

Week 1

- Review the Learning Goals and Objectives
- Review the Key Names & Terms for this week
- READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, chapter 1
- VIEW: The Imperial Legacy: Empire and Monarchy (video, 14:23)
- VIEW: The Imperial Legacy: Economy and Society (video, 15:05)
- Analyze: The Empire that was Russia (collection of photographs)
- Analyze: The Physical and Human Geography of the Soviet Union (maps)
- Take a Practice Quiz for Week 1
- Participate in your first seminar on Zoom on Monday September 13

Learning Goals

- familiarize students with the existing scholarship on Soviet history
- sharpen awareness of the dynamic nature of historical knowledge and scholarship
- encourage students to think critically about historical scholarship and interpretation
- deepen your understanding of the variety of historical approaches, methods, and genres of historical writing
- refine your ability to communicate ideas clearly, accurately, and effectively

Key Terms

- Autocracy - a system of government where one person has absolute power
- “estates” (soslovie) - a way of dividing the population by their social standing
- Duma - the first voting system established by Tsar Nicholas II
- Russian intelligentsia - the class of Russians in which their education and social standing allowed them to practically pursue a position in the political leadership

Questions while reading Suny

- What was the social structure of the Russian Empire before 1917? What were the main social categories (peasant, etc.) What was the relative weight of each group within the population?
- What is the difference between soslovie (estate) and class?
- What was the nature of the Russian economy before 1917? How industrialized was the Russian Empire? Where were the main centres of industry?
- How urbanized was the Russian Empire?
- How literate was the population? Who was literate?
- What were the larger economic and social trends affecting the Empire?

Intro video

1. Revolutionaries saw themselves as part of a revolutionary tradition globally
2. Bolsheviks came to power in 1917
3. Promised peace, land, food, social justice, democracy and equality
4. Soviet Union had a grip on the global political imagination
5. The Soviet Union became a mirror of the dreams of people, and a belief in the perfectibility of people and social progress
6. This idea becomes more powerful during the great depression
7. Some people came to the Soviet Union as pilgrims
8. For others, it was a threat to freedom and an agent of destruction and violence
9. The archives opened up in the late 1980s

10. Been a rethinking of Soviet history
 - a. Used to be dominated by the concept of totalitarianism and cold war discourse
 - b. Studied the way the state-controlled the population
 - c. A more complicated picture than totalitarianism has emerged from the opening of the archives
 - d. In the totalitarian model, the focus was on the top of the political structure, the population was portrayed as passive objects of the state
 - e. Archives give a view of how people responded to the situation and the interactions between the state and its people
11. There were discoveries of personal diaries of people
 - a. These give a glimpse into a different way of thinking
12. Examine the first two decades as an experiment for the construction of a socialist state, the nature of revolution, history from above and below
13. The study of the soviet union is still relatively new, and mostly focuses on urban educated experience
 - a. Rural population research is generic or simplistic
 - b. Little research has been done on non-Russians
14. Three things to ask
 - a. There is no single soviet experience
 - b. Be careful about viewing the past from the lens of the present
 - c. Come to the subject with an open mind
15. No final exam, only essays, quizzes, participation

Video - The Imperial Legacy, Empire and Monarchy

1. The Russian Empire was the largest country in the world in 1913
2. The Russian Empire was larger than the soviet union and Russia today
3. The population was 166 million, larger than today, twice the size of the US or Germany
4. Russia had territory expanded in places adjacent to itself, rather than going overseas like other Europeans
5. Over 100 different ethnic groups
6. Most of the population did not move to Russia, the Russian state came to then
7. Central Russia was more densely populated and was primarily orthodox
8. Siberia was concerned in the 16th century and remained sparsely populated
9. Western borderland was awarded in the 17th and 18th centuries (Ukraine, Poland etc)
10. Before 1917 it had the largest population of jews
11. Baltic territories were acquired in the 18th century (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia)
12. Caucus was claimed in the early 19th century (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan)
13. The second half of the 19th century it expanded into Central Asia, south of the Caspian sea touching Persia and Afghanistan

Russian Imperial Army

1. Since the 17th century, it had been a great power
2. Largest standing army
3. The military allowed it to expand and maintain the empire
4. Army subdued domestic threats
5. Only integrated and integrating force before 1917

6. The language was Russian, and conscription was mandatory for men
7. Because of the huge losses in ww1 in the first year, the ranks were filled with untrained recruits
8. It was a monarchy and an autocracy
9. Illegal to talk about changing the system
10. Until 1905 there were no limitations on the power of the tsar
11. Policy was left up to the monarch
12. Tsar Nicholas II was weak and stubborn and jealous to delegate
13. 1905 he was forced to make some political concessions and created a Duma
14. Powers of the Duma were very limited and Tsar had a veto
15. June 1907 he changed the electoral laws to exclude troublesome groups
16. Although in principle he had power, it was not well organized or efficient
 - a. Disconnect between the center and local administration
 - b. Bureaucracy was chronically understaffed
 - c. Provincial officials had wide-ranging responsibilities, but little power on the ground
 - d. Population outside of cities had a great deal of autonomy
 - e. Interactions with the state were limited, and almost always negative
17. Coercion and force were the preferred methods for dealing with uprisings or dissent
18. The Russian Empire was far from a cohesive society
19. Political movements found it difficult to build a broad base of support
20. It was difficult to mobilize on a large scale with all the differences

The Imperial Legacy - The economy and society

1. In 1914 the Russian empire was overwhelmingly agrarian
2. 90% lived in the countryside
3. Huge regional differences
 - a. Central Russia had low actual yields, and farming was communal, no private land
 - b. South/Steppe - richest land, grain was being exported, dominated by small scale farming and large commercial farming
4. The industry was a smaller sector, but they initiated an industrial drive
5. The state encouraged foreign investment, had some success
6. By ww1 it was a great world economic power
7. Textiles were the largest sector of the industrial economy

Economy

1. Growing mining and metallurgical industry, produced half the output of the textile industry

Social Structure

1. Soslovie - estates
2. In 1914 it was a society of orders/ranks/estates
3. Class is linked to the economic position, the estate is linked to social position
4. Estate determined one's rights and privileges
5. The top had the Russian nobility 1%
 - a. Exclusive right to own land
 - b. Dominated the structure of the bureaucracy and the officer class of the army
6. Merchants and craftsmen

7. Clergy - orthodox priests could marry, have wives and families, became a perpetuating class
8. Small growing class of industrial workers, skilled or unskilled, about 3 million
9. Mass of the population were peasants 80% of the population
 - a. They were second class citizens
 - b. Paid taxes
10. The rural Russian class was more complex
11. Cossacks - special estate
 - a. Lived on the southern frontier in military colonies
 - b. They took pride in services but had autonomy and self-government
 - c. Certain aspects of this were still used until 1917
12. Duma had a routine in curias, weighted in favour of the nobility and against peasants
13. It was a society in the middle of profound change
14. None of the trends were unique to Russia

Trend 1 - Population Explosion

1. Population doubles from 1858-1900
2. 142 million people by 1914
3. The population was growing rapidly
4. Coupondrate was 2-3x higher than the rest of Europe
5. This was happening without an increase in resources
6. Created an ugly mood in the countryside

Trend 2 - Growing literacy

1. In 1914 it was a semi-literate educated society
2. Linked to the industrialization drive 44% of children were receiving some primary education ($\frac{1}{3}$ were girls)
3. Further west the more educated they were
4. Urban was more educated than rural
5. Rural literacy was 17% urban was 45%
6. After 1905 press censorship eased, so more people were reading it
7. Newspaper readership was in cities
8. University population was growing rapidly

Trend 3 - Urbanization

1. 1960 urban population was 6 million, rose to 18 million by 1914
2. St Petersburg was the largest city and the capital
3. The rate of growth was twice that of population increase overall
4. People were coming in from the countryside but many maintained ties with home
5. Employment in cities was not stable or secure
6. Unskilled labourers lived in great poverty so there was an increased social dislocation

The Photographer: Sergei Prokudin-Gorskii

- What image of the Russian Empire did Prokudin-Gorskii want to present to the "schoolchildren" of the Russian Empire?
 - Can you match the photos with a particular region of the Russian Empire?
1. He was given passes to travel around the country and document Russia from 1907 through 1915

2. He left Russia during the revolution in 1918

Thoughts on Suny

1. It makes large generalizations about the commune, despite that there were very different climates and systems in different parts of the country

Seminar

1. 1917-1939 - just before revolution up to the second world war
2. First large scale example of revolutionary socialism
3. Focus mainly on the other stuff, not suny for the seminars
4. Suny is the wallpaper
5. Starting in the third week the quiz will count
6. Can take it twice
7. First essay is a source analysis - the sources are required readings in the course, due oct 16, 6-8pgs
8. Second essay is a big question - synthesize what we have learned in this course, question posted after reading week
9. Come to every seminar with a question for us to talk about

Week 2

- Review the Key Names & Terms for this week
- READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, chapter 2—68-88
- READ: Proclamation of the Provisional Government, March 2, 1917
- VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Socialism and Revolution (video, 18:30)
- VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Revolution from Below (video, 11:00)
- Look at pictures
- READ: Revolution on the Volga
- VIEW: FAKE NEWS!: The staged photo that changed the image of the Russian Revolution (video, 4:35)
- DO: Take the practice quiz for Week 2 (available until Sept. 20)
- Participate in your seminar - emailed to move to 2 pm

Key Names and Terms

- February Revolution
- Provisional Government
- Constituent Assembly
- Soviet = Council
- Petrograd Soviet
- Army Order No. 1
- Vladimir Ili'ch Ulianov = Lenin
- What is to be Done? (1902)
- Bolsheviks/ Mensheviks
- Socialist Revolutionaries
- April Theses
- October Revolution

Questions for Suny

- What triggered the February Revolution? How did the Tsarist government respond to the February crisis, and what were the results of its response? What was the tipping point, according to Suny?
- What does Suny mean when he says that 1917 was "actually a series of overlapping revolutions"?
- Explain the relationship between the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet in March 1917.
- According to Suny, what was the essence of Lenin's "April Theses"?
- Explain what Suny says about the significance of the following in early summer 1917: the Kerensky Offensive, inflation and food shortages, the debate over state regulation of the economy
- How does Suny explain Lenin's strategy in October 1917?
- What is Suny's thesis in this chapter?

Questions for Sara Badcock

- Why did news of the February Revolution travel so slowly and unevenly?
- Why were rural areas at a particular disadvantage?
- How did news of the Revolution spread? What were the channels of communication?
- What role did rumour play in 1917?
- What were the differences between elite and popular discourse in 1917?

Lecture - Socialism and Revolution

1. There is a tendency to read history backwards and to focus on the winners, like Lenin
2. Bolsheviks were just one of many revolutionary groups
3. Not even the best known or most popular groups
4. Politics was illegal before 1905
5. Illegal for a private individual to talk about changing the political system
6. That means any talk of political change made you a revolutionary
7. The movement can be dated to the 1960s and the great reforms
8. Terms of the emancipation were unfavourable to the peasantry, as they remained second class citizens and had to repay the state for their land
9. Individuals denounced the reforms as a giant hoax

Russian Radicals

1. The Russian intelligentsia was the center of the Russian revolution
 - a. Individuals who were opposed to the established order
 - b. Included writers, artists, and various professionals
 - c. Some were more inclined to reform rather than bringing down the monarchy
2. The number of universities and number of students was increasing
3. Universities and polytechnics were a hotbed of radicalism and politics
4. First-generation revolutionaries were socialists and anarchists

Anarchists Marxists and social democrats

1. All had in common was a commitment to equality, democracy and shared prosperity
2. The problem for socialists everywhere was how to create this free egalitarian society
3. 1860-the 1880s they were associated with anarchism
 - a. Two of the most known revolutionaries were Russian

- b. Wanted to replace the state with a self-managed society
- 4. Very little space to build socialism from below
 - a. They were hostile to any civil society
- 5. Going to the people movement - 1874
 - a. Privileged cities fold went to the farms and small villages
 - b. Authorities were suspicious of this and arrested them

