

## Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945 (World War I to the end of World War II)

Presenter: Ms Bettermann

From: Willetton SHS

### Major players in the events of 1917



#### **Tsar Nicholas II**

Last Emperor of Russia

Rules from November 1, 1894 until his forced abdication on March 15, 1917



#### **Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky**

Russian lawyer and politician

Minister-Chairman of the Russian Provisional Government from July 8 to October 26, 1917



#### **Leon Trotsky**

Marxist revolutionary

One of the seven members of the Bolshevik politburo in 1917  
Soviet defence minister from March 1918 to January 1925



#### **Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin)**

Chief architect of Russian revolution

First leader of Soviet Russia, then the USSR, between 1917 to 1924



#### **Joseph Stalin**

Soviet revolutionary

Soviet leader from 1924 until his death in 1953. Denounced after his death as a dictator and for crimes against the party and people

## Elective 2: Russia and the Soviet Union 1914–1945

### (World War I to the end of World War II)

- an overview of Russia in 1914 as background for more intensive study of the period
- the significant **ideas** of the period, including autocracy, Marxism, communism, Leninism, Stalinism, and collectivisation
- the internal **divisions** and **crises** within Russian society, including the impact of World War I; the causes, events and outcomes of the **Feb** and **October Revolutions** in 1917
- the initial **reforms** and **decrees** of the Bolsheviks; the opposition to the Bolsheviks; the Brest-Litovsk Treaty; the **civil war** and the **reasons for the Bolshevik victory**
- the significance of the **struggle** of Josef Stalin and Leon Trotsky for **power** and the reasons for the success of Stalin
- the **changes that transformed Russia**, including **War Communism; the New Economic Policy; the creation of the USSR; the Five Year Plans** and how they contributed to state **control** of the **economy**, forced **rural collectivisation**, state-created **famine** and the **modernisation** of the Soviet Union
- the **social/cultural impact** of Bolshevism and **Stalin's Cultural Revolution** to 1945, including **women, nationalities, youth and education (Komsomol), the arts (including Social Realism) and religion**
- the different experiences of **individuals** and groups in the period to 1945, including **nobility, the clergy, peasants and factory workers; and the methods the regime employed to control them**, including mobilisation and propaganda, repression, the Purges and the Great Terror
- the **impact of World War II** and the methods that **enabled** the USSR to secure **victory**
- the **role and impact of significant individuals** in the period, including 1) political, 2) military and 3) social/cultural leaders

### The other way to approach the study of the course is in THEMES....

Page 8 of the SCASA Curriculum Document has them outlined

The impact of the following forces should be considered, where appropriate, throughout the unit:

1. economic - **reasons for and impacts of (always short term / long term) WC, NEP Collectn**
2. external forces/international relations - **WW1, Civil War, WW2**
3. ideas - **Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, Communism, collectivisation**
4. leadership - **link to ideology and context, key individuals and their ideologies**
5. political - **change, struggle for and use of...**
6. social/cultural - **groups in society – youth, women, minorities, rural vs urban, religion**

Page 2 of the Syllabus states that one of the aims of this course is to....

- Apply historical concepts, including **evidence, continuity and change, cause and effect, significance, empathy, perspectives and contestability**

These skills underpin every essay and source analysis and also can guide your study.

# The Last Four Years of WACE Questions for Russia

The words in italics and brackets are added by Ms Bettermann

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**2016**

**Question 5 (25 marks)**

Argue for and against the proposition that:

'Changes in **economic** circumstances produced the greatest impact on the lives of the people.' (*Economic*) (*Leadership*) (*Political*)

**Question 6 (25 marks)**

Assess the extent to which **international** influences were significant in creating **change** within Russia and the Soviet Union throughout the time period studied.

**Question 7 (25 marks)**

Evaluate the impact of autocracy as a significant idea in Russia during the time period studied. (All)

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**2017**

**Question 5 (25 marks)**

Assess the extent to which internal divisions and crises within Russian society led to Bolshevik victory in 1917. (*Social Cultural*) (*Economic*) (*Leadership*) (*Political*)

**Question 6 (25 marks)**

Debate the proposition:

'Stalin's cultural revolution transformed Soviet society significantly'. (*Social Cultural*) (*Economic*) (*Leadership*) (*Political*)

**Question 7 (25 marks)**

Evaluate the impact of Trotsky as a political leader within the time period. (*Leadership*) (*Political*)

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**2018**

**Question 5 (25 marks)**

Assess the methods that enabled the USSR to secure victory in World War Two. (*External Forces / International Relations*) (*Economic*) (*Leadership*)

**Question 6 (25 marks)**

Debate the proposition that Leninism was solely responsible for the changes that occurred up to 1924. (*Ideology*) (*Economic*) (*Leadership*) (*Political*)

**Question 7 (25 marks)**

Examine the methods used by Stalin to control individuals and groups in the Soviet Union to 1941. (*Leadership*) (*Political*)

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**2019**

**Question 5 (25 marks)**

Analyse the reasons for the Bolshevik victory in the Civil War. (*Social Cultural*) (*Economic*) (*Political*)

**Question 6 (25 marks)**

Evaluate the impact of the Five Year Plans on Russian society (*Social Cultural*) (*Economic*) (*Political*)

**Question 7 (25 marks)**

Assess the factors that led to Stalin's ascent to power by 1929. (*Leadership*) (*Political*)

## Document Studies Topics Covered:

2016: ... significance of the idea(s)

... ideas

2017: ... changing economic circumstances

... idea of leadership

2018: ... the significance of the changing political circumstances

... importance of ideas

2019: ... impact of the leader/s represented

... significance of leadership

### Your course dot points:

a) economic ✓

b) external forces / international relations

c) ideas ✓ ✓

d) leadership ✓ ✓

e) political ✓

f) social/cultural.

### Caution:

DO NOT expect to be able to predict what the examiners might target... study everything!!!

# So How Can We Organise This Content

Consider time frames? This allows you to study a manageable period of time with pivot point that mark the beginning and end. Chronology is an important skill in any study of history.

**What are the logical time frames and the events/ideas that create pivot points in this unit?**

Time Frame		End
1914 – 1917 (Feb)	WW1	Tsar abdicated
1917 (Feb) – 1917 (Oct)	Provisional Govt in power	Oct Rev Lenin took over
1917 – 1924	Civil War	Lenin's death
1924-1928	Lenin's death	Struggle for power – Stalin won
1928 – 1932	First 5 YP	End 1 <sup>st</sup> 5YP
1933 - 1937	2 <sup>nd</sup> 5YP	End 2 <sup>nd</sup> 5YP
1938 – 1941	3 <sup>rd</sup> 5YP	Enter WW2
1941 - 1945	Enter WW2	Russia and Allies won WW2

## A Study Strategy

Allocate a colour or symbol to each of the 6 key concepts in the course

1	Economic	
2	International / External Forces	
3	Ideas	
4	Leadership	
5	Political	
6	Social / Cultural	





# An Introduction

- Consider printing this document (or doing this digitally) by highlighting or putting a tick next to each line to categorise it into the key themes.
- The key points below are the narrative, some examples and some of the impacts / significance.
- This list is by no means exhaustive.
- Consider a few things as you go: short term / long term (causes and effects)

Economy	International	Ideas	Leaders	Political	Social Cultural
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## Russia at the Start of 1914

**Geography and people**– the sheer size & scope of the country => very difficult to govern

- Much of land inhospitable and poor farming – most food grown in Ukraine
- Most of population lived in area west of the Urals
- 80% pop'n peasants => emancipated in 1861, but situation not really improve/ indebted and oppressed (illiteracy high)
- Tran-Siberian Railway being built in 1900s
- 1914 10% of pop'n lived in urban areas as workers – hard life, poor wages, became militant, Tsar not concerned with their predicament
- 1.5% pop'n rich (owned land/ resources) => glamorous lifestyle
- 1900 10% of people were middle class (doctors, lawyers, bureaucrats etc)
- Tsar – autocrat (supported by gov't dep'ts and ministers)
- Effect of Russification important on people of different nationalities
- Okhrana – secret police – suppressed opposition – supporter of Tsar (**Secret Police**)
- Army/ Cossacks – strong supporter of Tsar => break up strikes
- Russian Orthodox Church – strong supporter of the autocracy/ Head of ROC appointed by Tsar

## 1914 – 1917 (Feb) World War I and Its Impact

Economy	International	Ideas	Leaders	Political	Social Cultural
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**Causes of discontent that led to the February revolution**

**Impact of WW1 on Russia / tsarism, short term / long term**

- Russia had allied with Britain and France against Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey.
- Strikes in 1914 – civil unrest collapsed at announcement of Russia entering the war
- Initial enthusiasm/ love for Tsar – Duma suspends itself in support of the need for strong leadership
- Russian army massive called the "Russian steamroller"
- Army was poorly organised/ resourced – began to suffer heavy losses
- Eg August 1914 Tannenberg and Sept 1914 Masurian Lakes
  
- By end of 1914, the Russian Empire lost a large slice of its European territory including Poland and Lithuania
- 1915 May - Dec - 1 million Russians were killed, similar number prisoner
- Mid 1915 Tsar appointed himself C-in-C (Commander in Chief) => BIG MISTAKE! – now blamed for war and left Tsarina alone in Petrograd to run government (St Petersburg) => Rasputin
- There were a few successes - In 1916, Brusilov Offensive
- As Germans moved west millions = urbanisation = ↑ to feed, ↑ unrest

- Loss of land = ↓ land to the enemy ↓ land for crops ↑ food shortages;
- ↓ Performance = Duma demanded reappointment
- Formation of Progressive Bloc – became focal point of political resistance
- Rasputin was assassinated in 1916 (popular)
- Men deserted in their 1,000s (penalty was death)
- 15 million men called up via conscription between 1914-1917
- High turnover of government ministers – instability => 'ministerial leapfrog', no one wanted to be associated with the Tsar's incompetence

## Opposition

- 3 main groups of opposition were being suppressed.
  - **Liberals** were the most moderate of the opposition groups. Goal was to introduce *parliamentary democracy* similar to those in the USA, France and Great Britain.
  - **Social Revolutionaries** wanted a new Russian society based on the traditional community of the peasant village
  - **Communists** influenced by Karl Marx, a German Jew in exile in Britain for over 40 years - a philosopher and economist. Whoever controlled the means of production (e.g. owners of land or factories) would then end up exploiting all the other groups in that society. Religious, social and cultural organisations would be geared to maintain power...Marx was vehemently against this and was gaining popularity globally. **Russian communists** saw Nicholas II, the aristocracy and the Church as the controllers of the means of production and as oppressors. Wanted them replaced with Councils or Soviets, which would represent the ordinary people = classless society.

## Home Front

- Tsar used the secret police (Okhrana) to quash opposition
- Military needs were prioritised
- Wages ↑ x 2 but Inflation ↑ x 4 for staples eg fuel and food;
- Petrograd suffered most due to distance from the food producing regions
- Rising militancy of workers; 1915/ 1916 strikes;
- 'Winter of Discontent', stalled the Germans but worsened problems at home
- Trotsky – 'War is the locomotive of history' – just a good proverb
- Tsar incompetent/ out-of-touch, war highlighted this weak man and system
- By 1917 – 1.7 million Russian soldiers killed; 8 million wounded; 2.5 million taken prisoner
- Moscow required 120 freight cars a day – in January 1917 it was receiving only 21
- Unreliable troops
- Putilov Steel Factory closed Feb 21 = riots began and went for days
- As a result Tsar left the war front to return to Petrograd ... that was his last day as Tsar



## So, now try to answer this question:

Argue for and against the proposition that:  
“War was the greatest accelerator of change in Russia to 1917”.

Introduction (Who, what, when, where, why, what has just happened, what has changed)

1. Agree because (1) ..... Find an expert that supports this
2. Agree because (2) ..... Find some facts
3. Disagree because (1) .... What else could accelerate change other than war? Can you prove or add detail of the change brought about by these forces? Maybe war was a significant accelerator of change but not THE GREATEST.
4. Disagree because (2).... Can you find an expert to back you up?

Conclusion: Overall....yes/no? THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART – You need to decide

### Hints:

- There is NO right or wrong answer...it's all in how you sell it!!
- Try for 4 internal paragraphs but you need at least 3 + intro and conclusion

## Source Analysis Autocracy, Tsarism, internal crises / influence

**Source 1:** (Part of a letter sent to Nicholas in January 1917 from the Grand Duke Alexander, a of the nobility.)

*The unrest grows; even the monarchy is beginning to totter; and those who support the Tsar lose the ground under their feet, because disorganisation and lawlessness are everywhere. A situation like this cannot last long. I repeat once more - it is impossible to rule the country without paying attention to the voice of the people, without meeting their needs, without a willingness to admit that the people themselves understand their own needs.*

**Source 2:** (On 26th February 1917, Rodzianko sent a telegram to Nicholas urging immediate action. He wanted the Duma to be called into session.)

*The situation is serious. The capital is in a state of anarchy. The government is paralysed; the transport service has broken down; the food and fuel supplies are completely disorganized. Discontent is general and on the increase. There is wild shooting in the streets; troops are firing at each other. It is urgent that someone enjoying the confidence of the country be entrusted with the formation of a new government. There must be no delay. Hesitation is fatal.*

**Source 3:** (On 26th Feb 1917, Nicholas received another letter from his wife. She usually referred to Rodzianko as ‘that fat pig’, because he claimed to be the ‘fattest man in Russia’.)

