians and Jews

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA
SUMMARISE**

In March 1939, Hitler invaded and secured the whole of Czechoslovakia after having been granted access to the Sudetenland in 1938. Until 1945, Czechoslovakia remained as a German protectorate but with Slovakia allowed by Hitler to break away and become independent. After the end of the war, free elections were held in Czechoslovakia (1946) and a coalition government consisting mainly of left-wing parties including communists was elected. In fact, the communists gained over a third of the votes, seats in parliament and cabinet positions. A communist, Klement Gottwald, was elected as prime minister but other key positions were allocated to non-communists. The coalition appeared unified enough to enable Czechoslovakia to remain independent of outside influences. The new government pushed ahead with economic policies designed to develop trade with the west and to gain a share of Marshall Aid.

Just before new elections, scheduled for May 1948, the communists in Czechoslovakia dramatically seized power through a military coup. The reasons for that coup appear to be:

1. They were losing the support of the people, who blamed them for the eventual rejection of Marshall Aid.
2. They had lost the co-operation of many non-communist cabinet members.
3. They had established control over the police, military and trade unions. Taking power by force therefore would have been very easy.
4. They were prompted by Stalin in the take-over. Russia was concerned at the attempt to accept American aid (or "dollar imperialism" as they called it) and more generally stronger ties that had started to develop between Czechoslovakia and the west.

The coup resulted in the resignation of all non-communist members of the coalition except the president and foreign minister. A new cabinet was formed which agreed to bow down to orders sent from Stalin and preparations were made for new elections. Unsurprisingly the elections were rigged. Under Russian guidelines, voters were given a list of candidates to vote for, all of whom were communists. In turn, the candidates were obliged to carry out policies approved by the Russian government.

The communist takeover in Czechoslovakia caused concern in the West. It had been the last of the Eastern European democracies. Churchill's Iron Curtain was fully

THEMATIC AREA: EMPIRE, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, WAR AND REVOLUTION

HUNGARY
SUMMARISE

drawn across Europe. The takeover subsequently caused a backlash from the west. In March 1948, Belgium, Britain, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the Brussels Pact in direct response to the coup. The pact stated the agreement to defend any member attacked by an external aggressor. It also paved the way for a "special" agreement to be made with the USA; the result of this was the formation of NATO. Thus Stalin's intent to spread

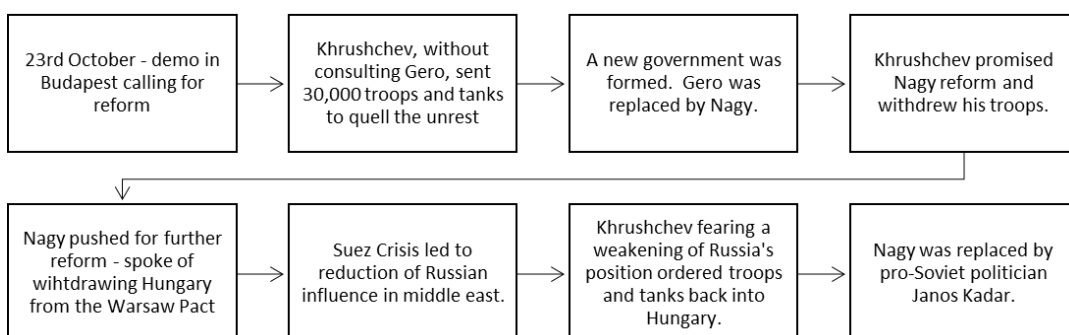


Soviet influence in the east seemingly heightened political tensions that emerged in the early years of the Cold War.

Hungary

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. Even when a more moderate head of government was installed, Imre Nagy, Rakosi continued to influence government affairs. In 1955, he managed to gain enough support to instigate the overthrow of Nagy. However, the Hungarian people became increasingly dissatisfied with the Stalinists. As a response to this, Khrushchev, with Tito's backing, persuaded the Hungarian Communist Party to replace Rakosi with a more liberal-minded leader, Erno Gero. Tito was interested to intervene as he believed that a Hungary more detached from Soviet influence would prove to be a useful ally. The appointment of Gero raised hopes and inevitably led to even more demands for change along the lines of what had occurred in Yugoslavia. By October 1956, unrest was developing into a major uprising which developed as follows:



THEMATIC AREA: EMPIRE, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, WAR AND REVOLUTION

GERMANY
SUMMARISE

The result of the uprising was three-fold:

1. Khrushchev had sent a clear message to Eastern European leaders that he was unwilling, despite de-Stalinisation, to lessen Soviet involvement in their countries.
2. The west, especially the USA, realised that Khrushchev was willing to risk a more global conflict occurring by maintaining his authority over Hungary. Therefore, there was a reluctance from the west to intervene.
3. Communist China under the leadership of Mao supported Khrushchev's actions. This temporarily eased some of the tension that had emerged over ideology between the Soviet and Chinese governments.

Germany

The question of what to do about Germany at the end of the Second World War was broached at the Yalta conference in February 1945 and again at Potsdam in the summer of 1945. At Yalta, each of the allied powers would be allotted a zone within Germany to administer (Berlin was also to be divided into four separate zones), until a foundation for future peace could be laid.

With respect to reparations, the USSR demanded that a very harsh treatment be meted out to Germany. Britain and the USA were against this as they believed it would damage Germany's ability to purchase imports and have a detrimental effect on their own economies. An agreement was finally reached whereby the parties would be allowed to take reparations only from the zones under their control. As a concession to the Russians, Britain and the USA agreed to pay 10% of their reparations to the Russians and an extra 15% in exchange for any food or raw materials that Stalin had authorised to be moved out of the Soviet zone.



However, the initial agreements made over Germany were undermined by a series of events that resulted in the formal division of Germany into east and west.

June 1945-November 1946: Stalin changed his rhetoric on Germany moving from accepting idea of "two Germanies" to claiming that "all Germany must be ours".

January 1947: USA and Britain announce they are integrating the economies of their zones in Germany to create Bizonia.

1947: Soviet Union reject idea of Bizonia at Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers. Follow-up conference in London at the end of the year failed to resolve differences.

1948: Western allies introduced a new currency into their zones, the Deutschmark. Soviets countered this by producing the Ostmark to be used in their zone. They also blockaded West Berlin to prevent the East from being influenced by the evils of capitalism. This was a serious development for West Berlin as it was dependent on rail and road links that went through the Soviet controlled territory.