Revolutionary Terror

1. Thought meaningful change was not effective
2. March 1 1881 attempted assassination of tsar
3. Looked to scientific socialism for a solution - believed that Russia was getting caught up in a capitalist economy
4. Marxists viewed capitalism as inevitable
5. Marxism claimed to understand the future and the view of history
6. They thought the working class was going to bring change, a crazy thought in a country that was still mostly agrarian peasants
7. Before 1917 the biggest party was the socialist revolutionaries (sr) and they were oriented towards peasantry and the redistribution of land
8. There were many different social democrats
9. Russian social democrats came to be part of a big tent party
10. Lenin and the bolsheviks believed in a militant form of social democracy
11. Lenin thought that a moderate system was not effective
 - a. Critical of revolutionaries who were looking at Germany whose social democrats were gaining power in elections
 - b. Saw these things as a betrayal of marxism
 - c. Saw the revolution as needed to be led by professional revolutionaries
12. Lenin believed in a dictatorship of the proletariat
13. 1903 at the congress of the Russian social-democratic convention
 - a. Wanted a party that was more open and gave more power to local rulers
14. Their disagreements were masked as they had a shared enemy
15. As soon as Lenin returned he started attacking the provisional government
16. The slogan was peace, land, bread and all power to the soviets
 - a. Part of April thesis
17. He was demanding a socialist revolution
18. They seized power in the name of the societies
19. October revolution 1917 they took the power of the government
 - a. Did this at the same time there was a Russian revolution of soviets
 - b. Earlier they had passed a movement that said all power to the soviets

Lecture - Revolution from Below

1. Question - when did the bolsheviks succeed
2. Why did the bolsheviks succeed in October 1917
3. Explained as a result of the support of the majority of the population, though that they represented the working class and the peasantry, so victory was the result of
 - a. Brilliance of Lenin's leadership
 - b. The organizational strength of the party

- c. Support of the majority of the people (popular revolution)
- 4. The Soviet state used art to promote their visual narrative
- 5. View from the west was that the Bolshevik victory was anything but popular or democratic
 - a. Authoritarian
 - b. Betrayal of socialism
 - c. Success could be explained by the ruthlessness of bolsheviks and willingness to disregard democracy

Current Interpretation

1. In recent years historians have moved away from both interpretations and now look at what the revolution looked like from below
2. Ordinary men and women were guided by their own needs and strategies for survival - strategies were rational and they were not duped
3. Russian peasants were guided by their want of land
 - a. Summer of 1917 they started to cease land of the rich
 - b. Demand they had had for years
4. The army wanted to get rid of officers, the right to humane treatment and an end to the bloody war
 - a. By the summer of 1917 hundreds of thousands just deserted the war
5. Workers needs, better working conditions and higher wages
 - a. Inflation began to run wild, the threat of factory closures
 - b. As they became more desperate they became more radical in their demands
6. The radicalization was not the product of manipulation or was it naive or utopian
7. The bolsheviks played no role in the February revolution
8. In 1917 parties were not the primary expression of political identity
 - a. Party membership was not how people became politically active
9. The radicalism of the bolsheviks in comparison to the provisional government gave them an advantage as it fit the mood
10. People identify themselves as soviets and with the revolution themselves, rather than any specific party
11. The idea of a government responsible for the soviets gained more ground
12. Individual parties were weak
13. How they came to the party cast a long shadow
14. The October revolution was never put to a vote, and they purposefully dev=ceid soviets with their slogan all power to the soviets
15. Bolshvic owed their power to their identification with the larger social revolution
16. The secret to their success was surviving and asserting the hell-storm that followed
17. How they consolidated their power is an answer in the coming weeks

Fake Photo Video

1. It was an altered photo of a reenactment 3 years later
2. It was not a particularly violent day in actuality, maybe max 10 people died, and there was little gunfire

Question - If people were motivated by their own personal needs, not by a specific political party, what were the bolsheviks offering that seemed so much better than other parties (ie. why were people willing to follow them over other parties)

Week 3 - Civil War and War Communism

- ~~Review the Key Names & Terms for this week~~
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, chapter 3 (or the workaround)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, "The Morning After" (video, 21:00)~~
- ~~VIEW: Demonstrations at the Constituent Assembly (video, 2:55)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, "Uncivil Wars" (video, 9:30)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, "Why the Bolsheviks Won" (video, 14:30)~~
- ~~READ: The Experience of Revolution~~
- ~~DO: Take the quiz for Week 3 (by Monday, September 27, noon)~~
- Participate in your seminar

Key Terms and Names

- Constituent Assembly
- Left SRs
- Maria Spiridonova
- The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
- Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs)
- Don Cossacks
- Red Army
- CHEKA
- The Red Terror
- War Communism

Lecture - Morning After

1. Why did the bolsheviks succeed
2. The October revolution was the beginning of bolshevik success
3. Some people were confused in November and thought the committed were in charge
4. The shock came when the new government was announced at the all-Russian congress
 - a. It was composed of entirely bolsheviks
5. Soviets all over the country was in the hands of all kind of socialists, but the government was only the bolsheviks
6. This made the other parties mad, including the mensheviks
7. It wasn't clear how much support they had outside of petrograd and moscow
8. One socialist newspaper argued that the bolsheviks were too isolated to succeed
9. Many worker and soldiers committed passed motions calling for an all soviet and multi-party government
10. The party had grown rapidly over 1917
11. Not all bolsheviks were lenists, some believed in democracy
12. Over the next 4 years they managed to conquer the anarchy that they managed to create

Question - how did they manage to restore stability while being such a small party

1. According to marx original scenario the revolution was supposed to occur in the most developed countries in europe
2. Lead by the proletariat, but this was a very small percentage of the population in russia
3. The bolsheviks were entering uncharted territories
4. Early success was because they identified themselves with the soviets, and this meant identifying themselves with a popular cause, and creating a common enemy
5. Conflated revolution with socialism
6. Created an idea that the bolsheviks were revolution, socialism and soviets
7. Created a with the revolution or against them
8. Identified themselves with social processes underway
9. Bolsheviks legitimized the aspirations of millions of people

Land and Peace

1. Lenin introduced a decree on land
 - a. Abolished without compensation land ownership by the nobillut
 - b. Transferred all state and church owned land to the soviets
 - c. Bolsheviks nationalized land
 - d. This process was already underway
2. Bolshheviks proposed an armistice and proposed a just peace without annexation
 - a. This was difficult
 - b. Lenin had always been opposed to the war
 - c. They were hoping that the revolution would spread to the other countries in europe and spark revolutions elsewhere
 - d. Trotsky was against signing treaties with the germans, but thought they should take the revolution unto the german trenches
 - e. Lenin thought that if the war continued that it would ruin the revolution
 - i. Threatened to resign if the bolsheviks didn't support them

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

1. Bolsheviks had no leverage and the germans knew this
2. Agreed to give up 25% of the territory of the former empire including much of their western territory
 - a. The bolsheviks didn't actually control this territory, but it was a symbolic loss
 - b. It contained much of the agricultural and manufacturing land
3. Party proved to be flexible and pragmatic in their tactics
4. Many bolsheviks believed that they were leading a popular revolution

Party control

1. One area where lenin would not budge
2. Believed that they were the only party that could lead them through the revolution
3. Wanted them to take and exercise power in the name of the bolsheviks
4. After october revolution he was not keen to include anyone else
5. November 1917 they had a thorny problem - what to do with elections to constituent assembly
6. Idea of democratic election was a sacred idea among revolutionaries
7. Provisional government had promised to have elections with this\

8. Many people were very committed to this idea
9. Elections had already been scheduled for mid-november
10. Bolsheviks were not strong enough to call it off so they allowed it to happen
11. Only about half of the population voted
12. The socialist revolutionaries won about 40% of the votes because they had a long history of revolution in the countryside
13. The bolsheviks came in second winning 25% of the popular vote
14. Cadets/liberal constitutional democrats were the only non-socialist group that won seats winning 5% of the vote
15. Bolsheviks took moscow and petrograd and did well in the urban areas, also did well in the forces
16. SR were much better known to the peasantry
17. The bolsheviks were however gaining momentum and they felt that history was on their side
18. Lenin agreed to form an alliance with the SRs but he refused to form a coalition with any other groups
19. The atmosphere was very tense
20. In the run up to the meeting the bolsheviks had prohibited protests and demonstrations
21. However many came out to support the constituent assembly
22. Brought out the red guard to put down the demonstrations
23. They nominated marria spidova to be the chair, and who was also a SR
 - a. She had shot a police man before
24. Called on the constituent assembly to approve all the decisions made since the october revolution
 - a. Demanding an endorsement of bolshevik rule
 - b. The bolsheviks lost
25. Condemned it as a counter-revolutionary assembly and they shut it down the next day
26. Bolshheviks argued that they had taken power in the names of the societies and in the name of the soviets they were shutting down the assembly, and violently suppressed its supporters
27. October revolution had been about soviet power, but this was about the shutting down of democracy
28. For other non-bolsheviks this was the last straw, and the beginning of the civil war

Lecture - Uncivil Wars

1. Often dated january 1918
2. Series of overlapping regional wars
3. Expanded into all parts of the old empire
4. Included many political and military actors
5. Started with the liquidation of the constituent assembly
6. A number of former tsar's generals formed an army to fight the bolsheviks this was the white army
7. Initially they were small, around 3500 men but gradually their numbers grew
8. They had a formidable fighting force

9. They worked with the cossacks who were interested in protecting their land, status and privileges
10. They had 3 armies, south, east, west white movement
11. The whites were a coalition of forces representing a variety of groups, from monarchists to the sr
12. Wanted to reconvene the constituent assembly by popular vote

Red army

1. Convinced by the bolsheviks in 1918
2. Trotsky was the leader of this
3. Consisted of some members from the old imperial army, but they were poorly trained and undisciplined
4. In april 1918 trotsky suggested creating an armed force created through conscription of workers and ex-imperial officers
5. Fear that an army of ex-imperial officers would overthrow the bolsheviks regime
6. 800,000 men under arms
7. Abolished order #1 and order was resorted in the army
8. Political commissioners were established to supervise the army in every unit
9. They had a lot of power, all actions of the unit commander had to be coordinated with the commissars
10. They were introduced to oversee the imperial officers
11. Were charred wit the political education of soldiers and citizens under red army control
12. Backbone of bolshevik administration
13. Also created a security force, the CHEKA
14. Secret police create in december 1917 to create order
15. Tasked with eliminating opposition groups
16. Civil war was fought normally and in cities and towns

Red Terror

1. CHECKA was given unlimited right to arrest, improsipon and torture indicials without trial
2. This was class terror as entire groups were targeted
3. The records were destroyed but number was probably in 100,000s
4. Fromer tsar and his family were assassinated in July 1917
5. Extermination of many cossacks in 1917
6. Element of social engineering involved

White Terror

1. Committed atrocities against jews
2. Resorted to burning down villages and requisitions property
3. Distinction between civilians and combatants was blurred

War Communism

1. Term used by lenin in 1921, but wasn't used during the civil war
2. Radical policies that were brought in
3. Banks, industries nationalised, private trade abolished, strikes outlaws, grain requisition
4. Grain was taken by force
5. It was a brutal policy
6. This turned the peasantry against the bolsheviks

7. Against all odds the bolsheviks still emerged victorious

Lecture - why the bolsheviks won

1. According to Suny they had the advantage of holding the center of russia and holding the heartland, this made communication and transportation easier, they were also more able to organized more people
2. They really did not have a victory as their revolution did not spread across europe
3. Finland, baltic region and poland were lost to local forces
4. The state that emerged in 1921 bore little resemblance to the state dreamed of in 1917
5. Question of how did they survive
6. The peasantry ultimately tipped the balance
7. The bolsheviks approved land seizures and redistribution of land, which was popular, while the white wanted a redistribution of land
8. This view has been challenged as being one-dimensional
9. The support they had in the countryside in 1917 disappeared
10. Once the policy of grain requisition and conscription emerged they turned against the bolsheviks
11. Peasants didn't like the bolsheviks anymore than they liked the whites
12. The desertion rate was high, over 2.5 million desertions
13. In 1920 half the troops were required to put down a peasant revolution
14. Tended to defend local revolutionaries, sometimes called greens
15. There was a war between the city and the countryside
16. There was a shutdown of economic activities
17. People fled the cities, and petrograd lost 1 million people to the countryside in search of food
18. The economic catastrophe generated conflict
19. Workers who remained in cities were in a competition for scarce jobs and food
20. Bolsheviks waged a war on the countryside
21. Forcibly requisitioned grain, used force, took over local socialists
22. SR who had alleged quit the government, and some even staged an uprising in moscow
23. By 1919 the left srs were claimed an illegal organization
24. In september 1941 Maria was executed on stalin;s orders
25. War on peasantry got worse as the red army moved away from the center into areas where their support had been weaker
26. The arrival of bolshevik soldiers meant food campaigns in these areas
27. Policies became more brutal, and food supply and the harvest became smaller
28. Famine was accompanied by disease, cholera and typhus
29. Estimated that 7 million people died from famine and epidemics
30. About 1 million were killed in the fighting
31. 1.5 million died from political reprisals\
32. More died in the civil war than had died in WW1
33. Reason bolsheviks survived was because of the famine
34. Famine defeated peasant resistance
35. The bolsheviks were the last ones standing
36. Civil war had a great impact

