

Joseph Stalin: Inside the Terror

The USSR under Joseph Stalin,
1924-53



Russian Revolution in Review

- Mar 8, 1917
- Mar 10, 1917
- Mar 12, 1917
- Mar 15, 1917
- May 16, 1917
- Nov 6-7, 1917
- Women's march to Petrograd
- General Strike
- Provisional Government takes power
- Nicholas II Abdicates
- Kerensky Heads Provisional government
- Bolshevik coup ("Peace, Land and Bread")

Russian Revolution in Review

- Jan 1918
 - Lenin Disbands Constituent Assembly and establishes a “Dictatorship of the Proletariat”
- Mar 15, 1918
 - Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed with Germany
- 1918-1922
 - Russian Civil War (Red Army vs White Army)
- Dec 1922
 - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR or “Soviet Union”) established

Russian Revolution in Review

- Jan 1924
- 1928
- VI Lenin Dies
- Stalin wins control of the Politburo and the Communist Party

Stalin's rise to power, 1924-29

What circumstances favored the rise of Stalin?



The one-party state in the USSR

- Having taken power in the October Revolution in 1917, Lenin had led his Bolshevik Party in laying the foundations of the world's first Marxist state.
- The Bolsheviks claimed that their triumph gave them an absolute right to govern Russia.
- There was a powerful ideology underlying this assumption.
- As Marxists, the Bolsheviks believed that they truly represented the will of the Russian proletariat who now ruled, in accordance with the scientific laws of the dialectic.

Bolshevik consolidation of power

- By the time Lenin's death in 1924, the Bolsheviks had overcome all the major challenges to their authority and had transformed Russia into the USSR.
- This involved their fighting and winning a desperate civil war, successfully resisting a series of foreign interventions, and surviving a series of severe economic crises.
- The consolidation of Bolshevik power was a remarkable achievement, but it was gained only by using the most violent means.

Bolshevik consolidation of power

- Lenin had allowed no opposition to his government.
- Political enemies had been crushed and critics within the party had been suppressed.
- Lenin's years in power left the Soviet Union with a tradition of authoritarian rule and terror.
- There were also serious economic problems that had still to be solved if the USSR was to survive as a nation.

Government Structures

- By 1924 the government structure of the Soviet Union had developed two main features: The Council of Peoples' Commissars, and the Secretariat.
- Both these bodies and various committees they established were staffed and controlled by the Bolshevik (Communist) Party under Lenin.
- It has to be stressed that the vital characteristic of this governmental system was that the party ruled.
- This, in effect, meant Lenin ruled, since his moral authority and standing in the Party were so strong that he was unchallengeable.

Government Structures

- In practical terms, the key organization was the Politburo.
- By 1922, the Soviet Union was a one-party, Leninist state.
- Membership of that one party was essential for all who held government posts at whatever level.

Democratic Centralism

- A central feature of Lenin's control of the Communist Party was the principle of 'democratic centralism'.
- This was the notion, as developed by Lenin, that true democracy in the Bolshevik Party lay in the obedience of the members to the authority and instructions of the leaders.
- The justification for this was that while, as representatives of the workers, all Bolsheviks were genuine revolutionaries, only the leaders were sufficiently educated in the science of revolution to understand what needed to be done.

Democratic Centralism

- In practice, democratic centralism meant the Bolsheviks doing what Lenin told them to do.
- It was a principle which Stalin was to inherit and exploit in his own leadership of the Soviet Union.

Authoritarian Rule

- Lenin created an authoritarian system which returned Russia to the absolutism* that it had known under the tsars.
- Absolutism – A governmental system in which the levers of power are exclusively in the hands of a group or an individual.
- The basic apparatus of oppression for which Stalin later became notorious for using was in place at Lenin's death.

Authoritarian Rule

- The main features of Lenin's authoritarian rule between 1917 and 1924 were:
 - The one-party state – all parties other than Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) were outlawed.
 - The bureaucratic state – central power increased under Lenin and the number of government departments and officials grew.
 - The police state – the Cheka* was the first of a series of secret police organizations in the Soviet Union whose task was to impose government control over the people.
- *Cheka – The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, later known by such acronyms as OGPU and KGB.

Authoritarian Rule

- The main features of Lenin's authoritarian rule between 1917 and 1924 were:
 - The ban on factionalism* – Lenin prohibited criticism of the leadership within the party, which was, in effect, a ban on free speech.
 - The destruction of the trade unions – Leon Trotsky, Commissar for War under Lenin, destroyed the independence of the trade unions.
 - The politicizing of the law – under Lenin the law was not means of protecting society but an extension of political control.
- *Factionalism – Open criticism within the CPSU of central orders

Authoritarian Rule

- The main features of Lenin's authoritarian rule between 1917 and 1924 were:
 - The system of purges* and show trials * - outstanding examples of these were the public trials in 1922 of the Moscow clergy and the SRs*.
 - Concentration Camps – at the time of Lenin's death there were over 300 such camps. They held rebel peasants and 'anti-Bolsheviks'.
 - Prohibition of public worship – the Orthodox Christian churches were looted and then closed; atheism was adopted as a replacement for religious belief.

Authoritarian Rule

- ***Purges** – A system of terror used by Lenin and Stalin in the USSR and Mao in China for removing anyone regarded as a threat to their authority.
- **Show trials** - Special public court hearings, meant as propaganda exercises, in which the accused were paraded as enemies of the people.
- **SRs** – Socialist Revolutionaries, the largest of the revolutionary parties in Russia until outlawed by the Bolsheviks after 1917.

Authoritarian Rule

- The main features of Lenin's authoritarian rule between 1917 and 1924 were:
 - Nationalization – Lenin's government took over private companies and banks.
 - Imposed economic policies – faced with famine, Lenin had tried a series of experiments ranging from fierce repression of the peasants under 'War Communism' to the more lenient approach of NEP* was a temporary measure but it was still in operation at his death.
 - Cultural revolution – the Bolsheviks claimed that in revolutionary Russia the people were now ready to be molded into a new species: 'Man can be made whatever we want him to be'. Culture was to be shaped by the power of the state.
- NEP* - The New Economic Policy, which permitted the peasants to return to farming for private profit.

Authoritarian Rule

- The main features of Lenin's authoritarian rule between 1917 and 1924 were:
 - International isolation – Lenin had originally expected the Russian revolution to be the prelude to a worldwide proletarian uprising. That was the reason for creating the Comintern*. When no such international rising occurred, he had to adjust to a situation in which the Soviet Union became an isolated Marxist, revolutionary state, beset by external enemies.
- *Comintern – The Communist International, formed in 1919 in Moscow to organize worldwide revolution. The comintern took a particular interest in China, believing that it could impose itself on the young CCP.

Stalin's emergence as leading contender for power

- In the uncertain political atmosphere that followed Lenin's death in January 1924, a number of fortunate developments helped Stalin promote his claims.

Stalin's Positions

- A critical factor was that Lenin had left no clear instructions as to what form of government should be adopted after him.
- This meant that the power was there for the taking; it was in this regard that Stalin found himself particularly well placed.
- That he had worked closely with Lenin and had held important administrative positions in the Party put him in a position of prominence that no rival could match.
- Here, the pragmatic way in which the Bolsheviks had first governed proved very important.
- Certain posts, which initially had not been considered especially significant, began to provide their holders with controlling influence.

Stalin's Positions

- Stalin's previous appointments to key posts in both government and party now probed crucial.
- These had been:
 - **People's Commissar for Nationalities (1917)**: Stalin was in charge of the officials in the many regions and republics that made up the USSR. Lenin judges that Stalin, as a Georgian, had a special understanding of the national minorities.
 - **Liaison Officer between the Politburo and Orgburo (1919)** – Stalin was in a unique position to monitor both the Party's policy and the Party's personnel.

Stalin's Positions

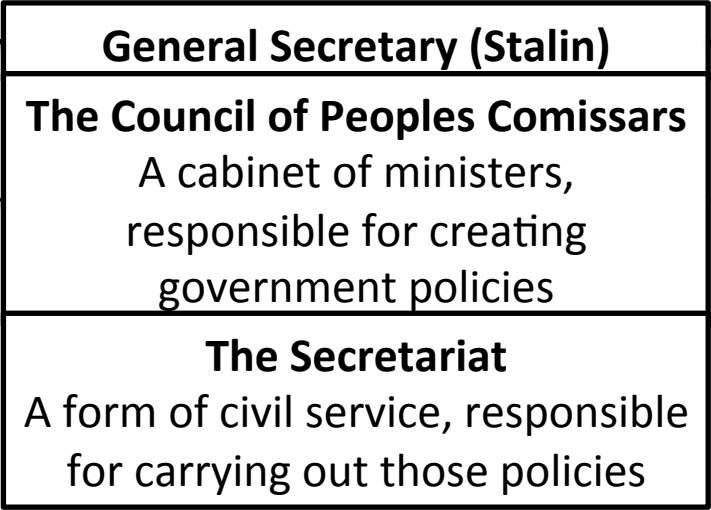
- These had been:
 - **Head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate (1922)** – Stalin oversaw the work of all government departments.
 - **General Secretary of the Communist Party (1922)** – Stalin recorded and conveyed Party Policy. This enabled him to build up dossiers on all the members of the Party. Nothing of note happened that Stalin did not know about.

Stalin's Positions

- Stalin became the indispensable link in the chain of command in the Communist Party and the Soviet government.
- Above all, what these posts gave him was the power of **patronage**.
- He used this authority to place his own supporters in key positions.
- Since they then owed their place to him, Stalin could count on their support in the voting in the various committees which made up the organization of the Party and the government.
- *Patronage – providing government approval and support and extending privileges to selected individuals and groups.

Stalin's Positions

- Such were the advantages held by Stalin during the Party in-fighting over the succession to Lenin that no other contender came near to matching him in his hold on the Party machine.
- Whatever the ability of the individuals or groups who opposed him, he could always out-vote and out-maneuver them.