THEMATIC AREA: EMPIRE, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, WAR AND REVOLUTION

POLAND
SUMMARISE

1949: Clear that the blockade had failed as the west flooded West Berlin with food and raw materials. Stalin, unwilling to go to war over Berlin, and the blockade was lifted.

1949: West Germany constitution was approved in the spring and elections for a new parliament followed in August. This resulted in the USSR establishing East Germany in October.

Poland

Poland, a nation which had long been a part of the wider Russian Empire achieved its independence in the aftermath of the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and had protected that independence from Lenin's Bolshevik forces during the Civil War. The Soviet view under Stalin however, was that Poland should be incorporated into the USSR and helps explain why Stalin signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact with Germany in August 1939. This led to the invasion of Poland on its eastern borders by Soviet troops.



By the early stages of the war, the Polish government had decided to flee to London and, with the support of a Polish underground movement, to go into exile. One of the aims of the London Poles was to ensure that when the war came to an end Poland would not endure any territorial loss. Relations with Russia continued to be tense, even after Russia joined the war on the side of the allies after they were invaded by Germany. In the summer of 1944, the Russians launched their counter-offensive against the Germans. After pushing German forces out of the homeland, Russian troops were ordered to proceed into Poland. The question of governance of Poland was raised at the Yalta conference. By this time, Warsaw had been liberated and was temporarily governed by the Red Army. Stalin demanded that a new Russo-Polish frontier should be established and that the whole of Poland had to be governed by a Soviet backed council. Roosevelt and Churchill gave in and the London Poles were abandoned. The Polish western border was dealt with at the Potsdam conference. Again Stalin won consent from Truman and Churchill to accept a western demarcation line which was well inside ethnic Germany. This paved the way for Russia to fully implement a Soviet-style government across the newly-constituted Poland.

In 1947, a provisional constitution and Council of State was established. The Council had almost total legislative and executive power and 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 any semblance of social democracy, such as members of the Church and trade unions, were arrested. In 1950, for example, over 30,000 workers went on strike at various times, only to find that they were quickly rounded up and sent to the newly built concentration camps at Mielcin and Jaworzno. The clampdown was reinforced by the imposition of Soviet-type economic and social reforms. Most notable was the spread of collective farms. In 1952, Poland was officially renamed the People's Republic of Poland. Historian Adam Zamoyski pointed out "Poland had been hermetically sealed off from the outside world, and not just by the three hundred kilometres of barbed-wire entanglements and 1200 watchtowers surrounding it"

THEMATIC AREA: EMPIRE, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, WAR AND REVOLUTION

Under Khrushchev's leadership controls over Poland eased. In October 1956, Wladyslaw Gomulka was released from prison to take over the leadership of Poland. This led to reforms such as allowing independent peasants to hold small landholdings and the Catholic Church was allowed to teach religion in school.



EXAM QUESTIONS

Russia under Stalin experienced most change compared to all Russian leaders between 1855 and 1964. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

STRETCH

To what extent were personal and cultural freedoms limited under Stalin?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

FOR EACH KEY THEME NOTE DOWN ANY RELEVANT EVIDENCE

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

WAR AND REVOLUTION

ETHNIC MINORITIES, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, EMPIRE AND SATELLITE STATES

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT



1894	Born into a poor farming family in southern Russia.
1909	Began training as an engineer.
1918	Joined the Bolshevik Party.
1918-20	Served as a Commissar in the Red Army.
1924	Involved in Ukrainian politics.
1931	District Secretary for Moscow
1938	First Secretary for Ukraine
1942	Fought at Stalingrad.
1949	Head of the Communist Party in Moscow

Throughout the 1920s Khrushchev was prominent in Ukrainian affairs, serving as the Party's district secretary in a number of areas, including the capital, Kiev. In the 1930s he began to climb the party ladder. He moved to Moscow and was appointed a district secretary there in 1931. by 1935 he had become the Party Secretary for the whole capital. Khrushchev's elevation has to be set against the background of the purges. As with all who rose within the Party or government in this period, Khrushchev was stepping into dead men's shoes. One man's imprisonment or execution was another man's promotion. The price of political survival was unswerving loyalty to Stalin, and Khrushchev was exemplary in his toadying.

For the next three years he played his part in the continuing purge of suspected anti-Stalinists in Moscow. His commitment to the task is evident in a speech he made at a Party meeting in 1936. Just as Comrade Stalin, with his sharp Leninist eye, has accurately pointed out the path for our Party, as for the whole of the construction, so he has pointed out the corners where vermin can crawl out. We have to shoot not only this scum, but Trotsky should also be shot.

At the end of 1938 Khrushchev went back to Ukraine as First party Secretary to carry out similar work there. His reward was to be made a member of the Politburo. In the war years, 1941-45, during which large parts of Ukraine suffered German occupation, he was a political commissar in the army, involved in organizing military and civilian resistance. He fought at Stalingrad and was among the Soviet forces that liberated Kiev. Immediately after the war Khrushchev returned as First Secretary in Ukraine.

In 1949 he was appointed Secretary to the General Committee and given particular responsibility for the planning of Soviet agriculture, an extension of the specialism he had developed as an administrator in Ukraine. His work was not an outstanding success. One of his schemes for developing agricultural centres in the countryside, known as "agro-towns", failed to materialize and he was criticised in Pravda. Such lack of success hardly suggested that he was destined for leadership. At the time of Stalin's death in 1953 Khrushchev was an industrious but not politically outstanding member of the Politburo. His breezy, talkative manner made him appear less devious and scheming than the usual Bolshevik politicians. His colleagues tended to underrate both his ambition and his ruthlessness, and yet by the late 1950s Khrushchev had come to dominate Soviet politics.

KEY QUESTIONS

Why was there a power struggle following the death of Stalin?

What problems faced Khrushchev during the leadership struggle?

How well did Khrushchev navigate the leadership struggle?