- a. Larger
 - b. More prone to violence
 - c. Less intelligent
 - d. Became a fighting brotherhood
 - e. Became more russian
 - f. Military stamp on the party
37. Party members wore uniforms, and spoke in military jargon
38. Created a heratice of coercion and violence
39. This evolution should be understood in the larger crisis of WW1
- a. Their practices were ones that had been widely underway in much of europe in WW1
 - b. Even the provisional government had thought about introducing grain requisitions
 - c. In 1917 british conducted surveillance on their population
 - d. Censorship, propaganda was important for mobilization of society during ww1
 - e. There was nothing istinctly russian or bolshevik about the type of violence that they were using
40. Bolsheviks were different because when they used violence it was not seen as temporary
41. Revolution became an ongoing project
42. In a certain sense the civil war never ended

Anna Litveiko

- 1. The cossacks were feared
- 2. They were rounding up police men
- 3. Worked at a factory
- 4. She fell in love with one of the policial academics that her mother sublet to
- 5. She got elected to a factory committee
- 6. SR were promising land and freedom
- 7. associated with the social democrats
- 8. Different political parties were saying very different things
- 9. At her factory the bolsheviks were workers while the mensheviks were academics
- 10. She signed up for the bolsheviks
- 11. People were very interested in the political issues of the day
- 12. Work stopped to go to endless rallies
- 13. Started a group with all the young people at their work
- 14. They were reading the erfurt program to see how engles criticized it
- 15. Nobody really understood it
- 16. Spoke of only allowing people to own being books and clothes
- 17. After the massacre of the July demonstrations in petrograd the meetings became more closed and documents were hidden
- 18. Enrolled in the prechistenka workers education course
- 19. The factory was shut down so that they could go to the uprising
- 20. Everything went smoother than expected
- 21. Soilers were sympathetic and gave them arms
- 22. Cadets surrounded the cremin and were not letting anybody in or out

23. They were helping the wounded
24. They won, but then life was getting worse not better
25. Shopkeepers were conspiring against them
26. They went looking for food and supplies in everyone's homes
27. Anarchists and bandits were doing what they wished and claiming they were the bolsheviks

Ekaterina Olitskiaia

1. Ran out the door for the revolution
2. Cossacks had refused to bring down their whips and disperse the crowd
3. The february revolution she experienced was bloodless
4. She was working in the cafeteria
5. There was lots of shooting in some areas of the city, but in their area she was able to walk around
6. Unions, committees and organizations were springing up
7. Given a directive to return to the provinces
8. Provinces were slow to join the revolution
9. In may the congress of student socialists took place
10. She signed up as a SR
11. Join a party was easy and people were doing it in droves
12. Students could not device either immediate peace or war until victory
13. October coup swept away old leaders
14. In 1918 factories, plants, banks, houses and trade were nationalized
15. Violent methods of war communism angered people
16. Kulak families were being accused
17. Most workers had ties to villages
18. Peasants couldn't buy anything
19. Valuables were confiscated from rich people
20. She worked as an assistant, then was transferred to the records department
21. People were getting secretive and were telling stories of atrocities
22. The town was surrendered to the whites
23. There was a fear of pogroms
24. Fearing looters everyone from the office took one thing home
25. Communists were being arrested in the city
26. White movement appeared to be ruthless, disjointed and doomed
27. Bolsheviks celebrated their return with a campaign of terror
28. Students were forced to go to the may day parade, but they brought strips of red cloth and tied them around their mouths when walking past the monument

Irina Elenevskaia

1. She had a very good nanny
2. They had many servants
3. Parents had an active social life
4. Gave her a good education
5. Went to dance lessons with other children
6. Went to grandmother's estate in Finland

7. Lived in an apartment near the private school
8. She was told to befriend a new girl at school who was often bullied
9. She had a large “coming out” party
10. Wanted to go on living at home making calls until she got married
11. She studied architecture
12. Politics played no role at the bagevia school
13. They returned to petersburg despite warnings
14. She wanted to go back to continue her education, but the state of the city meant that she could not
15. She and her mother got jobs
16. She was elected the secretary of the housing committee
17. March 16th 1920 was the day of therei escape to finland
18. Took a train, had to pretend to be one of the sack people
19. They had to walk to the finnish border
20. When they got to the border they were informed they were not letting any more people in

Name	Year of birth	Place of birth	Father's occupation/social position	Date of Publication
Anna Litveiko	1899	Moscow (presnia)	Factory worker	1957 official account published in soviet union as bolshevik propaganda
Ekaterina Olitskaia	Young woman	Kersche	Gentleman farmer/well off nobleman, intelegencia	1960s was written while she was in a camp then released
Irina Elenevskaja	1897	St Petersburg (summers in finland)	Orientalist worked in the ministry of foreign affairs	1968

Week 4 - Books in all fields of knowledge

- Review the Key Names & Terms for this week
- READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, select pages
- VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Why NEP? (video, 17:00)
- READ: Proclamation of the Union of Toiling Peasants, 1920
- READ: Proclamation of the Kronstadt sailors, 1921
- VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, How did NEP work? (video, 9:30)
- READ: The Catastrophe

- ~~Watch Videos~~
- ~~DO: Take the quiz for Week 4 (by Monday, October 4, 12 noon)~~
- ~~Participate in your seminar~~

Key Names and Terms

- Tambov Rebellion
- The Union of Toiling Peasants
- Kronstadt Rebellion
- Smychka
- NEPmen
- Scissors Crisis
- besprizornye (the homeless)

Why was NEP Introduced

1. 1920s - golden age of soviet history
2. After devastation of the war and the famine
3. Relative prosperity
4. Relative freedom
5. And experimental decade in art, literature and film
6. Possible to engage in debate and talk about the future
7. This was a time before stalin
8. This era was defined by the New Economic Policy
9. Three questions
 - a. What was NEP
 - b. Why was it introduced
 - c. How did it work, did it work

What was NEP

1. Economic policy introduced in 1921 by Lenin
2. Formally put an end to requisition, and put in place a tax of kind - pay in grain and produce
3. Once their tax obligations were met they could trade freely at market prices
4. In theory it was supposed to end practice of grain seizures
5. Refined to permit individuals to form small businesses or to lease them from the state
6. It legalized business and trading for profit
7. State continued to control the commanding heights - mining, banking and foreign trade
8. Introduced a mixed economy
9. Represented an economic concession on the part of the communist state

Why was NEP introduced

1. Response to catastrophic situation in 1921b
2. By 1921 he defeated the whites but shattered the army
3. Between 1918-1922 millions died of sickness, hunger, and cold
4. 1921 year that nep was announced, worst year of all
5. Estimated 7 million died of hunger and illness in 1921-1922
6. This exceeded the combined casualties of civil war and WW1
7. This was different from the pandemic of 1918
8. Typhus was a bacterial infection spread by lice

9. Typhus was once common especially during the war
10. The country was in ruins
11. Half the working class had simply disappeared
 - a. Died, industrial plants had closed, lack of food in the cities so they went to the countryside
 - b. Some had gone into red army
12. The war had ruralized Russia
13. 4.5 million homeless children
14. Support that Lenin and Bolsheviks had enjoyed in 1917 had diminished significantly
15. The rural Bolsheviks hated food requisitioning which they saw as the cause of their ruin
16. They had opposed grain requisitioning since it was introduced
17. Largest protest took place in Tambov
18. There were many peasant revolts
19. Tambov revolution was led by the SR party - Alexander Antonov
 - a. Revolution kept growing in response to the grain requisition
 - b. Led by the union of toiling peasants
 - c. Voted to abolish Soviet power and voted to create a constituent assembly
 - d. Managed to raise an army of 50 thousand people
 - e. 100 thousand red army troops were called into put them down by force
 - i. Revealed that they used concentration camps and chemical weapons to put them down
 - f. Only one of many revolutions
20. Revolutions in the city as well
 - a. Economic conditions were a large part of the reason
 - b. Labour policy also played a role - introduced a military system in the factories
 - c. Strikes in Moscow in 1920
 - d. In parts they used the red army to do essential labour tasks
21. Most dramatic protest was the Kronstadt Rebellion
 - a. Had been amongst ardent supporters of Bolsheviks
 - b. Protesting against arbitrary rule of the commissars - harsh policies towards peasants and workers
 - c. Protesting against their lack of a voice in making decisions
 - d. Invited workers and peasants to join them and waited for the government to respond
 - e. 10th party congress was meeting and authorized the use of force to put down the revolution
 - f. The fortress fell and the 15th division and surrendered
 - g. Put them all to death
22. View this rebellion as a critical turning point
 - a. Drove home need for a policy of relaxation
 - b. Others think the Tambov rebellion convinced Lenin to revoke war communism
23. NEP was an acknowledgement that the communists lacked the strength to tame the countryside
24. Slogan of the peasants was Soviets without communists - response was NEP

25. Willing to make economic concessions not political ones
26. Seen as a new era of cooperation between city and countryside

How did NEP work

1. Took a long time to work
2. In the first year not much changed
3. Bagmen continued to take grain in 1921
4. Coincided with the height of the famine
5. Famine struck 40 million people
6. Government made additional additions and ask foreigners to help with food and medicine
7. Within a year americans were feeding 10 million people a day especially in the volga region
8. Big part of help was vaccination
9. Americans tied getting fed to being vaccinated which is how they vaccinated over a million people
10. Soviet government had a great harvest in 1922
11. Took 2-3 years before economy returned to somewhat of normality
12. Second half of 1920s it started to reach pre-war levels of agriculture
13. Agriculture was almost entirely in the hands of small farmers
14. NEPmen - social stratum that arose to meet needs of NEP
 - a. Engaged in trade part time
 - b. Small traders
 - c. For communists the NEPmen represented everything they detested
 - d. Were as far away from socialism as you can get
 - e. For bolsheviks there was the issue that NEP worked
15. NEPmen and peasants were the ones that benefited from NEP
 - a. Concerns by the bolsheviks that they were petty-bourgeois
 - b. Workers suffered under nep at least in relative terms
16. Cost accounting was introduced - state owned enterprises had to make money or at least break even
 - a. People were fired when sales were down
 - b. Second half of 1920s unemployment worsened and hit women and children hard
17. Concern of who had actually won the revolution
18. Many in party were less excited about NEP and thought they were on the slippery slope back to capitalism
19. Policy fluctuated throughout 1920s - love-hate relationship
20. NEP was some of the best years for peasants as a group
21. Presence of the state was relatively weak in the villages
22. Shouldn't idealize NEP - standard of living remained low, worse than pre-revolutionary period
 - a. Not a time of abundance or prosperity
 - b. Structure of economy was very little changed
 - c. Little progress in developments
 - d. State lacked capital to invest in industry

- e. Question of how to accumulate capital to industrialize
- 23. If taxes or price of farming goods went up peasants had little incentive to produce more than their needs
 - a. Could simply withdraw from the market and not participate
- 24. Foreign investment was not a solution - put the soviets in debt to the capitalists, other states unwilling to give loans
- 25. In long run NEP was not a solution as it could not finance the building of communism or the big projects that they dreamed of, and it re-introduced capitalism and benefited the wrong people

If the sources were all you read about this period what would you know and what would you not know

1. Lack background knowledge

There is a module, but no seminar next week, have until tuesday to due the quiz

Paper is due following saturday at midnight

The following seminar does not have a quiz before it

Once they had paid their taxes farmers could earn a profit

NEPmen are the middle men - buy grain at rural markets and traded it for basic commodities like razor blades and such

Most NEPmen were just a little bit richer - not much

In the 20s the peasants were mostly left alone - this was a golden age for the peasants

Tambov rebellion was one of many peasant revolts

Danger that the peasants and the army might overthrow the bolsheviks

Week 5

- ~~Review the Key Names & Terms for this week~~
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, select pages~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Living the Revolution (video, 23:30)~~
- ~~READ: How the Russian Avant-Garde came to serve the Revolution~~
- ~~ANALYZE: 20 photos of the MAD Soviet 1920s~~
- ~~VIEW: Man with a Movie Camera (video, 10:26)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Revolutionary Rites and Rituals (video, 8:30)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Educating Communists (video, 12:38)~~
- ~~READ: Constructing a Revolutionary Culture~~
- ~~DO: Take the quiz for Week 5 (by Tuesday, October 12, midnight)~~
- ~~DO: Work on the first essay (due Saturday, October 16, midnight)~~

- ~~REMINDER: There are no seminars this week~~

Key Terms

- Lenin cult
- hammer and sickle
- Budenovka
- Tovarishch = Comrade
- Agit-Train
- Dziga Vertov, Man with a Movie Camera (1929)
- Ritual Movement
- Octobering
- Red Wedding
- People's Commissariat of Enlightenment = Narkompros
- Sverdlov University
- Higher Party Schools
- Komsomol
- Young Pioneers