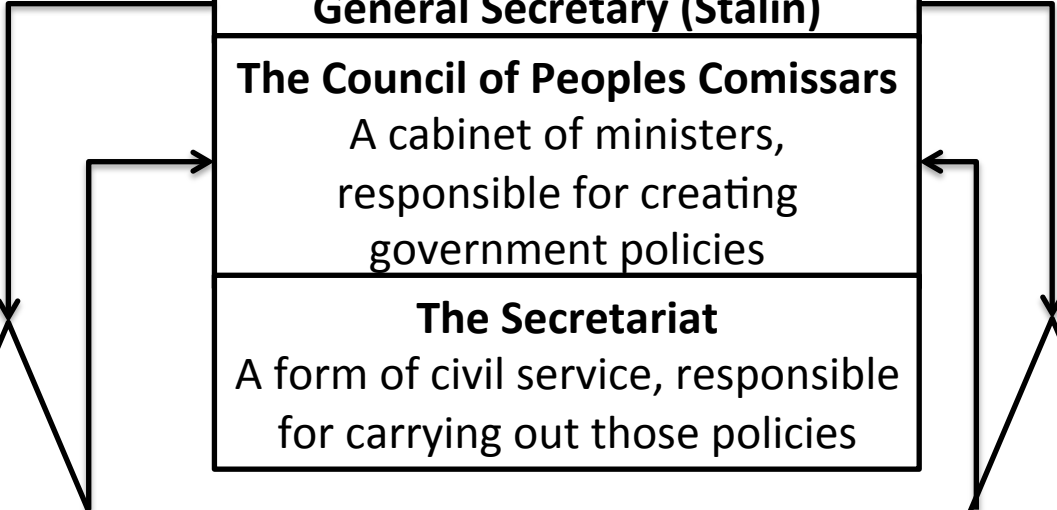
Politburo

**Central
Committee**

**Party
Congress CPSU**

**Council of
Commissars**

**All Russian
Congress of
Soviets**



The Lenin Enrolment

- Stalin had also gained considerably from recent changes in the structure of the Communist Party. Between 1923 and 1925, the Party had set out to increase the number of workers in its ranks.
- This was known as “the Lenin enrolment”.
- It resulted in the membership of the CPSU rising from 340,000 in 1922 to 600,000 by 1925.
- The new members were fully aware that the many privileges which came with Party membership depended on their being loyal to those who had first invited them into the Bolshevik ranks.

The Lenin Enrolment

- In every case it was members of the Secretariat, working directly under Stalin as General Secretary, who had issued the invitations.
- The result was the expansion of the Party, which added to Stalin's growing power of patronage.
- It provided him with the a reliable body of votes in the various Party committees at local and central level.

Stalin's Bid for Power

Lenin's Funeral

- Immediately after Lenin's death, the Politburo proclaimed their intention to continue as a collective leadership, but behind the scenes the competition for individual authority had already begun.
- In the maneuvering, Stalin gained an advantage by being the one to deliver the oration at Lenin's funeral.
- The sight as leading mourner suggest a continuity between him and Lenin, an impression heightened by the contents of his speech in which, in the name of the party he dedicated himself to following in the tradition of the departed leader.

Stalin's Bid for Power

Lenin's Funeral

- Since Stalin's speech was the first crucial move to promote himself as Lenin's successor, it was to be expected that Leon Trotsky, his chief rival, would try to counter it in some way.
- Trotsky was prominent figure in the Party.
- He had played a key role in the 1917 October Revolution and had been the brilliant organizer of the Red Army, which had won the civil war against the whites.

Stalin's Bid for Power

Lenin's Funeral

- Yet Trotsky was not even present at the funeral.
- His excuse was that Stalin had given him the wrong date.
- Whatever the truth of this, Trotsky's behavior hardly appeared to be that of a dedicated Leninist.

Stalin's Bid for Power

Suppression of Lenin's Testament

- Although Stalin had been totally loyal to Lenin, there had been times when he had offended his leader.
- One such occasion occurred in 1922 when Lenin learned from his wife, Krupskaya, that Stalin had verbally abused her during a telephone conversation.
- In an angry response, Lenin added a severe criticism of Stalin to a document he had been dictating.
- Later known as Lenin's Testament, this was a set of observations on the strengths and weaknesses of the Party's leading members.

Stalin's Bid for Power

Suppression of Lenin's Testament

- Lenin had been especially critical of Stalin's hunger for 'boundless power' and urged the comrades to consider ways of removing him as Secretary, but this was not done.
- Lenin was too ill during the last year of his life to be politically active.
- At his death in January 1924, he had still not taken any formal steps to remove Stalin, and the 'Testament' had not been made public.
- If it were now to be published, Stalin would be gravely damaged by its contents.

Stalin's Bid for Power

Suppression of Lenin's Testament

- However, here again fortune favored him. Since the testament contained Lenin's criticism not simply of Stalin, but of all the members of the Politburo, they all had a reason for suppressing it, which they formally did in May 1924.
- Since Trotsky had been criticized in the Testament for his 'excessive self-confidence', he went along with the decision, but in doing so he lost an opportunity to challenge Stalin.
- In fact it was Trotsky, not Stalin, whom the Politburo regarded as the greater danger.

Trotsky's opposition to Stalin

- Lev Kamenev and Grigory Zinoviev, who had been leading players in the 1917 Revolution, joined Stalin in an unofficial triumvirate within the Politburo.
- Their aim was to isolate Trotsky by exploiting his unpopularity with large sections of the Party.
- Trotsky's handicaps:
 - Trotsky was a Jew and very conscious of the fact that this constituted a political handicap. Anti-Semitism was an ingrained feature of Russian society and continued under communist rule. In 1917 he had declined Lenin's offer to be commissar on the grounds that his appointment would be an embarrassment to Lenin and the government; he said it would 'give enemies grounds for claiming that the country was ruled by a Jew'.

Trotsky's opposition to Stalin

- Trotsky's handicaps:
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 - His intellectualism, coupled with an aloof style and manner, gave him the appearance of an outsider who was not fully committed to the CPSU. This deprived him of a significant following in the party.

Trotsky's opposition to Stalin

- Trotsky's handicaps:
 - CPSU members tended to regard Trotsky as dangerously ambitious and his rival Stalin as reliably self-effacing. This was because Trotsky was flamboyant and brilliant, while his rival was unspectacular and methodical.
 - Trotsky had not become a Bolshevik until 1917, which raised doubts about how committed he was to the Party.

The New Economy Policy (NEP)

- Trotsky's reputation was further damaged by the issue of the New Economic Policy.
- Soon after taking power Lenin had implemented a policy known as "War Communism".
- This was a series of harshly restrictive economic measures intended to help the Bolsheviks win the civil war of 1918-1920.

The New Economy Policy (NEP)

- These measures:
 - Brought agriculture and industry under central control
 - Used government requisition squads to seize grain stocks from the peasants
 - Prohibited farming for profit
- However, War Communism did not produce the expected results.
- The interference with the peasants' traditional ways caused disruption and resentment.
- Hunger did not lessen, it intensified.
- Despite the government's terror tactics there were many instances of serious resistance.

The New Economy Policy (NEP)

- Always flexible in his approach, Lenin decided on a U-turn.
- He judged that, if the peasants could not be forced, they must be persuaded.
- At a Party Congress in 1921 he told members that it made no sense for Bolsheviks to pretend that they could pursue an economic policy which took no account for the real situation.

The New Economy Policy (NEP)

- He then announced that War Communism was to be replaced with a New Economic Policy, the main features of which were:
 - Central economic control to be relaxed
 - Grain requisitioning to be abandoned.
 - The peasants to be allowed to keep their food surpluses and sell them for a profit.
- NEP clearly marked a retreat from the principle of state control of the economy.
- It restored a mixed economy in which certain features of capitalism existed alongside socialism.

The New Economy Policy (NEP)

- It was that troubled the members of the Party, including Trotsky, who had welcomed the repressive measures of War Communism.
- To their mind, squeezing the peasants was exactly what the Bolsheviks should be doing since it advanced the revolution.
- It disturbed them that the peasants were being cosseted and the capitalist ways were being tolerated.

Leftists and Rightists

- When introducing NEP in 1921, Lenin had admitted that it was a relaxing of strict socialism, but had emphasized that it was a temporary measure.
- However, at the time of his death in 1924 the question was already being asked as to how long in fact NEP was meant to last.
- The Party members who were unhappy with it saw its continuation as a betrayal of revolutionary principles.
- A serious division had developed in the Party between leftists and rightists.
- Leftists – Bolshevik Party members who wanted NEP abandoned.
- Rightists – Bolshevik party and CCP members who argued for a slower, less violent development of revolution and for the continuation of the NEP.

Leftists and Rightists

- Initially the disagreement was simply about timing: how long was the NEP to continue?
- However, in the power struggle of the 1920s these minor differences deepened into questions of political correctness and Party loyalty.
- A rival's attitude towards the NEP might be a weakness to be exploited.
- Stalin did precisely this. He used Trotsky's attitude towards NEP as a way of undermining him.

Leftists and Rightists

- Trotsky, in 1923, had openly declared that to continue with NEP was to put the interest of the Nepmen above those of the Revolution and to undermine the gains made from War Communism.
- Stalin was quick to suggest to Party members that Trotsky was an unacceptably disruptive force.
- The interesting point here is that Stalin's own view of the NEP was far from clear at this stage.
- Nepman – A derisive term for the profiteers who had supposedly exploited the commercial freedoms allowed under the NEP in order to enrich themselves.

Leftists and Rightists

- He had loyally supported Lenin's introduction of it in 1921, but had given little indication as to whether, or how long, it should be retained after Lenin's death.
- He preferred to keep his own views to himself and play on the differences among party members.

The Left-Right division over modernization

- The ideological argument over NEP merged with another demanding question.
- How should the Soviet Union plan for the future?
- The USSR was a poor country.
- To modernize and overcome its poverty it would have to industrialize.
- The quarrel in the party was not whether the USSR should industrialize, but over how and at what speed.
- Industrialize – The process of creating a factory-based manufacturing economy

The Left-Right division over modernization

- The country was rich in natural resources, but these had yet to be effectively exploited, and it certainly did not possess large amounts of capital.
- Nor could it easily borrow any since the Bolsheviks after taking power had rejected capitalist methods of finance and caused international outrage by refusing to honor any of the debts incurred by the Tsarist state.
- Capitalist methods of finance – the system in which the owners of private capital(money) increase their wealth by making loans on which they later receive interest.

The Left-Right division over modernization

- Few countries after 1917 were willing to risk investing in revolutionary Russia.
- The only usable resource, therefore, was the Soviet people themselves, 80 percent of whom were peasants.
- To achieve industrialization, it was necessary that peasants produce a food surplus which could be then be sold abroad to raise capital for industrial investment.
- Both Left and Right agreed that this was the only solution, but, whereas the Right were content to rely on persuading the peasants to co-operate, the Left demanded that the peasantry be forced to conform.

The Left-Right division over modernization

- It was Trotsky who most clearly represented the view of the Left on this.
- He wanted the peasants to be coerced. However, for him the industrialization debate was secondary to the far more demanding question of the Soviet Union's role as the organizer of international revolution.
- His views on this created a wide divergence between him and Stalin, expressed in terms of a clash between the opposed notions of 'Permanent Revolution' and Socialism in one Country'.

