

IGCSE History

Depth Study

Russia: 1905-41

Revision Booklet & Study Guide.



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KQ1 WHY DID THE TSARIST REGIME COLLAPSE IN 1917?

KQ1.1 HOW WELL DID THE TSARIST REGIME DEAL WITH THE DIFFICULTIES OF RULING RUSSIA UP TO 1914?

In 1900, the Russian Empire was huge, diverse, and ruled by one man – the Tsar

- Nearly 5000km wide
- Tsar (king) Nicholas II ruled the Russian Empire. He was a family man, but not an effective ruler. He ignored calls for reform and placed family members and friends in government. He believed he had a divine right to rule.
- Support of the army and navy were critical to the Tsar's regime. **Cossack** regiments (elite cavalry units) were used to put down any disturbances.
- The Orthodox Church promoted the **autocracy**. The secret police (**Okhrana**) removed opposition. There was heavy censorship of the press.
- The **peasants** belonged to a *mir* (village communes). District councils called *zemstva* elected officials who looked after local services.



IN SUMMARY:

THE TSARIST REGIME FACED MANY PRESSURES TO REFORM AND RELIED ON REPRESSION AND RELIGION TO MAINTAIN THE AUTOCRACY

Tsar Nicholas II faced many problems

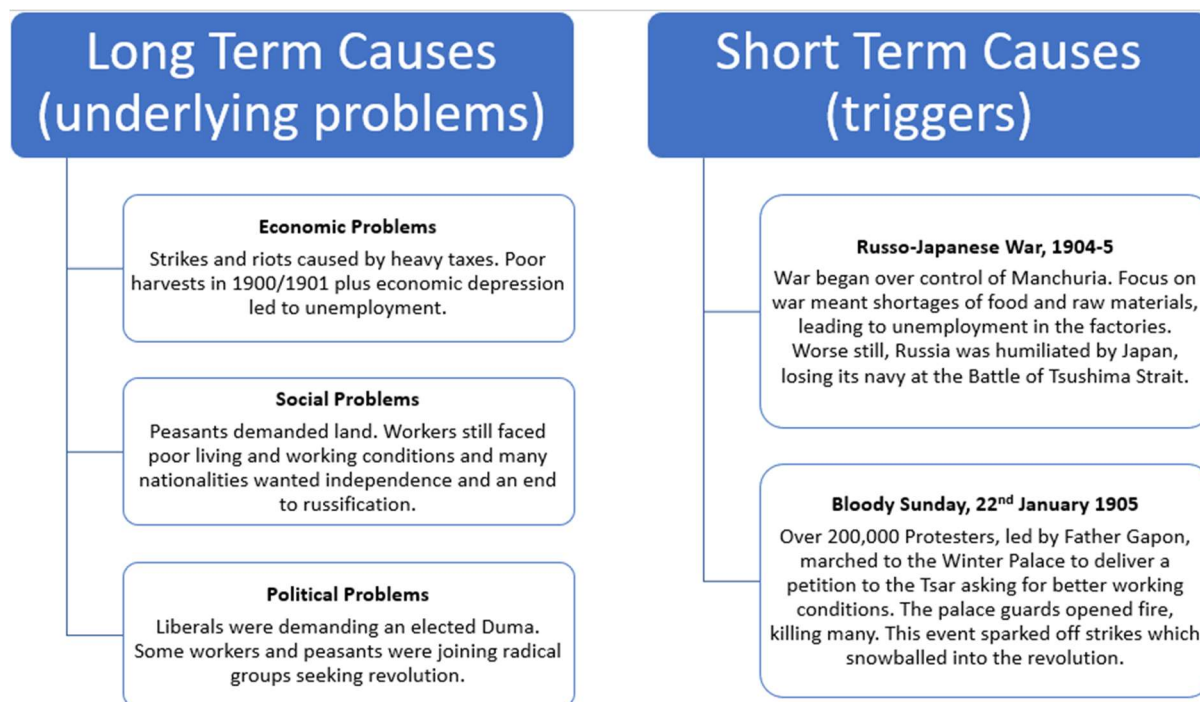
Group	Details	Problems
Different nationalities within the empire	The Russian empire consisted of dozens of nationalities, such as Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, etc. Only 40% of the population of 130m was ethnically Russian.	Language and religious differences made communication difficult. Many disliked Russian rule and Russification – the policy of erasing national culture, language and identity in lieu of Russian culture, language and identity.
Peasants	About 80% of the population. Some are wealthier (kulaks), but most extremely poor. Mainly loyal and served in the army. Belief in Tsar's divine right to rule was common thanks to the Church.	Outdated farming methods; no education; famines (nearly 400,000 died in 1891); demands for more land (the peasant land issue).
Industrial Workers	Less than 5% of the population. Lived in cities.	Extremely poor living conditions in cities – cramped, unsanitary housing, disease was common. Poor working conditions – no limit to working hours, no regulations on safety at work, low pay, no trade unions.
Middle Class	A new class that emerged as a result of industrialisation , made up of professionals and capitalists (bankers and factory owners). Less than 2% of the population. Wealthy and with access to luxuries.	Many wanted a parliament and a democracy, which meant limiting the powers of the Tsar.
Liberals	Mainly middle-class Russians who were well-read and knew about the Enlightenment and how the Western Middle Class had benefitted from democratisation.	Demanded an elected Duma, civil rights, and wanted to replace autocracy with a representative form of government
Radicals	Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) wanted to share the land; used propaganda and terror tactics; appealed to poorer <u>peasants</u> The Social Democratic Party was a Marxist party that appealed to the <u>workers, soldiers and sailors</u> . It split in 1903: the Bolsheviks under Lenin wanted to incite a revolution, while the Mensheviks wanted to take power legally.	All of the radicals wanted a revolution of some form. The Socialist Revolutionaries wanted to seize power and create a socialist system for the peasants. The Social Democratic Party wanted a socialist workers' state.

Study Suggestions:

1. List the different reasons Russia was difficult to rule.
2. To what extent was bad government in Russia Nicholas II's fault?
3. Which social group in Russia is most likely to cause Nicholas II problems? Why?

KQ1.2 HOW DID THE TSAR SURVIVE THE 1905 REVOLUTION?

There were long-term and short-term causes of the 1905 Revolution



IN SUMMARY:

THE 1905 REVOLUTION HAD ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CAUSES. THE TSAR MANAGED TO SURVIVE USING CARROT-AND-STICK POLICIES

1905 Revolution Timeline	
Feb	Strikes over Bloody Sunday spread beyond St Petersburg and workers demand an eight-hour day
Mar-May	Defeat in the Russo-Japanese War leads to demands for a change in government by the Liberals.
June	Sailors on the Battleship <i>Potemkin</i> mutiny when sailors who protested over being served rotten meat are shot. Liberals demand a Duma and the Poles demand independence.
July	Peasants riot and seize land.
Sept	Treaty of Southampton ends the Russo-Japanese War. Tsar promises soldiers better pay. General strike spreads from Moscow to other cities; barricades on the streets. St Petersburg Soviet formed.
30 Oct	October Manifesto
Dec	Russian army returns from Japan and is used to put down Communist Uprisings in Moscow

Tsar Nicholas II survived the Revolution

- The different groups held varying views and demands. They did not unify, and the returning army was used to crush opposition with relative ease. The Tsar appeased the middle class with the October Manifesto, promising a Duma and civil rights.
- In 1906, the Tsar reissued the Fundamental Laws, giving himself the power to dissolve the Duma at will.
- In 1907, he changed the voting rules to prevent his critics from being elected.
- He appointed a new Prime Minister, Peter **Stolypin**.