Lecture - Living the Revolution

1. Revolution was about making a socialist future
2. Orientation towards the future was a way of thinking for a few generation of revolutionaries

Destruction of the Old

1. This started before bolsheviks came to power
2. Started in february revolution with signs of the old regime removed
3. Soldiers ripped off imperial emblems and replaced them with red ribbons
4. Portraits of the tsar were taken down
5. Spirit of iconoclasm captured by VD Alexendrovskii and film 10 days that shook the world/october 1917
6. When bolsheviks came to power they tried to protect monument, and tried to orderly remove them
7. Assault on symbols of the monarchy and privilege continued and became more systematic

Revolutionary Army

1. Hammer and plow inside star was the symbol that the red army used
2. Imperial tricolour was outlawed
3. There was an rsfsr flag in 1917
4. Hammer and sickle flag came in during 1918
5. There were lots of improvised flags
6. Streets were renamed in every city, as well as cities being renamed
7. Petrograd was renamed leningrad when lenin died in 1924

Street Scene

1. Most people did not change the way they dressed but some did
2. Army tunic became everyday wear for the comunist party
3. Leather jackets became especially popular, became a uniform of politics
 - a. Many came from a british abandoned shipment

4. Budenovka - hat became part of the army uniform
5. For men not in the army they wore working clothes - no ties or suits
6. No single dress code - lenin continued to wear a suit and tie, but he liked to wear a workers cap

Speaking

1. Until 1917 it was a society of orders with lots of titles
2. Beginning with the february revolution ranks and titles were replaced by simple terms like citizen
3. Bolsheviks used the term comrade with each other
4. After october the use of comrade became widespread with communists across the globe

Creating a new world

1. May 1st - international workers day
2. 1918 may day parade was more of a street carnival, spontaneity
3. Aim was to promote solidarity
4. Alternative to orthodox easter which fell on the same day
5. First anniversary of the revolution fell on the same day as the end of the first world war
6. Reminders of the revolution to make the city a teaching moment
7. 50-60 monuments were erected, mostly in moscow
 - a. Put up lots of revolutionaries, not all russian
8. Lots of room for artistic expression
9. Lenin didn't particularly like the avant garde artists and cubists but he allowed them to participate and express themselves
10. Many of the monuments that were created were very poorly made
 - a. Some crumbled
 - b. Some were dynamite
11. It was a three day celebration and official ceremonies
12. They walked past the kremlin
13. Only in 1921 that the military began to lead off the parades and then they turned into military parades completely
14. During the civil war fighting occurred along the train, so they were involved in the parades
15. October revolution was the name of the most famous train and it was sent to cities that had just been freed from the white army
16. Train travel during the civil war was slow and unreliable
17. Agit trains gave birth to soviet cinema as that's where many films were shown

Lecture - Revolutionary Rites and Rituals

1. Attempt to form an alternative to religion
2. During the civil war there were campaigns taken to reduce influence of the church
3. It was seen as a threat to the regime
4. Bolsheviks offered revolutionary counter celebrations - placed to compete with church holidays
 - a. May day - like easter
 - b. Celebration of the revolution - like christmas
5. Created rituals around birth, marriage, death

6. Octobering - when baby was born, dedicate baby to the revolution
 - a. Baby was given a portrait of baby lenin
 - b. Were often given revolutionary names
 - c. Excluded the clergy from the ceremony and eliminated the need to celebrate the name day of the saint rejection of custom of male heads of household naming the baby
7. Red Wedding
 - a. Usually held at a workers club
 - b. Red covered alter with a portrait of lenin
 - c. Vows include staying true to the revolution
 - d. Gift was a complete set of the works of lenin
 - e. Never caught on in the villages
 - f. Traditional wedding was more elaborate and longer, something the red wedding couldn't match
8. Revolutionary funeral
 - a. Model was lenin's funeral after several strokes
 - b. Funeral and lying in state were very elaborate
 - c. Fusion of political and religious rituals
 - d. Theme was revolutionary immortality
 - e. Stalin insisted that he be embalmed and put on display rather than being cremated
 - i. This idea was opposed by lenin's family and many others, but the ideas was successful
 - f. His tomb became a shrine and place for important ceremonies
 - g. He was idealized and deified
 - h. Communism had no concept of an afterlife
 - i. Church funerals continued to be practiced
9. Ritual movement made little progress among greater population, but they were practiced by the most fervent supporters of the revolution

Lecture - Educating Communists

1. Key to the future was education
2. As marxists they had a linear view of history
3. Education was the key to overcoming backwardness
4. Education and political education were one in the same
5. Wanted to create an elite educated in the theories
6. Give everyone a political literacy

Educating Communists

1. Created communist universities
2. Circumvent other universities which were full of anti revolutionaries
3. Access to universities was limited - had to have been a party member for 5 years and have done manual labour
4. 1928 - 8,400 students enrolled
5. There were shorter programs
6. Study history of the party, soviet economy, international communism

7. Taught a new language, vocabulary and a way of thinking about the world
8. Party education
 - a. Schools for political literacy
 - i. 2 months
 - ii. Some knowledge to every party member
 - iii. Could be night schools
 - iv. Any person who joined the party could attend, but previous elites were barred

Village Schools

1. 1917 bolsheviks wanted to provide free and compulsory education
2. Number of schools and children attending schools declined during the civil war
3. As civil war wound down they doubled efforts
4. In cities they used literacy courses and reading room to teach people how to lead
5. Started learning to read by teaching them about lenin - start with a political lesson
6. Very committed to political education
7. Problem was that there were not enough reading rooms and courses especially in the countryside
8. During NEP funding became a problem
9. Government forced on the military, union members and party members
10. Industrial centers were the best served
11. 8 million adults attended literacy schools and 70% finished
12. Better off peasants in the countryside took advantage of these programs
13. Party relied on mass organization - trade unions, women's organizations, communist league of youth
14. Komsomol (communist youth league) - active young adults 18-30
 - a. Recruiting agency for the red army
 - b. Popularise ideas
 - c. Participated in campaigns
 - d. Critical step for those who wanted a career in the party
 - e. Organized the young pioneers - 10-16
 - f. Young octobrist - 8-11
 - g. Pioneers and octoversits were based on the old boy scouts
 - h. Played games and politically organized
 - i. These were strongest in the urban centers, and weakest in the countryside
15. Everyday lives of most people remained largely untouched in the 1920s
16. Did not blanket countryside in organizations or schools
17. This was a time of tight budgets and widespread shortages
18. Cities had thousands of homeless children
19. Countryside had villages without newspapers, libraries or books
20. NEP was a time when public publishing houses operated, artists and intellectuals had more freedom
21. There was still room for disagreement and experimentation
22. Still possible to be apolitical, but the party did not guarantor they would keep this open

23. Conductorless orchestra - show that the orchestra was a collective, an orchestra of equals, systems did not have to be hierarchical, it lasted until 1932 and dissolved for unclear reasons

Week 6

- ~~Review the Key Names & Terms for this week~~
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, select pages~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, The Affirmative Action Empire (video, 14:00)~~
- ~~ANALYZE: Map of the USSR, 1924~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, The Ukrainian SSR (video, 23:00)~~
- ~~VIEW: Les Kurbas: Ukrainian Avant Garde Theatre (video, 6:07)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Uzbekistan (video, 18:30)~~
- ~~READ: Making Uzbekistan Modern~~
- Quiz this Week is Optional
- Participate in your seminar
- U.S.S.R = The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- “Affirmative Action Empire” (Terry Martin)
- Korenizatsiia = nativization or indigenization
- Lenin, “Letter to the Workers and Peasants of Ukraine” (1919)
- “Ukrainianization”
- The Lenin Levy
- Lazar Kaganovich
- The Shumsky Affair
- “National in Form, Socialist in Content”

Lecture - The Affirmative Action Empire

1. Soviet union was largest experiment in managing a multinational state
2. Affirmative action empire
 - a. Not a term ever used in the soviet union
 - b. Used in US to promote gaining people who had been discriminated against in the past
3. Cross between multiculturalism and employment equity
4. Way to neutralize nationalism by promoting minorities and their cultures
5. Russia was incredibly diverse
6. Most lived on their own territory
7. Exception was germans living in russia
 - a. Some were mennonites
 - b. Others were lutherans and catholics that settled in the volga
 - c. Lived in compact settlements
8. Vast majority lived on their historic territories
9. Bolsheviks confronted nationalist question
10. War was more complicated in the borderlands as there were different cultures and movements with nationalizing elites
11. Creation of USSR in 1922 was an improvisation and a compromise
12. Argued only the working class should have the right to self-determination

13. The soviet union was formally a federation, nominally a union of 4 republics
 - a. This number grew to 6 and to 11 by WW2
14. According to constitution each republic had on paper the right to ceded, but in reality it was a unitary state where all power was concentrated in moscow

Bolshevik Assumptions About Nationalism

1. Nationalism was dangerous as it masked race relations
2. Assumption that nationalism was a phase that all went through
3. Nationalism of non-russians was a reaction to discriminatory policies of the old regime
4. Assumption that progress was linear and the revolution was going to be international
5. Development can be accelerated through industrialization and education

Affirmative action empire

1. Other imperial empires assumed that differences were innate
2. USSRr thought that differences were differences of development
3. Idea that there would be a future state of equality

Western Vs Eastern

1. Divided this way development wise
2. Eastern people needed to catch up
3. This corresponded to literacy rates
4. Communists did not believe that these were permanent categories

Policy of nativization

1. Two major tasks
2. Creation of new national communist elites
3. Minority elites were recruited, trained and promoted to leadership positions
4. Second aim was to promote local national languages to the region - became the official language of the region
 - a. Promoted books, theater and movies in the local language
5. National identity was meant to wither away, but the soviet state got into the business of promoting national identities

Lecture - Ukraine and Ukranianization

1. Ukrainian republic was the second largest republic after russia
2. Had become the breadbasket of russia
3. Donbass basin was producing a lot of the coal in the region
4. Population of ukraine was about 30 million and this was about 20% of soviet population
5. Critical - ukrainian population was largely a rural population
6. A critical urban-rural divide
 - a. Cities - russian and jewish
 - b. Rural - ethnically tarkanian
7. In Ukraine the working class was tiny and jewish
8. Bolsheviks could not control the countryside
9. Peasant resistance was very strong
10. Long-standing tradition of private property
11. Lenin spoke of cruel lesson of 1919 - uknranian village fought back hard
12. October 1918 - 348 members of bolshevik party in Kiev - not many
13. Support for bolsheviks existed mainly in Donbass of Donetsk Basin

Jewish Social Democrats

1. Jewish workers tending to vote for the Mensheviks
2. Jewish Bund supported the mensheviks
3. Took the bolsheviks years to secure support in Ukraine - and they had to make massive concessions

Lenin's Letter

1. Promised that Ukraine would be an independent socialist state
2. Paved the way for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic party to come into power
3. In 1921 the bolshevik hold was tenuous
4. Policy of nativization was meant to overcome Ukrainian-Russian divide
5. Ukrainian language was given a privileged position
6. Series of decrees on Ukrainization
7. In symbolic terms this represented a shift
 - a. In old empire Russian had been one empire
 - b. Ukrainian language was seen as lower class
 - c. They introduced it in schools and administration

Lenin Levy

1. Recruitment drive to bring in minorities - national and women
2. In Ukraine party membership tripled
3. Policy of Ukrainization got abuse in 1925 with Lazar Kaganovich
4. FAcials had to speak and work in Ukrainian
5. Ukrainization proceeded at a rapid pace
6. Want peasants to believe that it is their government
7. Don't want cities to be urban alien islands
8. Advances were made in public use of Ukrainian language
9. Primary and secondary school education increased literacy
10. Percentage of newspapers in Ukrainian and number of newspapers was growing
11. Ukrainization was working and they were joining the parties and streaming into cities
12. Problem of promoting Ukrainians into positions of power was being solved
13. Soviet Ukraine became a showcase for the other republics
14. Dynamic modern urban Ukrainian culture that was developing

Deves pron

1. Intended at the central building of an entire country
2. Like houses of parliament
3. In the 1920s it was a happening place
4. Greatest symbolic victory was the return to the city of Kiev which became the capital
5. Constant opposition among old bolsheviks - if it produced winners it also produced losers
6. Felt that their position was being threatened
7. Argued that urbanization was a reactionary policy
8. Saw the association with the village culture as passiveness
9. Russian members refused to speak Ukrainian - passive resistance
10. In mid 20s Stalin was receiving letters of complaint from all sides
11. Industrial workers were exempt from learning Ukrainian