*My dear, I heard that horrid Rodzianko wants the Duma to be called together – oh please don't do it, it's not their business. They want to discuss things which don't concern them.*

Tick true of false – were these the reason Stalin became the leader of the Soviet Union.

	True	False
Stalin was the Secretary of the Communist Party.		
Lenin chose Stalin as his successor.		
The other Bolsheviks did not want Trotsky to be leader.		
Lenin’s Testament was destroyed by his widow.		
Stalin executed his rivals in the 1920s.		
Stalin isolated the left wing and then turned on the right wing.		
Lenin’s Testament was not published after his death.		
Trotsky left the Soviet Union in 1924.		
The other Bolsheviks did not take Stalin seriously.		

## 1917 (Feb) – 1917 (Oct) Provisional Government PG

Economy

International

Ideas

Leaders

Political

Social Cultural

### Tsar Abdicate

- 2nd of March 1917 the Tsar abdicated
- PG was created but temporary - NOT ELECTED
- Not Socialists, but liberals and moderate conservatives - from the Duma
- Working classes comprised of Socialists

### Provisional Government

- Army and factory workers formed Soviets
- Felt they had the moral legitimate power
- Soviets passionate, uneducated and included the army
- 1st of March 1917 Petrograd Soviet issued Soviet Order Number One
- It was an instruction to soldiers and sailors to obey their officers and the PG only if their orders did not contradict the decrees of the Petrograd Soviet.

### Provisional Government

- Army and factory workers formed Soviets
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- 1st of March 1917 Petrograd Soviet issued Soviet Order Number One
- It was an instruction to soldiers and sailors to obey their officers and the PG only if their orders did not contradict the decrees of the Petrograd Soviet.
- The Petrograd Soviet controlled the army, essentially they were in charge
- Most soldiers were poor, working class, did not support the PG
- The PG were in charge with the support of the middle classes but there were significant issues they struggled to deal with for example – withdrawing Russia from WW1, food, giving land to peasants
- The Petrograd Soviet had the power but we're not directly in charge of policy so they could not be responsible for the loss of the war
- Soviet had the power but not the authority, PG had the authority but not the power.
- So the **Soviet Order Number One** was the key to this dynamic experience

## **PG Missed the Mark**

- There was a genuine desire to follow democracy but struggled with key issues:
- **Peace:** PG wanted to stay in war it knew that it would be dealt with harshly if they pulled out of the war
- **Bread:** did not act quickly enough - PG was capitalist, middle class, they didn't want to interfere.
- **Land:** refused to take land from owners and redistributed to poor peasants
- The PG
  - refused reform
  - knew that there was a significant risk of Civil War
  - failed to act – claimed elections were coming

## **Lenin's Return**

- Lenin returned from exile April 16th 1917, Trotsky returned from NYC in May
- Lenin delivered his April Thesis asking for:
  1. an immediate end to Russia's involvement in WW1
  2. an end to the Provisional Government
  3. an end to other political parties
  4. the transfer of power to the Soviets
  5. the transfer of land to the peasants from land holders
- So... "Peace, Bread, Land!" and "All power to the Soviets!"

## **June Offensive**

- Kerensky - in June 1917 to drive the Germans out. It failed.
- Discipline broke down, a PR disaster.
- Bolsheviks came to dominate the Soviet
- In July / August of 1917, Lenin built support with the proletariat, publishing propaganda
- He and Trotsky expanded membership of the Bolshevik Party
- Created an army called the Red Guards
- Chaos erupted in July after the failure of the June Offensive failure

## **July Days – 400 die**

- Bolsheviks exploited the unpopular PG.
- In Petrograd, there was an attempt by workers and Bolsheviks to overthrow the government.
- PG was not as weak as it appeared.
- Loyal troops crushed the uprising
- Kerensky as PM used the revolt as an excuse to imprison many of the Bolshevik leaders.
- Lenin fled to Finland. The Bolshevik Party appeared to be finished.

## **Opposition**

- Socialists were ↑ in popularity - waiting for elections

## **How did they deal with key issues?**

- Peace: PG wanted to stay in war it knew that it would be dealt with harshly if they pulled out of the war
- Bread: did not act quickly enough - PG was capitalist, middle class, they didn't want to interfere.
- Land: refused to take land from owners and redistributed to poor peasants
- PG thought refused reform despite a possible Civil War
- Failed to act because elections were coming
- Socialists Bolsheviks

## Kornilov Affair

3rd of Sept the Kornilov Affair St Petersburg

- A tsarist aristocrat
- In Sept 1917, General Kornilov tried to overthrow Kerensky.
- Wanted a right wing strong military government.
- Kerensky panicked as Kornilov's army approached Petrograd.
- He gave guns to anyone who would help and ordered the Bolsheviks be released from prison.
- Kornilov's army were prevented from reaching Petrograd because of a strike by railway workers!!
- Kornilov gave up and was arrested

## Kornilov Affair Impact

- This highlighted how weak the PG had become
- **Made heroes of the Bolsheviks**
- By Sept 1917, the Bolsheviks got a majority in the Petrograd Soviet
- Trotsky voted President on the 25th of Sept 1917, many other Soviets followed their example
- The Kornilov Revolt had strengthened the position of the Bolsheviks
- This was highlighted internal dissent
- Kerensky lost face
  
- **The Bolsheviks kept the guns and earned the title of "Saviours" & they stirred the pot"**
- Bolsheviks became the saviours of Russia – remarkable recovery after the June failure
- All Russian Congress of Soviets or the Constituent Assembly met at the end of October it was likely that the Bolsheviks would lose the election
- If the Constituent Assembly met, the Bolsheviks would be out of government
- So Lenin wanted to act before to seize power.
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- So Lenin wanted to act before to vote to seize power.

## Historical Schools – February Revolution

- **Traditional Soviet** – The revolution was part of an inevitable process of historical change known as dialectic and historical materialism.
- Traditional Soviet historians maintain that the revolution would have occurred with or without the war and even if Russia had possessed a more competent Tsar.
- Long term economic factors were the most important feature with war being simply, "The midwife of the Revolution." – **Lenin**
  
- **Liberal** – Revolution was not inevitable and could have been avoided.
- The war was the most important factor and it was this that led to the Revolution.
- Liberals also tend to view the revolution as a spontaneous event and focus little on the long term factors.
- They argue that had war not broken out in 1914 Russia would likely have developed into a constitutional monarchy with greater wealth being provided by Stolypin's land reforms (a politician from a previous era – not our period of study) and the continued policy of industrialisation.
  
- **Revisionists** – These historians tend to take a more balanced approach.
- They do however tend to argue revolution was not inevitable claiming that there were many opportunities at which it could have been avoided.
- The government's unwillingness to take these chances however meant that the Revolution was foreseeable and not entirely spontaneous.
  
- "People spoke of the Tsar and his government with open contempt. The word 'revolution' was on everybody's lips." **Orlando Figes**
- "There is no doubt that the instigators of the revolution were the workers and the reserve troops of the capital..." **Beryl Williams**
- "Rebellions happen, revolutions are made." **Richard Pipes**
- "The Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight". **R. B. McKean**

# 1917 – 1924 October Revolution – Lenin's Death

Economy

International

Ideas

Leaders

Political

Social Cultural

## Securing the Revolution

Note, there could be an essay question that asks you to address the 'rise and consolidation' of a leader, for Lenin, his 'rise' phase would begin in 1917 and his consolidation would probably be the mid to late Civil War period.

- If the Constituent Assembly met, the Bolsheviks would be out of government – Lenin needed to act.
- Trotsky planned to:
  - Take the key parts of Petrograd
  - Transport, telegraphs offices, bridges, barracks
  - surround the winter Palace
- The PG were not prepared for this attack
- Most soldiers didn't really support the PG
- Kerensky escaped on the 25th of Oct to Paris

## Securing the Revolution

- Trotsky had organised for the cruiser Aurora in the to fire towards the Winter Palace - illusion
- 200 soldiers surrendered 6 died and 18 PG members arrested
- Only a few 100 soldiers were involved

## Securing the Revolution

- The Constituent Assembly met in Nov 1917, was the first since Feb.
- Bolsheviks sought popularity by a series of "Decrees" from the Soviets
- These became known as the November Decrees on:
  - Land
  - Peace
  - Work
  - Press
- By December, more serious Decrees on:
  - Banning Liberal Constitutional Democratic parties
  - Cheka
  - Banking

## Securing the Revolution

- The changes were legal (sound familiar?)
- 5th of Jan 1918 should have been the handover
- Red Guards were patrolling the aisles of the Constituent Assembly
- On day 2 the Constituent Assembly, Lenin closed
- Crowds gathered outside - Red Guard fired on them
- Lenin moved immediately drawing Russia from war
- Trotsky struggled to make the deal, stalling for time
- Germans were harsh knowing that the Bolsheviks had little support at home

## So why was the October revolution successful?

- 150 million Russians didn't actually support the Bolsheviks
- ...but they did want out of war
- ...and Lenin made them feel heard
- Trotsky was an organisational genius; he was the key to success
- Most didn't know who the Bolsheviks were, think of the geography of Russia
- They used this to control the council of People's Commissars, with Lenin in charge
- The Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries were the biggest party by far in 1917, not the Bolsheviks

- The middle classes were not supportive of the Bolsheviks but they were waiting for the elections

## Historical Schools The October Revolution

- **Traditional Soviet** – Argued that the Oct Revolution was a popular uprising carried out by the working class.
- The revolution was carried out by the Soviets in protest to the oppressive rule of the bourgeoisie PG.
- Lenin is given particular credit while Trotsky, especially under the reign of Stalin, is barely mentioned.
- **Liberal** – The October Revolution is argued to be a coup d'état by a tiny, minority party who then imposed their ideology on the Russian people through fear, terror and propaganda.
- The Bolsheviks are seen as a particularly disciplined party with strong central governance.
- Again, Lenin is given particular credit, or perhaps the word should be blame.
- Notable Liberal historians include **Richard Pipes, Leonard Schapiro and Robert Conquest.**
- **Revisionist** – Critical of the Liberal school arguing that it has a natural desire to vilify the Oct Revolution.
- Revisionists have suggested that the Bolsheviks were not as centrally organised as once believed and have pointed out that the Soviets were created by the people independent of the Bolsheviks.
- In these Soviets it is notable that the Bolsheviks, in conjunction with the left SR did have an overall majority. Shelia Fitzpatrick is a notable advocate of the Revisionist view.
- "The October insurrection was a coup d'état" **Orlando Figes**
- "If it were a coup... then it was one enthusiastically supported by the proletariat and accepted by the peasantry." **Beryl Williams**
- "October was not a revolution but a classic coup d'état planned in the dead of night..." **Richard Pipes**
- "masterminded by Trotsky" **Richard Pipes**

### Securing the Revolution

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## 1917 - 1924

Economy

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### The Treaty of Brest Litovsk

- 6.2 million people were annexed by Germany in the Treaty of Brest Litovsk
- That was one 6th of the population
- 27% of farmland was lost
- 26% of railways
- 74% of iron and coal resources
- This was extremely unpopular



## Historical Schools Lenin In Power

- **Traditional Soviet** – The other main political parties were bourgeoisie sympathisers who were in league with the Provisional Government. Their suppression was therefore justifiable to prevent counter-revolutionary activity and completely in line with Marx's dictatorship of the Proletariat.
- They argue that Sovnarkom had the authority to govern Russia as it was appointed by the Soviet.
- These historians emphasise the achievements of Sovnarkom such as greater equality, an 8 hour working day and the separation of religion from state.
- With regards to the Constituent Assembly Lenin claimed that the results were not valid because there was no distinction on the ballot papers between Left SR and Right SR.
  
- **Liberal** – Following the October Revolution the Russian people demanded that the Soviet take power.
- The people did not want dictatorial control by the Bolshevik Party and it was for this reason that Lenin hid behind the façade of Soviet rule.
- The disbanding of the Constituent Assembly is a hideous crime against the Russian people and the suppressing of other political groups utterly unjustifiable.
  
- **Revisionists** – take a mixed view of the Bolshevik Consolidation of power.
- Some argue that the laws passed in this period led directly to what was to become Stalinism.
- Others however feel that the Bolsheviks were simply reacting to a desperate desire to hold on to power and that had Lenin not died in 1932 the Purges and the Terror would never have taken place.
  
- "...the most audacious coup d'état of all, a direct challenge to the nation's will, the disenfranchisement of tens of millions." **Richard Pipes** on the dispersing of the Constituent Assembly
- "(there was) an even greater centralisation of power in the hands of the Sovnarkom and its spawning bureaucracy at the expense of the power of the local soviets" **Ronald Kowalski**
- "...they lost whatever legitimacy they had in October and clung to power by dictatorial means." **Ronald Kowalski**
- "...the Bolsheviks behaved like the new 'Tsars' of Russia." **Orlando Figes**

## Civil War

### Opposing the Reds Whites - Divided

#### Opposing the Reds

#### Civil War - Whites Divided

- Opposition mostly came from right wing Tsarists known as the 'Whites'.
- Were very divided
- Motivated Generals, despite years of WW1
- Soldiers were not keen because they had come from poor peasant roots
- The influence of UK, US, French
- Russia pulling out of the war made itself very unpopular
- Allies conservative and wanted to protect their own ideologies and kingdoms - relatives.
  