The Tsar used Carrot and Stick:

Carrot:

- Peasant Land Banks were set up to allow richer peasants (kulaks) to buy up land, increasing their loyalty **but** poorer peasants became even worse off.
- The middle class profited from industrial growth **but** many workers earned less than they had done in 1903.

Stick:

- The secret police (Okhrana) and army were used to remove opponents and stop riots.
- 'Stolypin's necktie': over 1,000 hanged and 20,000 exiled; newspapers were heavily censored **but** there were still strikes, such as in the Lena goldfields in 1912 over poor conditions.

The Tsar survived, but did he grow in popularity?

	Number of strikes	Number of strikes classified as 'political'
1911	466	24
1912	2032	300
1913	2404	1034
1914 (Jan–Jul)	3534	2401

Strikes in Russia between 1911 and 1914

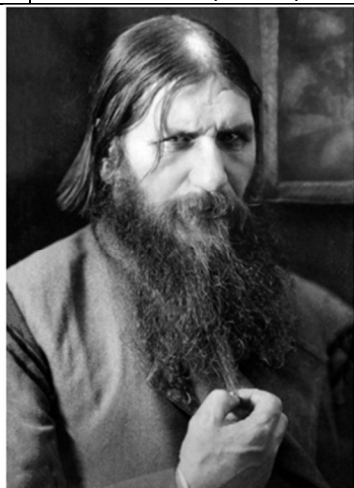
Study Suggestions:

1. Describe why each of the following groups wanted to end autocracy in Russia by 1905: (a) peasants, (b) workers, (c) the middle class.
2. How did the war with Japan make the situation even worse for the Tsar?
3. Create a summary diagram of the different methods used by the Tsar to help him survive the 1905 Revolution.

KQ1.3 HOW FAR WAS THE TSAR WEAKENED BY THE FIRST WORLD WAR?

The relationship between the Tsar and many groups changed as a result of the First World War:

Group	Impact of the war	Evidence
The Army	Heavy defeats at the beginning of the war, such as Tannenberg, compounded by shortages of rifles, ammunitions, boots and clothing damaged his reputation. When he assumed control of the army in September 1915, he assumed personal responsibility for the many devastating failures that were to come.	By 1917, out of 13 million soldiers mobilised, 9 million had become casualties (killed or wounded).
Peasants and workers	Millions of peasants were conscripted, causing shortages and inflation of food prices. Trains prioritised sending supplies to the front, causing food and fuel shortages in the cities. Wages fell and unemployment rose, leading to increased strikes by industrial workers. Many hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans were left without state war pensions.	The amount of food an average worker could afford dropped by about 500% and peasant riots increased by over 150% between 1914 and 1917. There were over 1300 strikes by workers by 1917.
The middle class	The middle class did not suffer like the peasants or workers, but many were appalled at conditions on the front lines. Many still demanded better political representation than the October Manifesto offered. Factory owners complained about strikes, especially in 1916.	Some politicians in the Duma formed the Progressive Bloc and urged the Tsar to make more impactful reforms. The Tsar responded by dismissing the Duma.
The aristocracy	Mass conscription of peasants left fewer peasant farmers to work the fields of the aristocratic landowners. Many nobles disliked the German Tsarina due to her association with Rasputin (see below). Newspapers and pamphlets circulated criticising the Tsarina and Rasputin, spreading rumours about them.	Over 13 million conscripts were mobilised, mainly from the peasantry.



Profile: Grigori Rasputin

- Rasputin was a Holy Fool – an Orthodox tradition in which a believer does not conform with social norms as a display of their faith in heavenly wisdom over earthly wisdom.
- Tsarina Alexandra believed Rasputin had been sent by God to save her haemophilic son, Alexei.
- Rasputin was accused of having wild parties and had a reputation as a heavy drinker and womaniser.
- When the Tsar assumed responsibility for the war in 1915, he left for the front, leaving the Tsarina in charge. Rasputin became her advisor, resulting in poor political decisions and the collapse of her reputation.
- Rasputin was murdered by aristocrats in December 1916.

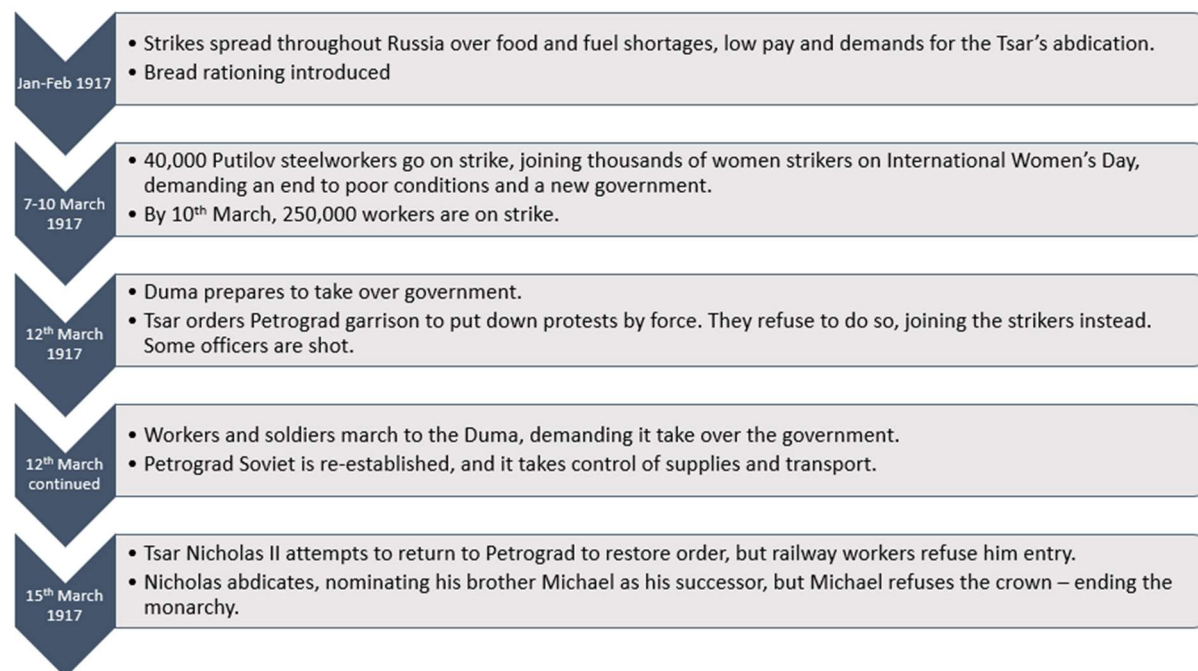
Study Suggestions:

1. Study the table on this page. Rank the groups from most to least affected by the war. Write a PEE paragraph for each explaining why you have given it this ranking
2. Plan or write an answer to the following 6-mark question:
Why did the First World War weaken the Tsarist autocracy?

Remember, you must identify and fully explain two reasons, using examples to support your explanation.