12. More ukrainians were joining the workforce and were working up the union hierarchy
 - a. Pushed for further ukrainianization in the workplace
13. Kremlin was cautious of ethnic conflicts
14. Shumskii affair - been a ukrainian socialist revolutionary but joined the communist party and became a commissar
 - a. Implemented the policies of urbanization
 - b. Accused him of being a bourgeois nationalist
 - c. Fear that promoting ukrainians might make the situation go out of control
 - d. In 1926 in a letter Stalin blamed Shumskii of cultivating anti-russian sentiments in Ukraine
 - e. He was exiled and demoted
15. By the late 1920s there was opposition to ukrainization
16. Battle between the base of party and ukrainian elite

Uzbekistan

1. How policy of nativization played out there
2. Form in 1924 - briefly part of Turkistan
3. In 1926 it was 5 million people but only 5% Russian
4. They are a Turkic speaking group
5. They live in the steppe
6. Ancient societies that existed before converting to Islam
7. Historically, it was important trade route as part of the Silk Road
8. In 1920s it was a rural place
9. Less than 10% was farmed
10. Cotton was the chief product
11. Big problem was water, as cotton requires a lot of water
12. Russians dominated the urban areas that did exist
13. Bolsheviks allied themselves with the modernizing Islam party called the Jadids
14. Focus of Jadid movement was reforming education
15. Traditional education existed to transmit information and teach proper behavior - memorized passages of the Quran but did not learn Arabic
16. Linked to Persia/Iran and Ottoman Empire/Turkish Empire
 - a. They had modernizing movements of their own
 - b. Embarked on powerful modernizing projects after WW1
 - c. Had to compete for influence against these alternative models
17. Kremlin attempted to follow the Ukrainian language
18. Nativization was more difficult due to low literacy rates
19. Administration had to depend on Russians who were literate - so they could use Russian in their work
20. Uzbek language was never used more than nominally at higher aspects of institution
21. Introduced hiring quotas to introduce native Uzbeks
22. In 1924 they introduced an apprenticeship program
 - a. Represented 10% of government employees
 - b. Hard to find candidates as few were literate
 - c. Abolished in 1926

- d. But they continued to view hiring as a priority
- 23. Often meant firing russians if they could fill it with an uzbek workers
 - a. This was a disaster as the russians had supported the bolsheviks in the war, and felt cheated
- 24. Many uzbeks treated russians as temporary and an unwanted presence - referred to them as guests
- 25. Pitted russians against uzbeks
- 26. Promoted conflict and violence in the workplace
- 27. Hirings and firings became a political event
- 28. Active opposition to the policy
- 29. Soviet authorities tried to relieve tensions by replacing quotes with specific jobs to be filed by uzbek speakers
- 30. Technical specialists tended to be all russians
- 31. To address this there was a push to recruit them into higher education
- 32. Visible quotas at the universities
- 33. As uzbeks entered schools the conflict spilled over into universities
- 34. Crisis of nativization
 - a. Belief of the old guard that they were not being discriminated against
 - b. Others questioned their commitment to the program and if it was serious about promoting them to the higher levels
- 35. Nativization was a soft policy - a secondary task not a priority
- 36. Thought that it was benefiting the wrong people - party was losing its soul
- 37. Late 1920s the policy came much narrower
- 38. Literacy and soviet education became more important

Week 7 - Women and the Party-State

- Review the Key Names & Terms for this week
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, pp. 201-205~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, The Bolsheviks & the Woman Question (video, 16:30)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Mobilizing Women (video, 18:30)~~
- ~~READ: Decree on Abortion, 1920~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Emancipation in Context (video, 10:23)~~
- ~~READ: New Soviet Woman & the Culture Wars~~
- ~~DO: Take the quiz for Week 7 (by Monday, November 1, noon)~~
- ~~Participate in your seminar~~
- baba
- Alexandra Kollontai
- Social Bases of the Woman Question (1909)
- Zhenotdel = Women's Department
- "On the Eradication of Illiteracy Among the Population of the Russian Federation" (1919)
- "On the Protection of Women's Health" (1920)
- Code on Marriage, the Family, and Guardianship (1926)
- "New Soviet Woman"
- Hujum

Lecture - The bolsheviks and the woman question

1. The bolsheviks were in theory committed to equality of the sexes
2. Did not just win the right to vote, but also emancipated
3. Free to marry and divorce
4. Enter work on an equal footing with men
5. Before 1917 it was a deeply patriarchal society
6. Women couldn't go to university and courtne travel without permission
7. Young unmarried women couldn't leave the house to go to literacy meetings or political rallies

Agrippina Korevanova

1. Her story was first published in 1938
2. Born in 1969 in countryside siberia
3. When she was 9 her mother died
4. Was the oldest of 5 children
5. Her stepmother was cruel and resentful
6. Father forced her to marry a cobbler when she was 17
7. After wedding she was raped by father-in-law and beaten by her husband
8. When her husband died he was in debt so she had nothing
9. She was expelled from the house of her in-laws because she couldn't pay debt
10. Her world was a world of beatings, istramet and forced marriages
11. Drifted to work in a factory and a hospital
12. Her story underscores how helpless women were under the law
13. Women were treated with contempt

Baba

1. A grandmother
2. Also a derogatory term for women - hags or witches

Feminsit movement

1. Before revolution there was a women's movement
2. It was dominated by upper class women
3. Focused on the right to cote, also discussed education, abortion and birth control
4. Attracted large crowds but was an urban middle class movement
5. Men believed that their revolution would ultimately liberate women
6. They were suspicious of feminists
 - a. Suspicious of their attempts to unite women across class lines
7. Bolsheviks were late comers to women's issues until after 1917
 - a. They borrowed from marx's writings to discuss women
8. Marx believed that families were a bourgeois institution at that ultimately the family would wither away

Alexandria Kollontai

1. Most famous female bolshvic politician
2. Famous work was the social basis of the woman question
3. Argued that the woman's question was not a separate issue
4. She joined the bolshevik party
5. Opposed mainstream feminism

- a. Voting rights were not enough
 - b. Had to be freed from the tyranny of the family
 - c. Only way to free them was transforming the economy and society
 - d. Women would never be free if they weren't liberated in economic and social terms
- 6. Believed that household chores should be taken on by the state
- 7. She was an advocate for free love - not advocate for casual sexual encounters as they led to exploitation
 - a. Saw marriage as an oppressive institution
 - b. Idea of free love grounded in equality
 - c. Free unions between men and women

Communist views

- 1. Saw industrialization as the solution to patriarchy as it would draw women out of the family - believed by Lenin as well
- 2. Bolsheviks tend to see women as more backward than men
- 3. Women were not great for political work
- 4. They didn't turn their attention to women until the eve of the first world war
- 5. Growing interest in women had to do with sheer numbers, as women were becoming a significant part of the working class
- 6. Female literacy was also rising
- 7. Growing interest in western Europe - they saw themselves as a larger socialist movement
 - a. Germans had called international socialist conference devoted to women's issues
 - b. At this conference a resolution was passed for all socialist parties to fight for women
- 8. In 1912 women gained the right to vote in labour committees in industry
 - a. Feared that other political groups would organize women first
 - b. So they became to work among women so that when labour committed held elections that the women would vote for bolshevik candidates
- 9. Women showed a lot of involvement in the revolution
 - a. This took bolshevik leaders by surprise
- 10. Provisional government gave women the right to vote
- 11. Question was how to mobilize women in support of the party state
- 12. The proletariat had a substantial female presence as so many men had been mobilized for war
- 13. If women were not won over they would become an obstacle to the bolsheviks
- 14. Fear they would subvert the political order
- 15. Similar way they thought about women as the way they thought about nationalists

Lecture - Mobilizing Women

- 1. Developed a 3 pronged strategy
 - a. Legal
 - b. Educational
 - c. Administrative

Legal

1. Changed the law
2. Wanted them to have equality under the law
3. Marriage, property ownership and divorce
4. Children born out of wedlock were given the same rights
5. Maternity leave

Literacy

1. Political education was key to the soviet project
2. Results varied enormously
3. 70% were literate by 1926 in factories
4. 30% in the countryside by 1926
5. This was up from 9%
6. In uzbekistan there were 7% of women, up from 1.2%
7. Encouraged women to read so they could help children, and build a better life for their communities

Administrative

1. Zhenotdel - womens department
2. Three important women - Alexandra Kollontai, Nadezhda Krupskaya and Inessa Armand
 - a. All from middle to upper class families and had higher education
3. Special women's section was modeled on german social democratic party
4. Trained women to conduct work on women
5. Their work was to encourage women to join the party
6. Realized that if the party didn't make special efforts for women then men would take the lead
7. Many bolsheviks had a hard time determining why the separate organization existed
8. They had constant turf wars and were underfunded

Peasant Women

1. Hard to work with women
2. Hard to involve peasant women
3. Hard to get them out of the domestic sphere
4. Men didn't want wives or daughters to attend these meetings
5. Tried creative ways to engage women
6. Often created a sewing circle
7. Had small discussions rather than big political meetings
8. In the cities they promoted health facilities and daycares for women
 - a. This was also met with resistance
9. Concern that too much time was spent talking about motherhood, not about talking about communism
10. Lenin thought that they should talk about what the women were interested in
11. There was low political involvement of women
12. In 1920 they got a victory when the country legalized abortion

Abortion

1. Introduced during the civil war
2. This was not a celebration, ambivalence about introducing the law
3. Abortion was a necessary evil

4. Illegal abortions were undesirable
5. Urged the creation of homes for young mothers and contraceptive measures
6. For a brief moment they seemed to be on a cutting edge of gender relations
7. Homosexuality had been decriminalised

NEP and women

1. Return of soldiers to civilian life
2. They were given preferential treatment in jobs
3. Factories excused married women and hired men instead
4. Believed that men were more productive
5. 45% of women were unemployed in the 1920s at a time where employment among men was rising
6. The social welfare programs dreamed about were cancelled due to low funds
7. Criticised NEP as it made women more dependent on men
 - a. Pushed back to families or pushed onto streets
 - b. Forced the abandonment of children
8. There wasn't much social assistance to be had
9. Even after the Lenin levy women remained 9-10% of party members
10. The police were threatening the revolution
11. 1925 there was discussion on marriage the family and guardianship
 - a. Simplified process of divorce
 - b. Alimony only for needy or disabled
 - c. Children were entitled to parental support
12. Marriage code was thought to be progressive
13. But it didn't protect pregnant women and it made it easier to abandon women and children
14. Many children were abandoned as infants
15. Married women called for a stricter approach to marriage
16. It proved to be a calamity, produced the highest divorce rate in the world
17. Urban women were the most affected by the divorce rate
18. Code did nothing to prevent the impoverishment of women
19. Men couldn't afford to pay child support, many refused to pay
20. Party members did not react well to the criticisms
21. Alexandra was sidelined
22. Forced them to take a more obedient stance and the organization was liquidated
23. Women's equality was a secondary task, not a top priority

Lecture - emancipation in context

1. In later years they maintained that the women question had been solved
2. Historians in the west focused on the failure of the government to put an end to inequality
3. Attitudes, values and expectations had not changed, there was still a double burden and a glass ceiling for women
4. Most notable how oddly unexceptional the trends turned out to be - they were very similar to general trends in Europe and elsewhere
5. Negative patterns mirror European trends as well

6. The era after WW1 was a different world in style and fashion, enhanced opportunities for some women
7. The dynamic in central asia was different
8. Campaign to unveil women in central asia was part of a larger trend in muslim societies
9. Question to think about - to what degree where the revolutionary ambitions thwarted, confounded and shaped by existing values and practices

Soviet Gays

1. For a brief movement they enjoyed relative freedom
2. It was no longer criminalised in the 1920s
3. Emerged a semi-public gay culture
4. Some in medical community were influenced by Hirschfeld - believed that homosexuality was natural
5. Some of the first legal gay marriages happened
6. There were gender corrective surgeries
7. Idea of a spectrum of sexuality
8. Communists never took on campaigns to reduce prejudice against gays
9. Some thought it was a bourgeois thing
10. The community was still persecuted
11. In 1934 homosexuality was recriminalized
12. Revolution created a space for expression, but lacked a mass movement to back it up
13. Without support from below or a commitment from the party they lost power

Emancipation in Context - women

1. Fate of the three women written essay about
2. The revolution for them was transformative
3. For those who joined the bolsheviks they got more doors
4. For those from rich families they were exiled
5. Those that were not bolshevik they were thrown into jail

Week 8 - Stalin & "Revolution from Above"