Ideological conflict between Trotsky and Stalin

- Trotsky was an international Marxist. His central political belief at this time was in 'Permanent Revolution', a concept made up of three essential ideas:
 - Revolution was not a single event but a permanent (continuous) process in which risings took place from country to country.
 - The events in Russia since 1917 were simply a first step towards a worldwide revolution of the proletariat.
 - The USSR could not survive alone in a hostile world. It needed to 'export revolution'. Unless there was international revolution, the Soviet Union would not survive.

Ideological conflict between Trotsky and Stalin

- Stalin countered Trotsky's notion of 'Permanent Revolution' with his own concept of 'Socialism in One Country'.
- He meant by this that the nation's first task was to consolidate Lenin's Revolution by turning the USSR into a modern state, capable of defending itself against its internal and external enemies.
- The Soviet Union's task, therefore, was to:
 - Overcome its present agricultural and industrial problems by its own unaided efforts
 - Proceed to build a modern state, the equal of any nation in the world
 - Make the survival of the Soviet Union an absolute priority, even if this meant suspending efforts to create international revolution.

Ideological conflict between Trotsky and Stalin

- Stalin used the contrast between his program and Trotsky's to portray his rival as an enemy of the Soviet Union.
- He condemned Trotsky's ideas as a threat to the security of the USSR.
- Trotsky's position was further weakened by the fact that throughout the 1920s the Soviet Union had a constant fear of invasion by the combined capitalist nations.
- Although this fear was ill-founded, the tense atmosphere it created made Trotsky's notion of the USSR's engaging in foreign revolutionary wars appear irresponsible.

The defeat of Trotsky and the Left

- Trotsky's failure in the propaganda war of the 1920s meant that he was in no position to persuade either the Politburo or the Central Committee to support his proposals.
- Following a vote against him the 1925 Party Congress, Trotsky was removed from his position as Commissar for War.
- Kamenev and Zinoviev, the respective Chairmen of the Moscow and Leningrad Soviets, played a key part in this.
- They used their influence over the local party organizations to ensure that it was a pro-Stalin, anti-Trotsky congress that gathered.

The New Opposition

- With Trotsky weakened, Stalin turned to the problem of how to deal with the two key figures he now saw as potential rivals, Kamenev and Zinoviev.
- In the event, they created a trap for themselves.
- In 1925, worried by the USSR's slow economic growth, the two men called for the NEP to be abandoned, concessions to the peasants withdrawn, and industrialization enforced.
- Their viewpoint formed the basis of what was termed the 'New Opposition', but there was little to distinguish it from old Trotskyism.

The New Opposition

- It was no surprise, therefore, when Trotsky joined his former opponents in 1926 to form a 'Trotskyite-Kamenevite-Zinovievite' opposition bloc.
- Again, Stalin's control of the Party machine proved decisive.
- The Party Congress declined to be influenced by pressure from the 'New Opposition'.

The New Opposition

- The Right Communists backed Stalin and outvoted the Left bloc.
- Kamenev and Zinoviev were dismissed from their posts as Soviet Chairmen, to be replaced by two of Stalin's staunchest allies: Vyacheslav Molotov in Moscow and Sergiei Kirov in Leningrad.
- It was little surprise that, soon after, Trotsky was expelled from both the Politburo and the Central Committee.

Bureaucratization

- Trotsky attempted to fight back. The issue he chose was bureaucratization.
- He defined this as the abandonment of genuine discussion within the Party and the growth in power of the Secretariat, which was able to make decisions and operate policies without reference to ordinary Party members.
- Trotsky called for greater Party democracy to fight this growth. But his campaign was misjudged.

Bureaucratization

- In trying to expose the growing bureaucracy in the Communist Party, Trotsky overlooked the essential fact that Bolshevik rule since 1917 had always been bureaucratic.
- Indeed, it was because the Soviet state functioned as a bureaucracy that Party members received privileges in political and public life.
- Trotsky gained little support from Party members who had a vested interest in maintaining the Party's bureaucratic ways.
- His censure of bureaucracy left Stalin unscathed.

Trotsky's expulsion

- Trotsky still did not admit defeat. In 1927, on the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik rising, he tried to rally support in a direct challenge to Stalin's authority.
- He was again heavily outvoted. His complete failure led to Congress accepting Stalin's proposal that Trotsky be expelled from the Party altogether.
- An internal exile order against him in 1927 was followed two years later by deportation from the USSR itself.
- That Trotsky was not executed at this point suggest that Stalin did not yet regard himself as being in full political control.

The defeat of the Right opposition

- Having defeated the Left, Stalin turned on the Right opposition whose major representatives were Alexei Rykov, Mikhail Tomsky and Nicolai Bukharin, three men who had loyally served Stalin in his outflanking of Trotsky and the Left.
- Politically, the Right were by no means as challenging to Stalin as the Trotskyite bloc had been.
- What made Stalin move against them was that they stood in the way of the industrial and agricultural schemes that he began to implement in 1928.

The defeat of the Right opposition

- His attack on the Right was, therefore, an aspect of his massive transformation of the Soviet economy.
- It is uncertain when Stalin finally decided that the answer to the Soviet Union's growth problem was collectivization* and industrialization.
- The likelihood is that it was probably another piece of opportunism; having defeated the Left politically, he felt free to adopt their economic policies.
- Collectivization – Depriving the peasants of their land and requiring them to live and work in communes.

The attitude of the Right opposition

- Bukharin and the Right argued that it would be less disruptive to let Soviet industry develop its own momentum.
- The state should assist, but it should not direct.
- Similarly, the peasants should not be oppressed as this would make them resentful and less productive.
- The Right agreed that it was from the land that the means of financing industrialization would have to come, but they stressed that, by offering the peasants the chance to become prosperous, far more grain would be produced for sale abroad.

The attitude of the Right opposition

- Bukharin declared in the Politburo and at the Party Congress in 1928 that Stalin's aggressive policy of state procurements* was counter-productive.
- He was prepared to state openly what everybody knew, but was afraid to admit: that Stalin's program was little different to that Trotsky had previously advocated.
- State procurements* - enforced collections of grain from the peasants.

Weakness of the Right Opposition

- The Right suffered from a number of weaknesses, which Stalin was able to exploit.
- Those related to their ideas, their organization and their support.

Weakness of the Right Opposition - Ideas

- A notable skill that Stalin employed throughout his career after 1924 was his ability to play upon the fears of his colleagues and compatriots.
- He consistently claimed that the USSR was under threat from internal and external enemies within and without.
- This seldom accorded with reality but his constant exaggerations were believed by a Party which became convinced that only through vigilance and ruthless treatment of enemies could the regime be safeguarded from the reactionaries who wished to overthrow it.

Weakness of the Right Opposition - Ideas

- Typical of Stalin's statements was his listing of the USSR's internal enemies to show the danger in which the Revolution stood.
- Stalin used the fears for the Revolution felt by the party to undermine the Right.
- Scorning Bukharin for underestimating the difficulties the Soviet Union faced, he asserted that the dangerous times required not concessions to the peasants, but a tough policy towards them.
- In taking this line, Stalin showed a shrewd understanding of the mentality of Party members.
- The majority were far more likely to respond to the call for a return to a rigorous policy on the land than were to risk the Revolution itself by untimely concessions to reactionary peasants.

Weakness of the Right Opposition - Organization

- The Right experienced the same difficulty that the Left had.
- How could they impress their ideas upon the Party while Stalin remained masters of the Party Machine?
- Bukharin and his colleagues wanted to remain faithful party members and it was the sense of loyalty that weakened them in their attempts to oppose Stalin.
- Fearful of recreating the 'factionalism' condemned by Lenin, they hoped that they could win the Party over by persuasion.

Weakness of the Right Opposition - Organization

- Their basic approach was conciliatory.
- All this played into Stalin's hands. Since it was largely his supporters who were responsible for drafting and distributing Party information, it was not difficult for Stalin to belittle the Right as a weak and irresponsible clique.

Weakness of the Right Opposition – Lack of Support

- The Right's only substantial support lay in the trade unions, whose Central Council was chaired by Tomsky, and in the CPSU's Moscow branch where Nicolai Uglanov, an admirer and supporter of Bukharin, was the Party Secretary.
- When Stalin realized that these might be a source of opposition, he acted quickly and decisively.
- He sent Lazar Kaganovich, a ruthlessly ambitious young Politburo member from Ukraine, to arrest the suspect trade unionists.

Weakness of the Right Opposition – Lack of Support

- The Right were overwhelmed by this political assault.
- Molotov was dispatched to Moscow where he enlisted the support of the pro-Stalin members to terrify local Party officials into line.

Weakness of the Right Opposition – Collapse of the Right

- By early 1929, the Right were beyond recovery.
- Tomsky was no longer the national trade union leader, Rykov had been superseded as premier by Molotov; and Bukharin had lost his place in the Politburo.
- This trio of 'Right Opportunists' were allowed to remain in the Party but only after publicly admitting the error of their ways.

Weakness of the Right Opposition – Collapse of the Right

- Stalin's triumph over both Left and Right was complete.
- He was now in a position to exercise power as the new Vozhd, having become, in effect, a communist tsar.
- The defeat of the Right marks the end of any serious challenge to limit his power.
- From the late 1920s to his death in 1953, Stalin would become increasingly dictatorial.

Stalin's establishment of an authoritarian state

Key Question: How did Stalin impose his authority on the Soviet Union?

Economic Policy

- “To transform our country from an agrarian into an industrial one, capable by its own efforts of producing the necessary means” – 1926 Critical Resolution of the Party Congress
- Three main aspects to Stalin’s Economic Policy
 - Economic Aims
 - The Collectivization of the peasantry
 - Industrialization

Economic Aims

- Revolution from Above
- Modernization



Revolution from above

- Stalin's belief that to make an economic change in USSR that the government had to take charge of all aspects.
 - 1917 was a revolution from below
 - 1928 The soviet state took over the running of the nation's economy.

Modernization

- The driving force of the economic changes was modernization.
 - Stalin believed that the nation was far behind other countries in the terms of modernization.
 - Worry about other countries taking over the Soviet Union due to lack of a modern army and society.

Collectivization

- Stalin's two reasons for collectivization
 - To bring the peasants under control
 - Raise Capital
- The formula that Stalin Worked with
 - The USSR needed industrial investment and manpower
 - The land could provide both
 - Surplus grain would be sold abroad to raise investment funds for industry
 - Surplus peasants would become factory workers

Collective Farms

- Stalin defined collectivization as “setting up of collective farms in order to squeeze out all capitalist elements from the land”.
- Stalin claimed that it was “voluntary”, but in truth it was forced on a very reluctant peasantry.