KQ1.4 WHY WAS THE REVOLUTION OF MARCH 1917 SUCCESSFUL?

On the 15th March 1917, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated



Study Suggestion

Paper 4:

You must answer two questions in Paper 4.

Part (a) is a sequenced account of an event or issue from the Russia Depth Study, using your own knowledge.

Part (b) is an essay analysing different aspects of a discussion.

Example questions:

- (a) Write an account of the problems faced by Tsar Nicholas II by 1914. [15 marks]
- (b) Discuss the importance of war in the collapse of the Tsarist Regime. [25 marks]

Plan your answer to Part (b).

You must explain more than one aspect of the discussion in your answer. In this case, you are evaluating different **the importance of war in the collapse of the Tsarist Regime**.

You must identify difference aspects of this – try to think of the different ways that the war contributed to the collapse of the Tsarist regime. Use all of the pages of the study guide up to here to help you plan.

You can repurpose this planning frame for any other Paper 4 (b) question.

Introduction	<i>Consider the different aspects of the discussion presented in the question. Identify different ways in which war contributed to the collapse of the Tsarist Regime (e.g. economic problems, clamour for reform, etc)</i>
Paragraph 1	<i>Examine one aspect of the discussion in each paragraph. Make sure you explain your arguments clearly, including relevant, accurate, detailed examples to support your point.</i>
Paragraphs 2-3	<i>Add depth to your response by examining more than one aspect of the discussion.</i>
Conclusion	<i>Explain your overall judgement here. In your opinion, what was the most important aspect of war that led to the collapse of the Tsarist Regime? Make sure you have a convincing argument, do not sit on the fence, and use relevant, accurate, detailed examples to support your conclusion.</i>

KQ2 HOW DID THE BOLSHEVIKS GAIN POWER, AND HOW DID THEY CONSOLIDATE THEIR RULE?

KQ2.1 HOW EFFECTIVELY DID THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT RULE RUSSIA IN 1917?

When the Tsar Abdicated, the Duma set up a Provisional Government led by a 12-man executive.

- **Dual Power:** The Provisional Government shared power with the Petrograd Soviet which represented the workers and soldiers. Both institutions agreed to work together and declared universal civil rights.
- **Order No. 1:** On 14th March, Petrograd issued Order No.1, which gave the Petrograd Soviet sweeping control over the military. This led to the democratisation of the military and reduced saluting for officers. It also established that soldiers should obey the Provisional Government unless its orders went against the Petrograd Soviet.
- **Prince Lvov**, became the first Prime Minister. He was a Kadet (see below). His Justice Minister, **Alexander Kerensky**, was a member of the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet. Kerensky became Prime Minister in July 1917.

Political Parties in Russia in 1917

Kadets (Constitutional Democrats)

- The main liberal party representing the middle class. They wanted a representative democracy with civil rights.

Octobrists

- A middle class liberal party that wanted a constitutional monarchy. With the Kadets, they had formed the Progressive Bloc in the Duma.

Progressive Party

- A moderate Liberal Party which joined a coalition with the Kadets and Octobrists.

Socialist Revolutionary Party

- The largest socialist party, the SR Party was a populist party that wanted land to be shared between the peasants and better working conditions for workers. Committed to a democratic constitution.

Mensheviks

- A Marxist socialist party that wanted workers to control the country. Wanted to achieve **communism** gradually.

Bolsheviks

- A revolutionary Marxist party that wanted to seize power for the workers to create a communist state.

IN SUMMARY:

AFTER THE MARCH REVOLUTION, POWER WAS SHARED BETWEEN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PETROGRAD SOVIET. THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ULTIMATELY FAILED TO SOLVE THE MANY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES IN RUSSIA.

The Provisional Government was originally welcomed, achieving a number of reforms:

- Abolition of the death penalty.
- Dissolution of the Okhrana.
- Release of a great number of political prisoners.
- Establishing freedom of speech, universal suffrage, and the right to strike.

However, the Provisional Government's effectiveness was undermined by the scale of the problems it faced in 1917:

Problem 1: The War The war remained deeply unpopular. Some, such as the Bolsheviks, demanded an end to the war. Millions had deserted, and food and fuel shortages continued. The provisional government elected to fight on, hoping to survive until the impact of the USA's declaration of war (in April 1917) made a difference on the Western Front.	Problem 2: Land reform The peasants continued to demand land, but the Provisional Government was not prepared to enact Land Reforms until after elections could be held, which meant waiting for the war to end. By mid-1917, the peasants were tired of waiting for legal land redistribution and started taking matters into their own hands, violently seizing land for themselves.
Problem 3: The Petrograd Soviet and Dual Power The Provisional Government was authority with no power, while the Petrograd Soviet was power without authority. The Soviet had power over the troops in the capital, as well as the support of key workers such as railwaymen and industrial workers. Radical socialists in the Petrograd Soviet, especially Bolsheviks, increasingly undermined the Provisional Government.	Problem 4: Lenin In April 1917, with help from Germany, Lenin returned from exile in Switzerland. On his arrival, he set out his April Theses: 1. He demanded non-cooperation with the Provisional Government 2. An end to the war 3. Land reform for the peasants 4. A second revolution to give all power to the Soviets. The Bolshevik slogans, " Peace! Land! Bread! " and " All power to the Soviets " became very popular. By October 1917, the party had 500,000 members.

In the second half of 1917, the authority of the Provisional Government slowly collapsed.

- In June, Kerensky became minister for war and launched the June Offensive. It was a complete disaster, leading to mass desertions and sparking enormous demonstrations in Petrograd in July, known as the July Days.
- Kerensky used loyal army units to quell the July Days protestors, blaming the Bolsheviks for the chaos. Many of the Bolsheviks' leaders were arrested. Lenin fled to Finland under a false name.
- Kerensky, hoping to win the support of more traditional military elites, appointed a pro-Tsarist general, Kornilov, as commander of the army. In September, Kornilov marched on Petrograd, possibly attempting to seize power.
- Kerensky panicked, and turned to the Bolsheviks for help. He released imprisoned Bolshevik leaders and armed the Red Guard with rifles. Kornilov's troops were stopped and refused to fight members of the Soviet. The Bolsheviks had saved Petrograd and the Revolution, and the Red Guard kept their rifles.
- By the end of September, the Bolsheviks had control of the Petrograd Soviet, with **Leon Trotsky** as its chairman.