- ~~Review the Key Names & Terms for this week~~
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, pp. 162-166; 168-176, 179-181~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Stalin - The Early Year (video, 24:30)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, The Leadership Struggle (video, 16:45)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Why Stalin? (video, 15:03)~~
- ~~READ: Life Hacks - How to Ruthlessly Take Power and Get Away with It~~
- ~~READ: The Rise of the Stalin Personality Cult~~
- DO: Take the quiz for Week 8 (by Monday, November 8, noon)
- Participate in your seminar
- Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili
- "Marxism and the National Question" (1913)
- General Secretariat (of the Communist Party)
- "On Party Unity"
- Leon Trotsky
- Gregory Zinoviev
- Comintern (Communist International)

- “Permanent Revolution”
- “Socialism in One Country”
- Socialist Realism

Lecture - Stalin - The Early Years

1. Reverence for what he had accomplished during the war
2. He was times man of the year
3. His image only began to degrade in the 1980s
4. Since the archives opened in the late 1980s his image began to move from war hero to villain
5. His public image was created carefully
6. For a while we didn't know when he was born, unknown why the date was changed
7. Born in Gori in what is now Georgia, a mountainous region
8. He was born Iosif Vissarionovich
9. Little is known about his childhood, father shoemaker, mother domestic servant
10. He was youngest of 4 but only one who lived
11. Father was a heavy drinker and frequently beat his wife and son
 - a. This was not unusual
 - b. Physical punishment was common
12. Parents eventually separated, his mother doted on him
13. The friends he made through school revolutionized him
14. He was accepted into a seminary, and he was a very good student
15. Not clear if he intended on becoming a priest, big deal that he got into the seminary
16. Seminary had a reputation for political unrest and had a reputation for producing revolutionaries
17. He did well in his courses for the first 2 years
18. Thought that the seminary taught him to think in binary terms, but this is disputed
19. Joined a reading circle at the seminary
20. 3rd year became the leader of the reading circle and began to introduce political literature into it
21. He was expelled the following year for neglecting his studies
22. He was an active revolutionary in the social democratic party
23. He organized workers in Batum and committed arson to attempt to get the workers a payout for putting out the fire
 - a. Arson was suspected and the workers did not get money
 - b. Instead they held strikes
24. He was arrested at a secret meeting and sent into exile in Siberia
25. The strike in Batum got the attention of Lenin, and Stalin got involved in the Bolsheviks
26. Stalin decided to become a Leninist, liked idea of professional revolutionaries forming the party, and getting an international revolution
27. He communicated with Lenin, which was unusual for the non-Russians as most non-Russians joined the Mensheviks
28. He became the authority on the nationalities question and wrote an essay on it in 1913
29. He organized bank raids to boost party funds, he didn't discuss this later in his life
 - a. This gave him a reputation of being a man of action

30. He was copied into the central committee, adopted the name stalin, man of steel
31. He served several short prison terms
32. Exile got him out of georgia and introduced him to more revolutionaries
33. He was never a good speech maker
34. Not a particularly imposing figure
35. He was not in petrograd during the february revolution, but he was one of the first to arrive after
36. Played a secondary role in the october revolution
 - a. Served as a go between between lenin who was in hiding and the party
37. He was sensitive about his role in the october revolution
38. After revolution he became commissar for nationalities
 - a. First experience of running an entire department
 - b. Formed a number of close associations during this time
39. During the civil war he was sent to Tsaritsyn in the volga
 - a. On the edge of bolshevik territory
 - b. Important because of the food
 - c. In charge of organizing food for petrograd and moscow
 - d. Was put in charge of extracting food and grain requisitioning
40. Stalin reported directly to lenin, and he was later put in charge of military relations in the region
41. He clashed with trotsky
42. In 1921 on stalin's assistance the red army invaded georgia and crushed the mensheviks socialist republic
43. Stalin carved out niche of being a ruthless administrator
44. He was considered a second tier bolshevik as he hadn't attended university or traveled abroad, wasn't a speaker or theoretician
45. 1919 he was appointed commissar of rabkin body set up to root out corruption in the government
 - a. Cheka reported directly to him once a week
46. He was always at headquarters and never in the trenches
47. He became a member of the polit bureau when it was created
 - a. Central policy making body of the soviet union
 - b. Lenin, stalin, trotsky, letolinsk and nicoli kristinski
48. In 1922 on lenin's assistance he became the party's first secretary
 - a. Set agenda for polit bureau and communicated decisions for the polit bureau to those who were supposed to carry them out
49. Stalin was the only person who was a part of polit bureau, secretariat and central committee
50. In 1922 when lenin became ill he was in a unique position

Factions

1. Communist party in the 1920s was growing rapidly, and was far from being a monolith
 - a. This growth was fraught with peril
 - b. Various factions within it rather than formal parties

2. Factions tended to form over particular issues, and then remained even after the issue was solved
 - a. Trotsky lead one faction, Kollanti lead another
3. Concern that the party was becoming fragmented, losing authority and control of the revolution
4. Factions challenged Lenin's leadership in the party
5. Lenin organized a group of loyalists at the 10th party congress (at the time of the peasant rebellion)
6. Lenin managed to defeat 2 main factions and pushed through a new list of central committee members
7. Introduced a new resolution titled on party unity
 - a. Ordered factions to disband, and prevent factions from forming
 - b. Disagreeing with party line got you thrown out of the party
 - c. This remained in effect until the 1980s
8. Ban on factions did not prevent disagreement or a leadership struggle opening up

Lecture - The Leadership Struggle

1. Leon Trotsky, Gregory Zinoviev and Lev Kamenev were the leading figures set to take over after Lenin

Trotsky

1. Trotsky - head of red army, great public speaker, second in popularity only to Lenin after the civil war

Zinoviev

1. Chairman of communist international
2. Organization created in Moscow to direct the global communist revolution
3. Distinguished himself when the white army was threatening to take Petrograd
4. Considered one of the communist parties leading theoretician
5. Delivered reports at party meetings

Kamenev

1. Trotsky's brother in law
2. Friend of Zinoviev
3. Served as head of communist state in 1917
4. Later chairman of the Polit Bureau

Leadership

1. Thought that Trotsky was winning, this made him a target
2. The other two pooled Stalin in to fight off Trotsky
3. Zinoviev used his power to strengthen his power over the communists abroad
4. Zinoviev and Kamenev recruited Stalin as an ally
5. Debate about future direction of the revolution became entangled with question of succession
6. On assuming power the Bolsheviks launched a program of international revolution
7. At the end of the first war German communists did stage uprisings

Comintern

1. Founding of Comintern was the communist international
2. Created to stimulate and assist revolutionary movements outside of Russia

3. 21 pt program that all communist parties had to subscribe to
4. Kremlin took control of international communist movement, this remained so until emergence of communist china
5. By 1920s it was clear that the worldwide revolution had stalled

Permanent revolution

1. Theory by trotsky
2. Thought that one communist country could not go alone
3. Revolutions needed to take hold in other countries as well
4. Russia would have a difficult time developing internally and creating the capital needed
5. Argued that to industrialize they would have to engage in world markets

Socialism in one country

1. Theory supported by stalin
2. Advocated concentrating resources on developing soviet union
3. Russia's pre-existing economic base was sufficient to industrialize provided that they could support themselves militarily
4. Until 1927 he supported NEP

Leadership struggle

1. Stalin claimed that trotsky was an unprincipled opportunist that wanted to lead country into dangerous programs abroad
2. By attacking stalin, trotsky raised stalin's importance
3. By 1924 trotsky was opposed by entire polit bureau
4. Stalin and trotsky spread rumors and accusations about each other
5. Lessons of October by Leon Trotsky - described how some originally opposed the revolution
 - a. Mistake on trotsky's part
 - b. Trying To appeal to greater party
 - c. But this made the administration hate him
 - d. He lost his high posts and was demoted
 - e. His supporters were also removed from their positions
6. January 1928 trotsky was exiled to central asia
7. Deported in 1929 from the soviet union and settled in mexico and was assassinated in 1940 on stalin's direct orders
8. Zinoviev and Kamenev made a bid for leadership in 1925 and recognised stalin as a rival
 - a. Criticized stalin and demanded his removal from his positions
 - b. But they found themselves in a minority and they were removed from their positions
 - c. Allowed back into the party in 1928 after repudiating their errors
9. In 1928 stalin was thought to be the leader within party circles
10. 15th party congress stalin was only speaker to receive a standing ovation
11. Replaced his opposition in polit bureau with allies
12. In 1929 his coming out birthday party occurred
13. First time that his image appeared on a poster

Lecture - Why Stalin

Stalin's personal life

1. Didn't have much of a private life
2. Married twice - 1st time in 1906 and his wife died a year later in typhus who was given over to wife sister to raise
3. His son committed suicide
4. Stalin's second wife was 20 years younger
5. Had one son and one daughter
6. His second marriage was not a happy marriage and she eventually committed suicide
7. He had virtually no close friends
8. He stayed in touch with his cousins, but he was not a sentimental man
9. He never seemed to be angry
10. He never took days off, his socializing revolved around work
11. He loved movies
12. He left almost no material possessions

Why Stalin

1. In Soviet Union until 1956 he was portrayed as the only choice
2. As contemporaries the rivals he defeated could not understand had he had emerged victorious
3. He was seen as relatively mediocre and a follower
4. Revivals saw him as duplicitous and ruthless
5. Lenin's testament - wanted that he was rude and capricious
6. Some view everything that Stalin did as a relentless drive for power
7. Personality is problematic as people change and evolve over time
8. We view Stalin's personality through the lens of his rivals
9. He carefully managed what was known about him, but he left no diary or memoir about his life
10. Personality functions in a social political and cultural context, it cannot be divorced by the world he lived in

Trotsky during the civil war

1. Arrogant and imperious, egotistical, a bit of a loner
2. He didn't make much of an attempt to organize allies or divide opponents
3. He was ill equipped for bureaucratic infighting that the leadership struggle entailed

Why Stalin

1. His victory could have been a triumph of political infighting
2. He was always underestimated
3. He didn't have glamorous positions or super high profile ones
4. The administrative positions that he had gave him influence in all areas of power
5. He was in the right place at the right time
6. The best place to be was in the secretariat as he was in charge of the party personnel
 - a. Had authority to recommend who got promoted in the party
 - b. Local organizations became Stalinist as he appointed and controlled them
 - c. They elected central committee and polit bureau
 - d. This led Stalin to win the vote
7. Stalin won the support of the majority of the party
8. He was part of a large social network of Georgian communists

- a. He downplayed this aspect
9. He was always surrounded by loyal Georgians

Stalin's Letters

1. Stalin's letters from his vacation to the Black Sea
2. Contain instructions
3. Demonstrated his approach to political leadership
4. He was immersed in the issues that faced the Soviet Union
5. Stalin was a practical politician in this way
6. He fought for unity of the party
7. Socialism in one country had the benefit of describing things as they really were

Why Stalin

1. There was a new stratum of people in the party who were not university educated, hadn't traveled internationally
2. His other supporters were workers who had been weakened by NEP
3. Stalin's constituency was forming in the 1920s
4. He is not a man of unlimited power
5. Circumstance, timing and luck accounted for a great deal of his success

Week 9 - The Year of Great Change

- ~~Review the Key Names & Terms for this week~~
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, pp. 235-36, 252-271~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Three Generalizations about the First Five-Year Plan (video 15:30)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Three Projects of Industrialization (video, 21:46)~~
- ~~READ: Young Leningrad Worker, Personal letter from Magnitogorsk, 1934~~
- ~~VIEW: Construction of Magnitogorsk Metal Works (1930, video, 3:46)~~
- ~~VIEW: Scenes from Magnitogorsk (1938, video, 1:37)~~
- ~~VIEW: The Trial (film trailer, 1:20)~~
- ~~READ: The Mecca of Socialism~~
- ~~DO: Take the quiz for Week 7 (by Monday, November 15 noon)~~
- ~~Participate in your seminar~~
- The First Five-Year Plan (1928-1932)
- GOSPLAN (State Planning Commission)
- The Dnieper River Hydroelectric Station
- Magnitogorsk
- The White Sea Canal
- Stakhanovite Movement
- John Scott
- Show Trial
- The Shakhty Trial (1928)
- Trial of the Industrial Party (1930)
- Peter Palchinsky
- Robert Robertson

Lecture - Three points about the first 5 year plan

1. Launched in 1928

2. Most dramatic moment in the soviet union - affected the lives of everyone in the country
3. 1928 put an end to NEP and put an offensive towards the capitalist elements in the country
4. This change is called the great turn, breakthrough or leap - stalin called it the year of great change
5. Program of rapid industrialization with an emphasis on heavy industry, and the collectivisation of agriculture
 - a. Peasants became employees working on what used to be their own land
 - b. Politics were seen to be linked
 - c. Policy of collectivisation reseed on the assumption that forcing peasants onto farms would be more efficient and would increase food supply and that it would provide capital for industry
6. The whole economy was nationalized
7. Focus on industrialization drive this week
8. Three general points