- Russia pulling out of the war made itself very unpopular, which becomes significant later.
- Allies conservative and wanted to protect their own ideologies and kingdoms - relations
- About £100 million was sent to support them but only a handful of war weary troops
- Officers promoted by wealth and influence in the white armies – Tsarist ideologies
- Foreign powers began to wind back their support by 1920- 1921
- Some Whites were selling supplies being sent from overseas for their own profit
- Allies furious and they became resentful, withdrawing their support
- 3 main generals:
  - Kolchak in the East had 140,000 men,
  - Yudenich in the West had 15,000 men
  - Deniken and in the South had 150,000 men

- **Richard Pipes** argued that the Whites had the better leaders and moral.
- He points out their superior training and experience.
- His argument is weak however as the Reds also had talented Generals who had undergone military training and it was these men, not Lenin or Trotsky, who were in charge of strategy

### Greens - Divided The Czech region wanted its independence (Greens)

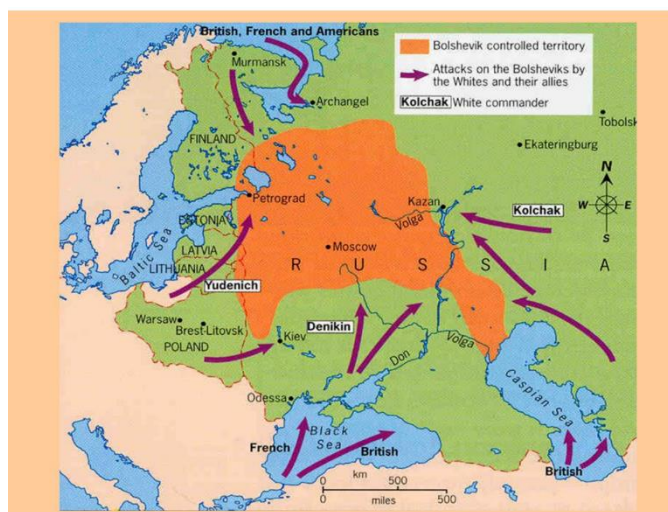
- Nation states keen for independence
- The Polish, the Finns, Ukrainians
- Less motivated to work together or attack mainland Russia
- They were nationalistic but not organised
- Trotsky left them till last because they were the least threat
- Finns and Poles won independence due to increased support from abroad

### Reds

- The Bolsheviks had over a million troops desert in 1918
- Poorly equipped, battle plans were voted by decree – Lenin's way of ruling by committee
- It wasn't working
- Trotsky stepped in and organised them
- Bolsheviks held on due to Trotsky's organisation even though they withstood a determined attack on all sides
- The Red Army was born

### So why did the Reds win?

- Single, unified, command structure
- Trained & organised Tsarist officers
- Secured supplies and
- Harsh discipline reduced desertion
- Trotsky inspired troops, was a great orator
- Used propaganda well
- Use of the Cheka (secret police)
- By the end of the Civil War 100,000 opponents were murdered
- Hunted down any potential risks
- Allowed for the installation of War Communism
- Between 100 & 300 thousand killed by the Cheka between 1918 and 1920 (contestable)
- Many more imprisoned, tortured, exiled
- Fear as a method of consolidating power was a popular strategy
- Therefore, more likely to work hard and stay fighting
- Defeat of the Whites in 1920 - 1920 Kolchak was shot
- By the end of 1919 Denikin was pushed back and fled by 1920



## Historical Schools Civil War

- **Traditional Soviet** argue that the Reds won because they were supported by the Russian people.
- To them the Civil War is merely another name for the dictatorship of the proletariat in which the workers inevitably purge the remnants of the bourgeoisie before establishing true socialism.
- Through this interpretation the outcome of the war is viewed as inevitable.
- It is worth noting that under Stalin Trotsky's role was understated while Trotskyites are perhaps inclined to overemphasise his importance.
- **Liberal School** – There is no universal consensus on why the Reds won the Civil War.
- Different historians emphasise geography, leadership, moral and other factors to a greater or lesser extent depending on their own views.
- Furthermore, some even consider the outcome of the war inevitable given their natural advantages while others such as **Orlando Figes** who points out that opportunities were missed by both sides which may have impacted the outcome of the war.
- **Revisionists** – Again, there is no definitive revisionist stance although they tend to focus more on politics as a factor rather than the traditional explanations of geography and leadership.
- Most are rather critical of **Richard Pipes'** explanation and argue that Red victory was more complex than he makes it out to be.
- "Throughout the struggle, the Reds were sustained by a driving sense of purpose." **Michael Lynch**
- "Contrary to conventional wisdom, it was the Whites who had the superior generalship and morale." **Richard Pipes**
- **Robert Service** regards the impact of Trotsky as pivotal claiming that his genius, "transformed the red army into a fighting force."

## War Communism

### So Why Did The Reds Win? - War Communism

- War Communism is a theory/ideology, Bolsheviks to control all production to fight off opposition...therefore they needed state controlled business
- No private enterprise
- Workers had to work harder to save the revolution
- Discipline increased, very harsh punishments (building a culture of fear and oppression)
- War communism allowed for increased economic and political control
- Control of peasants and worker's councils, to win the war
- Productivity fell
- Feb 1918 food rations were introduced, reducing the daily amount by 50 grams a day
- Food riots
- Bolsheviks had no choice but to increase their control

### So Why Did The Reds Win? - War Communism - Method

- Grain requisitioning
- Use of force, created Food Supplies Department
- Used to feed the army as a first priority
- All but starvation levels were left in the countryside
- Private enterprise banned, no wastage on non-essential production
- Industry nationalised
- Increased supply of guns and weapons

HTAANA

## So Why Did The Reds Win? - War Communism - Method of control – economic and social

- Replaced Worker's Councils with Managers - higher paid and the authority to implement discipline
- Many were the old managers under the Tsar, threatened to adapt to Bolshevism
- Fines for lateness and absenteeism
- Passports to control movement
- Rationing of all food and goods
- Media control
- Food rations and pay were used as control – very effective when they were already on the edge
- Also used terror
- Requisitioning actually decreased seed stock for the following years

## So Why Did the Reds Win? – Effects of War Communism

### Positive

- Allowed for more control of an increasingly hostile peasantry
- War goods and food for the army increased

### Negative

- Famine 1921 due to taking grain stock from the previous year
- 7 million peasants died
- Increased revolt in rural areas for example Tambov in 1920
- Requisitioning actually decreased seed stock for the following years

Million Tonnes Produced

	1913	1921	
<b>Grain</b>	80	27.6	↓ 63%
<b>Iron</b>	4.2	0.1	↓ 98%
<b>Coal</b>	29	9	↓ 69%

## So Why Did The Reds Win? – Effects of War Communism

- Jan 1921 food riots after a cut in rations by 1/3
- Cheka fired on them
- ...but Red Army refused
- Many fled to the countryside eg Petrograd population 2.2 million in 1914 to 600,000 in 1920
- In 1914 deaths per thousand were 21 by 1920 deaths per thousand 90
- Massive political opposition from peasants, workers and left wingers
- Martial Law was declared in 1921 in both Petrograd and Moscow
- This could have been a turning point in the narrative

## Kronstadt Naval Base

- Sailors were the very early supporters of the Bolsheviks, from peasant roots
- Their demands were printed in Pravda 1921:
  - In view of the fact that the present Soviets do not represent the will of the workers and peasants... we demand:
  - to re-elect the Soviets immediately by secret voting...
  - Freedom of speech and press for workers, peasants, Anarchists and Left Socialist Parties.
  - Freedom of meetings, trade unions and peasant associations.
- Red Army and Cheka employed
- 20,000 sailors were killed or wounded, many more went to the Gulags
- Shockingly - these were the heroes of the 1917 revolution
- This was a light bulb moment for Lenin
- Many of the 15 demands were part of Lenin's original plans
- Kronstadt sailors highlighted how far he had deviated from this plans – the revolution was in danger

## New Economic Policy (NEP)

- Civil war was pretty much concluded by 1921
- According to Orlando Figes:
- "The Bolsheviks could relax because they had staved off an overthrow.
- The NEP was announced at the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921.
- It replaced food requisitioning with a relatively lenient tax in kind and legalised the return of small-scale private trade and manufacturing.
- The NEP was conceived as a temporary retreat.
- 'We are making economic concessions in order to avoid political ones', Bukharin explained."

## So what exactly was the NEP?

- Grain requisitioning had been abolished for tax
- Some essential products went to the state, peasants paid tax on the rest
- Small businesses could reopen with a limit total profits
- They were allowed a small profit and less than 20 workers
- This led to increased jobs and increased consumer goods being produced
- Local markets began to open again
- The return of the kulak class started but only in small trade
  
- It allowed trade with currency rather than rations or bartering
- Still heavy state control of essential industries
- Reinstated managers and foreign advisers but not for cash
- There was a little bit of capitalism which increased the motivation for citizens to work
- They could see personal benefit for working harder
- By 1922 there was a decrease of food scarcity (capitalism was working)
- 1923 cereal production was up 23%

## Impact of the NEP

- 1920 to 1923 factory output increased by two 100%
- Increased production from in 1921 8.9 million tonnes to 16.1 million tons in 1924 (about double)
- There was a rise in NEPmen— businesspeople who took advantage of the opportunities for private trade and small-scale manufacturing provided under the NEP
- They were better off than the average citizen
- Increased bribery to control the flow of goods mostly by NEPmen
- Upset hard-core Communists, the very left
- They claimed Lenin had gone too far which started to reintroduce classes in society
- Increasing inequality
- 
- War communism allowed the Bolsheviks to win the Civil War
- It allowed for reliable food and goods on the front lines
- Long term application is what killed it
- Increased anger and a growing lack of support
- Kronstadt Rebellion was the turning point
- NEP actually scaled back socialism

## Lenin's Era - Society and Culture

- From 1919 to 1939 - 2 broad phases
- **1919 to 1924** - led by Lenin who was broadly liked
- The most truly socialist society - heading towards equality
- **1928 to 1939** The Great Turn – led by Stalin



- Conformity and increased control - Harsh punishments balanced by Cult of Personality (duality)

### Women

- Lenin believed in equality for all, not just classes but also gender 1918 divorce was easier
- 1920 abortion on demand
- He believed that marriage was a bourgeois construct restricting a woman's freedom
- Yet domestic work was still done by women
- They had two roles and worked twice as hard as men
- 1920 Seven 2/3 of marriages in Moscow led to divorce
- 70% initiated by men but they were forced to live together due to a lack of housing
- Decreased money for crèches, kitchens and laundries that could have reduced workload
- The party limited women's opportunities 1928 there were 12.85% of women in the party

### Education transformation

- 1919 to 1920 very liberalist
- Teachers were called 'School Workers'
- Schools run in part by child led committees – Lenin's favoured management style
- There was a decline in discipline as students became empowered
- There was much less control of the curriculum and of students by educators
- Focus on physical education and manual technical jobs
- Youth groups formed - Pioneers for under 15 year olds and Komsomols for 15 years +

### Religion

- Atheists were supported
- 1918 Decree on Church and State to be separate them
- Church was not allowed to own property; this was a Tsarist left over
- 1921 *Union Of Godless Militants* led to increased propaganda
- Thug like behaviour
- 1922 church property, a grab for land and wealth
- 8000 who resisted were killed
- In reality, Christianity continued in the rural areas and behind closed doors

### Art and Culture

- Lenin used this especially for illiterates
- Workers were encouraged to participate
- Proletkult began – a group that encouraged peasants to engage in creative arts
- 1920 four 100,000 members
- Modern Avant-garde futurists
- **Agitprop = agitation propaganda**, very popular, a release from stuffy art forms (Like Weimar Culture)
- 1925 the Politburo relaxed control, it became rather free

## 1924-1928

## Struggle For Power

Economy

International

Ideas

Leaders

Political

Social Cultural

### Lenin's Death in January 1924

- Lenin wanted Russia to be ruled by a committee.
- This is one of the differences between Leninism and Stalinism – keep this in mind for later
- Stalin was under rated at this time, not a key player yet
- Lenin had a series of strokes between 1921 and 1924 after an assassination attempt
- He was in a wheelchair by 1922 and out of daily routines
- The Politburo took over (parliament)

### **Candidates to take Lenin's Role - Trotsky**

- Trotsky seemed the obvious choice to replace Lenin
- He was a war hero and an organisational genius
- However, he was arrogant and rude and not an original Bolshevik he was a Menshevik
- ...AND HE WAS JEWISH
- Didn't gain many supporters because he was unfriendly
- He had control of the Red Army
- But he was becoming increasingly unwell
- However, despite this he was Lenin's first choice

### **Zinoviev**

- He was an old Bolshevik and a leftist
- He was not close to Lenin
- He had some support in the politburo
- He was the Party Secretary for the Leningrad Soviet
- He was not well respected

### **Kamenev**

- Intelligent and well educated
- He was the "Grand Old Man" of the party
- Party secretary in Moscow Soviet
- Had opposed the October Revolution and looked weak
- Too old and possibly passed it
- Not leadership material
- He was too much of a nice guy
- Not a motivated leader

### **Bukharin**

- Right wing and intelligent
- Lenin's Golden Boy
- He argued against Lenin sometimes
- This made him look less reliable
- Supported the NEP
- Unpopular with the left
- Too young

### **Stalin**

- Under estimated, a plodder ...but cunning
- He was from Georgia, so not purely Russian
- General Secretary – a 'paper pusher' and administrator
- He used this role manipulate
- He was able to add / remove support people in the Politburo
- He was industrious but mediocre

### **Who Was This Stalin Character?**

- He was a very good judge of character
- He was aware of who he could marginalise and who needed to be expelled
- He was ruthless without pause
- Able to bribe and threaten
- No conscience

### **Lenin's Testament 1923 (Keep in mind that he died in Jan 1924)**

- He discredited most potential leaders coming after him
- Very critical of Stalin and eventually said he must be removed
- It was published amongst the Politburo – so the leaders all saw it

- Because Stalin was not a threat, comments about him were ignored
- Stalin organised the funeral and had himself photographed next to Lenin's coffin or body repeatedly
- It made the international and local press
- Stalin placed himself at Lenin's right hand
- Trotsky was ill and away getting treatment
- Stalin tricked Trotsky with the wrong date so he missed the funeral
- Most interpreted his absence as him being arrogant

### **The ideological Fallout A Party Divided**

- Permanent Revolution (Trotsky) versus Socialism In One Country (Stalin)
- Trotsky felt that, if the revolution was to survive it, needed to be global
- Stalin argued that Russia was not strong enough to send money overseas and it needed to consolidate itself at home
- This was designed to appeal to the Russian patriotism
- To celebrate the uniqueness
- Most peasants didn't care either way
- Stalin made it look un-Russian to want to spread the revolution overseas, unpatriotic
- People became suspicious because Trotsky was Jewish

### **The ideological Fallout A Party Divided**

- Kamenev had married Trotsky's sister (Just a side note)
- All other contestants for the top job after Lenin's death rounded on Trotsky
- Stalin Kamenev and Zinoviev, Bukharin
- Trotsky was outvoted at every turn
- In 1925 Kamenev and Zinoviev forced Trotsky to resign as Commissar of War which meant he no longer had control of the Red Army.