Study Suggestions
1. Describe the relationship between the Petrograd Soviet and the Provisional Government.
2. Why was the war significant in the downfall of the Provisional Government?
3. To what extent was the fall of the Provisional Government the result of Kerensky's mistakes?
4. Make a timeline of the events between March and October 1917

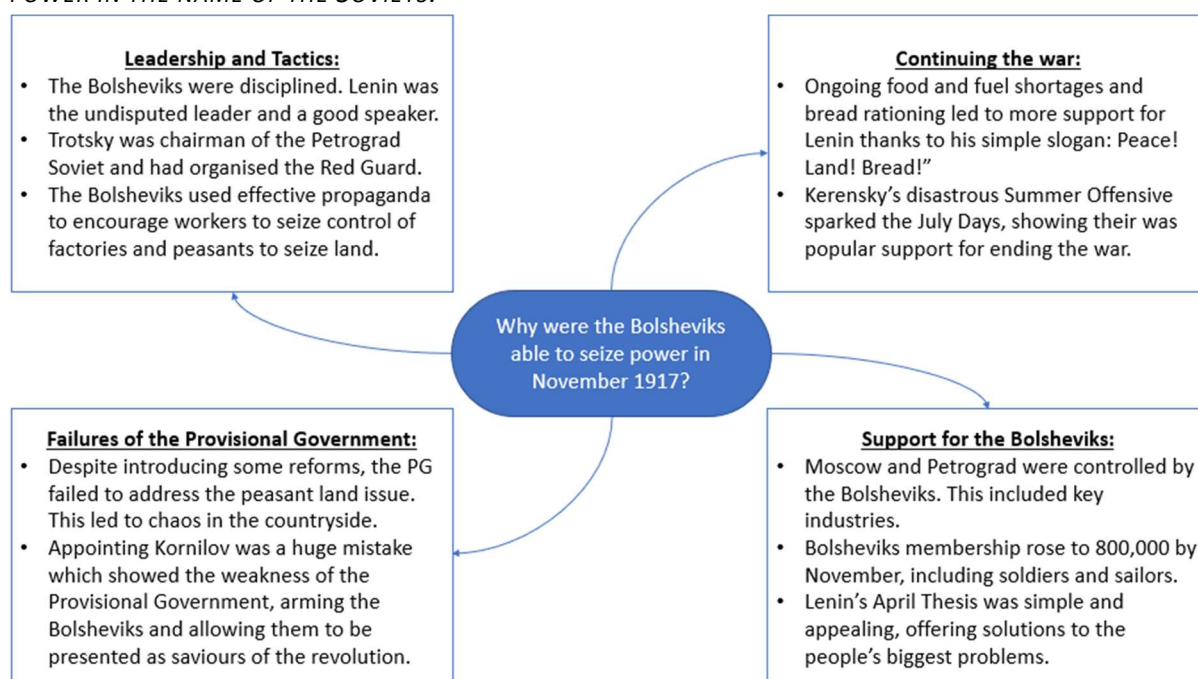
KQ2.2 WHY WERE THE BOLSHEVIKS ABLE TO SEIZE POWER IN NOVEMBER 1917?

By October 1917, Lenin was convinced the time was right to seize power.

- Lenin was able to convince other Bolshevik leaders to seize power. The Bolsheviks were in control of the soviets in Petrograd and Moscow.
- Trotsky oversaw organising the take-over. On 6th November, the Red Guard took control of the bridges, the main telegraph office and the railway and power stations. Later in the day they seized the State Bank.
- At 9pm, the Battleship *Aurora* fired shots to signal the storming of the Winter Palace. The Red Guard met little resistance.

SUMMARY:

THE FAILURES OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ONGOING ISSUES FROM THE WAR MADE LENIN'S MESSAGES MORE APPEALING TO MANY WORKERS AND SOLDIERS. LENIN ORGANISED A SEIZURE OF POWER IN THE NAME OF THE SOVIETS.



Practice Question – Paper One

"Bolsheviks leadership and organisation were the main reasons Lenin was able to seize power in November 1917."

How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

[10 marks]

How to plan for 10-mark questions:

1. Spend a few minutes listing reasons that Lenin was able to seize power.
2. Divide them into two groups – **Bolshevik leadership and organisation** and **other reasons**.
3. Decide on your conclusion before you start writing – use this in the first sentence of your introduction to answer the question.

Bolshevik leadership and organisation	Other reasons

KQ2.3 WHY DID THE BOLSHEVIKS WIN THE CIVIL WAR?

The Bolsheviks moved quickly to consolidate power after November 1917.

- Lenin strengthened his position and set up a new ruling council called the **Council of People's Commissars**, with himself as chairman.
- Constituent Assembly elections were held in November 1917. When the SR Party won twice as many votes as the Bolsheviks, Lenin promptly had it shut down after just one day.
- As chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin issued several decrees:
 - A decree on Land abolished private ownership of land and redistributed it among the peasants;
 - A decree on Workers' Control gave control of factories to the workers;
 - A decree on Women gave them equal rights with men;
 - A decree on Peace promised to end the war with Germany.
- Lenin banned all other political parties and all non-Bolshevik newspapers, and set up a new secret police service called the **Cheka** to monitor and eliminate political opponents.

Study Suggestion

Give yourself two minutes to read the bullet points above.

Cover them up and answer this question: How did Lenin strengthen Bolshevik rule in 1917?

Uncover the bullet points and check your answer.

By 1918, Lenin's enemies united against the Bolsheviks, leading to a civil war.

- Trotsky met with the German delegation in March 1918 to discuss peace terms to end Russian involvement in the First World War. He agreed to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, accepting very harsh terms in which Russia lost about one-third of its population as well as a great deal of its natural resources.
- Consequently, anti-Bolshevik forces from many parties joined forces. They became the Whites.
- By the summer, the anti-Bolshevik Whites were fighting the Bolshevik Reds. Whites were commanded by Generals Yudenich and Denikin (Army), and Admiral Kolchak (Navy). They were supported by Britain, France, Japan and the USA.

Reasons for the Reds' victory in the Russian Civil War		
	<u>Reds</u>	<u>Whites</u>
Geography	Controlled Russia's key industries, railways in the West, including Moscow and St Petersburg,. Troops could be supplied and moved more easily.	Spread out across the sparsely populated Centre and East with little in the way of industry or transport. Communication and organisation were very complicated as a result.
Aims	United in their aim to save the November Revolution and create a communist state under the Marxist-Leninist brand of Socialism.	All they had in common was opposition to Bolshevism. Some were Socialist Revolutionaries, others were middle class liberals who wanted a parliamentary democracy, and some were Monarchists
Leadership	The 300,000-strong Red Army was led by Leon Trotsky, who travelled around in his armoured train giving speeches to inspire them. Political Commissars monitored the troops, shooting deserters. Lenin used the Cheka to carry out the Red Terror, and Grain Squads requisitioned grain for the war effort.	White commanders, who were traditional military officers, often mistreated their troops, causing some to swap sides and join the Reds. Poor coordination allowed Trotsky to take out the White armies one-by-one, as they failed to coordinate an anti-Bolshevik front.
Use of Propaganda	Lenin's Propaganda campaign played on the involvement of foreign powers, presenting the Whites as traitors and invaders. The Reds, meanwhile were the defenders of the Russian people. Peasants were told they would lose land if the Whites won.	The White focused on their anti-Bolshevik message, but they had nothing positive to offer since they had such a broad range of aims.

Study Suggestion

Review the table on the previous page.

Try to memorise the advantages of the Reds and the disadvantages of the Whites.

Turn the page over and write down everything you can remember.

Turn it back, check your work, and try again until you get 100% twice in a row.

Practice Question:

Why were the Bolsheviks victorious in the Russian Civil War?

[6 marks]

Remember, in 6-mark questions, you must fully explain two reasons for the event in question.

Plan your answer to this one by:

1. Identifying two reasons why the Reds won.
2. Adding 2 or 3 relevant, accurate, detailed examples to support each point.

Use this space to plan out your answer:

Sentence Starters:

One key factor in the Bolsheviks' victory was ...