Industrialization was always a core goal of the bolshevik leadership

1. As marxists and materialists they believed that to change the world you had to end capitalism
2. Marx saw modernization as the key to historical progress
3. Heavy industry was important in the image of socialism
4. Smokestacks were in the background of many posters
5. They had debated the issue, and were debating issue of how and when to industrialize
6. NEP was always seen as temporary
7. Mystery is why the industrialization drive started in 1929 - two explanations
 - a. First explanation is the war scare
 - i. May 1927 UK broke off relations with the soviet union
 - ii. Jun 1927 soviet representative was assassinated in Poland
 - iii. Talk in moscow that the league of nations was going to invade the soviet union
 - iv. They concluded that economic independence was vital to the security of the soviet union
 - b. Second explanation is a growing economic crisis
 - i. Late 1920s they were still a peasant economy
 - ii. Problem was that this was a labour intensive economy
 - iii. Most of the grain was consumed not sent to market
 - iv. State could not export grain, and prices in the cities remained high
8. By 1928 strong conviction that NEP had run its course, and the time was now

Most ambitious undertaking in centralized state planning ever attempted

1. Reflection of incredible optimism in the party
2. Supervised by GOSPLAN - state planning agency
3. Economists planned backwards - figured out their targets, then figured out necessary inputs to reach them
4. These targets were then subsequently received upwards
5. Labour productivity was supposed to go up, production was supposed to go up

6. 5 year plan was supposed to be fulfilled in 4 years
7. Often took on tone and style of military campaign
8. Mobilization project for entire population
9. Huge national project
10. Goal was to transform peasants into industrial workers
11. Demonstrate to rest of world the superiority of socialism

Breakneck industrialization caused great chaos, waste, and suffering

1. Rapid industrialization was a mess
2. Wasn't enough planning
3. Costs were running in excess, railroads were not working, constant accidents, deficiencies
4. Labour force doubled in 4 years from 11.4 million to 22.8 million
 - a. This happened through mobilization, coercion and violence
 - b. Peasants were fleeing famine, or collectivization
5. They were not trained for the work they were supposed to do
6. Cities and towns were growing by 50 thousand inhabitants per week
7. This added to problems in housing, squalor and overcrowding
8. Famine in countryside, food shortages in cities
9. It was wasteful of human life

Lecture - Three projects of industrialization

Dnieper River Hydro Electric Station

1. Approved in 1920s
2. Construction started in 1927
3. A forerunner of other soviet project
4. Built to provide electricity to factories that were to be built near it
5. Going to be the largest in Europe
6. Blown up twice in the second world war
7. American and German engineers served as consultants on the project
8. Several of the generators were brought in from overseas
9. Arguments that it would make more sense to build smaller thermal plants
10. Stalin and party leaders wanted to build largest power plant in the world to show success of communism
11. Political consideration trumped technical knowledge
12. To clear area for reservoir over 10,000 people were thrown out of their farms, mostly German Mennonites
 - a. They were some of the most prosperous farmers
 - b. This was not taken into account in terms of costs of the project
 - c. The Mennonites that refused to work for project were arrested
13. Needs of workers were neglected, food and housing were inadequate
14. Miserable living conditions led to several disease outbreaks
15. Nobody knows how many people died
16. Environmental damage was significant
17. Question of how useful and efficient this powerplant is

Construction of Magnitogorsk

1. Steel city
2. Crown jewel of the first 5 year plan
3. Industrial city built from scratch
4. Construction began in 1929
5. World's largest steel plant
6. Bilt near a large iron deposit
7. Border of asia and europe, near ural mountains, western edge of siberia
8. There was iron, but no coal
9. The coal had to be brought in by railway
10. Transport was expensive
11. No labour force there, had to be brought in
12. Patterned after those in indiana, considered the most advanced in the world
13. A whole new city that had to be built from scratch
14. First completely planned city
15. City planning was done by a german city planner
16. Housing for engineers and management was constructed first
17. Ordinary workers had low priority housing
 - a. They didn't have indoor planning
 - b. They often lived in tents
18. Much of the labour was forced labour
 - a. Worked and lived under barbed wire
 - b. High mortality rate
 - c. Did the hardest and most dangerous work
 - d. This work made the quick construction of the plant possible
 - e. Only in 60s and 70 that their descents were able to move out of barrack
19. Official literature
 - a. Built by enthusiastic volunteers
 - b. They helped this process by staging socialist competitions between worker groups

Stakhanovite movement

1. Staged competitions eventually turned into a movement
2. Named after a ukrainian coal miner who got the most coal
3. Soviet newspaper hailed the feat as a world record
4. He became a celebrity yand was showered with gifts
5. This set off a movement promoted by the highest levels
6. Great enthusiasm and pride about those who came to the city voluntarily, like the americans

Maningosk

1. Young american john scott wrote a book called behind the ural
 - a. Son of american radicals
 - b. Dropped out of university at the height of the depression
 - c. Traveled to look for an alternative to capitalism
 - d. Book captures enthusiasm and the despair of the industrialization drive

- e. Published at a time when the soviet union and americans were allies in the second world war
2. During the second world war they produced 80% of the tanks used by the soviets
3. Today it is one of the most polluted cities in russia and the world
4. Millions of cubic meters of industrial waste continue to be pumped into the ural river
5. Many of its citizens are suffering from cancer

Opening of the White Sea Canal

1. Constriction of the canal was always a nightmare
2. Violation of all engineering principles and human rights
3. Almost all the workers were prisoners
4. Worked under the worst conditions including during the winter, slept in the open or tents
5. 200,000 people died in less than 2 years of construction
6. Goal was to connect the white sea and the balitic sea
7. It was stalin who pushed for the project in the 1920s
8. Project was celebrated as one of the successes of the 5 year plan
9. Constructed in 20 months
10. They used no mechanized equipment - all manual labour
11. All building materials had to be available on the spot - used dirt, wood, stone
12. The wood rots
13. Technical expertise of engineers was ignored
 - a. They couldn't question the canal
14. It proved to be almost useless
15. It is 207 KM but it was too shallow for most sea going vessels
16. Within years of completion it began to collapse

Overall

1. Make it big, fast and damn the costs, including human costs
2. When things went wrong the solution was to find scapegoats to blame

Show Trials

1. First two took place during 5 year plan
2. Involved technical specialists that were accused of working with foreign powers to overthrow communists
3. Very publicized
4. Charges were completely false, they were scripted like theater
5. Goal was to redirect workers anger at the specialists and managers rather than the party
6. Peter Palchinsky
 - a. Played a significant role in industry
 - b. When bolsheviks came to power he was enthusiast about industrialization
 - c. Believed that industry in a socialist society had to take into account the interests of the workforce
 - d. He had been involved in the planning of the hydroelectric system, the city, and made comments on the canal
 - e. Pointed out the technical flaws in each of these projects
 - f. He reminded authorities that the human conditions were the most important for the success of these projects

- g. When things turned out differently than originally planned, the party leadership did not abandon the plan, it powered through and made critics pay the price
- h. He was put on trial in 1928 along with 52 other engineers
- i. He was executed

The Trial

1. Film made regarding the trial of the industrial party
2. Found archival footage of the trial and restored it
3. Sentences in this case were commuted
4. Public emotions were whipped up along this trial
5. Need to blame someone when something went wrong was a key part of stalin's policy

Week 10 - Collectivization, Famine and the Holodomor

- ~~Review the Key Names & Terms for this week~~
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, chapter 9~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, The Terror Famine - A Personal Note (video, 6:03)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Collectivization (video, 18:40)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Peasant Resistance (video, 5:00)~~
- ~~ANALYZE: Dekulakization Posters~~
- VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Holodomor (video, 16:00)
- ~~READ: Red Famine~~
- DO: Take the quiz for Week 10
- Participate in your seminar
- "Kulak"
- Thomas Campbell, The Montana Farming Corporation
- Nicholas Bukharin
- machine tractor stations (MTS)
- kolkhoz = collective farm
- Committee of Poor Peasants = Kombed
- collectivization brigades
- Razbazarivanie = "squandering"
- "Dizzy with Success" (March 2, 1930)
- Holodomor = Famine-Terror

Lecture - The Holodomor: A Personal Note

1. Over 2.3 million ukrainian people were taken as slave labourers to germany during ww2
 - a. They were categorized as subhumans
2. After the war was over some refused to return to ukraine
3. By terms of the yalta agreement, stalin insisted that all citizens be returned even if by force
4. Learned to fly under the radar during stalin
5. In the early 1980s some began talking about it, those who had died, what had happened
6. Until the 1980 the famine terror was ignored by historians in the west
7. Until the 1990s none of the textbooks mentioned the scale of the famine
 - a. If it was mentioned it was blamed on drought or bad harvest
8. The survivors became double victims, as they were not believed by historians

9. There was a problem of sources, as the immigrants were not considered to be reliable
 - a. Not until social history was taken seriously and the archives opened
10. It remains a polarizing issue

Lecture - Collectivisation

1. For soviet leadership the village was an issue
2. The peasants viewed the bolsheviks, and were viewed by the bolsheviks with great suspicion
3. Hostility towards the peasants was imbedded in the parties culture
4. Saw them as backwards ignorant and uncultured and attached to property and family
5. Wanted to turn the peasants into proletarians
6. NEP was an acknowledgement that the bolsheviks were unable to tame the countryside
7. Peasants were resentful and fearful of the bolsheviks
8. Throughout the 1920s they complained about taxes under NEP, complained about takeovers of the soviets, and were still talking about free elections
9. Support was very weak in the villages, and even weaker in the grain growing regions in the south
10. Prospect of industrialization turned stalin's attention to the peasants
11. One of the few ways to finance industrialization was exporting grain out the the country
 - a. They didn't want debts to capitalist powers
 - b. NEP made it difficult to get large amounts of grain
 - i. Peasants had no motivation to sell to the state
12. Fall of 1928 grain seizures started again
 - a. Returned to methods of war communism
13. Stalin talked about creating collective farms were the peasants would be once employees
14. Stalin expected great struggle
 - a. Started with a war against farmers who were likely to reject collectivisation
 - b. Employed divide and rule tactics - pitted the poor against the kulacs
15. Stalin sought to liquidate the kulaks as a class
 - a. Demonized, dehumanization, overweight, gluttons, greedy, enois of progress
16. Nikolai Hukharin
 - a. Defended NEP and said that the peasants would reject collectivisation
 - b. Argued for a slower approach
 - c. Argued for peaceful integration of kulacs into socialism
 - d. Stalin declared his views were essentially capitalist, and accused him of factionalism
 - e. Expelled him from polit bureau
17. Came to the countryside with no respect for specialized knowledge and local practices
 - a. They don't have agrarian experience
18. The collective farms were envisioned as giant industrial farms
 - a. Very mechanized
 - b. Model from this farming was the Thomas Cambell farm in Montana
 - c. Cambell was convinced that farming was 90% engineering
 - d. Many industrial farms were established in the US due to foreclosures

- e. Soviets visited us in 1920s and saw it as the mecca of farming
- f. He served as an advisor in the government
- 19. Dreams of transferring peasants to agro towns offering amenities, the modern village
- 20. Stalin was conceived it had to be initiated in one big push without waiting for agro tools or machinery
- 21. The collective farm would deliver a quota of grain to the state, end of traditional farming by household
 - a. All land became state land
 - b. Livestock and equipment also became state property
 - c. Regementation of labour was extreme
 - i. Paid only when quota was met
 - ii. Radical change
 - iii. Involved unprecedented levels of violence

Dekulakization

1. Kulaks were not a legal category
2. Depended on who was defining them
3. They were people who opposed, or may oppose collectivisation
4. Three main categories
 - a. Counter revolutionaries - executed or exiled
 - b. Active opponents - deported to remote regions
 - c. People expelled and expropriated from their homes
5. Many were stigmatized as kulacs
6. Lynne Viola - published a study of people labeled as active opponents and put in remote areas
 - a. Dumped into the bush
 - b. Had to build settlements from scratch
 - c. Some were sent to work on the white sea canal, others in magnitogorsk
 - d. Removed people opposed to collectivization
7. Collectivization started in february 1930
 - a. Collectivization brigades were brought in to encourage people to join the collective farms
 - b. Stories of torture and family gold being stolen
 - c. This was an assault on the culture and institutions of the village
 - d. The brigades saw it as a war on tradition
 - e. Removal of village elite and authority figures
8. Visible aspect was the campaign against religion and the church
 - a. Sacred objects were confiscated
 - b. Church Bells were claimed
 - c. The buildings were turned into other things
 - d. Religion was driven underground
9. Sunday was no longer a day off, other social spaces were shut down
10. It was a violent and bloody clash between cultures