How would we describe the nature of government following the death of Khrushchev?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Malenkov

Khrushchev

Stalin

Zhukov

Bulganin

Molotov

Beria

KEY DEFINITIONS

Party Secretary

Stalingrad

Faction

Anti-Party Group

MVD

Post-Stalin collective leadership



Malenkov:
Head of
Soviet
Government



Molotov:
Foreign
Secretary



Khrushchev:
Communist
Party
Secretary



Bulganin:
Deputy
Head of
government



Beria: Head
of secret
police
(MVD)

Khrushchev's leadership strategy

Khrushchev's Steps to Power:

1. Removal of Beria

- Framed a conflict between Red Army and Secret Police
- General Zhukov admired Khrushchev
- Red Army arrested, tried and shot Beria in June 1953



Beria: Head
of secret
police
(MVD)

2. Undermining of Malenkov

- Malenkov viewed as natural successor to Stalin
- Khrushchev used position as Head of Party over next two years to criticise government policy; travel the country and speak with peasantry; promote his own supporters
- 1955: Malenkov resigned following poor harvests



Malenkov:
Head of
Soviet
Government

3. Dealing with a new threat

- Khrushchev turned on former supporter, General Zhukov
- Accused him of attempting to create a leadership cult around himself.
- Zhukov forced to retire



Zhukov:
Minister of
Defence of
the Soviet
Union

4. Side-Lining Bulganin

- Since Malenkov's resignation Bulganin and Khrushchev took joint leadership of country
- 1958: Khrushchev accused Bulganin of being part of an internal faction 'The Anti-Party Group'
- Bulganin forced to resign
- Khrushchev took over his position as Head of Government



Bulganin:
Deputy
Head of
government

STRETCH

How does Khrushchev's rise to power differ from that of Lenin and the Tsars?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT



A key feature of Khrushchev's campaign to exert his control over the Communist Party was to orchestrate a move away from Stalin's policies. Khrushchev was keen to move Russia away from governance based on extreme repression. He believed that this had tarnished the USSR's image overseas, and was unhelpful at a time of increasing international tension. He also thought that many people would welcome an alternative to the repressive nature of Stalinist rule. Khrushchev thus launched a scathing attack

on Stalin, which formed the start of a process known as de-Stalinisation. The denunciations began at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956. Khrushchev made a speech on "The Cult of the Individual and its Consequences". The contents of the speech were never published (and became known as his "secret" speech) but the key points were leaked to the Communist Party organisations so that they would be familiar with Khrushchev's position. The following criticisms were made of Stalin:

He had never been accepted by Lenin as a potential leader

He had created a state that was unprepared for military conflict in 1941

He had committed a range of unforgivable crimes against the people

He had committed misdemeanours against "outsiders" who should have been embraced by the Soviet leadership

Why did Khrushchev make the "Secret Speech"?

De-Stalinisation had three basic aims:

- To justify the introduction of more progressive economic policies;
- To make peaceful co-operation with the West easier;
- To absolve Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders from their complicity in Stalin's errors.

Khrushchev knew that he was taking a risk in undermining Stalin's reputation. He knew that he was laying himself open to the charge of having been an accessory to the offences that he was now condemning. After all, he had helped carry out the purges in Moscow and the Ukraine. But Khrushchev calculated that, since all the Soviet leaders had climbed to their current positions by carrying out Stalin's orders, none of them had a clean record. Their shared guilt would prevent any serious challenge being offered to his denunciation of Stalin.

The impact of the "Secret Speech"

Although the contents of the "Secret speech" were not officially disclosed until 1961, it still caused an outcry among senior party members. The withering attack on Stalin's character and record staggered party officials and made them fear for the future because, in one obvious sense, they were all Stalinists. They had all survived to hold their current positions because they had participated in, and benefitted from Stalin's terror. Many of them were finding it difficult to adapt to life without Stalin. An opposition group to Khrushchev emerged, known as the "Anti-Party Group". Early in 1957, while he was temporarily absent on one of his many visits abroad, the opposition made plans to remove him. They attempted to abolish the post of first secretary of the party, which would have destroyed Khrushchev's power base. The chief protagonists, Molotov, Kagonovich and Malenkov, were quickly dealt with by

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the key features of de-Stalinisation?

How might this create opposition towards Khrushchev's regime?

Why did Khrushchev make the secret speech?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Khrushchev

Stalin

Molotov

Kagonovich

Malenkov

KEY DEFINITIONS

Secret Speech

Destalinisation

Anti-Party Group

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Khrushchev, who pointed out that only the party Central Committee could change the party organisational structure. The actions of the three opponents were therefore illegal, and they were swiftly removed from the Presidium. Having previously used the support of the army, Khrushchev now took steps to prevent them becoming a threat. This involved undermining the position of his loyal supporter – Marshall Zhukov. Zhukov was accused of creating his own “cult of personality” and was forced to retire. He was replaced by Marshall Malinovsky. It only remained for Khrushchev to demote Bulganin, which he did by forcing him to confess to being implicated in the Anti-Party Group. In March 1958, Bulganin resigned as Premier and lost his place on the Central Committee. Shortly after, Khrushchev took over that post himself. For the first time since Stalin’s death, one man held the offices of Prime Minister in the government and First Secretary in the party.

Key Features of De-Stalinisation

- Release of political prisoners from labour camps
- Relaxation of censorship – leading to a raft of works published criticising Stalin
- End of cult of personality. Stalingrad renamed Volgograd and his body removed from the Lenin mausoleum and buried in a concrete-filled hole beneath the Kremlin

The reaction to de-Stalinisation

After the initial shock of the “secret speech”, the reaction to de-Stalinisation bore a striking 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 too far from authoritarian rule; the one party, one leader state was to remain intact until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

De-Stalinisation and the satellite states

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 to 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, not weakening its hold over its satellites.

EXAM QUESTIONS

Political reform under Khrushchev had the greatest impact on the nature of government in the years 1855-1964. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

STRETCH

What is the significance of de-Stalinisation? How does this differ from the leadership under Lenin and Stalin?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

K N O W L E D G E	What criticisms did Khrushchev make in the secret-speech?	Identify examples of features of de-Stalinisation:
A N A L Y S I S	How did the secret speech impact Khrushchev's consolidation of power?	How did the secret speech impact Khrushchev's control of the satellite states?
E V A L U A T I O N	'The death of Stalin on March 5 th 1953 caused the only possible reaction across the USSR – joy.' <i>Professor Rudolph Pikhoya</i> . How convincing is this view?	
S Y N T H E S I S	Similarities	Differences:

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

In the aftermath of Stalin's death the Soviet leaders began to admit that the collectivisation of agriculture had not solved the problem of food production and supply in the years following the Second World War. In 1953 Khrushchev informed the Central Committee that grain stocks under Stalin had been lower than under Nicholas II. Major changes were needed, and viewing himself as an "expert" in rural matters as a result of his peasant upbringing, Khrushchev outlined a range of new policies.