Collective Farms



Collective Farms

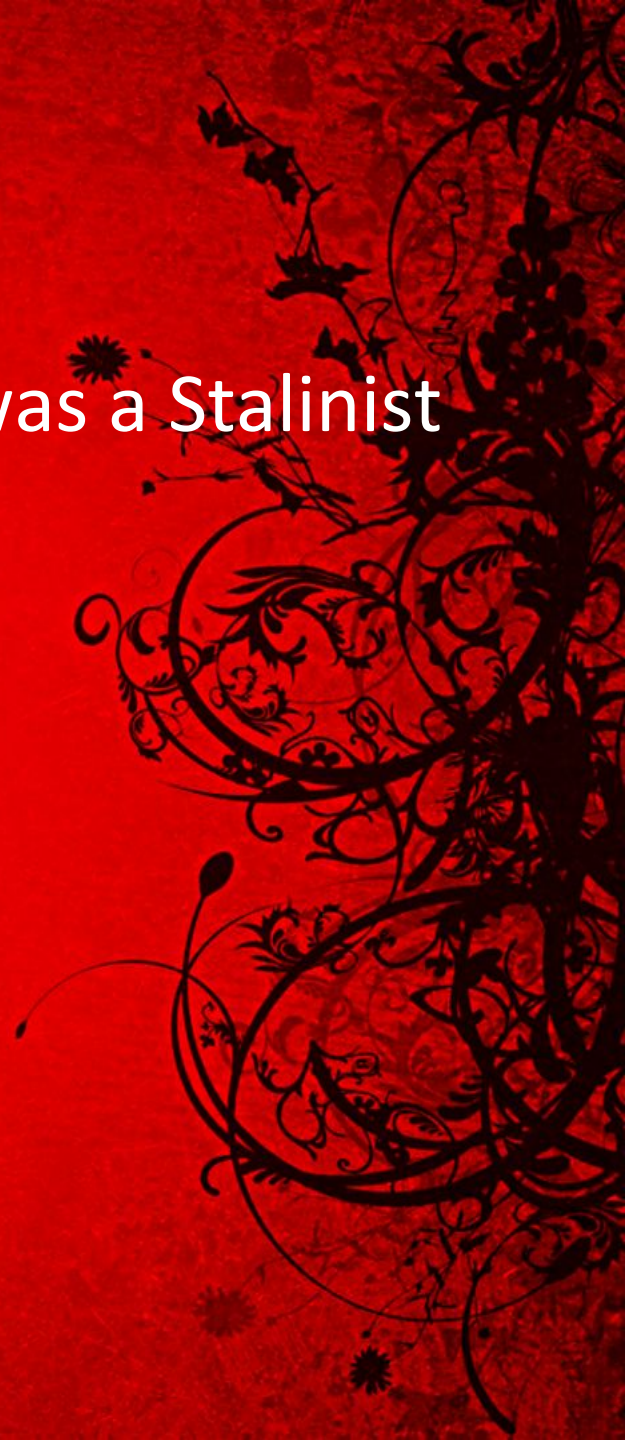


The Kulaks

- Stalin identified a class of “Kulaks” – rich peasants as holding back the worker’s revolution.
- The campaign started by Stalin was called ‘De-Kulakization’. This became part of state policy and was used a lot to get the peasants to look down on the well to do farmers.

The Kulaks

- The concept of the Kulak class was a Stalinist myth.
- The real Kulaks was:
 - Hard-working
 - More efficient in framing

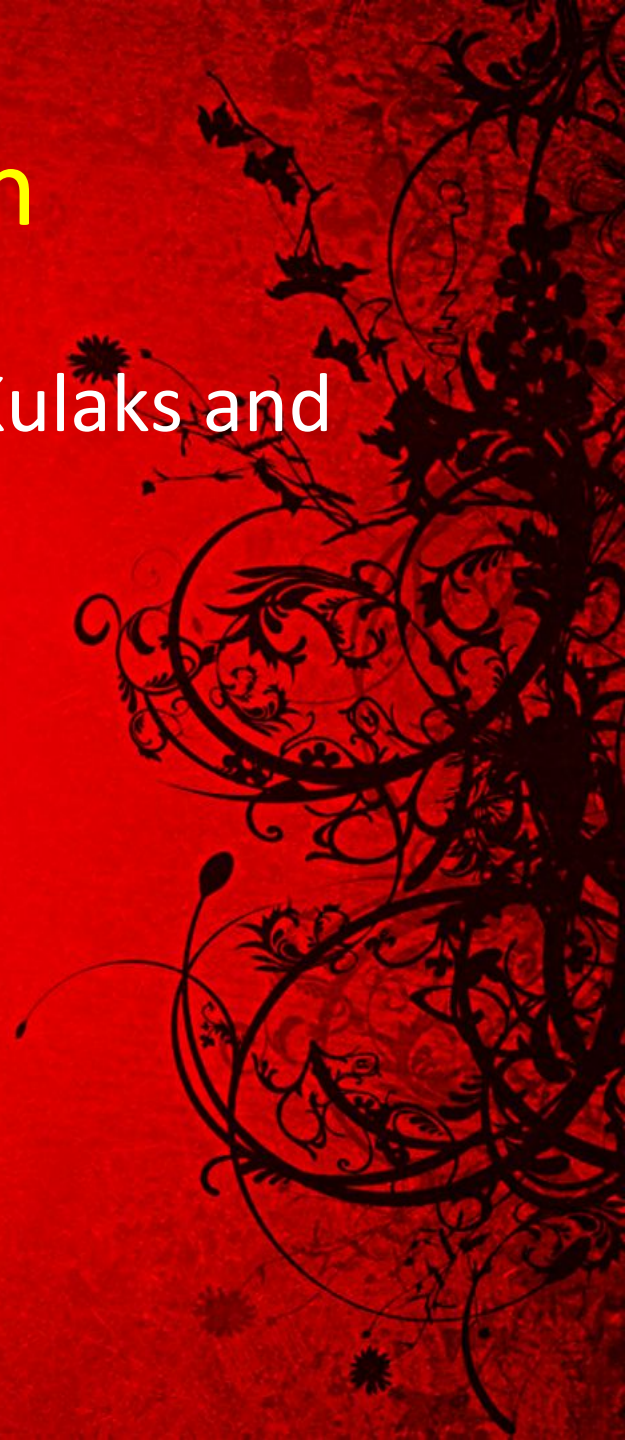


De-Kulakization

- Propaganda helped mislead the poorer peasants.
- Poorer peasants took this with great enthusiasm since it provided them with an excuse to settle old scores and to vent local jealousies.
- Land and property were seized from the minority of better-off peasants and they and their families were physically attacked.

De-Kulakization

- This led to the OGPU arresting Kulaks and deportation.



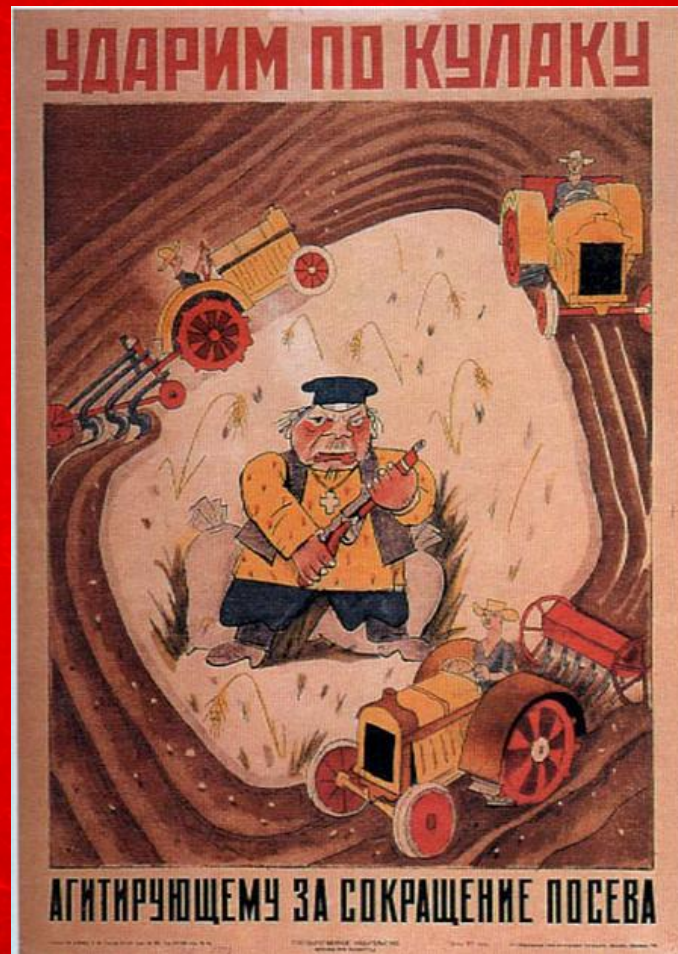
De-Kulakization Propaganda



De-Kulakization Propaganda



De-Kulakization Propaganda



Resistance to the Collectivization

- Peasants resisted at the beginning of the program. Which amounted in a civil war in the countryside.
- The scale of disturbances as in official figures:
 - During 1929 – 30 there were 30,000 arson attacks
 - The number of organized rural mass disturbances increased from 172 for the first half of 1929 to 229 in the second half.

Resistance to the Collectivization

- Lets look at source G, H, I on pages 34 and 35.



The Consequences of Collectivization

- Massive social upheaval
- Starvation
- Migration
- Conspiracy of silence so they wouldn't offend Stalin
- Human Suffering



Industrialization

- Stalin described his industrialization plans for the USSR as an attempt to establish a war economy.
- Soviet industrializaion under Stalin took form of Five-Year Plans (created by the Gosplan):
 - First FYP: Oct 1928 to Dec 1932
 - Second FYP: Jan 1933 to Dec 1937
 - Third FYP: Jan 1938 – Jun 1941
 - Fourth FYP: Jan 1946 – Dec 1950
 - Fith FYP: Jan 1951 – Dec 1955

The First Five Year Plan 1928-32

- The first five year plan was created to show what was to be achieved but not how to achieve it.
- It was created with simple targets to be achieved which led to local officials and managers to falsify information. This led to Stalin thinking the targets were achieved when in fact they had fallen short.

Stalin's industrial record

- Stalin's key products of coal, steel, oil and electricity provided the basis for the war economy. Which enabled the USSR to survive at war with Germany but to win a great victory over Germany.

Stalin's industrial record

- Stalin's industrial programme succeeded in the areas of heavy industry. The building of large projects such as factories, bridges, refineries and canals were impressive achievements.
- However, the Soviet economy itself remained unbalanced. Little attention was given to light engineering, which the advanced industrial nations were successfully developing. Stalin's love of what he called 'the Grand Projects of Communism' meant too little attention was paid to producing quality goods that could then be sold abroad.

Stalin's industrial record

- Stalin's schemes failed to raise the living standards of the Soviet workers. Indeed, such measures as directoin of labour and the imposition of severe penalites for slacking and absenteeism created harsher conditions for the workforce. In 1941, when the German invasion effectively destroyed the Third FYP, the living condistions of the Soviet industrial workers were lower than in 1928.