More specifically, ... / In other words, ... / For example, ...

Moreover, ... / Furthermore, ... / Additionally, ...

Another important factor was ...

More specifically, ... / In other words, ... / For example, ...

Moreover, ... / Furthermore, ... / Additionally, ...

KQ2.4 HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY?

During the Civil War, War Communism helped the Reds to victory.

- War Communism kept the troops and workers fed, but:
 - All large industries were nationalised, and free enterprise was outlawed;
 - Harsh discipline was introduced in factories;
 - Requisitioning squads took surplus food (they decided what was surplus) and arrested or executed peasants who refused to hand it over;
 - Rationing was introduced.
- By 1921, an estimated 7 million people had died in Russia due to extreme famine. Money had become completely worthless and industrial output was lower than pre-WW1 levels.

SUMMARY:

WAR COMMUNISM AND THE RED TERROR HAD HELPED THE BOLSHEVIKS TO SECURE VICTORY IN THE CIVIL WAR, BUT IT LED TO WIDESPREAD DISCONTENT. THE KRONSTADT RISING IN 1921 FORCED LENIN TO ADOPT THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY (NEP) IN AN ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN RUSSIA.

With the White defeated, the Communist Revolution's poster-boys became the Bolsheviks' new opposition.

- The brutality of the Red Terror and War Communism led some to call for a return to a soviet form of government, breaking up Lenin's dictatorship.
- In March 1921, sailors at the Kronstadt Naval Base near St Petersburg passed a resolution demanding democracy and civil rights. Once strong supporters of Bolshevism, they had grown concerned about Lenin's dictatorship.
- Trotsky used 20,000 Red Army troops to crush the Kronstadt Rising. Many of the Kronstadt sailors, who had been poster boys of the revolution in 1917, were summarily executed on the ice outside of Kronstadt Naval Base. Lenin described the uprising as 'the flash that lit up reality'.

Lenin introduced the NEP in 1921

End of Grain Requisitioning.

Grain requisitioning was replaced with a tax. Peasants would give 50% of what they grew to the state, and could keep the rest and sell it at market.

Grain production return to pre-war levels by 1925.

Small-scale capitalism.

Smaller factories were allowed back into private ownership. Consumer goods such as clothes could be sold for a profit. Traders, known as NEPmen could buy and sell goods and food.

This was very unpopular with communists.

Electrification:

By 1925, access to electricity had increased by over 400%

Large Industries:

Large industries, such as coal, steel and oil, remained under state control.

The NEP had mixed results, but it did lead to improvements.

- By 1926, production returned to pre-war levels.
- In 1921, an Anglo-Soviet trade agreement was signed. Foreign trade with the West generally increased.
- Lenin saw the NEP as a necessary temporary measure. Many communists saw it as a backwards step towards capitalism.
- Kulaks (wealthier peasants) and NEPmen were able to profit from the NEP. This angered many communists.
- Unemployment remained high, while crime and rates of alcoholism rose.

Study Suggestions:	
1. List ways in which War Communism (a) helped, and (b) hindered Lenin's consolidation of power.	
2. Complete the table below	
Evidence that NEP was a success	Evidence that NEP was a failure

Practice Question: Paper 1 [4 marks]

Describe Lenin's New Economic Policy.

For the 4-mark question, you do not need to explain. You just need to express four accurate statements about the issue in the question.

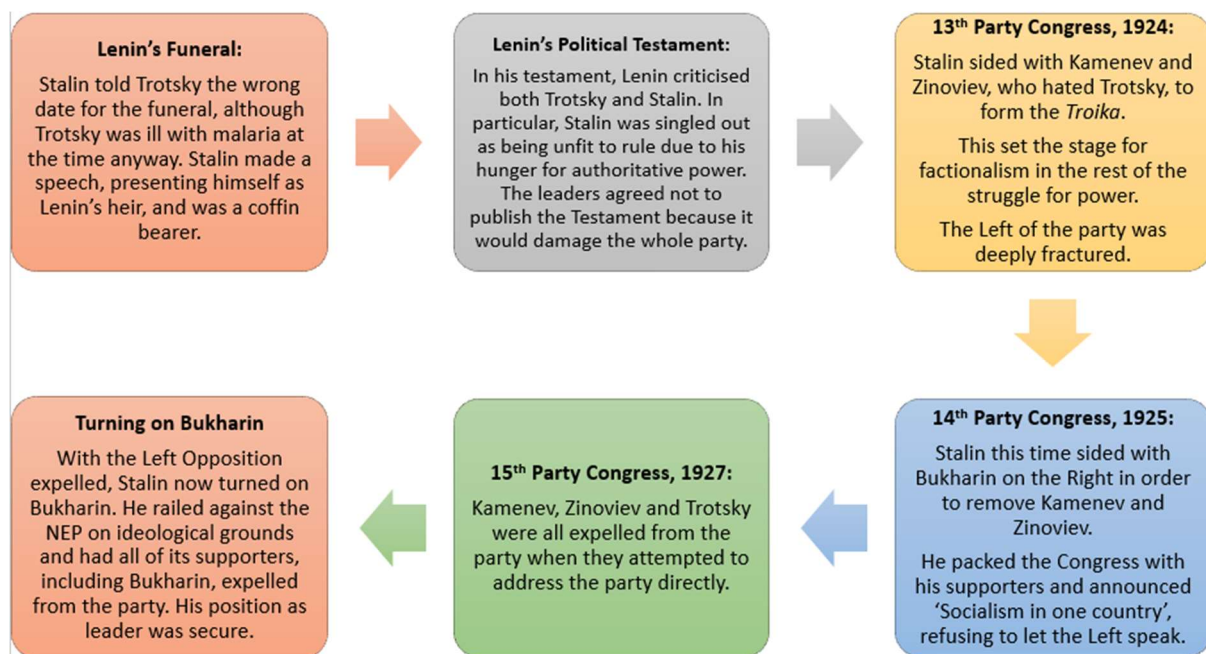
KQ3: HOW DID STALIN GAIN AND HOLD ON TO POWER?

KQ3.1 WHY DID STALIN, AND NOT TROTSKY, EMERGE AS LENIN'S SUCCESSOR?

When Lenin died in January 1924, there were several candidates to succeed him.

- The Left Wing of the Bolshevik Party included Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev. They were in favour of 'Permanent Revolution'.
- On the Right Wing there was Bukharin, who wanted to continue the NEP and gradually phase into Communism.
- Joseph Stalin, the General Secretary of the Party, was also a candidate – neither expressly left or right wing.
- The main struggle would be between Trotsky and Stalin.
- Trotsky was a good military leader who had earned a reputation during the Civil War. However, he was unpopular due to his arrogance. His desire to end the NEP and spread communism worldwide was worrying to some who thought the former would lead to economic ruin, while the latter would invite conflict with the West.
- Stalin exploited his position as Secretary General of the party to appoint his supporters and remove opponents. He was cunning and ruthless. He opposed 'Permanent Revolution' with 'Socialism in One Country' – focusing on making communism a success in the USSR before beginning to think about spreading it.

By 1929, Stalin had emerged as leader.



Study Suggestions:

1. List **Trotsky's failures** and **Stalin's successes**. Which were more important in Stalin gaining power?
2. What were the main differences between Permanent Revolution and Socialism in One Country?
3. What could Trotsky have done differently to prevent Stalin from achieving power?