Khrushchev's agricultural policies

1. Decentralise decision-making and allow more localised leadership.

2. Pay higher prices for grain and reduce taxes on farming profits to try and encourage peasants to expand their farms.



3. Sell off the Machine Tractor Stations (MTS) established under collectivisation to peasants.

5. Expansion in the production of corn to use it as a fodder crop to feed livestock.

4. Cultivation of previously unused territory such as Kazakhstan in the "virgin lands" policy.

The Virgin Land Campaign began in 1954 and developed into a massive project for exploiting the previous unused areas of the USSR for crop production. Over a quarter of a million volunteers, mainly drawn from the Komsomol (the Young Communist League), were enlisted to work in these regions. Considerable financial and material investment was put into the scheme, most spectacularly in the provision of 120,000 motorized tractors. Six million acres were freshly ploughed in the virgin lands in the first year of the scheme. A corn research institute was established in Ukraine and sown acreage of corn rose from 4.3 million hectares in 1954 to 18 million hectares in 1955. Thanks to favourably hot weather during two successive years' growing seasons, corn harvests were abundant. It appeared that "Mr. Corn" ("Kukuruzshchik") had achieved an agricultural "miracle." In 1950, 96 million acres of land were given over to the production of wheat, by 1964, this increased to 165 million acres. Between 1952 and 1958 farm-workers incomes more than doubled with the prospect of real economic advancement for the individuals being greater than at any time since the NEP.

However, poor management and short-sighted planning caused significant issues for the long-term success of these policies. For example, crops were often sown in unsuitable soil and the effects of climate tended to be ignored. The necessary fertilizers were seldom available in sufficient quantity. In the drive to convert to foodstuffs, successful crops such as cotton were replaced by crops such as maize (as part of the corn plan) which simply refused to grow. This occurred notably in Kazakhstan where the "maize mania" often led to whole areas abandoning their traditional planting for the lure of a crop whose yield then proved so poor that it was not worth harvesting.

The policies also suffered as a result of a lack of agricultural workers required in the virgin lands to keep pace with the localised schemes. For example, in Kazakhstan by

KEY QUESTIONS

How successful had collectivisation been?

What was the Virgin Land Campaign?

How did it differ from the collectivisation?

What were the reasons behind the introduction for the Virgin Land Campaign?

What was the impact of the Virgin Land Campaign?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Khrushchev

KEY DEFINITIONS

Virgin Land Campaign

Mr Corn

Maize-mania

NEP

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

1960 total acreage of corn productions had increased to 28 million hectares and reached 37 million by 1962. This inevitably meant that more farmers would be required in this region. However, again poor planning was an issue as any skilled farmers were reluctant to move to these areas because of the bad living conditions such as a lack of adequate housing. Unfortunately, many towns and villages saw the Virgin Land Campaign as an opportunity to send orphans, abandoned children and criminal to the newly cultivated regions. This affected the quality of the work force, the land not being cultivated properly and therefore poor productivity levels. 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. 1963 brought a bad harvest to the farmers of the Virgin Lands where grain production dropped from 140 million tonnes to 107 million tonnes. As a result of this, riots broke out at the Budyenni Locomotive Works in Novocherkassk where the KGB killed 23 protesters.



EXAM QUESTIONS

‘Collectivisation had the greatest impact on the lives of ordinary people in comparison to the economic policies of all Russian leaders’
How far do you agree?

STRETCH

To what extent was the impact of the Virgin Land Campaign greater than the impact of the NEP/War Communism?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

Five-Year Plan	Focal Points
Fifth: 1951-1955	Agricultural equipment Projects: e.g. Hydroelectric schemes
Sixth: 1956-1960 1956-1958	Shift from old staple industries Modern industry (plastics) Consumer goods
Seventh: 1961-1965	Consumer goods Increase in overall production of a range of goods

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

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.

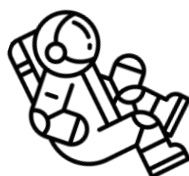
PLAN	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
5th : 1951-55	Rapid growth – especially agricultural equipment in line with preparations for the Virgin Land Campaign.	Allocation of resources to projects of limited success – hydroelectrics
6th : 1956-60	Shift from old staple heavy industry towards more modern industries i.e. plastics. More consumer goods available.	Over-optimistic targets – led to the plan largely being abandoned after two years.
7th : 1961-65	Substantial increase in overall production; more realistic targets.	Growth rates had slowed, especially in comparison to rivals the USA.

The 'Space Race'

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.



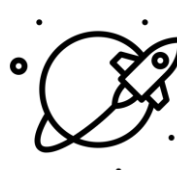
October 1957:
USSR launched
its first
satellite,
SPUTNIK



1961:
Yuri Gagarin
the first man
in space



Nov 1957:
Laika the first
living
creature to
orbit Earth



Significance:
International prestige
Superior economic systems
Rivalry with USA

Living and Working Conditions



Average
Working Day: 7
Hours



Housing:
1955-1964
Housing
stock
doubled,
communal
living
abandoned
QUALITY?



Consumer
goods:
more
readily
available



Free secondary
education for
all/ re-writing of
textbooks to
reflect
destalinisation
Polytechnics
and specialist
academies



Censorship
eased: 20s-50s
number of
books
published x2/
1959-135,000
libraries/ 60mill
newspaper
readership



Wages: 1954
reached early
1920s level

KEY QUESTIONS

How successful had
the five year plans
under Stalin been?

Why did
Khrushchev
continue the five-
year plans?

What was the
impact of the five
year plans?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Stalin

Khrushchev

Yuri Gagarin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Sputnik

Laika

Polytechnic

Housing Stock

Securing your knowledge: Impact of War

	Political Impact						Social Impact						Economic Impact					
Crimean War																		
Russo-Turkish War																		
Russo-Japanese War																		
World War One																		
Civil War																		
World War Two																		

Greatest Political Impact:

Greatest Social Impact:

Greatest Economic Impact:

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

The emergence of Khrushchev

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 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.