The Early Purges

- Please watch video.
- <http://www.history.com/topics/joseph-stalin/videos/stalins-purges>



Day 1 Jan 29, 2016 What will we learn today?

- The Early Purges
- Stalins methods of control
- The post-Kirov Purges 1934-36
- The Stalin Enrolment 1931-34
- 'The Great Terror', 1936-39
 - The purge of the party
 - The Purge of the armed forces
 - The Purge of the pople
- The Later Purges, 1941-53
 - The Doctors' Plot
 - Lack of resistance to the purges



The Early Purges

- The main focus of the early purges:
 - Consolidating and extending his authority
- This became the chief mechanism for removing anyone he regarded as a threat to his authority.

The Early Purges

- The Stalinist purges, which began in 1932, were not unprecedented. Public show trials had been held during the early stages of the First Five-Year Plan as a way of exposing 'saboteurs' who were accused of damaging the USSR's industrial program.
- Party purges were not as violent during the the early purges.

The Early Purges

- The Party Card – The official CPSU warrant granting membership and privileges to the holder. It was a prized possession in the Soviet Union.
- The Procedure was to oblige members to hand in their party card for checking, at which point any suspected members would not have their cards returned to them.

The Early Purges

- This meant that they was expelled from the party and denied any access to Party activities.
- This helped Stalin keep any opposition from forming against him in the party.
- The Ryutin Affair – in 1932, the followers of Ryutin a Right communist, published an attack on Stalin, describing him as ‘the evil genius who brought the Revolution to the verge of destruction’.

The Ryutin Affair - Background

- Martemyan Ryutin was an Old Bolshevik and a secretary of the Moscow City Communist Party Committee in the 1920s.
- He was a supporter of the moderate “Rightist” wing within the party led by Nikolai Bukharin and prime minister Alexi Rykov.
- When Nikolai and Alexi was defeated by Stalin he demoted them and demoted Ryutin.
- They was expelled from the Communist Party and six weeks later arrested.
- Jan 1931 Ryutin was released from jail and was allowed to rejoin the party but he still opposed Stalin but he did so silently.

The Ryutin Affair

- With Stalin firmly in control of the Communist party all dissent was punishable by immediate expulsion and exile.
- Ryutin decided to act in secret.
- In June 1932 he wrote a pamphlet entitled “Appeal to all members of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)”
- He also wrote a nearly 200 page document entitled “Stalin and the Crisis of the Proletarian Dictatorship”

The Ryutin Affair

- Ryutin called for the following:
 - An end to forced collectivization (“peace with the peasants”)
 - Industrialization to slow down
 - Reinstatement of all previously expelled Party members from the left and right wing (including Leon Trotsky)
 - A fresh start for all

The Ryutin Affair

- Four of the Platform's thirteen chapters was about Stalin's character:
 - The Gravedigger of the Revolution
 - The Evil genius of the Party and Revolution
 - Appeal – which was more inflammatory and arguing that Stalin must be removed by force
 - To Everywhere organize cells of the 'Union' to be joined under the banner of Leninism for the liquidation of the Stalin leadership.

The Ryutin Affair

- On 27th of September a hastily assembled Presidium of the Central Control commission was convened to investigate and deal with the Ryutin group.
- They authorized the OGPU “to uncover the still undetected members of Ryutin’s counterrevolutionary group”
- In the end 24 members was exelled from the party and banished from Moscow.
- Later this led to the execution of Ryutin.

The Early Purges

- With the Ryutinites failure this had convinced Stalin that organized resistance to him was still possible.
- Stalin's behavior went beyond reason and logic. Stalin was deeply suspicious by nature and suffered from increasing paranoia as he grew older.

Stalin's Methods of Control

- In the years 1933-1934, as an accompaniment to the purges, Stalin centralized all major law enforcement agencies:
 - The Civilian Police
 - Labour Camp commandants and the guards
 - Border and Security guards
- All the agencies was put under authority of the NKVD which only answered to Stalin.

The Post-Kirov purges, 1934-1936

- Kirov the secretary of the Leningrad Soviet was shot and killed in his office on December 1st, 1934.
- Possibility organized by Stalin to get rid of Kirov who had been a highly popular figure in the Party and had been elected to the Politburo.
- Kirov was unhappy with the speed of industrialization and the growing number of purges by Stalin.

The Post-Kirov purges, 1934-1936

- Stalin knew that if any opposition to him was to form in the party most likely Kirov would be the leader. Kirov could have rallied the dissatisfied members of the party to rally against Stalin.
- The danger to Stalin has now been removed.
- Stalin to use the assassination of Kirov to further his purges. He signed the Decree Against Terrorist Acts.

The Post-Kirov purges, 1934-1936

- The Decree Against Terrorist Acts – was used for hunting down the killers so a fresh purge of the Party had begun.
- Three thousand suspected conspirators were rounded up and imprisoned or executed and tens of thousands of other people were deported from Leningrad.
- Stalin of course filled the vacant positions with his own nominees:

The Post-Kirov purges, 1934-1936

- In 1935, Kirov's key post as Party boss in Leningrad was filled by Andrei Zhdanov, a dedicated Stalinist.
- The equivalent post in Mosco was taken by Nikita Khrushchev, another ardent Stalin supporter.
- In recognition of his successful courtroom bullying of 'oppositionists' in the earlier purge trials, Andrei Vyshinsky was appointed State Prosecutor

The Post-Kirov purges, 1934-1936

- Stalin's fellow Georgian, Lavrenti Beria, was entrusted with overseeing the state security in the national minority areas of the USSR.
- Stalin's personal secretary, Alexander Poskrebyshev, was put in charge of the Secretariat.
- This led to Stalin have control of every significant area of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Post-Kirov purges, 1934-1936

- This purge sent a clear message to the party members that no party member was safe from the purge. Money and status didn't matter anymore.
- Arbitrary arrest and summary execution became the norm, as the fate of the representatives at the party Congress of 1934 suggests:
 - Of the 1,996 delegates who attended, 1,108 were executed during the next three years.
 - In addition, out of the 139 Central Committee members elected at that gathering all but 41 were executed during the purges.

The Post-Kirov purges, 1934-1936

- Because of these purges the Soviet Communist Party was entirely under Stalin's control. Stalin became the Party.

The Stalin Enrolment 1931-1934

- The CPSU had recruited a higher proportion of skilled workers and industrial managers to join the party.
- Most joined the party to advance their careers.
- They were acutely aware that they owed their privileged position directly to Stalin.
- Stalin knew that the self-interest of these new Party members would keep them loyal to him.

'The Great Terror', 1936-39

- Soviet Union was in a state of siege. Stalin called for greater vigilance against the enemies within who were in league with the Soviet Union's foreign enemies.
- Between 1936 and 1939, a progressive terrorizing of the Soviet Union occurred affecting the whole population.
- Its scale merited the Title "The great terror"
- One-time heroes of the 1917 Revolution were imprisoned and public trials of was the most dramatic trials than before.
- In the end most was executed as enemies of the state.

'The Great Terror', 1936-39

- Stalin's 'Great Terror' program breaks down conveniently into three sections, which are:
 - The purge of the party
 - The purge of the armed services
 - The purge of the people

Stalin's establishment of an authoritarian state

- The Purge of the Party
- The Purge of the armed services
- The Purge of the people
- Later Purges, 1941-1953
 - The Doctors Plot
- The lack of resistance to the purges



The purge of the Party

- Stalin's destruction of those in the Party he regarded as a major threat was achieved by the holding of three major show trials:
 - In 1936, Kamenev and Zinoviev and fourteen other leading Bolsheviks were tried and executed.
 - In 1937, seventeen Bolsheviks were denounced collectively as the 'Anti-Soviet Trotskyist Centre', and were charged with spying for Germany. All but three of them were executed.
 - In 1938, Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and twenty others, branded 'Trotskyite-rightist', were publicly tried on a variety of counts, including sabotage, spying and conspiracy to murder Stalin: all were found guilty. Bukharin and Rykov were executed; Tomsky committed suicide.

The purge of the Party

- The legality of the purges
 - There is little doubt that Stalin had the power to conduct the purges without using legal proceedings.
 - However, by making the victims deliver humiliating confessions in open court, Stalin was able to suggest the scale of the conspiracy against him and thus to prove the need for the purges to continue.

The purge of the armed forces

- A particularly significant development in the purges occurred in 1937 when the Soviet military came under threat. Stalin's control of the Soviet Union would not have been complete if the armed services had continued as an independent force. It was essential that they be kept subservient.
- Stalin also had a lingering fear that the army, which had been Trotsky's creation, might be still have sympathy for their old leader.

The purge of the armed forces

- In May 1937, Vyshinsky, Stalin's chief prosecutor, announced that 'a gigantic conspiracy' had been uncovered in the Red Army.
- Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky. Who had been one of the founders of that army, was arrested along with seven other generals.
- Tukhachevsky was charged with having spied for Germany and Japan.

The purge of the armed forces

- The outcome was predetermined and after this determined outcome and confession they were shot in June 1937.
- During the following eighteen months:
 - All eleven **War Commissars** were removed from office.
 - Three of the five **Marshals of the Soviet Union** were dismissed.
 - Ninety-one of the 101-man Supreme Military Council were arrested, of whom 80 were executed.

The purge of the armed forces

- During the following eighteen months (continued):
 - Fourteen of the sixteen army commanders, and nearly two-thirds of the 280 divisional commanders were removed.
 - Up to 35,000 commissioned officers were either imprisoned or shot.
 - The Soviet Union's Navy did not escape: between 1937 and 1939 all the serving admirals of the fleet were shot and thousands of naval officers were sent to labor camps.
 - The Soviet Union's Air Force was similarly purged during that period: only one of its senior commanders survived.

The purge of the people

- Purges were used to achieve the goals of the FYPs; Charges of industrial sabotage were made against managers and workers in the factories.
- The purges were also a way of forcing the regions and nationalities into total subordination to Stalin.
- To accommodate the great numbers of prisoners created by the purges, the **Gulag**, a network of prison and labor camps, was established across the USSR.

The purge of the people

- The show trials that had taken place in Moscow and Leningrad, with their catalogue of accusations, confessions and death sentences, were repeated in all the republics of the USSR.
- For example, between 1937 and 1939 in Stalin's home state of Georgia:
 - Two state prime ministers were removed
 - Four-fifths of the regional Party secretaries were dismissed.
 - Thousands of lesser officials lost their posts.