### **The ideological Fallout Divides the Party**

#### **Bukharin – Right Winger**

- 1928 the Bukharin was too capitalist
- Many felt he should support Socialism In One Country
- He pushed for rapid industrialization
- 1929 he was voted out of the Party Congress
- Forced to resign as leader of Comintern and from the Politburo
- By 1928 - 1929, Stalin was the last man standing

#### **Kamenev and Zinoviev – Left Wingers**

- They attacked him because he had supported the NEP
- They lacked support in Congress because Stalin had too many friends
- By 1926 Kamenev and Zinoviev had become almost irrelevant
- By 1927 they had both been expelled

### **In Summary**

- Russia was ruled by committee up to 1928
- Stalin had the position of General Secretary
- He divided and weakened his opponents
- Stalin's personal skill and ability to marginalise and out vote his opposition led him to power
- Stalin emerged the victor!

# Part 2

1928

—

1932

First 5 YP

Economy

International

Ideas

Leaders

Political

Social Cultural

## The Cult of Stalin (Cult of Personality) - 1928 to 193

- This was Stalin's "consolidation phase"
- (Note, there could be a question that asks you to address the 'rise and consolidation' of a leader. For Stalin, the rise is 1924-1928 and the consolidation would be 1929-1945 – answers should be restricted to methods or events that allowed Stalin to stay in power or to gain more power, politically, socially, economically...what awesome paragraph topics)
- Stalin needed to:
  - portray himself as a strong leader
  - command respect and love
  - do this with threats, violence, bribery, trickery and much more
  - create a Cult of Stalin
  - start making a Cult of Lenin

## The Cult of Stalin (Cult of Personality) - 1928 to 193

- Lenin was embalmed and placed on display (was against his wishes) to be worshiped
- Lenin never wanted to be a deity, but Stalin needed him to be
- Stalin wanted to appear as Lenin's natural successor
- It increased during the leadership challenge
- Stalin had himself photographed with Lenin and at his funeral as often as possible
- Stalin needed to promote collectivisation and industrialisation and to offset the purges ... much of this was very unpopular. He:
  - needed to create balance
  - bombarded the people with positive images of himself
  - used education, culture, art, literature
  - He presented himself as:
    - A benefactor,
    - Defending the people, against threats
    - The perfect leader, superhuman, intelligent, strong work ethic

## Propaganda

- Huge propaganda campaign, posters of himself especially with children
- Curriculum was changed – Stalin was rewriting history (CAN YOU BELIEVE IT???)
- He opened schools and day care centres (sound familiar?)
- In 1929 he fabricated 350 telegrams from places that did not exist to celebrate his birthday
- He had statues erected, poems, songs, buildings, flags, photos
- He held parades, renamed streets and towns after himself

**Socialist Realism** replaced Avant-Garde from Lenin's era

## Re-Writing History

- Stalin presented as Lenin's 'best mate', lots of doctored photos
- He had himself put front and centre of the revolution, removed others 1938 he produced "History Of All The Union Communist Party" textbook
- 34,000,000 copies sold by 1948

## Effects of the Cult of Personality

- Most developed a genuine belief that Stalin was a great leader who had
- He saved them from internal threats and saved the revolution
- They allowed him to blame others for his mistakes and excesses
- Stalin's legitimate power was singular (TOTALITARIANISM), not by committee as Lenin wanted
- It decreased opposition to Stalin
- There was no organization left that could oppose him
- This Cult of Personality was maintained until Stalin's death in 1953.

## Collectivisation Began - the First 5 Year Plan

- Alongside the Cult of Personality (the positive) there was a push for industrialisation
- Concurrent with purges (the negative)
- Under the NEP, there had been increased production of food but it was unreliable and regional –
- Dominated by villages, who lived a long way apart
- They were not interested in feeding the nation
- This did not lend itself to central control – something Stalin craved
- Stalin wanted to pool resources
- Large plots → increased control → allowing for increased mechanisation

## Collectivisation Features

- Centralisation, small plots became large plots
- There were two types:
- **Sovkhoz** - owned by the state, with peasants working
- **Kolkhoz** - all owned & run by the state locally run by committee, state set targets.
- Communal buildings in the centre
- Allowed for the efficient delivery of education, use of equipment and storage of goods
  
- Peasants allowed small private plots of land to work after collective work
- Machine Tractor Stations (MTS) were built centrally to house government owned and run machines that were hired out to large farms
- Each had an NKVD officer to inform on lazy peasants and managers, missing targets
- Managers and or Committee were all accountable for the output and were heavily threatened if they did not make targets

## 5 Main Economic Reasons

1. 1927 there was a ↓ in grain produced and Stalin needed to control grain production to increase food supplies in the cities
2. Common ideal of collective ownership = responsibility = collective benefit
3. ↑ concern of being able to get enough food, blaming Kulaks was becoming old, he had to do something
4. For industrialisation he needed to feed the factory workers so he needed to push on
5. Needed to increase trade because he needed to be able to buy in food he could not produce at home

## Why kulaks?

- Stalin over exaggerated this group, some may have been slightly better off and a bit smarter
- They were able to increase the use of modern techniques
- Kulaks were not a threat
- ...but a convenient scapegoat
- Some peasants were jealous of Kulak success and Stalin saw this as an opportunity to exploit them
- The peasants didn't want to defend them
- He confiscated their good and re distributed them to peasants
- NKVD were slow to take out the best producers (Kulaks), they had targets to meet

- 25,000 Urban Party Activists were sent to the countryside to hunt Kulaks
- 1st of February 1930 Stalin ordered them to use any means necessary
- Land, livestock, equipment, taken from Kulaks and used to set up the new collectives

### The course of collectivisation

- Another opportunity to spread hate propaganda
- The "Twenty Five Thousanders" and local OGPU (later NKVD) was sent to make it happen
- Peasants resisted, slaughtered their own animals rather than let them become collectivised
- By 1930 half of farms in Russia had been collectivised

### Political Impact of Collectivisation

- It allowed Stalin to destroy kulaks, blamed them
- It helped control the countryside and peasants
- Peasants weren't totally supportive of the Bolsheviks because they wanted to be left alone
- They became totally exposed having managers on site and is an NKVD living locally

### Impact of the 1<sup>st</sup> 5 Year Plan

- The famine of 1932 to 1934 (seed stock)
- Kirov had been critical of methods
- ...but Stalin needed foreign cash desperately
- The "Twenty Five Thousanders" tasked with increased production
- There was a lack of tractors
- There was a drought in 1931 which decreased production
- Despite this in 1932 Stalin continued to demand 1.73 million tonnes of grain
- Famine largely in rural areas
- In this famine Robert Conquest estimates that around 7 million people died
- 327 million died in the Ukraine alone - referred to as Holodomor

### Effects of Collectivisation

- Ukraine became anti Bolshevik and very divisive
- August 1932 "Law of the Seven Eighths"
- Desperate and starving peasants suffered death penalty
- Passive resistance by peasants (worked slowly)
- They broke tractors, walked slowly, dropped food, to be picked up later
- By 1934 Kirov spoke up in public (can you guess how that ended?)

### Economic Effects of Collectivisation

- Increased grain confiscated
- In 1928 - 10.8 million tons but by 1935 - 22.6 million tons which was x2
- However, increased starving of the peasants
- Animals ↓ between 1928 and 1935 from 70.5 million beasts to 49.3 million
- There was an increased cost for equipment and policing

### Political Impacts of Collectivisation

- **Short term:** most peasants resisted
- Increased Bolshevik Party division, eg Kirov
- **Long term:** more control over the countryside
- Broken tradition family ties with the land for peasants
- In human cost it was tragic
- Massive urbanisation – increase pressure on cities to cater for them

### Industrialisation

- Russia 1920s NEP allowed small businesses but had little production
- Compared to West
- Poor road, rail, electricity stood in the way of growth



- Stalin wanted to industrialise desperately
- In 1927 the faked Zinoviev letter led to Britain breaking all ties with the Russians
- So there was a need for self sufficiency
- Stalin feared war...and as a Communist country, likely trading partners would favour each other and not trade weapons with Russia (especially after withdrawing from WW1)
- He knew that Russia was not trusted
- The USSR needed to control its own destiny and industrialisation was the key
- Socialism in One Country set Stalin against Bukharin
- How did it work?

### Industrialisation

- GOSPLAN set targets (political / economic group)
- Each region told its targets
- Regions had to organise themselves
- Managers had to organise their people or supervisors punished
- Each supervisor set targets for workers
- It is really important to remember that the first 5YP, all in the context of the purges

### 1928 – 1934

- 1st 5YP = foundation for new growth
- Focus on raw materials for heavy industry & feeding the cities
- Raw materials were required to grow industry
- Iron, coal, steel, electricity and chemicals
- Bring in foreign industry specialists
- Stalin claimed it was so successful that the 1st 5YP ended at four years
- He used this as an excuse to raise targets for the next one

### Evidence

- Began building the new city of Magnitogorsk behind the Ural mountains
- It was a steel and tractor producing region went from 1000 people to 500,000 within a year
- Gigantic growth
- 1928 to 1932 coal went from 35 mil tons to 64 mil tons
- Iron went from 6.7 mil tonnes to 12.1 mil tons
- Held back by a lack of raw materials and poor transport
- ...but growth was undeniable
- Bribery was rife
- Illegal dealings from desperate managers
- Created a decrease in consumer goods
- Chemicals were weak and failed
- Poor quality goods due to a lack of quality control
- Quality was not important, it was amount produced that got managers and supervisors into trouble

### Impact

- Most urbanisation was a result of emptying the farms
- Farmers had no have experience in shift work or factories
- 12,000 was sent away from Magnitogorsk in the first year
- There was a huge turnover of staff
- They lacked skill and motivation
- Started to become political in their new environments
- So Stalin ↓ their wages and in 1931 introduced a pay for what was produced
- 1930 to 1933 there were ↑ punishments
- Loss of home, benefits, being fired from a job = disaster

- These punishments were increasing
- 1930 increased forced Labour
- Reliance on increasing propaganda
- Keep in mind that the purges were beginning

## Second 5 Year Plan 1933 - 1937

- Much more focus on heavy industry
- Communications and railways
- Learnt from the 1st 5 Year Plan
- Harsh punishments and higher targets = increased production
- ↑ consumer goods being made
- ↑ focus on how to achieve targets not just setting them
- Increased training and more equipment slightly
- However, tougher rules
- Labour discipline eg if absent without cause fired or 10 years of hard labour Gulag
- Also this punishment for a lack of production
- This 5 YP did succeed as it increased armament production by three times
- 1933 to 1937 - ↑ coal production from 64 mil tons to 120 million tons
- Electricity 45 to 80 million kilowatts
- 1934 to 1936 were known as **"The Good Years"**

### Stakhanovites

- 1935 Alexei Stakhanov produced 102 tons in 5 hours (average was 6.5 tons)
- He had a lot of help though (this was not publicised)
- This was a propaganda stunt
- September 1935, he had a hero parade
- Designed to inspire others
- Shock Brigades formed to up the pressure on staff
- Suited ambitious workers who needed motivation
- They were paid more, promoted, which suited desperate managers
- Extra rations, free Holidays
- A propaganda bonanza
- Don't forget this is while the purges were happening
- Stalin needed a positive image - balance
- There was increased resentment to those who were awarded favours