The Warsaw Pact, 1955

In May 1955, just as the USSR had feared, West Germany became a member of NATO. Shortly thereafter, the Soviet Union announced the formation of its own military alliance. The Warsaw Pact – so called because the treaty was signed in Warsaw – was a mutual military assistance alliance that include the Soviet Union and all the Eastern European allies. In particular, it



included East Germany, as the lack of agreement on the German question had finally persuaded the Soviet Union of the need to prop up the communist government in East Germany. However, the USSR did not give up on the possibility of achieving a European agreement on collective security. In fact the Warsaw Pact even had a clause which stated that, if a general European treaty on collective security was signed, then the Warsaw Pact would be dissolved.

The Geneva Summit, July 1955

In July 1955, the first summit meeting occurred between the leaders of the "big four" powers – the first since the Potsdam Conference in 1945. The meeting was not significant for any particular agreements reached, but rather for the spirit of friendship in which the meeting was conducted and certainly seemed to more discussions on from the Truman-Stalin era of diplomacy.

There were some areas of disagreement:

- Soviet proposals to resolve the "German question" by holding elections on reunification were rejected.
- Eisenhower's "Open Skies" proposal that each side would allow the other to undertake aerial reconnaissance of military sites was rejected by Khrushchev.

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the origins of the Cold War?

Summarise:

- Social Impact**
- Economic impact**
- Political impact**

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Khrushchev

Eisenhower

Tito

Nagy

Stalin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Warsaw Pact

Cold War

Sputnik

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

But on a more positive note, following the meeting the USSR did establish diplomatic and trade links with West Germany.

Khrushchev's "secret" speech, 1956

In the secret speech Khrushchev attacked Stalin's foreign policy and accepted that there could be "national roads to socialism" that did not just include the exportation of the Soviet model. In fact, as early as 1955, Khrushchev had made attempts to secure Yugoslavia as a definite ally of the Soviet Union – something which Stalin had failed to achieve. Khrushchev soon announced the dissolution of Cominform, from which Stalin had expelled Yugoslavia, and he encouraged its membership of the Warsaw Pact. Tito refused to



Tito and Khrushchev

go this far, and only agreed to restore diplomatic relations. The secret speech was circulated in the Eastern European satellites, which gave hope to reform communists and non-communists who sought a reduction in Soviet control of their countries. Two countries particularly affected were Poland and Hungary.

POLAND	HUNGARY
Reform Communists in Poland were led by Wladyslaw Gomulka. He had been imprisoned by the Stalinist regime in the late 1940s – and was only released from prison following Stalin's death. Khrushchev and Gomulka met in 1956 and it was agreed that Soviet military intervention in Poland would end, as long as Poland remained in the Warsaw Pact. This action inspired leaders in other satellite states to seek further reform in their relationship with Moscow.	Pro-reform Communists organised protests in Budapest which rapidly got out of control. Khrushchev allowed the reformist Communist leader Imre Nagy to form a government but his decision to legalise opposition parties and withdraw from the Warsaw Pact persuaded Khrushchev to opt for military intervention in Hungary. After intense fighting, a pro-Soviet government was installed and in the purge that followed Nagy was arrested, taken to the USSR and in 1958 executed.

Sputnik, 1957

On 4th October 1957, much to the surprise of the West, the USSR launched the world's first satellite into space. Despite the huge propaganda victory this gave the USSR in the "space race", the US continued to have an overwhelming nuclear superiority throughout the decade. The launching of Sputnik also enabled the US President Eisenhower to justify the establishment of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) in 1958, to further promote US development of missiles and space exploration.

Berlin crisis, 1958

On 27th November 1958 Khrushchev issued his first "Berlin Ultimatum". This was an attempt to push the West into concluding a formal peace with Germany and agreeing that West Berlin should become an international and demilitarised area –

EXAM QUESTIONS

The Cold War had the greatest socio-economic impact between 1855-1964.

How far do you agree?
[25 marks]

STRETCH

Which had the greatest impact?

WWII or Cold War?

Cold War or Crimean War?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

Khrushchev was particularly concerned that NATO would make West Germany a nuclear power. Khrushchev warned that if such agreements were not forthcoming, the USSR would sign a separate peace with the GDR that would include handing over control of the access route into West Berlin.

Camp David, 1959

In an attempt to break the deadlock on the Berlin discussions, Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the US for talks. The notion that a Soviet leader would visit the US was a ground-breaking move and the talks at the Presidential country residence of Camp David were considered so constructive that they gave rise to the term “the spirit of Camp David” as an expression of the improve Soviet-American understanding. Khrushchev withdrew his previous Berlin ultimatum and it was agreed that further talks would take place at the Paris Summit planned for May 1960.



OVERVIEW OF KHRUSHCHEV’S ITINERY ON THE US TOUR	
Sept 15th	Arrives in Washington DC. Formal dinner at the White House.
16th	Travels to Maryland to attend the Agricultural Experiment Station. Driving tour of Washington DC which ends at the Capitol and tea with the Senate Foreign Affairs Relations Committee.
18th	Visits the grave of former President Roosevelt and is taken on a tour of the Roosevelt Presidential Library by his wife Eleanor. Makes a speech at the United Nations in New York.
19th	Flies to Los Angeles. Attends a luncheon at the Café de Paris alongside celebrities such as Frank Sinatra, Elizabeth Taylor and Marilyn Monroe. Disappointed to learn that a planned visit to Disneyland is cancelled due to security fears. Watches the filming of Can-Can alongside one of its stars, Frank Sinatra
20th	Travels to San Francisco. Is mobbed by crowds when he disembarks the train at a station along the way.
21st	Tour of IBM. Visits a supermarket where again he is mobbed by the press and crowds. Pictured sampling the meat from the deli counter.
23rd	Makes an agricultural tour of farms in Iowa
25 th -26th	Camp David meetings with Eisenhower.