The purge of the people – Mass repression

- Their greatest impact was on middle and lower ranks of Soviet society:
 - One person in every eight of the population was arrested during Stalin's purges.
 - Almost every family in the USSR suffered the loss of at least one of its members as a victim of the terror.
- In the years 1937-1938, mass repression was imposed. Known as the 'Yezhovschina', after its chief organizer Nicolai Yezhov.

Later purges, 1941-53

- The purges did not end with the onset of the Great Fatherland War in 1941 or with the coming of peace in 1945. They had become an integral part of the Stalinist system of government. After 1947, Stalin dispensed with the Central Committee and the Politburo, thus removing even the semblance of a restriction of his authority. In 1949, he initiated another Party purge, 'the Leningrad Affair'. Leading party and city officials were tried on charges of attempting to use Leningrad as opposition base and shot.

The Doctors' Plot

- Soviet Jews were the next section of the population to be selected for organized persecution. Anti-Semitism was a long-established aspect of Russian society and it was a factor in the last purge Stalin contemplated. Early in 1953 it was officially announced that a 'Doctors Plot' had been uncovered in Moscow; it was asserted that the Jewish-dominated medical center had planned to murder Stalin and other Soviet Leaders.

The Doctors' Plot

- Preparations began for a major assault on the Soviet medical profession. What prevented those preparations being put into operation was the death of Stalin in March 1953.

Lack of resistance to the purges

- Stalinism was not as monolithic a system of government as has been often assumed. The disorganized state of much of Soviet bureaucracy, particularly at local level, allowed officials to use their own initiative in applying the terror.
- How the purges were actually carried out largely depended on the local party organization. Many officials welcomed the purges as an opportunity to increase their local power.

Lack of resistance to the purges

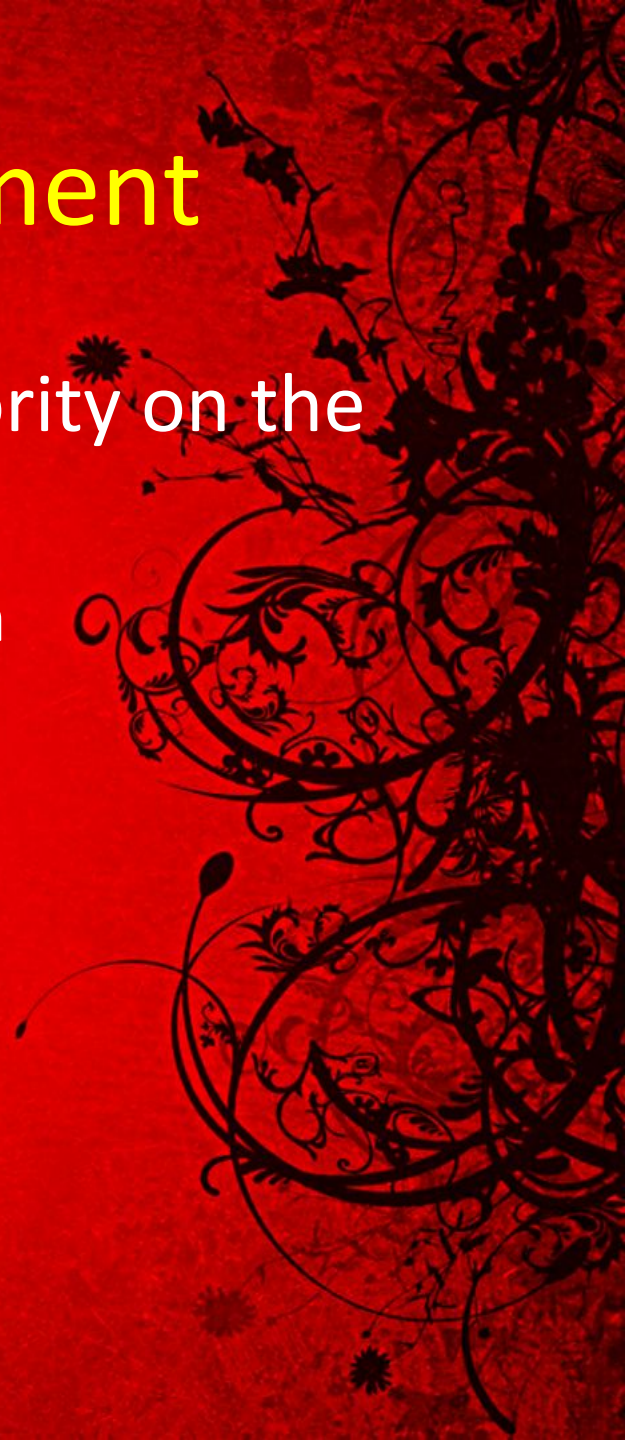
- Revolutionary idealism was swamped by self-interest as Party members saw the purges as a way of advancing themselves by filling the jobs vacated by the victims. This relates to an argument advanced by some historians that the purges were sustained in their ferocity by the lower rank officials in government and party who wanted to replace their superiors, whom they regarded as a conservative elite.

Lack of resistance to the purges

- The purges were popular with those in the soviet union who believed their country could survive only by being powerfully and ruthlessly led. Such people judged that Stalin's unrelenting methods were precisely what the nation needed.
- The disruption of Soviet Society, caused by upheavals of collectivization and industrialization, destroyed social cohesion and so encouraged Party and government officials to resort to the most extreme measures.

Formative Assessment

- How did Stalin impose his authority on the Soviet Union.
 - 1-2 pages answering this question
- Due date: Feb 16th, 2016



Stalin's domestic policies and their impact, 1929-53

Key question: What impact did Stalinism have on the lives of the Soviet people?

What will be talking about in this section?

- Arts and the media
 - Literature
 - Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn
 - Theatre and Film
 - Vsevolod Meyehold
 - Sergei Eisenstein
 - Painting and sculpture
 - Music



What will be talking about in this section?

- Stalin's cult of personality
 - The Stakhanovite movement
 - Stalin in Print
 - Konsomol
- Treatment of national minorities
- Religion
 - Religious Persecution
 - Worship of Stalin
 - Impact of the war on religious persecution
 - Post-war suppression



What will be talking about in this section?

- Education
 - Development of the elite
 - The nomenklatura
- The Status of women
 - Marriage
 - Changes in social policy
 - Women and equality
 - Impact of war on women's status



Arts and the media



Arts and the media - Literature

- In 1932, Stalin declared to a gathering of Soviet writers that they were 'engineers of the human soul'. Their task was essentially a social not artistic one. They had to reshape the thinking and behavior of the Soviet people.
- The goal of the artist had to be social realism*.
- *Social Realism - Representational work which related directly to the lives of the people.

Arts and the media - Literature

- It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Soviet Union of Writers* was formed in 1934 it declared that its first objective was to convince all its members of the need to struggle for socialist realism in their works.
- This could be best achieved by conforming to a set of guidelines.
- *Soviet Union of Writers – The body which had authority over all published writers and had the right to ban any work which it disapproved.

Arts and the media - Literature

- Writers were to make sure that their work:
 - Was acceptable to the Party in theme and presentation.
 - Was written in a style immediately understandable to the workers who would read it.
 - Contained characters whom the readers could recognize as socialist role models or examples for class enemies.
- These rules applied to all forms:
 - Novels
 - Plays
 - Poems
 - Film Scripts

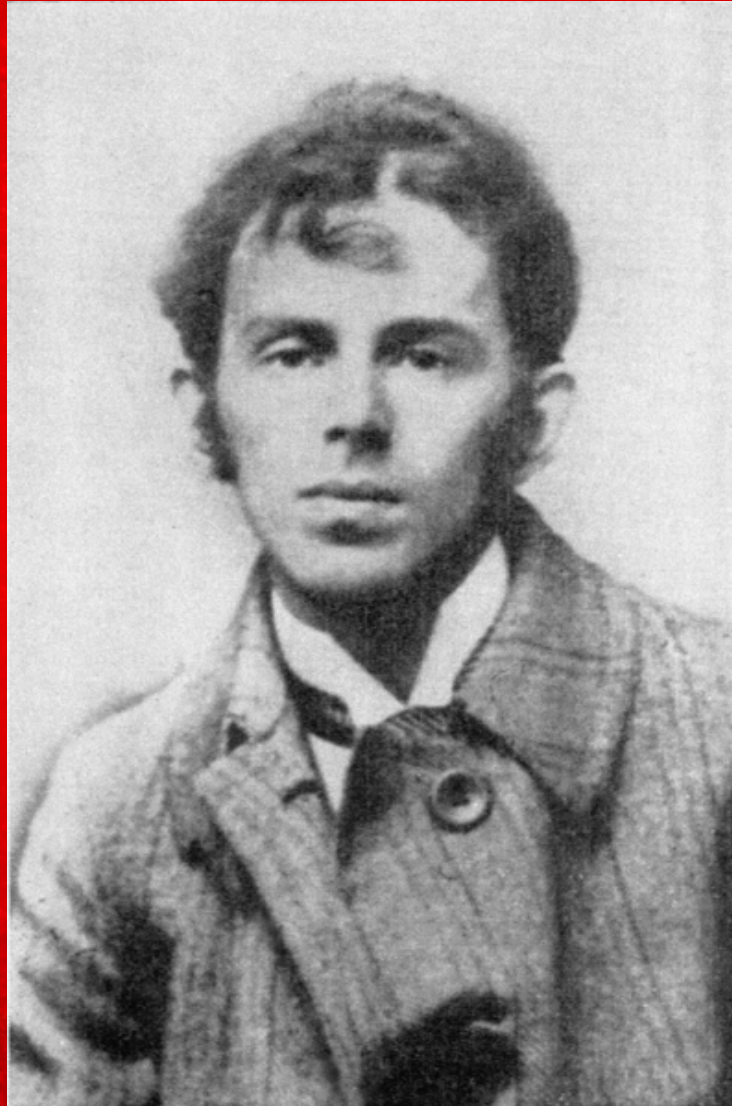
Arts and the media - Literature

- Surveillance and denunciations intensified throughout the 1930s. In such an intimidating atmosphere, suicides became common. Historian Robert Service notes in his biography of Stalin that 'more great intellectuals perished in the 1930s than survived'

Arts and the media - Literature

- In 1934, Osip Mandelstam, a leading literary figure, recited a mocking poem about Stalin at a private gathering of writers, which contained the lines 'Around him fawning half-men for him to play with, as he prates and points a finger'.
- He was informed on and died four years later in the Gulag. He once remarked, 'Only in Russia is poetry taken seriously, so seriously men are killed for it.'

Osip Mandelstam



Arts and the media - Literature

- Among the most prominent of the writers persecuted under Stalin were Boris Pasternak and Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Pasternak's works were regarded by the authorities as implicitly critical of the Soviet system and therefore unacceptable. His *Dr Zhivago*, a novel that later became greatly admired in the West, was refused publication in the USSR during his lifetime.