### Life in Industrial Russia

- Massive urbanisation in increased slums, poor and cramped
- 10 mil women in work to keep up with demand in production
- In 1935, 45% of Leningrad workers were women
- Queues for basic goods
- Real wages had fallen by 50% from 1928 to 1933
- Rampant inflation
- Shantytowns were increasing in number, this led to disease and death

### GIGANTOMANIA

- Magnitogorsk
- Dnieper Dam
- Railway in Moscow
- Huge waste of materials
- Propaganda success

### Effects of industrialisation - Economic

- Increased modernisation and transformation of industry
- Increased production of heavy industry
- Better preparation for WW2
- Poor quality goods eg some tanks never left the workshop or broke before getting to battle
- It was some inefficiencies but overall success

### Effects of industrialisation - Political

- A slow creep of increased control, with every new step, more informants / punishments
- Information kept from managers and supervisors and passports and fines
- Divided the nation easier to rule
- Hidden anger was capped by the purges
- Ultimately positive
- But with WW2 looming most understood why Stalin had done this
- So his position was secure

## The Great Turn – Stalin's Era 1929-1932+

### Effect on Women

- Stalin's cultural revolution was designed to gain greater obedience
- It returned to class warfare as normality
- This was Stalin flexing his muscle
- Put women and minorities back in their place
- Supported the old school thought, reflected Stalin's own chauvinistic views
- Women had to work at home & factories - similar to Lenin's era
- 1930 Zhenotdel was abolished Stalin claimed it was no longer needed

### Effect on Families

- Family Code 1936 divorce harder abortion illegal
- But crèches increased because there was a need for more children and it was a valuable propaganda tool
- 6+ kids earned 2000 roubles a year
- Marriage rates declined significantly

### Effect on Minorities

- Viewed as suspicious
- Many minorities were in strategically important border towns
- Stalin began the Russification of Europe
- Discouraged national dress, language and local traditions
- Banned minorities from top positions in government
- Finnish and Estonians especially
- 1936, 172 thousand Koreans in East Russia were moved to central Russia to cut ties with home
- Increased spying on Japan (Stalin saw they were on the warpath)
- Harsh treatments led to increased distrust
- This almost became a self-fulfilling prophecy – the more Stalin pushed them, the more they rebelled

## 1928 – 1934

Economy	International	Ideas	Leaders	Political	Social Cultural
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### The Party Purges

- Stalin needed to radically transform Russia - felt threats all around him
- In 1932 he wanted to:
  - Remove the old Bolsheviks

- Marginalise senior party members
- Eliminate junior party members who were not beholden to him
- Control the masses
- Gain more weapons
- Create a secret police

### The Secret Police

- The secret police OGPU (1923-1934), had been Cheka (1917-1922), GPU (1922-23) NKVD (1934-1941), then MGB (1941-1943)
- This was the same idea, rebadged, depending on the regime
- They were Stalin's personal secret army
- Combined informers and spies
- He used interrogation arrests torture prisons, gulags and execution
- Created a culture of fear

### So Why Purges?

- From 1932 – the targets were the Communist Party.
- Motive – to weed out revolutionaries
- Employed a vast range of tactics, fear = conformity
- Accusations were made for personal reasons (often not political)
- An example Ryutin old Bolshevik 1932
- Ryutin called Stalin the 'the evil genius of the Russian revolution'
- In 1932 he said *"To place the name of Stalin alongside the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin means to mock at Marx, Engels and Lenin. It means to mock at the proletariat."*
- Stalin expelled him from the party, sent him to a gulag and 5 yrs later executed him in 1937.

### The Murder of Kirov 1934

- Kirov was popular and was increasing in power by 1934
- He pushed for increased rations and decrease grain requisitioning
- A very popular member of the Politburo - BUT openly anti-Stalin
- 1st Dec 1934 assassinated, ambushed inside a building when his private security force were missing - suspicious
- Was it a disgruntled party member who killed Kirov (unlikely)
- Stalin used this as a pretence to increase the purges
- There were increased deaths and arrests from this point on
- On the way to trial witnesses suspiciously disappeared or were killed
- Stalin called it "Trotsky's plot" and therefore needed to be met with violence
- Focus turned to Communist Party members
- 40,000 arrested
- Half a million expelled including senior members of the party

## 1935 to 1936

- Most senior members had been arrested as Trotskyites
- Kamenev and Zinoviev had been imprisoned in 1930 five 1936
- At the 17th Party Congress 1108 of 1966 members were arrested 98 out of 139 central committee members were arrested
- Most arrested disappeared from the face of the earth
- All branches of party officials were encouraged to inform on each other
- This removed all independent thinkers and most experienced people
- Created a climate of fear
- But there created lots of job opportunities

## Show trials

- Stalin needed to legitimise his actions
- Kamenev and Zinoviev trials were very public
- All judges knew what to do
- Harsh torture families threatened
- They did admit to everything and it was recorded and published
- Removed Stalin's reputation for being paranoid
- Most junior members were just expelled the harsher punishments were for the seniors

## Widening the terror

- Head of the NKVD Yuzov was murdered and replaced with Yezhov who was younger and more energetic,
- Yuzov had been part of the secret police apparatus since 1920 and was complicit in the terror
- Stalin aimed to prove that there was a conspiracy at all levels
- Encouraged Party members to denounce others to save themselves
- This became the new culture of denouncing others
  
- Yezhov targeted independent free thinkers for example artists, writers, managers and professionals
- Yezhov created a list of 250,000 targets
- The snowball effect, quote is given to each region
- Rapid competition to find more and more to denounce
- Most arrests happened at night between 11:00 PM and 3:00 AM
- Those arrested were forced to denounce others to save their own lives
- Most arrested went to the gulag for hard labour
  
- Only 28% were shot on Stalin's orders
- Because Stalin had proved the Trotsky threat, he wasn't hated as much as he was feared
- Then Stalin turned on Yezhov, stood down in 1936, prison in 1937, was sent to the gulag in 1938 accused of being a Trotskyite and shot shortly after. Replaced by Beria

## 1937 - 1938

Economy

International

Ideas

Leaders

Political

Social Cultural

## The Purges in the Armed Forces

- 3/5 of the Marshalls 11 War Commissars, all Admirals and all but one Air Force commander were imprisoned or shot
- Overall, 35,000 officers imprisoned or shot
- This was a bizarre act in a growing climate of World War Two
  
- After Stalin's speech "Dizzy With Success" speech printed in Pravda he claimed that Yezhov had gone too far and his underlings had been overzealous in the purges.
- 23 thousand other NKVD members had been executed
- Stalin blamed his overzealous juniors for the purges

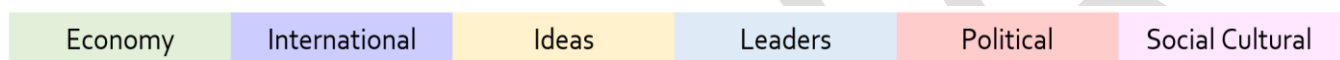
## The Effects Of The Purges

- Increased climate of fear – method of control
- Obedience – or more likely compliance
- No more challenges from within or without
- Helped industrialization and collectivization – forced peasants and the proletariat to conform
- Weakened military which perhaps led to the alliance with Hitler in the Non-Aggression Pact of 1938
- Stalin made his actions look legitimate

- He wasn't loved but he was respected.

## Part 3

### Stalin's Era 1938-1945 3rd Five Year Plan



#### Third Five Year Plan (3<sup>rd</sup> 5YP)

- Heavy industry was the focus – directed at armaments
- Labour books and internal passports to control the workers
- Very harsh discipline if absent from work in 1940 it was a crime
- ↓ Consumer goods
- Soviet military technology was improving, as shown when GOSPLAN ordered the construction of nine new aircraft factories in 1939.
- Stalin took direct control of the defence industry.
- Ended the responsibility that GOSPLAN had over Russia's military economy
- Generally poor quality goods produced
- In just 3 years of the 3rd Five-Year Plan, 3,000 new large industrial enterprises were built
- Including: metals copper smelting, oil refineries and automotive plants as well as building materials plants.
- Tank, aviation and artillery plants as well as plants producing ammunition went into operation

#### Success of the 3<sup>rd</sup> 5YP

- Success of the 5YPs ↑ economy and defence.
- The Soviet Union 1st place in Europe and 2nd in the world for machine building, tractors, oil production, volume of railroad shipments.
- The defence industry ↑ from 1938 x 400%.
- However, it was impossible to fully carry out the complex military & economic tasks required to fight the Nazi bloc and defend the world's first socialist state.

#### Education – a Familiar Program

- Seen as the path to indoctrination, unquestioned obedience
- Old teachers replaced
- Return to discipline and Soviet approved texts
- Abandoned the 'rule by committee' from Lenin's era
- Emphasis on socially useful work eg blue collar, narrow emphasis on intellectual pursuits
- Regional speciality
- Pioneers and Komsomols - promote the agenda
- Children encouraged to denounce their parents
- Pavlik Morozov 1932 denounced his parents,
- His father was executed; he was killed by his grandfather

- Pavlick became a hero, a martyr, an example to others

### Religion

- Stalin viewed religious people as unreliable
- Used the League of Militant Godless (Est 1925)
- By 1930 80% of village churches closed
- By 1939 - 1 in 40 from 1930 were still open
- 1937 fifty million said that they were religious in the census so essentially this didn't work
- Mosques and Islamic law were banned
- This began further discrimination against Jews (like Trotsky)
- All synagogues were closed
- By 1939 only 12 out of 168 bishops from 1930, were still alive and free
- Stalin targeted leaders rather than worshippers

### Religion - HOWEVER

- By 1941, USSR under attack, Stalin enlisted the Russian Orthodox Church as an ally to appeal to Russian patriotism.
- Religious revival: 1,000s of churches were reopened
- The regime permitted religious publications, and church membership grew.
- Marx's comment that 'religion was the opiate of the people' was used by Stalin to his advantage.
- It is important to note that before becoming a 'thug / bank robber' for the growing Bolshevik Party, Stalin was in the seminary (religious school) studying to be a priest.

### Art and Culture

- Stalin disliked modern art.
- Art should have a purpose and should serve the State
- He called his preference - Socialist Realism (ironically)
- Russian Association of Proletarian Writers was created to marginalise and expose non-conformists
- Designed to promote workers' and achievements – Russian propaganda
- Artists and film makers were forced to conform to gain funding, could be lucrative
- Vehicle for the Cult of Personality
- Few artists had the courage to rebel...remember the purges!!

### The Constitution of 1936 - Remember that the purges were still happening

- Global criticism
- A constitution is supposed to be a vehicle for freedom
- Stalin claimed that elections would lead to human rights
- It guaranteed universal suffrage at 18, free speech & free press
- However, all of this was only exercised at Russian discretion
- THERE WAS ONLY ONE PARTY ON THE BALLOT PAPER!
- Was only good on paper
- 1937 election results were accidentally announced before the election in Leningrad

### Soviet Foreign Policy - Early Era

- Comintern – had been set up in 1919 – to spread communism and world revolution!
- Western powers very negative...divisive
- Stalin's change in foreign policy 1924-1932 – all about survival regardless of cost
- Great Depression worked to USSR's favour, it was a propaganda feast
- Emergence of militarism in Japan and Germany changed USSR foreign policy emphasis
- Soviets disappointed with the West's lack of commitment to collective security
- It's important to note that FP changes depending on the context, what else was happening in the world.
- In the 1930s Stalin needed allies
- 1918-1941 - led by the desire to protect the revolution from external enemies
- During 1920s – Germany was USSR's major ally (both ostracised by the West – Pariah Nations)



- Existence of Comintern was a stumbling block against any possibility of real cooperation between USSR and West

## World War Two

- WW2 began in 1939 BUT RUSSIA DID NOT JOIN INITIALLY
- Stalin was not ready for war
- On 23rd August 1939 the Russians signed a non-aggression pact with Germany called the Nazi-Soviet Non- Aggression Pact (NSNAP)
- Pause for a moment and consider how the Allies viewed this.
- The Russians had pulled out of WW1, leaving the Allies to fend for themselves.
- In 1939, on the eve of WW2, Stalin signed an agreement with Hitler
- The NSNAP = Poland would be divided up between Russia and Germany
- Nazi Germany promised not attack Russia and visa versa.
- **It was temporary** – both Stalin and Hitler knew this
- Gave both sides time to prepare for a future conflict **with each other**
- **Hitler invaded Poland only one week after signing the pact with Russia**
- Russia immediately joined in the pulling apart of the country.
- However, still suspicious of Hitler, Stalin extend his Eastern borders, annexing Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and part of Romania to create a buffer
- After 5YPs – USSR 2nd biggest industrial nation in the world
- Nov 1939 invaded Finland, which Russia eventually won but at great human cost
- Finns lost 25,000, USSR, 200,000 - expelled from League of Nations (Dec 1939)
- Hitler gained confidence German army will overwhelm USSR
- USSR expanded into the Baltic States 1940 while Nazis were preoccupied in the West
- Stalin secured eastern border by signing Neutrality Pact with Japan April 1941
- **German invasion – Operation Barbarossa 1941!!!**
- Entered the WW2 on 22nd June 1941 when Hitler attacked.
- 'OPERATION BARBAROSSA'
- At first, it seemed as if Hitler would conquer Russia, but Stalin's preparations in the 1930s had been enough...justified!!! Finally
- By 1941 – armed forces had grown by 150%, air force larger than Britain, France and Germany combined
- What an achievement....at a VERY HIGH COST
- At the end of 1941, after only six months of war, the following losses had been suffered:
  - 50% the Soviet population - German occupation
  - Over 30% of industrial plants - German
  - Iron and steel ↓ 60%
  - 40% railway unusable
  - Livestock had been reduced by 60%
  - Grain stocks had been reduced by 40%
- Not a promising start
- As you know, the circumstances in Russia were already dire even before this.
- The economy in the USSR in 1941 was already highly centralized.
- In June 1941, the State Committee of Defense was established = Stalin kept close control over the generals and made it clear that retreat or defeat in battle was not an option.
- Stalin used propaganda
- Restored position of the Orthodox Church
- "Great Patriotic War" was a fight to save Mother Russia rather than an ideological war to save communism.