The Paris Summit and the U-2 incident, May 1960

By the time the leaders met in Paris, the situation had already altered. The US has discovered, via its spy planes, that the USSR was already well behind the US, while West Germany was no longer prepared to make any concessions on West Berlin. Then on 1st May (during the conference), came the announcement that a Soviet missile had successfully brought down a US U2 spy plane over the USSR. Eisenhower, embarrassed that his previous denials of the existence of spy places (he had claimed they were weather planes) refused to apologise. The incident soured the rest of the talks. As discussions on Berlin dragged on, an ever increasing number of East Germans migrated to the West. By 1959, these numbered around 200,000 a year – many of them young technicians and skilled workers. This was having a serious effect on the weak East German economy, and was thus

EXAM QUESTIONS

The Cold War led to the biggest change in the lives of the nationalities across Russia and its satellite states. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

Create a mini plan below

FACTOR 1

Evidence:

FACTOR 2

Evidence:

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

encouraged by the West. Not surprisingly, the GDR leader, Walter Ulbricht, began to press for action. Ideally Ulbricht wanted West Berlin to be added to East Berlin, removing the Western presence in the GDR.

The Vienna Summit, June 1961

The first meeting between Kennedy and Khrushchev was not a success, as Kennedy still refused to make concessions on Berlin or Germany. Kennedy increased US military spending and ordered more nuclear fallout shelters. In response, Khrushchev gave provisional permission for Ulbricht to begin preparations for physically dividing Berlin. He then announced that he was reimposing a six-month deadline for West Berlin to become demilitarised.

The Berlin Wall, August 1961

As tensions increased, the number of East German refugees increased dramatically, to over 20,000 a month, and was soon double the rate for the 1950s. The formal division of Berlin began to halt this. At first a barbed-wire fence was erected. The West did not react, so on 13th August, the GDR authorities rapidly completed the building of the Berlin Wall, which became a very visible image of the Cold War divisions. The wall stopped the mass emigration from the East and this, along with Soviet aid, eased the GDRs economic problems and moved the focus of the Cold War away from Europe.

The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

When Fidel Castro, the revolutionary leader of Cuba since 1959, openly declared himself a Communist, Khrushchev saw the possibility of a major Cold War coup. He moved quickly, offering a package of economic support for Castro's regime. The Soviet Union hoped, and the USA feared, that the creation of a Russian-backed Marxist state in Cuba, would be the prelude to the rapid spread of Soviet-style Communism throughout central and South America.

The Soviet Union increased its investment and involvement in Cuba, culminating in Operation Anadyr, the installation on the island of Soviet nuclear missiles, capable of reaching the USA. Khrushchev was involved in every aspect of the planning and privately spoke of "putting one of our hedgehogs down the Americans' trousers".

Kennedy announced a naval blockade of Cuba until the missiles were removed, and let it be known that if any attempt were made to use them against the USA he would order a retaliation in kind. Kennedy backed his ultimatum by placing US armed forces on nuclear war alert. Faced by such as uncompromising determination, Khrushchev chose not to risk a full-scale nuclear confrontation. He gave the order to the Soviet ships not to challenge the American naval blockade. With the tension broken, direct contacts by letter and phone were made between Kennedy and Khrushchev. These exchanges produced a compromise; the Soviet leader agreed to the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba and the American President gave a commitment to reduce the USA's bases in Turkey. Khrushchev's critics back in the USSR viewed this as a diplomatic victory for the USA and worsened his position.

ECONOMIC

Summarise

SOCIAL

Summarise

POLITICAL

Summarise

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

The 'Kitchen Debate' was a 1959 exchange between United States vice-president Richard Nixon and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. In this informal conversation, conducted in Moscow in front of press reporters and television cameras, Nixon and Khrushchev engaged in some verbal tussling, debating the merits of their respective ideologies.

Who was Nixon?

The American exhibition opened in Moscow in late July 1959 and was attended by Soviet leader Khrushchev and US vice-president Nixon. At the time, the two had held high office for around six years. Nixon's rise had been steeper and more rapid than his Russian counterpart. A lawyer by training, Nixon was an active anti-communist. Nixon arrived in Moscow on July 23rd. Prior to visiting the American exhibition, he attended a public reception hosted by Khrushchev. This event was outwardly friendly but, as one might expect, there were several prickly moments. Khrushchev was known for his combative and sarcastic manner – and having Nixon, one of the most vocal of America's anti-communist agitators, as his guest proved too good an opportunity to pass.



Richard Nixon (right) arrives in Moscow – and partakes of a traditional Russian vodka

At the reception, Khrushchev welcomed the vice-president to “a land of captive people” (a sarcastic reference to one of Eisenhower's earlier remarks about the Soviet bloc). The Soviet leader then went on to deride America as “imperialists”, “monopolists” and interferers in the affairs of communist nations.

US exhibition in Moscow

The American exhibition opened the following day. The Soviets hindered the construction of the exhibition, allocating a ten-acre site in a remote forest, well outside Moscow. As a result, much of the US government-supplied funds were spent on building access roads, clearing trees and connecting power and water. It soon fell behind schedule. The Americans complained that their Russian counterparts, several of whom were women, were lazy, poorly equipped and unable to follow instructions. Under the terms of the US-Soviet agreement, no overt political material was displayed in either exhibition. Nevertheless, both governments viewed the exhibitions as opportunities for Cold War propaganda. The American exhibition was less concerned with industrial and technical achievements than promoting the idea that Americans enjoyed a better standard of living. Because of this, there was a strong focus on consumer goods like motor cars, electrical appliances and labour-saving devices.

An entire suburban house was constructed inside the American exhibition building, offering Russian visitors a look inside the average suburban home in the US. This model home contained the latest products: a dishwasher, colour television, frozen meals and Pepsi-Cola. There were displays of American culture including films, television programs, art, books and games. The American exhibition was very popular with Soviet citizens. Almost three million Russians attended, despite a lack of easy transportation from Moscow. There were long queues for free samples of American food and drink, like Pepsi-Cola. The book displays had to be constantly restocked because of petty theft. Four sets of Monopoly – ironically the most capitalist board game of its era – were also pilfered and had to be replaced.

KEY QUESTIONS

What was the kitchen debate?

What did the kitchen debate reveal regarding Russia's living conditions?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Nixon

Khrushchev

KEY DEFINITIONS

Kitchen Debate

THEMATIC AREA: EMPIRE, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, WAR AND REVOLUTION

Khrushchev and Nixon toured the exhibition the day before its public opening, with a large press contingent in tow. While in the display home, the two men gave impromptu comments that morphed into a friendly but sometimes heated exchange.