KQ3.2 WHY DID STALIN LAUNCH THE PURGES?

Stalin needed to consolidate his position as leader to create a totalitarian state.

- The murder of a leading communist, Sergei Kirov, was the excuse Stalin needed in order to launch the purges. In fact, it is possible that Stalin was behind the murder.
- Kirov was a potential rival to Stalin, who wanted to reform the harsher aspects of Stalin's modernisation programs.
- In Stalin's eyes, anybody who was not explicitly a loyal supporter of his was to be considered a traitor to communism.
- He used the NKVD (the Stalinist Secret Police) to purge people from all sectors of society.

Stalin launched the Great Purges in 1934 and targeted various groups:

The Communist Party

- Stalin arranged **Show Trials** to purge rivals within the party, such as Kamenev and Zinoviev in 1936.
- Bukharin was executed in 1938.
- Over 500,000 communists were arrested and executed or sent to gulags – often a death sentence.

The Army

- Stalin feared that the army was the group most likely to overthrow him.
- Over 25,000 officers were purged.
- 90% of generals were removed, many executed.

The People

- Anyone who was suspected of opposing Stalin's policies could be label a counter-revolutionary.
- The NKVD arrested poets, writers, intellectuals and scientists.
- Kulaks and NEPmen were targeted as class traitors.
- NKVD used a network of informants to spy on civilians, creating a climate of fear and distrust.
- By 1937, an estimated 18 million people had been transported to gulags. Around 10 million had died.

The NKVD

- By 1938, Stalin had even turned on his own secret police, fearing they would turn on him first because of the scale of the purges.
- The NKVD was publicly blamed for the excessive arrests and executions. Members were therefore arrested and executed themselves.
- Even the head of the NKVD, Yagoda, was shot.

By 1938, nobody dared to challenge Stalin's rule in public. Through fear and intimidation, he had made his position unchallengeable.

- He would, however, go on to regret the extent of his purges in 1941 when Hitler's experienced generals invaded the USSR and Stalin was left with very few of his own with any useful leadership experience.

Study Suggestions

1. Why did Stalin target each of the groups in the diagram above?
2. Explain how the purges helped Stalin to consolidate his position as totalitarian leader of the USSR.

KQ3.3 WHAT METHODS DID STALIN USE TO CONTROL THE SOVIET UNION?

Stalin used fear and terror to control the USSR.

- As we have seen before, Stalin used the NKVD to spread fear. His secret police had the right to arrest, imprison, and execute people without a trial.
- Millions died in labour camps called Gulags. The conditions were terrible, with many prisoners freezing to death, dying from starvation, illness, or exhaustion.
- Rules and harsh discipline in the factories and the countryside were enforced with fines, the fear of losing your job or even arrest.

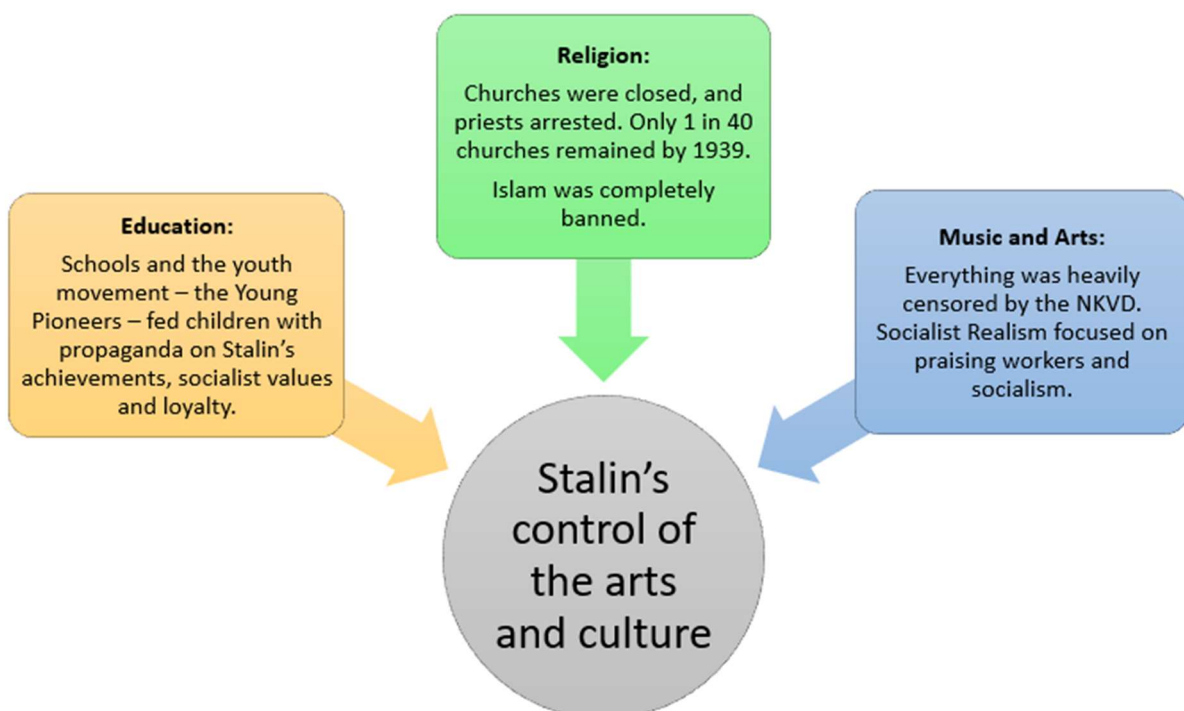
SUMMARY:

STALIN WANTED TO CREATE A TOTALITARIAN STATE WHERE EVERY ASPECT OF SOVIET SOCIETY WAS CONTROLLED.

Stalin developed a cult of personality.

- Stalin used propaganda to control ideas and information. Newspapers and other media were heavily censored and posters, pamphlets, and public events shower the regime in a positive light.
- A god-like worship of Stalin emerged: processions were held in his honour; children were educated about his accomplishments; photographs and statues of Stalin were everywhere.
- History books were rewritten with images of Trotsky and others removed from photos and Lenin and Stalin presented as the heroes of the revolution.
- In 1936, Stalin created a new constitution that promised civil rights to the people. It had little basis in reality.

The arts and culture.



Study Suggestions:
1. How similar were Stalin's methods of control to the methods of (a) Lenin and (b) Tsar Nicholas II?
2. How did each of the following help Stalin to increase control: a) Terror and the Purges? b) Propaganda and Censorship? c) Art and Culture?
3. How did Stalin create his cult of personality?

KQ3.4 HOW COMPLETE WAS STALIN'S CONTROL OVER THE SOVIET UNION BY 1941?

There are arguments for and against Stalin's absolute control over the USSR.