## Mistakes of the Germans

- For Hitler this was a racial and ideological war against Communism
- This was demonstrated by the brutality towards Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad
- In many places there was support for the Germans (estimated that 2 million Soviet citizens fought on the side of the Germans)
- This soon changed as the death toll of civilians increased from German policies of extermination.
- The German troops were halted by one of Russia's famous harsh winters.
- ...so the weather WAS a factor in the victory of Russia
  
- The size of the Soviet Union - major 3 cities were inland from Russia's borders meant that they could sacrifice territory to the advancing Germans and retreat eastwards.
- They had time to move east.
- External help - Stalin received substantial aid from the **US Lend-Lease** arrangement that was given to USSR in summer of 1941. Interesting despite the suspicion surrounding their loyalty

## Stalingrad – the Turning Point

- At the end of August 1942 the Germans reached Stalingrad on the Volga.
- Russia's oil supply.
- Nazi's almost destroyed the city - but didn't
- The famous "General Winter" (referring to very harsh Russian winters) assisted
- The German's were poorly equipped
- Russians were very brave and determined
- Deaths of over a million Soviet troops but only 200,000 German soldiers: 1942–43

## Stalingrad – the Turning Point

- In an interview in 2013, Siberian-born Nikolai Zaverlan, who fought at Stalingrad said:  
*'The enemy pressed us strongly. We suffered huge losses ... The average lifetime of a soldier coming to Stalingrad front was **24 hours** - just one day!...  
Ten days after the battle of Stalingrad started, in a desperate attempt to stop the disaster, Stalin issued an order known as 'Not a single step back'...  
It was order number 227, which stated that we should persist until the last drop of our blood to defend every position, every single meter of our land.  
[We] all felt that responsibility - the generals, the officers, the soldiers. We've anyway fought till death, but somehow the words that we should not make a single step back made even stronger effect'*
- Stalingrad was singly the most important conflict of the war in Europe.
- It proved that Hitler's armies were not invincible
- The Soviet newspaper, Red Star, summed up the significance of it all:
- *What was destroyed at Stalingrad was the flower of the German Wehrmacht [army]. Hitler was particularly proud of the 6th Army and its great striking power. It was the first to invade Belgium. It took Paris. It took part in the invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece. In 1942 it broke through from Karkov to Stalingrad. And now it does not exist.*

## 1943

- Dissolution of the Comintern
- No longer interested starting an international communist revolution.
- Also, it reinforced that it was unworkable for foreign nations
- Both Roosevelt (and less so) Churchill seemed naïve in their trust of Stalin
- But Stalin was need to improve relations **for the post war negotiations.**
  
- In January 1944 the Germans abandon Leningrad, which began in August 1941.
- A million people had died, many from starvation alone
- The Germans retreated from their position west of Moscow.
- Outnumbered and ↓ supplies, they were pushed out of Soviet territory.
- USSR drove them from Eastern Europe, through Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

- The Russian Army marched into Berlin in April / May of 1945, ending six years of warfare

## Source Analysis Propaganda, repression, methods the regime employed to control

**Source 4:** (A painting produced in the 1930s showing Lenin and Stalin in discussion alone)



**Source 5:** Two copies of the same photograph; the missing figure is Yezhov, who was executed after being head of the NKVD. He was then removed from the photograph as if he had never existed.



**Source 6:** A propaganda poster of Stalin presented as the father of the USSR, caring for the nation's children. Text reads: "Stalin's care brightens the future of our children!"

**Source 7:** -Vasily Lebedev-Kumach and Aleksandr Aleksandrov, in *'Life's Getting Better'*, published by an affiliate of the Soviet Writers' Union

"Let's let the whole gigantic country  
Shout to Stalin: 'Thank you, our man,  
Live long, prosper, never fall ill!'  
'Life's getting better  
And happier too!'"



Given what you have learnt, which of the following statements would likely have been printed in a textbook in the Soviet Union in the 1930s?

1. Trotsky had been the main organizer of the October Revolution.	
2. The main reason why the Whites were defeated in the Civil War was Stalin.	
3. Lenin had wanted Trotsky to lead the Bolshevik Party after his death.	
4. Trotsky was a traitor to the Soviet Union and plotted against it in exile.	
5. Lenin and Stalin were close colleagues and discussed everything together.	
6. Trotsky had led the Red Army during the Civil War.	
7. Stalin followed Lenin's wish and buried him in the Mausoleum in Red Square.	
8. Lenin's ideas were only conveyed and entrusted to Stalin before he died.	
9. Failures in the Five Year Plans were caused by Trotskyite conspirators.	
10. Trotsky did not attend Lenin's funeral because he was disloyal.	

1938 – 1945

3<sup>rd</sup> 5YP

Enter WW2

Economy	International	Ideas	Leaders	Political	Social Cultural
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- Heavy industry was the focus – directed at armaments
- Labour books and internal passports were created in 1938 to control the workers
- It also recorded their infractions
- Very harsh discipline if absent from work in 1940 it was a crime
- Consumer goods were again ignored for spending on defences.
- Soviet military technology was improving, as shown when GOSPLAN ordered the construction of nine new aircraft factories in 1939.
- Stalin took direct control of the defence industry.
- In doing this Stalin ended the responsibility that GOSPLAN had over Russia's military economy and it is this had brought the Third Five Year Plan to an end.
- Generally poor quality goods produced
- In just 3 years of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Five-Year Plan, 3,000 new large industrial enterprises were built
- Including: metallurgical and copper smelting, oil refineries and automotive plants as well as building materials plants. Tank, aviation and artillery plants as well as plants producing ammunition went into operation.
- Success of the 5YPs ↑ the economic and defense ability of the nation increased immeasurably.
- The Soviet Union emerged in 1<sup>st</sup> place in Europe and 2<sup>nd</sup> in the world for the volume of machine building, for tractors, oil production, for the volume of railroad shipments, and 2<sup>nd</sup> place in Europe for the production of electric power, steel, iron and aluminium.
- The defense industry developed particularly intensely during the 3 prewar years with the production level in this sector rising by more than 4-fold.
- However, it was impossible to fully carry out the complex military-economic tasks confronting the nation from the threat of the initiating of a war by the Nazi bloc against the world's first socialist state.
- There just wasn't enough time to achieve the standard that Stalin wanted.
- This one focussed on the preparation for war and resembled the first plan. Investment was focussed on the armed forces and consumer goods suffered once again.
- New aircraft factories were built and heavy industry grew.
- The plan was still quite chaotic and production was damaged by the constant arrests that were associated with the purges

## **Education – a Familiar Program**

- Seen as the path to indoctrination
- Bringing obedience
- Old teachers replaced
- Return to discipline and Soviet approved texts, authorised learning only
- Emphasis on socially useful work
- Narrow emphasis on intellectual pursuits
- Lots of industry focus based on the regional specialty
- Pioneers and Komsomols used to promote the agenda
- Children encouraged to denounce their parents and were celebrated
- Pavlik Morozov 1932 made into a book, he denounced his parents, his father was executed, he was killed by his Grandfather as a result, Pavlick became a hero, a martyr

## **Religion**

- Seen as unreliable to share an allegiance
- Used the *League of Militant Godless* to spread anti-religious hate and terror
- By 1930 80% of village churches had been closed
- By 1939 - 1 in 40 from 1930 were still open
- 1937 fifty million said that they were religious in the census so essentially this didn't work
- Mosques and Islamic law were banned, study of Hebrew was banned
- This began further discrimination against Jews (like Trotsky)
- All synagogues were closed
- Attack on religious leaders
- By 1939 only 12 out of 168 bishops from 1930, were still alive and free
- Stalin targeted leaders rather than worshippers

## **Art and culture**

- Modern art was strange and disturbing to Stalin
- Art needed to have a purpose
- He called his preference - Socialist Realism (ironically)
- *Russian Association of Proletarian Writers* was created to marginalise and exposed
- Designed to promote workers and achievements – Russian propaganda
- Artists and film makers were forced to conform and became a vehicle for the Cult of Personality

## **The Constitution of 1936**

- The USSR was criticised for being a totalitarian state worldwide
- A constitution is supposed to be a vehicle for freedom
- Stalin claimed that Soviet ballot elections would lead to human rights
- It guaranteed universal suffrage at 18, free speech & free press
- However, all of this was only exercised at Russian discretion
- THERE WAS ONLY ONE PARTY ON THE BALLOT PAPER!
- It was only good on paper
- 1937 election results were accidentally announced before the election in Leningrad



# The Great Patriotic War 1941-45

## Caught in his own Bear Trap

Historians see Stalin's rise to power and the relationship between Stalinism and Leninism in a variety of different ways. Some argue that Stalin's rule represented a major deviation from that of Lenin, while others see a basic continuity in their methods.

### Structuralist Approach

Some historians regard Stalin as a product of Russia's circumstances. A strong ruler was required because the country was just emerging from nearly a decade of war and civil war. Stalin was the natural successor to Lenin because of the way the Party had become increasingly bureaucratized.

### Continuity between Leninism and Stalinism

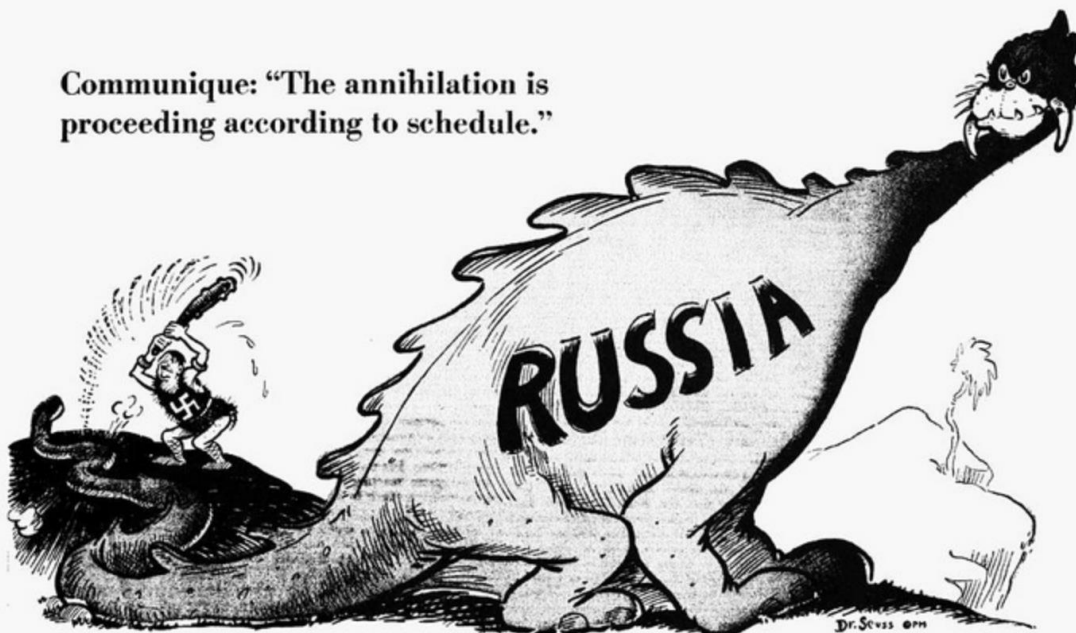
Lenin created the single party dictatorship and system of terror, which Stalin continued, thus making Stalin the heir to the Leninist tradition.

### Stalinism as a deviation from Leninism

Some historians argue that Stalin distorted Lenin's legacy. Lenin used terror during the civil war only as a temporary, emergency measure; Lenin allowed dissent within the party; Lenin was hostile to the cult of the leader. Stalin, by contrast, used terror as a normal feature of government when the USSR was at peace; he suppressed debate within the party; he created a monstrous personality cult. Historians argue that communism could have developed in a different, less brutal way had someone else succeeded Lenin.



Communique: "The annihilation is proceeding according to schedule."