EXAM QUESTIONS

Living and working conditions experienced little change under Khrushchev in comparison to other Russia leaders. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

Nixon: "I want to show you this kitchen. It is like those of our houses in California.

Khrushchev: We have such things."

Nixon (pointing to a dishwasher): "This is our newest model. This is the kind which is built in thousands of units for direct installations in the houses. In America, we like to make life easier for women."

Khrushchev: "Your capitalistic attitude toward women does not exist under communism."

Nixon: "I think that this attitude towards women is universal. What we want to do, is make life more easy for our housewives."

Nixon: "This house can be bought for \$14,000, and most Americans can buy a home in the bracket of \$10,000 to \$15,000. Let me give you an example that you can appreciate. Our steel workers as you know, are now on strike. But any steelworker could buy this house. They earn \$3 an hour. This house costs about \$100 a month to buy on a contract running 25 to 30 years."

Khrushchev: "We have steel workers and peasants who can afford to spend \$14,000 for a house. Your American houses are built to last only 20 years so builders could sell more new houses. We build firmly. We build for our children and grandchildren."

Nixon: "American houses last for more than 20 years, but even so, after 20 years many Americans want a new house or a new kitchen. Their kitchen is obsolete by that time. The American system is designed to take advantage of new inventions and new techniques."

STRETCH

To what extent had living conditions improved from 1917?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

Nixon: "There are some instances where you may be ahead of us. For example, in the development of the thrust of your rockets for the investigation of outer space. There may be some instances, for example, colour television, where we're ahead of you. But in order for both of us to benefit..."

Khrushchev: "No, in rockets we've passed you by. And in the technology..."

Nixon: "You see, you never concede anything!"

RELATIONS WITH CHINA: BACKGROUND

1917 - 1939

USSR had provided financial aid for the Chinese National People's Party (KMT) – non-Communist.

Suppression and purge of many left-wingers (trade unionist / Communists) had brought the Chinese KMT government into direct conflict with the Chinese Communist Party and its leader Mao Zedong.

POST WW2

Wartime truce between KMT and CCP ends.
1949 – CCP takes control of the country and renames it People's Republic of China with Mao as its leader.



Key tensions in Stalinist era

RUSSIA claimed China could not be viewed as a fully developed Communist state due to its overwhelmingly agricultural population.

CHINA claimed Russia had betrayed principle of world revolution by not pushing for extension of revolution in West.

Despite Soviet support for the KMT, after Mao secured his control over China he initially accepted the hegemony (leadership) of Stalin when it came to attempts to spread communism in the post-war era and until Stalin's death in 1953, relations between the two remained cordial. Under Khrushchev the friendship rapidly deteriorated and by the 1960s border disputes were emerging.

The coming to power of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under Mao Zedong in China in 1949 had been greatly welcomed in Moscow. It was logical for the Soviet Union to think that it now had a major Marxist ally in its Cold War struggle with the West. Indeed, that is precisely what the West feared, the formation of a huge Soviet-dominated Marxist power-bloc. But appearances were deceptive. There was little real harmony between Moscow and Peking.

The fundamental issue in Sino-Soviet relations was the competition to decide which power was the real leader of the Communist world. Was it the USSR, product and guardian of the great 1917 revolution of the People's Republic of China, with its fresh revolutionary ideas and massive population? However, it appeared a more cordial relationship could be possible when in 1949, Mao and Stalin signed a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. Despite occasional appearances of understanding, Sino-Soviet relations grew more embittered in the 1950s. The Chinese were particularly critical of Khrushchev's "secret speech" and moves towards de-Stalinisation. His extraordinary attack on Stalin's "cult of personality" was interpreted in China as an attack on Mao's own brand of leadership. Mao responded to the implied criticism of his own style of leadership by introducing his 100 Flowers Campaign, which allowed the Chinese leadership to be discussed and criticised. Mao was equally critical of what he viewed as Khrushchev's "toadying" to the West.

KEY QUESTIONS

What tensions existed between Russia and China?

How well did Khrushchev manage relations with China?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Stalin

Khrushchev

Mao

KEY DEFINITIONS

Sino-Soviet

KMT

CCP

Treaty of Friendship

Flowers Campaign

THEMATIC AREA: EMPIRE, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

**The Hungarian Revolt, 1956**

On October 23rd 1956 police fired on demonstrations in Budapest against Gero, the secretary of the Hungarian Communists. Demonstrations grew with the crowds calling for more reforms and the return of the more moderate former premier Nagy. Soviet troops based in Hungary were sent out, and backed up by Khrushchev sending an extra 30,000 troops to be used against the

demonstrators. Khrushchev allowed a new government to be formed by Nagy and promised him more freedom from Soviet influence. Nagy continued to press Khrushchev to fulfil these promises by for example, calling for the communists to share power with other political groups in Hungary. Khrushchev concerned about the potential for the international world to view concessions as a sign of Soviet weakness ordered troops back into Hungary and replaced Nagy with the pro-Communist Janos Kadar.

Significance of Khrushchev's actions:

For many Khrushchev's decisions during the Hungarian Revolt revealed how determined he was to maintain its grip over its satellite states. His heavy-handed response was clear proof that de-Stalinisation had never been intended as a softening of the USSR's fundamental attitude. When the Soviet Union felt its own security threatened or its control of the Eastern bloc challenged, it was prepared to use force against its satellites. De-Stalinisation was a false dawn for those who thought it signalled genuine independence for Eastern Europe. Khrushchev was as determined as his predecessor to assert the USSR's right to dictate to the rest of the socialist world.

Chinese reaction to Hungarian Revolt, 1956

After some prevarication, communist China supported Khrushchev's actions. Mao approved of the strong Soviet response for two reasons. He believed the strong response was exactly the line that communist governments should take in order to maintain communist authority. He appeared relieved by the knowledge that the USSR had merely been flirting with liberal ideas.

Key Events

1957: Chinese rejected Soviet offer of assistance in the development of their own nuclear weapon as in return Russia wanted control over Chinese defence policy.

1958: Russia refused to back Mao's regime in its conflict with US backed nationalists in Taiwan. Mao was forced to back away from an invasion of Taiwan, and viewed Khrushchev's actions as further signs of his weakness on world revolution.