SUMMARY:

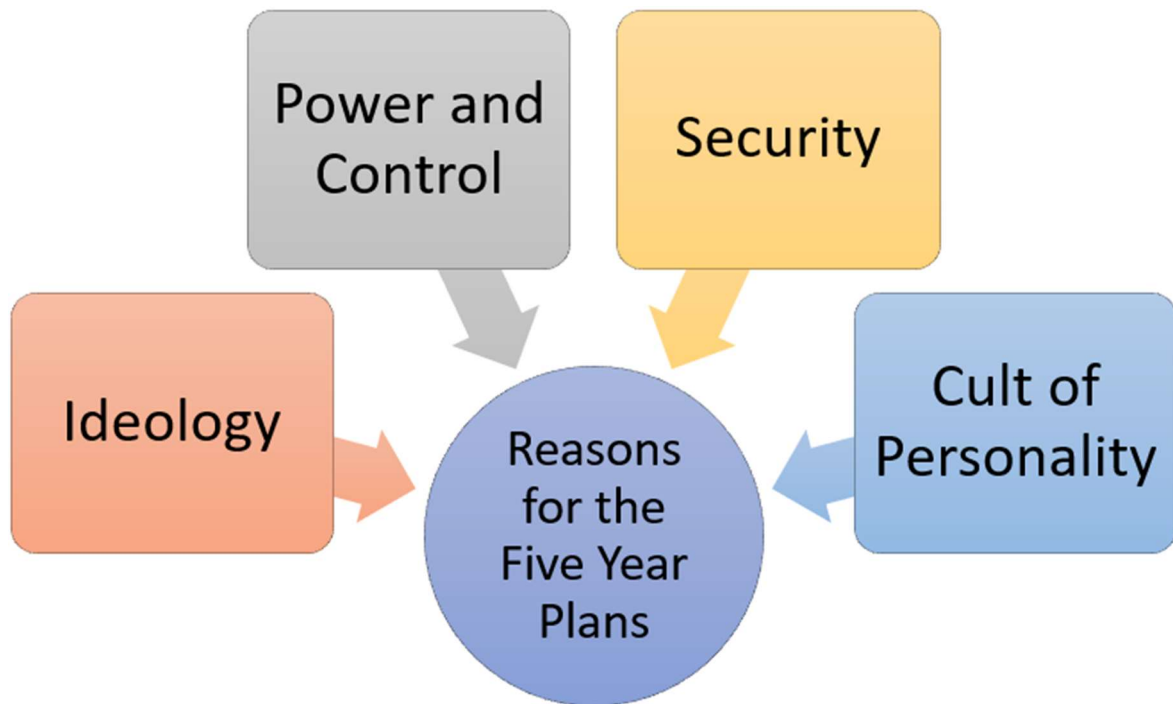
ALTHOUGH STALIN WAS CLEARLY UNOPPOSED, HIS CONTROL WAS NOT ABSOLUTE AS OPPOSITION STILL EXISTED ON SOME LEVEL.

Practice Questions – Paper 4	
a)	Write an account of Stalin's rise to power by 1929. [15 marks]
In the account question, you just need to write a sequential description of the events/issue in the question. You do not need to explain or analyse, but it would be helpful to identify the sequence by adding in phrases like 'this led to ...' and 'as a result, ...'	
b)	Discuss the impact of the purges on the Soviet Union. [25 marks]
25-mark Plan:	
Introduction	Identify the different areas upon which the purges impacted the Soviet Union.
Paragraph 1	Examine one aspect – e.g. political impacts
Paragraph 2	Examine another aspect – e.g. on the military
Paragraph 3	Examine another aspect – e.g. social impacts
Conclusion	Explain your overall judgement – what was the most significant impact of the purges?

KQ4 WHAT WAS THE IMPACT OF STALIN'S ECONOMIC POLICIES?

KQ4.1 WHY DID STALIN INTRODUCE THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS?

Stalin wanted to modernise industry in the USSR for many reasons:



Ideology:

Stalin needed complete control of the economy to establish 'Socialism in One Country'. He wanted Soviet Russia to be self-sufficient, rather than relying on imports. He wanted the USSR to compete with and outperform capitalist economies of the West. He wanted to show that communism could improve the lives of the Russian people.
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Power and Control:

The Five-Year Plans legitimised the use of political prisoners as slave labour. Grand public building projects needed extraordinary amounts of human resources, so industrialisation and modernisation were used to control Russia as gulags were seen as both a punishment and a necessity.

Security:

Stalin feared invasions from the West. Heavy industry would be vital for defence and developing a modern army. Many of the new industrial centres were located in the east, far away from potential invasion through Europe.

Cult of Personality:

Stalin wanted to take all of the credit for finally delivering the grand changes that Russia had desperately needed for centuries. He wanted to be known as a great leader who had put Russia in its rightful place at the top of the world.
--

Study Suggestions:

- | |
|--|
| 1. Explain two reasons why Stalin wanted to modernise industry in the USSR. |
| 2. Try to come up with a mnemonic to help you remember the aims behind the Five-Year Plans. |

Stalin achieved industrial modernisation through three Five-Year Plans.

- Gosplan, the state planning organisation, set ambitious but often unrealistic targets.
- Targets were set for each region, each factory or mine, and even for each manager and worker.
- Stalin imported foreign experts, such as British engineers, to help with the modernisation process.

First Five Year Plan

- **Dates:** 1928-32
- **Aims:** Develop heavy industry (e.g. coal, steel, iron, electricity) to lay the foundations for further industrial development.
- **Achievements:** Huge steel mills were built, for example Magnitogorsk; 1500 new industrial plants were built; coal and iron output doubled BUT targets were unrealistic and unmet.

Second Five Year Plan

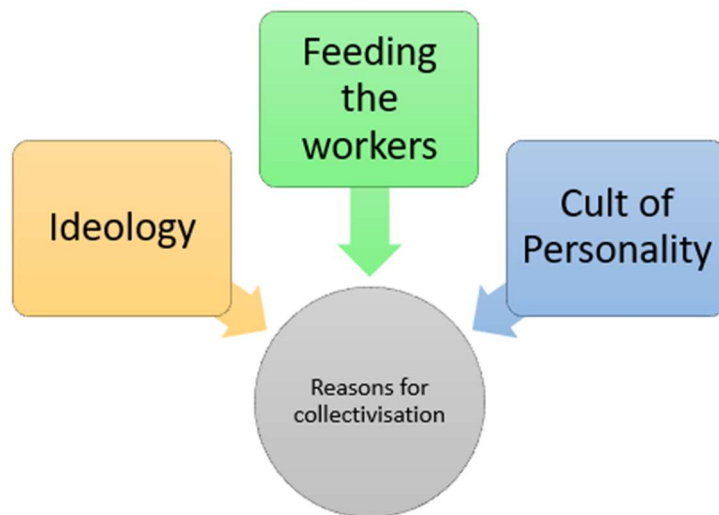
- **Dates:** 1933-37
- **Aims:** Further develop heavy industry. Start to build secondary industries such as chemicals, metals, railway and communications.
- **Achievements:** Moscow railway was built; heavy industry production doubled BUT targets remained unrealistic.

Third Five Year Plan

- **Dates:** 1938-41
- **Aims:** Industrialisation was to focus on agriculture and consumer goods to improve living conditions.
- **Achievements:** The third Five-Year Plan was disrupted by the Second World War.

KQ4.2 WHY DID STALIN INTRODUCE COLLECTIVISATION?

Stalin wanted to modernise agriculture in the USSR for many reasons.



Ideology:

Stalin wanted to eliminate the Kulak class that had benefitted from the NEP. Collectivisation would force socialism upon the countryside by removing private farms and establishing *kolkhoz* collective farms.