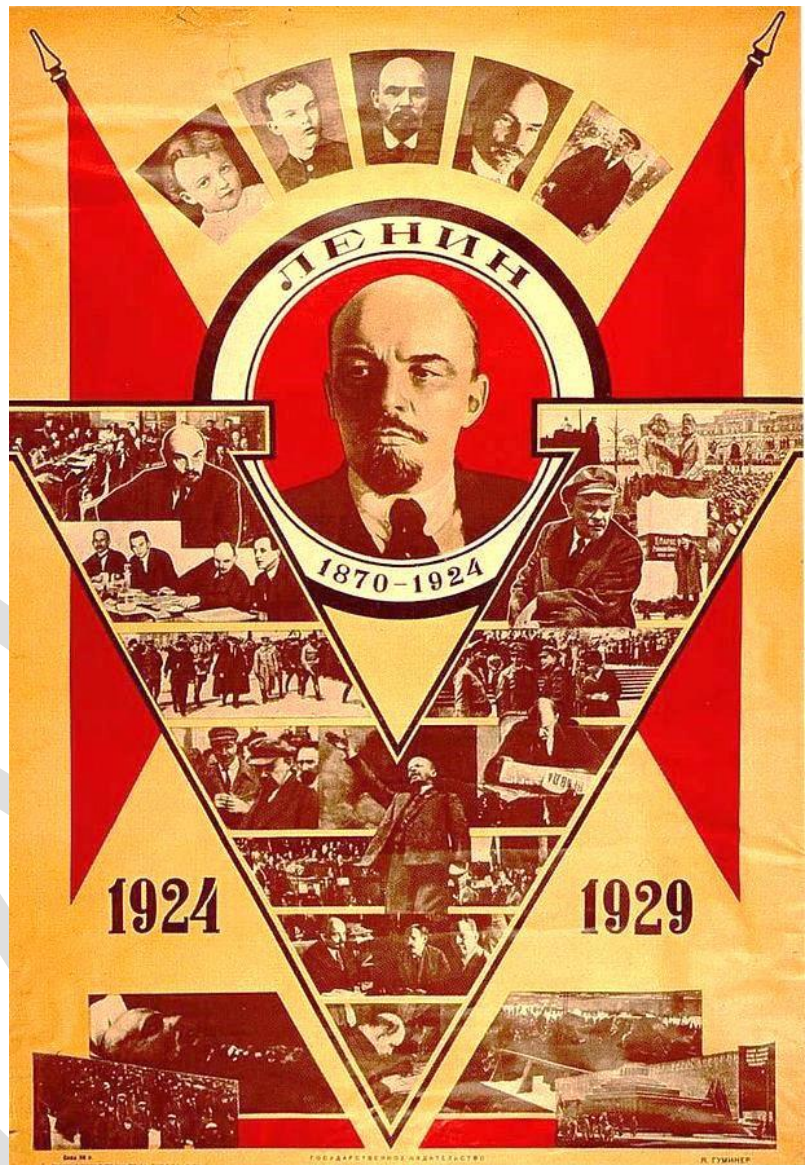
Dr. Seuss political cartoon on the German invasion of the Soviet Union, 1941, World War II.

<https://imgur.com/gallery/7SmtdHd>

# Source Analysis Practise

## Source 1

(A Soviet propaganda poster featuring Lenin (1870-1924), published on the 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death 1929.)



## Source 2 (Extract from a history textbook published in London in 2002.)

*Lenin had a strong streak of ruthlessness and cruelty, [he] was vitriolic about the peasants, ordering the hanging of a hundred kulaks as a lesson to others ... Lenin believed that revolutionaries had to be hard to carry out their role, which would inevitably involve spilling the blood of their opponents.*

*Lenin's domination of the party is one of the key factors in his success. There were many disputes and splits in the party, such as the serious split over the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, right into the 1920s. But in the end he always managed to bring the party behind him and keep it united ... His personal magnetism and charisma are not in doubt But he also had tremendous political skills - of knowing when to persuade, when to cajole, when to give in, when to threaten to resign and when to get really tough and demanding. Above all, Lenin was convinced of his role and his destiny. He never had any doubt that he knew the right path and could lead the party along it.*



### Source 3

(A cartoon published by Russian exiles in France in the late 1930s. The text reads, 'Visit the USSR's pyramids'.)



### Source 4 (Extract from a pamphlet written in Moscow just after Stalin's fiftieth birthday in 1930.)

*Since the great Lenin, there has been no name in the world so dear to the millions of the working people as that of our great leader, Comrade Stalin ... Comrade Stalin: his name is uttered with fervent gratitude by the working masses of the People's Democracies, who have entered upon the building of Socialism; it is cherished by the workers and peasants of China, who have cast off the yoke of colonial oppression.*

*Comrade Stalin: his name inspires the peoples of the ... oppressed countries in their just struggle for national freedom and independence ... Comrade Stalin's life and work are so majestic, so many-sided, that years of study will be required for their proper illumination ... Comrade Stalin's activities in whatever sphere, are imbued with a great creative mastery of theory, going hand in hand with tremendous organising ability, with the capacity to inspire the Party and the millions of the working people with one united will ... The victory of Socialism in the USSR and the salvation of human civilisation from the onslaught of fascist barbarism: such is mankind's debt to Comrade Stalin.*

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#### Acknowledgments:

**Source 1 Poster image:** Image of Soviet propaganda poster of Lenin. (1929). Retrieved December, 2013, from <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lenin-poster.jpg>

**Source 2 Adapted from:** Corin, C., & Fiehn, T., (2002). Communist Russia under Lenin and Stalin. London: John Murray Publishers, pp. 128–129.

**Source 3 Cartoon:** 'Visitez l'U.R.S.S. ses pyramides!' (193?). Retrieved December, 2013, from <http://highfieldmwh.wikispaces.com/1c+-+STALINIST+RUSSIA>

**Source 4 Adapted from:** Ordzhonikidze, S. (1930). The 'diehard Bolshevik'. In The life of Stalin: A symposium. New York: Workers' Library Publishers, pp. 87–89. Retrieved December, 2013, from <https://archive.org/stream/TheLifeOfStalinASymposium/Stalin#page/n0/mode/2up>

# Source Analysis Hints

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## Message

- It is really important that you know what the marker is looking for – see the marking guide.
- It is unlikely that the message will be printed in the source itself, you must interpret it.
- Use the word 'message' a minimum of 3 times in answering the question.
- Try using the author's name (publisher / presenter) to keep you focused on THEIR ideas, not a story.
- What does the author want you to understand? If she was whispering in your ear, what would she say?
- What message will be received?
- NEVER EVER STATE WHAT YOU CAN SEE IN THE SOURCE, or tell the story of what you see.
- You are welcome to nominate a 'main message' and a 'supportive message' or 'secondary message'.

## Questions About 'Message'

Explain the message of Source 1. (3 marks)

### Signposts for Message (i)

1. "The message of Source 1 is **that...**"
2. Or "Smith's message in S1 is **that....**"
3. Try to move past the overall general topic, make it more sophisticated. Eg Rather than saying that the source is about Stalin's leadership, state what the author is saying about the leadership.
4. ALWAYS, ALWAYS, ALWAYS PROVIDE EVIDENCE

### There is a second question regarding 'message'

- (ii) Compare and contrast the messages of Source 1 and Source. (4 marks)

### Signposts for Message (ii)

1. Outline what is the **linking theme** between the sources in one sentence?
2. State the message of Source 1
3. Outline where and to what degree S2 is similar to S1. Provide evidence.
4. State where and to what degree source 2 is different. Provide evidence.
5. If you have time, you can provide a concluding statement – more similar than different?

### Sentence Starters for Message (ii)

1. "The linking theme between S1 and S2 is ..." "*Both sources convey messages about...*"
2. Message of S1, "*The message of Source 1 is **that...***"
3. S2 is similar to S1, "Source 2's message is similar to S1 in that it also supports Lenin's use of terror... This is evident where the author states that...", or "Source 2 corroborates S1 in that it too accuses Stalin of...but there the similarities end."
4. S2 is different to S1 "Source 2 is moderately different to S1 in that it..." "S2 differs from S1 to a significant extent in that its message focuses on..."
5. "The messages are more similar than different/different than similar." "When read together...the messages corroborate/contradict each other" "While there are

elements of similarity between S1 and S2, they are more different than similar.”

## Context

- What does context mean? It means that you must talk **about** the story behind the events/ideas that you find in the sources (more than one). You must create a paragraph that has as many key words, people, places, dates and events that you can see. This is where you get to ‘show off’ your knowledge of the content.
- While you do not need to use the sources like in other questions, you must take as many of the ideas as possible from the sources and weave them together.
- If there is more than one source to do, you treat them as though they were one source, don’t do context separately for each source.

### Questions About ‘Context’

(b) Outline the historical context of Source 3.  
marks)

(3

1. State what the source(s) are about – they will have a connection and a common linking theme.
  2. People, place, time (- 5 years to current time)
- Be a ‘know it all historian’ with dates, people, events. Just the facts about what led to this topic. People, place and time (minus 5 years, roughly).
  - Don’t stick too closely to the sources themselves - construct your answer around it but stick to the themes/events they address. Thread all your annotations together into a paragraph.
  - The background to the event/action/leadership which led up to what happened and why it happened. A little bit of what happened during the event. You may very brief outline of what happened as a result.
  - Preferably – do the sources together, they will likely share the same context, don’t need to do context for S1 and then context for S2...do context for both but include themes from both.

## Usefulness - Strengths and Weaknesses

- This question is not about the content of the source, this one is about what the historian (or student) can do with it.
- They **type of source** is the key to this one.
- You must focus on what the source is useful for...and what it is not useful for (its limits).
- There are two general categories of usefulness: fact or opinion. So are we looking at a source that contains historically accurate factual information or one that explores perspectives / opinions?
- The weakness can be in the way the content is presented eg the type of source. For example, cartoons by their nature are strong in that they can show opinion easily (strength); they aren’t usually relied upon for detailed historical information (weakness).
- Perspectives are very useful as historical evidence of what groups or individuals felt at the time but are limited (weak) if they only explore one opinion.
- Similarly, statistical data and secondary sources written by historians offer more balanced and less contestable information (depending on the data source) but often lack the power of perspectives and are often coloured by the attitude of the historian writing the piece.
- Don’t forget to use one of the key words – **limited, moderate, significant in the last sentence.**
- It is important to note the purpose for which the source was produced and what you could do with

it.

HTANVA

## Sentence starters for Usefulness

1. The linking theme between S1 and S2.
2. S1 - Useful for (strengths)....as historical evidence
3. S1 - Limited because (weakness)....
4. S1 - Evaluation - "...moderately..., ...significantly ... or ...limited in usefulness'.
5. S2 - Useful for (strengths)....as historical evidence
6. S2 - Limited because (weakness)....
7. S2 - Evaluation - ...moderately..., ...significantly ... or ...limited in usefulness'.
8. Together the sources...or S1 is more useful than S2 or S1 & S2 are of similar usefulness.

## Contestability

- Contestable means: disagreeable, controversial, questionable, arguable, cause for debate.
- The secret to this one is in the **type of the source**, **why it was produced** and by whom.
- Usually, contestability is to do with PESEPCTIVES.
- **Whether a source is primary or secondary does not make it any more or less contestable - it changes what you do with it.**
- If you know of an historian with a particular view, use this now, it's worth significant marks. Eg Seuss/Low – anti-Nazi. This does however, make their work more contestable.
- Avoid saying that something is contestable because someone was left out...or someone was cut out, or it is unclear how many people saw the source, or would have agreed with it...statements that could apply to any source will not draw marks.
- The source may be contestable because of its purpose eg as propaganda, as a memoir (trying to justify the reasons for past events). Try to analyse if someone is trying to convince you of something...that will make it contestable. Its omissions may make it unreliable.
- Cartoons are contestable because they typically show only one opinion.
- The other part of contestability is '**Did this actually happen?**' if the answer is no, then it's highly contestable for its content, it may be scare mongering or predictions that never eventuated. This makes a source highly contestable.
- Secondary sources are more difficult to evaluate for contestability. You must look at the 'spin' on the topic and ascertain whether or not the author is balanced and unbiased. Look carefully at the reference list to see where and when the source was published; it may help you see the contestability.
- Also ask yourself if enough time has passed for the author to have this opinion or to have a reliable evaluation. Sources that assess Stalin's leadership in 1931 are highly ontestable.
- You may conclude with a statement of whether or not the sources support or refute one another but you don't have to. It's an option if you have space.

## Questions for Contestability

(d) Identify how and discuss why Sources 3 and 4 are contestable. (6 marks)

(6)

## Sentence starters for Contestability

1. State the linking theme of both sources eg "Both sources refer to ...."
2. Outline the **problems** (issues) of S 3. Identify the author's purpose or reason for creating/writing it. Identify the bias; explain how it impacts on the reliability of information in the source.
3. Outline any **benefits** of information provided in the S 3.
4. Outline the **problems** of S4. Identify the author's purpose or reason for creating/writing what is shown. Identify the bias and explain how it impacts on the reliability of information in the source.
5. Outline any **benefits** of information provided in the S 4.
6. State an overall evaluative judgement on the difficulties of accepting the information in sources as a reliable source of historical evidence. They may be less contestable when viewed together.