1962: Russia stayed neutral in a border war between China and India.

1963: China refused to sign up to the Test-Ban Treaty with the USA and USSR. Moscow viewed this as further evidence of Mao's irresponsibility.

EXAM QUESTIONS

Russia under Khrushchev maintained the greatest level of control its satellite states in comparison to other Russian leaders. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

How successful was Russian foreign policy under Khrushchev?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

Khrushchev and Mao – Personal relationship

Khrushchev and Mao developed a deep personal distaste for each other. Khrushchev referred to Mao as “a living corpse”, while Mao spoke of the Soviet leader as “an old boot to be thrown into the corner because it is no longer of any use”. Western observers often found such exchanges comic, but behind the insults was a deeply serious battle for ascendancy in the Communist

world. Instead of developing into the great monolith that the West feared, international Communism had broken apart. The public squabbling brought Khrushchev little credit and the scandal of the Sino-Soviet disharmony was a factor in the weakening of his position within the USSR. At the time of his fall from power in October 1964, which by coincidence was the same month in which China exploded its first atomic bomb, Khrushchev was still trying to rally the Communist world against the Chinese heretics.

EXTENSION:**Wider look at Russian expansionism in the Far East****MANCHURIA**

Manchuria was under Japanese influence from 1905 to 1931, and then from 1931 to 1945 the Japanese went a step further and occupied the territory. The occupation meant control over Port Arthur, a base of strategic importance to both the Japanese and Russians. So important was this port that tensions over it had led to war between the two nations in 1904 – a war that had led Russia to lose its influence over the Port and Manchuria. In 1945 Soviet troops liberated Manchuria from Japanese control and Stalin handed it back to China. However, the Soviet Union kept control of Port Arthur until the death of Stalin in 1953.

KOREA

Korea came under Japanese control in 1910. With the defeat of Japan in 1945, Korea was divided into two zones: the North (above the 38th parallel) was to be overseen by Russia and the South by the USA. The plan was to help Korea reconstruct and develop a new system of government, but animosity between the two protecting powers caused the division between North and South to become entrenched. In June 1950, the North Korean leader Kim Il Sung (probably encouraged by Stalin and Mao) decided to invade the South with the aim of reuniting the two halves. A full-blown war ensued, with China backing the North and the USA supporting the South. The Korean War ended in 1951 but the dispute over the border between North and South was not resolved until 1953. In July 1953, the dividing line was established at the 38th parallel, which was where it had been placed at the end of 1945. The Soviet Union played no direct role in the war but it was still blamed by the US president, Truman, for influencing the initial invasion by Kim. This heightened Cold War tensions and undoubtedly encouraged Khrushchev, when he gained power, to introduce his policy of “peaceful coexistence”.

SUMMARISE

**Summarise
Relations with
China**

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

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KHRUSHCHEV OUSTED FROM TOP POSTS; BREZHNEV GETS CHIEF PARTY POSITION AND KOSYGIN IS NAMED NEW PREMIER

Labor Party Is the Apparent Victor in British Election

**JOHNSON DENIES
JENKINS COVER-UP;
SETS FAL INQUIRY**

Prime Minister Sir Harold Wilson, who had been expected to resign after the election, today announced that he would remain in office and that he would lead the Labour Party to a second election.

In his statement, Mr. Wilson said that he was "not prepared to resign" and that he would "continue to lead the Labour Party to a second election." He also said that he would "continue to lead the Labour Party to a second election."



MOSCOW IS QUIET

Pravda Says Change
Won't Bring Return
of Harsh Policies

By the time the new Soviet leadership took office, it was clear that the country was in a state of confusion. The new leadership was expected to bring about a change in the country's policies, but it was not clear what that change would be.

and Khrushchev was summoned back to Moscow to appear before it. He was informed that he had been retired through age and poor health and that he had been replaced by Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin. The news was publically announced on the radio and in Pravda.

Accepting that he had been completely outmanoeuvred and had no allies, Khrushchev slipped away into obscure retirement. Some days later Pravda published a lengthy editorial in which, without referring to him by name, Khrushchev's weaknesses and errors were listed. The manner of Khrushchev's demotion and the substance of Pravda's criticisms are instructive. Whatever his achievements may have been in the previous decade, it is clear that by the autumn of 1964 he was politically friendless and isolated. However necessary de-Stalinisation may have been, Khrushchev in introducing it had

provided the grounds for his own eventual dismissal. The attack upon the "cult of personality" created the language and the precedent for removing any subsequent leader whose personal authority grew too large. In Stalin's time, his subordinates were too frightened to oppose him. This had never been the case with Khrushchev. He had had to overcome challenges to him in the 1950s, and the reason that there was no organised move against him until 1964 is to be explained by a lack of opportunity rather than by a lack of will. All Stalin's colleagues had owed their positions directly to his patronage. Khrushchev never wielded that same authority. It is true that some of the middle and lower rank officials were his proteges, but he never had the control of the Party and government machine that Stalin had possessed.

Equally Khrushchev did not have complete control over the Party and was ultimately answerable to the Politburo and Central Committee whose members were his political equals. In the early years of his leadership his gregarious and jocular personality had been a welcome change from the grim joylessness of Stalin, but these attributes were of advantage only when things were going well for him. As the Pravda editorial made clear, when his reputation began to wane his style and manner were characterised as personal weaknesses.

The Leninist Party is the enemy of subjectivism, individualism and drifting in Communist construction, of hare-brained scheme-making, of half-baked conclusions and hasty decisions and actions taken without regard to realities. Bragging and phrase-mongering, bossiness, reluctance to take account of scientific achievement and practical experience are alien to it.

It is only on the Leninist principle of collective leadership that it is possible to direct and develop the increasing creative initiative of the Party.

Extract from Pravda, October 1964

KEY QUESTIONS

What problems did Khrushchev face towards the end of his regime?

What were the reasons behind the fall of Khrushchev?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Khrushchev

Brezhnev

Kosygin

Kaganovich

Molotov

KEY DEFINITIONS

Pravda

Politburo

De-Stalinisation

FOR EACH KEY THEME NOTE DOWN ANY RELEVANT EVIDENCE

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

WAR AND REVOLUTION

ETHNIC MINORITIES, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, EMPIRE AND SATELLITE STATES