Feeding the workers:

Stalin wanted to ensure that the workers were fed and famine would be avoided in the future as the USSR was still importing 2 million tons of food per year in 1928. Stalin wanted excess grain to be sold abroad to pay for the machinery and experts that the Five-Year Plans needed.

Personal Reputations:

Stalin thought that modernising agriculture would also enhance his reputation and he used his propaganda machine to help convey this message and attack opponents.

Peasants were forced to collectivise their land.

- Peasants were told to form collective farms (***kolkhoz***).
- They were allowed to keep a small plot for personal use.
- All animals, tools and machinery would be shared.
- Some state farms (***sovkhoz***) were established in which peasants were paid a state wage instead.
- The collective farms would then sell some of their produce to the state for a low price and in return they would receive new machinery like tractors to improve their efficiency.
- Stalin hoped to avoid grain shortages and prevent kulaks from hoarding grain. It would be easier to collect grain from collective farms than from individual peasants.

Study Suggestion

1. How are the reasons for collectivisation similar to the reasons for the 5-year plans?

2. What was the difference between the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz?

Practice Question: 6-mark 'Why...' question:

Why did Stalin introduce the policy of collectivisation?

[6 marks]

Reason one:

Supporting details for Reason one:

Reason two:

Supporting details for Reason two:

KQ4.3 HOW SUCCESSFUL WERE STALIN'S ECONOMIC CHANGES?

There were many successes, but also criticisms of the Five-Year Plans:

Successes	Criticisms
- By 1940, the USSR produced 20% of the world's manufacturing output. - The Soviet military was vastly improved. Without the advanced level of industrialisation of the Five-Year Plans, Russia would probably have been defeated by Nazi Germany in the Second World War. - The Five-Year Plans caused massive urbanisation and some increase in the standards of living by the late 1930s, as some consumer goods and farming machines were made available.	- Inefficiency and waste were common owing to unrealistic targets. Managers focused on quantity over quality. Consequently, mass-produced goods like tractors often broke down. - The human cost was astronomical. Thousands died working on building projects such as the Moscow Underground Railway. The Five-Year Plans legitimised and accelerated the use of slave labour.

Stalin ultimately achieved his aim of collectivising agriculture, but at a great cost:

Successes	Criticisms
- By 1941, almost all farming land had been collectivised. Grain production had increased from 73 million tons in 1928 to 95 million tons by 1940. - New farming techniques and machinery such as tractors were introduced into the countryside. - Workers in the cities could now be fed without fear of famine. Excess grain taken by the state could be sold abroad to hire experts and machinery for the Five-Year Plans. Between 1928 and 1933, grain exports rose from 0.03 million tons to 1.69 million tons. - The Kulak class was eliminated. This was known as dekulakisation.	- Collectivisation had to be forced on the great majority of peasants, most of whom did not opt to collectivise at first. - Many peasants rioted, burning crops, slaughtering their animals, and even committing suicide rather than collectivising. - Although the big picture suggests progress, there were terrible famines between 1930-32, in which 13 million people died. Grain shortages in this period meant animals went unfed and had to be slaughtered. The average Russian's daily calorie intake dropped. - Peasant farmers were paid very little for their grain by the state and had only one acre for private use, compared with 13.5 acres in 1917.

Study Suggestions:

- Study the tables above. Which of the two was more successful: The Five-Year Plans or Collectivisation? Why?
- How did peasants resist collectivisation? What impact did this have?

KQ4.4 HOW WERE THE SOVIET PEOPLE AFFECTED BY THESE CHANGES?

Stalin's modernisation policies had a mix of positive and negative effects on the Soviet people.

	Five-Year Plans	Collectivisation
Positives	• More housing in urban areas, plus improved access to healthcare and education. • Improved access to skills training and better pay for good managers. • Unemployment nearly eradicated completely. • More than twice as many doctors per patient than the UK in 1940. • Free healthcare and education for all. • Bonuses for Stakhanovites who exceeded targets. • Women made up 40% of the workforce in 1940.	• New farming methods and access to machinery such as tractors. • Collective farms had better access to healthcare and education. • Famine was finally ended by the outbreak of the Second World War.
Negatives	• Internal passports controlled the movement of workers (especially non-Russians). • Wages fell between 1928 and 1937. • There was a lack of consumer goods as the two successful Five-Year Plans focused on heavy industry. • Housing remained expensive and hard to find. • Strict targets were unrealistic, and punishments for missing them were harsh: fines, dismissal or gulags. • Slave Labour was routinely used, e.g. for the construction of Belomor Canal and the Dnieper Hydroelectric Dam. • Minority groups, such as Ukrainians and Jews, continued to be persecuted through mass imprisonment and deportations	• Peasants lost their private farms when collectivisation was forced upon them. • Resistance to collectivisation was met with brutal repression. • Dekulakisation was carried out according to quotas, with people falsely accusing neighbours in order to have them arrested and executed. • Famine killed nearly 13 million in the early 1930s.

SUMMARY:

WHILE MANY SUFFERED HORRIBLY AS A RESULT OF STALIN'S CHANGES TO INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE, THEY ALSO BROUGHT ABOUT SOME POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS. IN MANY WAYS, THE BIG PICTURE OF PROGRESS WAS BOUGHT AT THE EXPENSE OF MANY LIVES.

Practice Question – 10-mark mini-essay.	
'The Soviet People suffered more than they benefitted from Stalin's modernisation of the Soviet Union.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10 marks]	
• For the mini-essay, you should include: ○ An introduction that sets out the thesis of your essay; ○ One or two paragraphs in support of the statement in the question; ○ One or two paragraphs challenging the statement in the question; and ○ A conclusion which gives your overall judgement with a brief of explanation of the evaluation process that led you to it.	
Introduction	<i>Highlight that there were both positives and negatives. Could give an overview of the sorts of things which benefitted versus the sorts of things which suffered.</i>
Para 1	<i>This paragraph might focus on ways the Five Year Plans caused suffering.</i>
Para 2	<i>This paragraph might focus on ways Collectivisation caused suffering.</i>
Para 3	<i>This paragraph might focus on benefits brought about by the Five-Year Plans.</i>
Para 4	<i>This paragraph might focus on benefits brought about by Collectivisation.</i>
Conclusion	<i>This paragraph expresses your overall judgement:</i> <i>e.g.</i> <i>Did the people suffer more than they benefitted?</i> <i>Did all people suffer or benefit in the same ways?</i> <i>Did it make a difference if you were a peasant or an urban worker?</i>

Glossary – make sure you can identify and explain these key terms.	
Autocracy	
Bolsheviks	
Capitalism	
Civil War	
Collectivisation	
Communism	
Cossacks	
Duma	
Five-Year Plan	
Gulag	
Industrialisation	
Kerensky	
Kolkhoz	
Kulak	
Lenin	
Marxist	
Mensheviks	
Nationalities	
NEP	
NKVD	

Okhrana	
Peasants	
Petrograd Soviet	
Propaganda	
Provisional Government	
Purge	
Show Trials	
Social Democrats	
Socialist Revolutionaries	
Soviet Union	
Soviets	
Stakhanovite	
Stalin	
Stolypin	
Trotsky	
Tsar	
Tsarina	
USSR	
War Communism	
Zemtsva	