Arts and the media - Literature

- Solzhenitsyn, a deeply spiritual man, was regarded by the authorities as a subversive and spent many years in the gulag for falling foul of Stalin's censors. His documentary novels, such as *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* and *The Gulag Archipelago*, which was after Stalin's death, described the horrific conditions in the labor camps.

Arts and the media – Theater and Film

- The Union of Writers set the tone for all other organizations in the arts. Film-making, opera and ballet, all had to respond to the Stalinist demand for socialist realism. Abstract forms were frowned upon because they broke the rules that works should be immediately accessible to the public.

Arts and the media – Theater and Film

- An idea of repression that operated can be gained from the following figures:
 - In the years 1936-37, 68 films out of 150 had to be withdrawn mid-production and another 30 taken out of circulation.
 - In the same period, ten out of nineteen plays and ballets were ordered to be withdrawn.
 - In 1937-38 theater season, 60 plays were banned from performance and 10 theaters closed in Moscow and another 10 in Leningrad.

Arts and the media – Painting and Sculpture

- Painters and sculptors were left in no doubt as to what was required of them. Their duty to conform to socialist realism in their style and at the same time honor their great leader was captured in an article in the art magazine *Iskustvo* describing a prize painting of Stalin in 1948: “The image of Comrade Stalin is the symbol of the Soviet people’s glory, calling for new heroic exploits for the benefit of our great motherland.”

Arts and the media – Music

- Since music is an essentially abstract art form, it was more difficult to make composers respond to Stalin's notions of social realism. Nevertheless, it was the art form which most interested Stalin, who regarded himself as an expert in the field. He claimed to be able to recognize socialist music and to know what type of song would inspire the people.

Stalin's cult of personality



Stalin's cult of personality

- One of the strongest charges made against Stalin after his death was that he had indulged in the cult of personality*.
- He had certainly dominated every aspect of Soviet life, becoming not simply a leader but the embodiment of the nation itself.
- From the 1930s on, his picture appeared everywhere.
- *Cult of personality – A consistent use of mass propaganda to promote the idea of the leader as an ideal, heroic figure, elevated above ordinary people and politics.

Stalin's cult of personality – Stalin in Print

- Stalin's wisdom and brilliance was extolled daily in the official Soviet newspapers. Hardly an article appeared in any journal that did not include the obligatory reference to his greatness.
- Children learned from their earliest moments to venerate Stalin as the provider of all good things. There was no textbooks in any subject that did not laud the virtues of Stalin the master builder of the soviet nation and inspiration to his people.

Stalin's cult of personality – Konsomol

- A particularly useful instrument for the spread of Stalinist propaganda was Konsomol*, a youth movement which had begun in Lenin's time but was created as a formal body in 1926 under the direct control of the CPSU
- *Konsomol – The Soviet Communist Union of Youth

Stalin's cult of personality – Konsomol

- Among its main features were the following:
 - It was open to those ages between 14 and 28, with a Young Pioneer movement for those under 14.
 - It pledged itself totally to Stalin and the Party. (In this regard it paralleled the Hitler Youth in Germany)
 - Membership was not compulsory but its attraction for young people was that it offered them the chance of eventual full membership of the CPSU.
 - It grew from 2 million members in 1927 to 10 million in 1940.

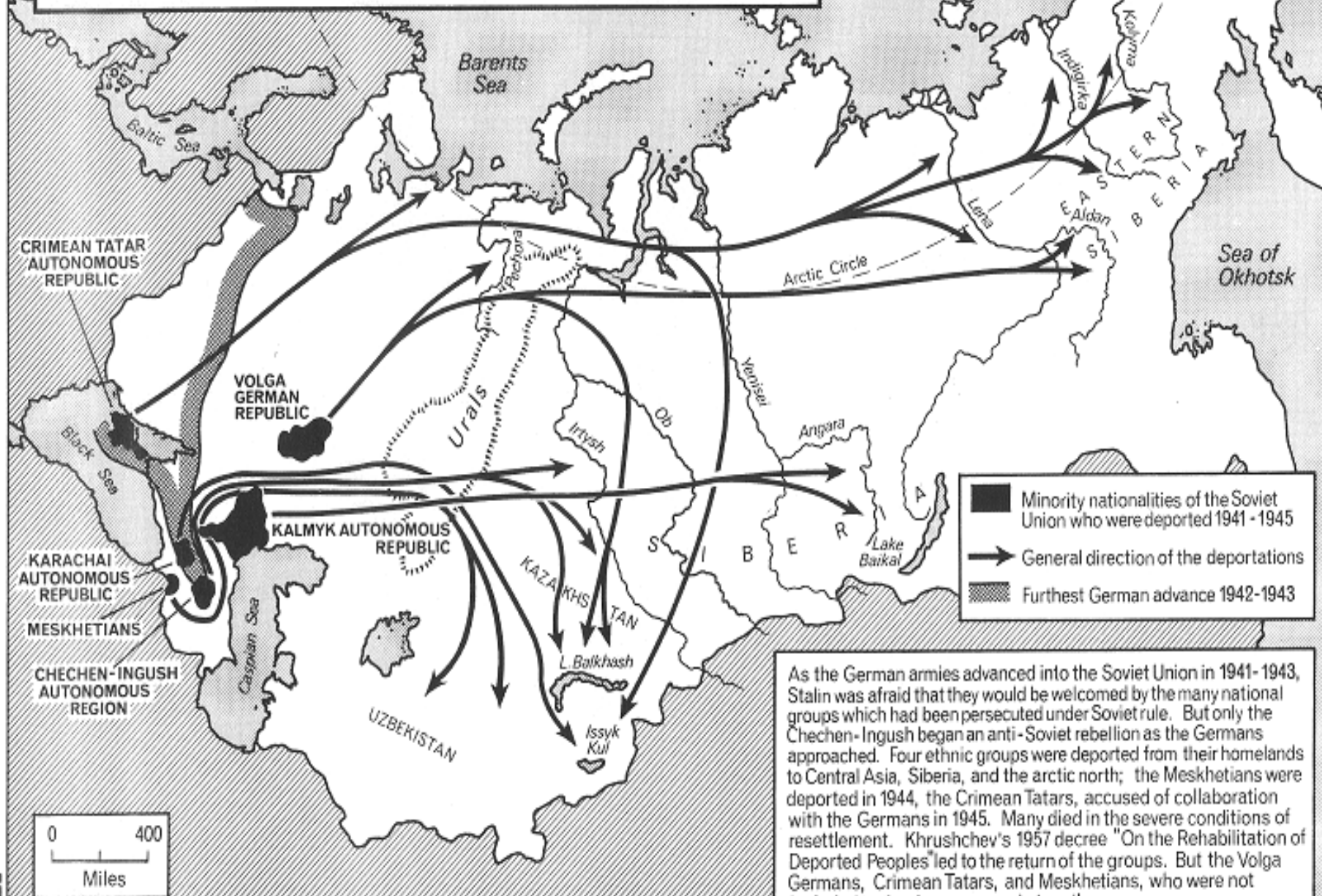
Treatment of national minorities



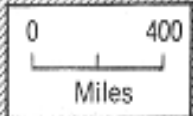
Treatment of national minorities

- Outstanding examples of this were:
 - In 1940, the takeover of the Baltic states (Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia) and of Bukovina and Bessarabia resulted in 2 million being deported, the majority of whom died.
 - In 1941, after the outbreak of war, Stalin, anxious to prevent the peoples of the western region of the USSR from actively supporting the invading German armies, ordered the deportation to Siberia of various national groups, including Kalmyks, Ukrainians, Chechens, Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans; the deportations led to the deaths of one-third of the 4 million involved.

THE SOVIET DEPORTATION OF NATIONALITIES 1941 - 1945



As the German armies advanced into the Soviet Union in 1941-1943, Stalin was afraid that they would be welcomed by the many national groups which had been persecuted under Soviet rule. But only the Chechen-Ingush began an anti-Soviet rebellion as the Germans approached. Four ethnic groups were deported from their homelands to Central Asia, Siberia, and the arctic north; the Meskhetians were deported in 1944, the Crimean Tatars, accused of collaboration with the Germans in 1945. Many died in the severe conditions of resettlement. Khrushchev's 1957 decree "On the Rehabilitation of Deported Peoples" led to the return of the groups. But the Volga Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetians, who were not included in the decree, remain in exile



Religion



Religion – Religious Persecution

- Stalin shared Lenin's notion that religious faith had no place in a communist society. Religion, with its other-worldly values, was seen as an affront to the collective needs of the nation.
- In 1928, a campaign to close the churches was begun. The Russian Orthodox Christian Church was the main target but all religions and denominations were at risk.

Religion – Religious Persecution

- Clerics who refused to co-operate were arrested; thousands in Moscow and Leningrad were sent into exile.
- The suppression of religion in the urban areas proved a fairly straightforward affair. It was a different story in the countryside. The destruction of the rural churches and confiscation of relics and icon was most peasants had in their homes led to revolts in many areas.

Religion – Religious Persecution

- The response from authorities was to declare that those who opposed the restrictions on religion were really doing so in order to resist collectivization.
- This allowed the requisition squads to brand the religious protesters as Kulaks and to seize their property.
- Stalin ended up instructing his officials to call a halt but that was only temporary.

Religion – Religious Persecution

- In the late 1930s, as part of the Great Terror, the assault on religion was renewed:
 - 800 Higher clergy and 4,000 ordinary priests were imprisoned, along with many thousands of ordinary worshippers.
 - By 1940, only 500 churches were open for worship in the Soviet Union 1 percent of the figure for 1917

Religion – Worship of Stalin

- With the Soviet denunciation of religious faith, the authorities were not above using the residually powerful religious sense of the people to promote Stalin's image.
- Stalin became the icon for religion!
- The best way to sum this up was when a French visitor, present at one of these processions in Moscow's Red Square, was staggered by the sight of a fly over of planes all trailing huge portraits of Stalin. "My God!" he exclaimed. "Exactly, Monsieur", said his Russian guide.

Religion – Impact of war on religious persecution

- The war against Germany and its allies, which began for the Soviet Union in June 1941, brought a respite in the persecution of the churches.
- Stalin and the government used religion to rally the people to go to war.
- Using sayings such as:
 - Holy Russia
 - Godless Invaders

Religion – Post-war

- After the war the state and church continued to work together to bring the people closer.
- With Stalin's death in 1953, 25,000 churches had reopened along with a number of monasteries and seminaries.
- The Church then became an arm of government to make sure religion did not become a source for political opposition.