Source Type	Possible Reasons for Contestability Strengths	Possible Reasons for Contestability Weaknesses
Photo	<p>Can be engaging and easy to interpret</p> <p>Show a range of complementary information eg clothing, vehicles, attitudes etc.</p> <p>Can capture a defining moment that can become iconic</p> <p>Photos have few language barriers depending on the content</p> <p>Can easily capture a mood and engender a feeling eg horror at the Jews' treatment in WW2 or delight at the ending of conflict.</p>	<p>Purpose: why was it taken. A propaganda tool, distortion of reality. This is what is done with the photo after it was taken.</p> <p>Was it designed to shock &amp; or cropped to remove balance.</p> <p>Staged or candid, cropped for effect or to include detail or to cut people out.... link to purpose</p> <p>Presented as a usual scene when it was unusual?</p> <p>The subjects look to be in agreement but were actually hostile</p> <p>Are limited by their captions and background information given.</p>
Posters / Ads	<p>Made to persuade the viewer to think, or do, always start with PURPOSE.</p> <p>These are multi-faceted, they show attitude, values, focus of the nation, perception of the leaders etc</p> <p>They are mostly aspirational rather than factual.</p> <p>An extensive range of complementary information eg products, what a nation values.</p> <p>Can indicate the wealth in society eg there were few ads for diamond rings during WW2.</p>	<p>Not created to be historically accurate and/or inclusive so information is highly contestable.</p> <p>Lots of omissions eg not applicable to those outside the target audience.</p> <p>Ads create an image, something to aspire to, not reality.</p> <p>Weakness is in the exaggerations and perceptions.</p> <p>Note the date it was published and the target audience.</p> <p>Highly contestable</p>
Newspapers	<p>Newspapers express their points of view about important issues in a prominent section called the editorial.</p> <p>They are a very reliable measure of public opinion.</p> <p>The create a record of events that are significant in a society.</p> <p>Sometimes what is not there is just as important.</p>	<p>NPs are highly contestable because they hold the bias of the editor or the owner.</p> <p>They are useful for public opinion</p> <p>Very contestable on content &amp; historical accuracy.</p>
Cartoons	<p>Are notoriously biased, use of humour limits the detail that can be concluded.</p> <p>Contestable because they only present 1 perspective.</p> <p>Contestable because the event depicted never happened.</p>	<p>Are not meant to convey historically accurate information, there will be perspectives not presented, they are biased for or against....</p> <p>Strength – conveys a depth of the emotion from the era and supports the view of the publisher.</p>
Time of publication	<p>Probably the least contestable, they are supposed to be objective and even handed. They have the benefit of hindsight that allows them to make a calculated judgement of the whole period of study, including its affects.</p>	<p>Historians all have their own bias and rarely agree totally. They own politics, where their work is published, their nationality all make their work contestable. What should the author have known given the date of release?</p> <p>Traditional, revisionist, post-revisionist, post 1991</p>
Graph or Table	<p>What is included/left out.</p> <p>Data will rarely be complete, are there gaps. Look for the relationship between the numbers. Does it support what you know eg increase in production during civil war in Russia is unlikely to be true.</p>	<p>Who collected the data? Look in the reference list. Is it possible that the data is 'rubbery', is there an element of propaganda to the data? Who is trying to justify what?</p> <p>Would be more useful with supportive evidence.</p> <p>Reliable data is strong as it is irrefutable proof.</p>
Audience	<p>Some publications are meant for children, church groups, one nationality etc Omissions increase contestability.</p> <p>Link to purpose</p>	<p>As soon as the audience is targeted, the contestability increases and the reliability reduces.</p> <p>Strength is that it reveals the message of the producer. Weak in that there will be a one sided view presented</p>
	<p>Purpose: propaganda, to explore, to justify failures, celebrate success, to warn or apologise. If the publication was meant to be read, it increases the contestability eg a memoir</p>	<p>This affects reliability &amp; makes it less accurate for facts. Do you have a sense of someone making excuses?</p> <p>Is someone trying to convince someone of something? Strength is that it clearly outlines the message the publisher is trying to convey.</p>



**Purpose**

If it was meant to be private eg a private letter, it decreases contestability and increases accuracy.

Weakness is in the omissions and lack of a balance.

# Perspective

This question asks you to judge the point of view of the creator of the source but in relation to a specific topic. So what does the author think about the topic mentioned in the question? Be specific and use evidence. You don't have to just *identify* the point of view; you also have to judge **WHY** the author may have held this view.

















































## Questions About Perspective

(b) Identify and account for the authors' perspectives in Sources 3 and 4 regarding \*\*\*\*. (6 marks)

## Signposts for Perspective

1. Both sources refer to.... (linking theme)
2. Clearly state the position of the author on the topic.
3. Why might the author hold this view....(this is the 'account for' bit).
4. Identify the beliefs and or values of the person presenting S4 and maybe say **why** he/she had this view at the time. Identify the author's bias as positive in favour of..., or negative against...
5. You could include a comment about who may have shared this view, who may have opposed it, what else it was connected to... Maybe this is a traditionalist view, a revisionist, a post revisionist or post 1991 view.

As an exercise, put a name or initials just above each source to indicate who may have expressed themselves with this tone at some point (person or group). There are some blank ones at the bottom for you to add descriptions of 'tone' that may be missing.

 serene	 complacent	 anxious	 distracted	 pensive	 bored	 angry	 sleepy	 clueless	 hysterical	 confident	 ashamed
 happy	 trusting	 afraid	 surprised	 sad	 disgusted	 furious	 embarrassed	 overwhelmed	 hopeful	 lonely	 lovestruck
 ecstatic	 admiring	 terrified	 amazed	 depressed	 loathing	 jealous	 mischievous	 teary-eyed	 Defiant		
 annoyed	 exhausted	 confused	 paranoid	 smug	 nervous						



# Contestability

- Contestable means: disagreeable, controversial, questionable, arguable, cause for debate.
- Contestability is to do with the degree to which the source is historically accurate, is it balanced, reliable, accurate, inclusive, truthful or trustworthy...**for fact?**
- The secret to this one is in the **type of the source**, **why it was produced** and by whom.
- Usually, contestability is to do with PESEPCTIVES.
- **Whether a source is primary or secondary does not make it any more or less contestable - it changes what you do with it.**

## Here are some questions that you need to ask yourself.

1. Whose opinion is being presented?
  2. Who might oppose this idea?
  3. Why is this person presenting this idea?
  4. To whom is this message directed?
  5. Why are they saying this **AT THIS TIME**???? (What else is happening at the time?)
  6. Did this actually happen or is this a prediction?
  7. Do you suspect any hidden **motives**? Eg to cast suspicion, to vilify, to justify, to condemn, to create fear, to warn, because they are afraid, towing the line, seeking forgiveness? These words will lead you to high marks).
- The source may be contestable because of its **purpose** eg as propaganda, as a memoir (trying to justify the reasons for past events). Try to analyse if someone is trying to *convince you* of something...that **will** make it contestable. Its omissions may make it unreliable. **"The fact that \*\*\*\* has been omitted from the source makes it unreliable and highly contestable for..."**
  - Cartoons are contestable because they typically show only one opinion...it is useful to show that opinion but they don't present a balanced, reliable point of view of past events...if you are going to state that the **contestability lies in the fact that only one opinion is presented**...YOU MUST state WHAT THE OPPOSING OPINION WAS AND WHY THAT WOULD BE RELEVANT TO THE DEBATE. Most students don't do the last 2 bits and therefore get very few marks. The other part of contestability is 'Did this actually happen?' if the answer is no, then it's highly contestable **for its content**, it may be scare mongering or predictions that never eventuated. This makes a source **highly contestable for factual information**.
  - Be cautious if you read a point of view that supports your own... this may mean that the person simply holds the same opinion as you but it still may be contestable...anything highly opinionated will be contestable.
  - Western authors are still contestable but less obvious because their work fits in with our own ideologies (warning...this is SUPER hard to do...maybe shelve this until Yr 12).
  - Also ask yourself if **enough time has passed for the author to have this neutral opinion** or to have **formed a reliable evaluation**. Sources that assess Stalin's leadership in 1934 are highly contestable...especially if they were produced in Russia.
  - Make sure that EVERY statement is related back to whether or not the point you made increases the contestability or proves that the source is reliable and accurate.

## Sentence starters for Contestability

Italics represent sentence starters.

1. State the linking theme of both sources eg *“Both sources refer to ....”*
2. Outline the **problems** (issues) of Source 3. Identify *the author’s purpose* or reason for creating/writing what is shown. Mention the *intended audience*. Identify the bias; explain how it impacts on the *reliability of the information in the source*.
3. Give an overall evaluation on the level of contestability of Source 3.
4. Outline the **problems** of Source 4. Identify *the author’s purpose* or reason for creating/writing what is shown. Mention the *intended audience*. Identify the bias; explain how it impacts on the *reliability of the information in the source*.
5. Give an overall evaluation on the level of contestability of Source 4.
6. IF YOU HAVE TIME...state an overall evaluative judgement on the difficulties of accepting the information in sources as a reliable source of historical evidence. They may be less contestable when viewed together.

## Compare and Contrast the Purpose

Address the purpose from a few different angles:

- (a) Who was the intended **audience**? (Always start here)
  - (b) What was the **motive** of the creator?
  - (c) What were they trying to **achieve**? (to what end?)
  - (d) Why would the author be sending this message **AT THIS TIME**? (eg what else was happening that brought this about)? This last bit is worth most of the marks.
- This question is similar to the ‘usefulness’ question...but not the same so avoid using the word ‘useful’.
  - Be careful with cartoons; don’t automatically dismiss them as ‘opinion’ but don’t expect too much of them either. Cartoons are not a source of historical fact, figures, data etc...they are designed to show perspectives
  - Similarly, data tables are not supposed to present the events that led up to this topic or what happened as a result, so don’t bother with statements like this.
  - Avoid saying that something is contestable because someone was left out...or someone was cut out, or it is unclear how many people saw the source, or would have agreed with it...statements that could apply to any source will not draw marks.
  - Please don’t ever say that a secondary source is contestable because the author wasn’t there...they won’t be presenting themselves as someone who was at the event in question...they will deliberately be presenting themselves as an expert, maybe even with a neutral or balance perspective due to a lack of emotive language.
  - ...and just because a source is secondary, it doesn’t mean that it’s not biased...YOU need to find evidence.
  - Ask yourself some of the following questions:
  - Was it for persuasive purposes such as **propaganda**? **Self-justification** in order to justify leader’s actions or role in events? To place the **blame** for a leader’s own failures on other? To **take credit** for a success by exaggerating their own actions in an event or to exaggerate his/her own importance? To **explain** and give reasons for the need for new policies, plans or a declaration of conflict? To **rally** the nation to a war or conscription plebiscite in a passionate and emotive speech? To **express a point of view** such as in a newspaper editorial or cartoon? An **evaluation, explanation or judgement** of an historian, years after events or a period of history. To **praise** or **condemn** a leader or significant person as seen in the Cult of Lenin, Stalin. Written for propaganda purposes such as to **sway** the reader or listener to a particular point of view. Written for **diplomatic purposes** where **threats** are disguised in diplomatic language or the terms of an alliance.

# Whole Era Questions

## Questions About the Whole Era (i)

What-ever is at the end of the sentence **MUST** be addressed in your answer.

Evaluate the extent to which the four sources give an accurate insight into the significance of **\*\*\*\*** in the relevant society during your period of study. (6 marks)

### Signposts for Whole Era (i)

1. State the most important theme in the doc set in relation to **\*\*\***. **WHY WAS THIS A SIGNIFICANT IDEA?** Highlight where you saw it, in which sources but only briefly eg (S1, S3). How well do the sources address this?
2. State the 2<sup>nd</sup> most important theme in relation to **\*\*\***, give evidence. **WHY WAS THIS SUCH A SIGNIFICANT THEME?** Briefly state where you saw it. How well do the sources address this?
3. Missing from the doc set but of **equal importance in relation to \*\*\***. Explain why it is of equal importance, more importance or simply important in conjunction with the themes identified. Does the idea underpin the other course content, is it the culmination of years of effort, does it represent deep divisions that manifest elsewhere ... link to big ideas. **Note that this is only worth one mark.**

### Signposts for Whole Era (ii)

(e)ii Using your knowledge of the whole period of study, evaluate the importance of the themes, ideas and/or events represented in the four sources.

(7 marks)

**In this one do not attempt to evaluate how well the sources cover a theme... read the Qu again**

1. State the most important theme that you have identified and where you saw it - eg in which sources (chunk them), include evidence. **WHY WAS THIS SUCH A SIGNIFICANT THEME** in relation to the topic and for the A+ students, in relation to other key themes?
2. State the 2<sup>nd</sup> most important theme included; in which sources, evidence. **WHY WAS THIS SUCH A SIGNIFICANT THEME** in relation to the topic and for the A+ students, in relation to other key themes?
3. (About 2/3 way through your answer) State any ideas **of equal importance that would enhance the ones already there** and explain why they were of equal importance, more importance or simply important in conjunction with the themes identified. Simply stating what was missing will draw no marks.
4. State a strong summarising evaluating sentence. Eg *"While the use of propaganda and terror were key to Stalin's success, the use of role of the NKVD and the use of the gulags played a vital role in Stalin's consolidation of power and were of equal importance."*

Be cautious: are you being asked to assess the source set in relation to the **WHOLE** period or just part of it? This may change your answer. Eg there is no doubt that the Civil War is an important event but in relation to the whole period of study, it's relatively minor. NEVER SUMMARISE BY SOURCE, eg Source 1 shows...Source 2 ..., Source 3... This does not show that you see the themes that connect the sources, you just see the sources and this isn't what the question is asking you.

References: Russia-From-Tsarism-to-Stalinism-1914-1945 Lornhill Booklet on Russian History unit\_2\_online\_textbook [http://fhshistory.weebly.com/uploads/7/8/3/8/7838735/unit\\_2\\_online\\_textbook.pdf](http://fhshistory.weebly.com/uploads/7/8/3/8/7838735/unit_2_online_textbook.pdf)

I would like to acknowledge the years of support and mentorship from Ms Jan Bishop, ex-Chief Examiner for History who is a passionate advocate for the study of history in Australia and who has supported my understanding of the content that I'm sharing with you today.