Education



Education

- Stalin believed that a first step in modernizing the USSR was to spread literacy. To this end, formal education was made a priority, with these key features:
 - Ten years of compulsory schooling for all children aged 5 to 15
 - Core curriculum specified reading and writing, maths, science, history, geography, Russian language and Marxist theory.
 - State-prescribed textbooks to be used

Education

- To this end, formal education was made a priority, with these key features:
 - Homework to be a regular requirement
 - State-organized tests and examinations
 - School uniforms made compulsory
 - Fees to be charged for the last three years (ages 15 to 18) of non-compulsory secondary schooling.

Education – Development of an elite

- Those who stayed on at school after the age of fifteen were obviously young people of marked ability who would eventually enter university to become the specialists of the future.
- This was undeniably a selection process, but the argument was that it was selection by ability, not by class.
- As a consequence, as university education expanded, it was Party members or their children who had the first claim on the best places.

Education – Nomenklatura

- This enhanced Stalin's power by creating a nomenklatura* that had every motive for supporting him.
- The poet, Osip Mandelstam (remember he died in the gulag for his works) described this precisely. "A thin layer of privileged people gradually came into being with "packets*"". Those who had been granted a share of the cake eagerly did everything asked of them."
- *Nomenklatura – The Soviet "establishment" – privileged officials who ran the party and government.
- *Packets – special benefits such as villas and cars.

The status of women



The status of women - Marriage

- Under Lenin's the Bolsheviks had made divorce easier and had attempted to liberate women from bondage of children and family.
- By the end of 1930s, the Soviet divorce rate was the highest in Europe – one divorce for every two marriages. Stalin seen this as a failure and made changes to the old policies.
- Lots of children was orphaned because of the high divorce rate which concerned Stalin that he needed to to reestablish family structures.

The status of women – Changes in social policy

- His first major move came in June 1936 with a decree that reversed much of earlier Bolshevik social policy:
 - Unregistered marriages were no longer recognized
 - Divorce was made more difficult
 - The right to abortion was severely restricted
 - The family was declared to be the basis of Soviet society
 - Homosexuality was outlawed.

The status of women – Changes in social policy

- Conscious of both the falling birth rate and how many people were dying in the Great Fatherland War, the authorities introduced measures in July 1944 reaffirming the importance of family in the USSR and giving incentives to women to have large numbers of children:
 - Restrictions on divorce were further tightened
 - Abortion was totally outlawed
 - Mothers with more than two children were declared to be ‘heroines of the Soviet Union’.
 - Heavier taxes were imposed on parents with fewer than two children.
 - The right to inherit family property was reestablished.

The status of women – Women and Equality

- One group that certainly felt they had lost out were the female members of the Party and the intelligentsia*, who had welcomed the Russian Revolution as the beginning of female liberation.
- However, the structures on sexual freedom under Stalin, and the emphasis on family and motherhood, allowed little room for the notion of the independent female.
- *Persons of influence in the intellectual world; for example academics and writers.

The status of women – Impact of war on women's status

- There were individual cases of women gaining in status and income in Stalin's time. However, these were in a small minority and were invariably unmarried or childless women. Married women with children carried a double burden.
- The great demand for labor that accompanied Stalin's industrialization drive required that women join the workforce.

The status of women – Impact of war on women's status

- They now had to fulfill two roles: as mothers raising the young and as workers contributing to the modernization of the Soviet Union.
- This imposed great strains upon them, markedly so during the war of 1941-1945. The loss of men at the front and desperate need to keep armaments factories running meant that women became indispensable. In 1936 there had been 9 million women in the industrial workforce. By 1945 the number risen to 15 million.

The status of women – Impact of war on women's status

- The clear conclusion is that, for all the Soviet talk of women's progress under Stalinism, the evidence suggests that they were increasingly exploited. It is hard to dispute the conclusion of the distinguished scholar, Geoffrey Hosking, that 'the fruits of female emancipation became building blocks of the Stalinist neopatriarchal* social system'.
- *neopatriarchal – A new form of male domination.

Stalin's Foreign Policy

Key question: How did Stalin use foreign policy to strengthen his position in the Soviet Union?

Stalin's Foreign Policy

- Stalin's prime purpose in his foreign policy was to safeguard his position as Soviet leader.
- Stalin had a constant fear, amounting at times to paranoia, that the outside world was determined to attack the USSR.
- He knew that his power at home could easily be broken if the USSR was to suffer a major invasion or military defeat.

Stalin's Foreign Policy

- Consequently, compromise, rather than confrontation, was the guiding principle of his foreign policy.
- There is, therefore, an important distinction to be made between the theory and the practice of Soviet foreign policy under Stalin:
 - Judged by its propaganda, the USSR was pledged to the active encouragement of worldwide revolution. The Comintern existed for this very purpose.

Stalin's Foreign Policy

- There is, therefore, an important distinction to be made between the theory and the practice of Soviet foreign policy under Stalin:
 - However, in practice, Stalin did not regard the Soviet Union as strong enough to sustain a genuinely revolutionary foreign policy. He made his first task the survival of the Revolution in the Soviet Union itself.
- The Comintern continued to have a role under Stalin but it was limited to protecting the USSR. Far from being the vanguard of international communism, the Comintern became a branch of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Stalin's Foreign Policy, 1933-1945

Socialism in One Country



Socialism in One Country

- Stalin conducted foreign policy in accordance with his basic principle of 'Socialism in One Country'.
- Having defeated Trotsky in the power struggle by emphasizing that his opponent's call for the Soviet Union to lead international revolution put the nation at risk, Stalin kept to that principle.

The Nazi Threat

- Stalin's defensiveness made him initially slow to understand the Nazi threat.
- Even after Hitler came to power in 1933, Stalin tried to maintain the Treaty of Rapallo*, an existing Soviet-German alliance.
- *Treat of Rapallo – Provided German forces with training grounds in the USSR in return for trading rights in Germany.

The Nazi Threat

- However, the following development convinced Stalin that Nazi Germany was a deadly menace:
 - Violent Nazi attacks upon the German Communist Party.
 - Open talk among German diplomats of their country's expanding into the USSR.
 - Nazi propaganda against the Soviet Union and its communism

The Nazi Threat

- Soviet Foreign policy until 1939 was primarily concerned with finding allies to nullify the German danger.
- One of the fruits of joining the League of Nations in 1934 was an agreement between the USSR, France and Czechoslovakia in 1935, promising 'mutual assistance' if one of the partners suffered military attack.
- However, Europe's two most powerful states, France and Britain, were not prepared to risk war to uphold the principle of collective security*.
- *Collective Security – Nations acting together to protect individuals states form attacks.

The Anti-Comintern Pact, 1936

- The year 1936 saw the creation of the Anti-Comintern Pact.
- Formed by Germany, Italy and Japan, it carried a clear threat of two-front attack on the Soviet Union's European and east Asian borders.
- Stalin reacted by redoubling his efforts to obtain allies, but the plain fact was that the Soviet Union was not trusted.

The Munich Agreement, 1938

- Stalin's anxiety in foreign affairs was increased in the autumn of 1938 by the Munich Agreement, signed by the leaders of Britain, France, Italy and Germany.
- Hitler had demanded that the Sudetenland, an area which in 1919 had been incorporated into Czechoslovakia, be allowed to become part of Germany.
- He had threatened invasion if his requirements were not met. Neither Britain nor France was prepared to resist him militarily. The Munich Agreement granted all his major demands.

The Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1939-1941

- In August 1939, the impossible happened. The two deadly enemies, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, came together in a formal pact.
- Attached to the agreement was a 'Secret Additional Protocol', in which it was agreed that the Soviet Union could make territorial and political adjustments regarding states on its western border, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and parts of Poland and Romania.

The Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1939-1941

- Within a month of Germany's occupying Poland in September 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union had carved up Poland between them.
- Shortly afterwards, the other regions were occupied and annexed, except for Finland which fought for its independence.
- The Nazi-Soviet Pact seemed to defy history and logic. However, there was a rationale to this remarkable change in Soviet foreign policy.
- Given the real threat that Germany presented and the indifference of France and Britain to his offers of a defensive alliance. Stalin felt he had been left no alternative. He had attempted to end the danger from Germany by the only move that international circumstances still allowed – an alliance with Germany.

Results of the Pact

- Within two years of the Pact, the Soviet union had regained all the territories it had lost as result of the First World War.
- This, added to the Pact's ten-year guarantee of peace with Germany, seemed to justify the description of it in Stalinist propaganda as a diplomatic masterstroke that had safeguarded Soviet security and thus fulfilled Stalin's chief objective in foreign policy.
- He was thus wholly unprepared for Germany's attack when it was launched in June 1941.

The Second World War and Stalin's Authority

- Grand Alliance – Primarily Britain, the US and the USSR, during the Second World War

The Second World War and Stalin's Authority

- Satellites – Smaller states that are dependent on a larger state for economic, diplomatic and military assistance, often in alliance.

Map showing Soviet Expansion 1939-1949



Stalin's Legacy

- If any one individual can be said to have shaped, indeed to have personified, the Cold War, it was Joseph Stalin. His legacy in foreign affairs includes the following:
 - **The Soviet occupation of eastern Europe**, which increased the USSR's territory to an unprecedented extent.
 - **Crisis over Germany**: Stalin determined that never again should Germany be in a position to threaten the USSR, hence his refusal to contemplate the reunification of Germany, a decision that helped define the Cold War.

Stalin's Legacy

- **The Nuclear Issue:** A month before using them against Japan in August 1945, the Americans had informed Stalin that they had produced the world's first atomic bombs. He immediately resolved that the USSR had to match this. The result was that, in September 1949, Soviet scientists detonated an atomic bomb. The USSR was now a nuclear nation. As the Stalinist propaganda machine was swift to point out, the Soviet Union under its great leader had become a superpower, a truth re-emphasized in 1953 when the Soviet Union again caught up with the USA by manufacturing a hydrogen bomb.

Stalin's Legacy

- **The China question:** In October 1949, only a week after Soviet achievement, Mao Zedong established the People's Republic of China. In Western eyes, there now existed a vast communist alliance stretching from eastern Europe to the China Seas. But Mao's China and Stalin's USSR were never true allies.

Stalin's Legacy

- **The continuing Cold War:** Some commentators have suggested that Stalin's most enduring legacy was the Cold War, a result of his never fully understanding the Western Position. Yet there was also a Soviet victory over Germany and the emergence of Stalin as an outstanding world statesman, the USSR in 1945 felt more vulnerable than at any time since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Summative

- **Individual Project: A3 Paper size**
 - Stalin's Rise to Power - George
 - Stalin's Establishment of an Authoritarian state - Vio
 - Stalin's domestic policies and their impact - Hassan
 - Stalin's Foreign Policy - Raidho
 - Stalin's Youth - Mitha
 - Stalin's life before and during the Bolshevik revolution - Manu
 - Stalin's Death - Erika
- **Group Project: Stalins life 15 mins – 20 mins**
- **Due Date: discuss later**