Lecture - Resistance

1. Peasants understood collectivisation as a battle over their culture and way of life

2. The party proclaimed it to be a socialist translation of the countryside, but it was a bloody showdown
3. The resistance was furious
4. Not all peasants resisted, some sided with the party state
5. Started in 1928 with the requisitions - reminiscent of the horrors of war communism
 - a. Started peaceful - writing letters speaking out
 - b. Turned later to violence like arson and murder
6. Attacks on the church most produced a response
7. Bells were sounds of village solidarity, they rebelled against the removal of the bell
 - a. Protests were usually led by women
8. Razbazarivanie - squandering - slaughter of their own livestock, destruction of implements and their own crops
 - a. way to liquify assets
 - b. Began in 1928 and continued through 1933
 - c. This was a significant form of protest
9. When all else failed they fled - to industrial sites and the cities
 - a. Meant cutting ties with family, and way of life
10. Stalin published an article titled dizzy with success
 - a. Criticised the party activists from being overzealous
 - b. Said the process of collectivization should be voluntary
 - c. 15 million households had been collectivized, and this dropped to 10 million then dropped to 6 million
11. A second collectivization drive was launched
 - a. Kept raising grain quotas on those who refused to join
 - b. Not meeting quotas meant arrest and deportation
12. A year later it was announced that collectivization was nearly complete

Lecture - Holodomor

1. Collectivization gave the state the capacity to extract whatever grain was produced
 2. State could decide who got fed
 3. It gave it first to the cities, military and exported before peasants got grain
 4. Procurements triggered famine
 5. Problem was that grain quotas were unrealistically high, and didn't take into consideration different conditions and fluctuations in harvests
 6. Unauthorized food consumption was criminalized in 1931
 7. Internal passports were introduced in 1932 to prevent peasant from leaving the village
 8. It had spread to the kazaks and the volga
 9. Cannibalism appeared
 10. People in the countryside and cities were dying of starvation
 11. Nobody was keeping records of the deaths 5-7 million died
 12. Census was suppressed and results were destroyed
 13. Famine developed over many months and there were many warning signs, but there was no change of policy
 14. Grain exports continued in depression as the price collapsed in the international market
- Genocide?

1. Some claim it was a genocide
2. To be a genocide it would have had to be deliberate - question if this was the case
3. Some argue that Stalin did not foresee the chaos or the warning signs
4. Others claim that the famine developed over many months and the leadership was aware and did nothing to prevent it
5. They expected a peasant insurrection, and didn't mind spilling blood

Ukrainian genocide

1. Question of if there was a Ukrainian genocide
2. When collectivisation was introduced there was a lot of resistance in Ukraine and it was more violent in non-Russian and Cossack areas
3. Ukrainians believed that they were being attacked because they were Ukrainian
4. In 1932 the leadership in Ukraine had wanted Stalin of a famine
5. Stalin was furious with Ukrainian communists and accused them of treachery
6. When Stalin spoke of improving the situation in Ukraine he meant subduing the area
7. They were not allowed to cross border into Russia, or board trains
8. Forms of humanitarian aid were denied
9. Stalin may not have set out to starve them, but as the famine developed he took special measures to maximise loss of life
10. On a map it can be seen that the famine was far worse in Ukraine, but across the border people weren't
11. Stalin sent one of his lieutenants to Ukraine to take control of the situation
 - a. 1933 was the defeat of Ukrainian counter-revolution
 - b. Elimination of the clergy, writers, intellectuals, arrest of thousands of communists
 - c. Among them was Oleksander Shumskyi
 - i. Ex-commissar of enlightenment
 - ii. He had been demoted, but in May 1933 he was arrested and accused of arranging an armed insurrection
 - iii. Murdered by secret police
12. 4/5th of their cultural elite had been liquidated, 3-4 million
13. There was famine elsewhere in the Soviet Union
14. The people may have described this as terror
15. Defining movement, point of no-return
 - a. Fundamentally transformed the whole system
 - b. Collective farms did not produce the excess
 - c. Levels remained stagnant, or decreased
 - d. Until the 1980s they had difficulty feeding its population
16. Collectivization changed the relationship between citizens and the state
 - a. Re-insured the population
 - b. Social organization of rural life changed
 - c. Autonomous political life disappeared
 - d. Non-state public spaces gave way to government industries
17. Greatly expanded methods of coercion in state violence
18. Increasing use of state violence

19. While collectivisation may have been an economic failure, it did win the war over the peasantry

a. Won control over the rural peasantry

Week 11 - Understanding the "Great Terror"

- Review the Key Names & Terms for this week
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, pp. 278-289~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, The Great Terror: What, Who, and How Many (video, 15:00)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, The Great Terror: How and Why (video, 18:00)~~
- ~~ANALYZE: Map of the Gulag~~
- ~~READ: Peter Holquist, State Violence as Technique~~
- ~~READ: These popular Stalin jokes might have been the last words you said~~
- ~~VIEW: Hand of Stalin, episode 2 "Leningrad" (video, 58:00)~~
- ~~DO: Take the quiz for Week 11 (by Monday, Nov. 29, noon)~~
- ~~DO: Participate in the seminar this week~~
- ~~WORK ON: ESSAY, Due Saturday December 11 by midnight~~
- The "Great Terror" / "The Great Purge"
- Nikolai Ezhov
- NKVD = Secret Police
- Moscow (Show) Trials
- "Old Bolsheviks"
- Marshal Tukhachevsky
- Gulag = The Chief Administration of Corrective Labor Camps and Colonies
- Sergei Kirov
- "Moscow Centre"
- Svodki = police reports on popular mood

Lecture - What, Who, and How Many

1. The term great terror refers to 1936-1938 and campaign of repression and persecution of enemies of the state
2. Includes how trials of communist party leaders - sometimes called the old bolsheviks
3. Term great terror comes from a book by Robert Conquest
 - a. Term only refers to this two year period
4. The preferred term in the Soviet Union was Stalinist repressions or the Ezhov era
5. Book was published in the Soviet Union one year before it collapsed
6. The term began to be used in Russia as well
7. Book took the term from the great terror in the French Revolution
8. People were using the term terror before the book was published
9. By characterizing this particular period as the great terror, implication is that things before were somehow less important
 - a. This has created problems for understanding this period

The Victims

1. Set apart this period was the show trials of the leading members of the communist party
2. These trials were very public and received international attention
3. Many of the old bolsheviks were now put on trial publicly where they admitted to all sorts of crimes, like spying

4. First trial held in august 1936
5. Third trial took place in 1938, many were tried including nikolai bukharin
6. All of the surviving members off the polit bureau except stalin and trotsky were tried and killed
7. Terror of this era hit the party hard
8. Many were thrown out of the party and out of work
9. There was a lot of turnover
10. The military was also hit very hard
 - a. Top commanders were accused of working with the german
 - b. Removed 3 of 5 marshals
 - c. Removed 15 or 15 army commanders
 - d. 8 of 9 admirals
11. Military men were tried in secret tribunals

Interrogation of an enemy of the people

1. There were many more ordinary people arrested and executing than party members
2. Targeted kulaks, priests and non-russian groups
3. These ordinary people constituted vast majority of the victims
4. According to official data
 - a. 1.3 million indicted for political crimes
 - b. 700,00 were sentenced to death
5. Men suffered more than women
6. Not every person who was sentenced to death was executed
7. Tortured to death never made it into official figures
8. Most credible scholarly estimate is that 1 million people died in the great terror

The Gulag

1. 6 million people in these camps
2. There were millions more who had been in the gulag and were released, some received succeeded spencers
3. 20 million people were convicted of crimes against the state
4. The families were often harassed or not told
5. Years stood out because of the increase in official death sentences, and the arrests of the party officials

Lecture - How and Why

1. The archives dont clearly answer why these things occurred fully
2. The archives cannot provide all the answers
3. Two fundamental divides
 - a. Extent of stalin's influence in the terror
 - b. What motivated the terror
4. When conquest was writing his book he didn't have access too many archives
5. There were some archives that were taken by germans during the war, than taken by the americans
 - a. He had a source archival from belarus
6. He told stalin as standing at the apex of a terror system

- a. Wanted to consolidate personal power, and started with the assassination of Sergri Kirvov
 - b. Used his murder as an excuse to kill enemies
 - c. He put stalin at the center of the story - terror was driven by stalin's fears and paranoia
 - d. This is similar to the view that exists in popular culture - top down model
- 7. This was challenged by group of historians called the revisionists led by sheila fitzpatrick
 - a. Examine the period from below
 - b. Look at the impact of pressures from below and how they shaped history
 - c. Studied letters of denunciation
 - d. Ordinary people were active participants in the terror
 - e. Allowed them an opportunity to settle old scores
 - f. They moved stalin away from the center of the terror
- 8. Robert theruston
 - a. Majority of people worked with the police to work together and root out enemies
 - b. Society accepted show trials as necessary to defend the state
 - c. In this interpretation stalin was a part of something much larger
- 9. Revisionists exploded on scholarly scene in 1980s before the archives opened
 - a. Part of a trend in germany where historians were trying to move away from a view of hitler as an exclusive explanation of nazism
- 10. Archival documents confirmed that stalin did not act alone, and some contingencies supported the oppression in certain groups
- 11. Show trials were popular - the reasons for this isn't clear
 - a. Could be communist, or jewish, concerns about nature of the show
- 12. Stalin was definitely personally involved in the terror
- 13. Stalin didn't simply give a vague order or two, there are mountains of documents of him authorizing it, and how they should be done
- 14. Clear that stalin managed his subordinates and coordinated a political campaign around the process
 - a. He played the central role in the terror
- 15. He singlehandedly drew up the law that legalized speedy execution, and specified the use of terror, identified groups of people to be liquidated, he set quotas for who would be arrested in each region
- 16. He didn't act alone, but he did have a central role in it
- 17. Sheila fitzpatrick has now conceded as such

Other discovery

- 1. Stalin and soviet leaders spoke and wrote in private in a similar way that they did in public
- 2. In private they also used terms like enemies of the people, and foreign spies
- 3. Suggests that it is the way that he saw the situation

Why

- 1. Some have put a lot of evidence on police reports - filled with remarks that people made critical of stalin and the regime

2. Impression that there were lots that were opposed to stalin's regime
3. After reading these reports some winter weather anyone supported the regime
4. According to some, people posed threat to the stalinist regime
5. Opposition in the countryside was at dangerous levels
6. Unknown numbers of people were hiding in civities
7. In this view stalin was frightened men who were very vulnerable
8. Others argue that the police reports served the purpose of the police, and the internal threat wasn't as strong
9. After the holodomor strikes and rebellions became quite rare - stalin may have felt threatened, but how real was the threat
10. The international situation
 - a. Internal threat was not reason enough to launch the great terror
 - b. Great terror was launched during menacing international situation
 - c. Advance of hitler, japanese invasion of china
 - d. Great terror targeted those who they thought would be disloyal in war
 - e. Great terror could have been seen as a preemptive strike
11. Critics argue that the terror affected more than those who could be seen as disloyal in a war - affected people who couldn't possibly be spies
12. The terror had an aspect of social cleansing to it as well
13. Sources can hide as much as they reveal
14. Stalin's intentions will remain a mystery
15. Stalin rarely showed his thinking
16. In 1936 with the great terror stalin becomes stalin, assumes dictatorial powers, and cult leadership was now gone
 - a. No party congresses
 - b. Stalin's rivals had been eliminated
 - c. Leadership in party state was a group of men who had been promoted as a part of the terror
 - d. Nobody dared to challenge stalin's authority

Week 12 - The Soviet Experiment: From Revolution to Everyday Stalinism

- ~~Review the Key Names & Terms for this week~~
- ~~READ: Ron Suny, The Soviet Experiment, chapter 12~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times (video, 16:30)~~
- ~~VIEW: New Moscow (video, 4:33)~~
- ~~READ: Life in the 1930s~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Surviving (video, 16:44)~~
- ~~VIEW: Prof. Andriewsky, Final Thoughts on the Soviet Experiment (video, 11:00)~~
- ~~Take the (optional) Quiz for Week #12~~
- ~~Attend Final SEMINAR THIS WEEK~~
- "Society of Shortages"
- Communal apartment
- Moscow subway
- "social aliens"
- Pavlik Morozov

- blat
- Babushka/baba (grandmother)
- "On the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood" (May 1936)
- Nicholas Timasheff, The Great Retreat
- High Modernism

Lecture - Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times

1. Most research has focused on urban Russia, though most people lived in the countryside, or outside of Russia
2. The threat of arrest was part of everyday life
3. Nobody was safe from arrest
4. Being a loyal communist didn't keep you safe
5. There were few activities that didn't involve the state
6. Even leisure activities were regulated by the state
7. Sports teams were not independent, organized and sponsored by state organizations
8. All citizens worked for the state, there were no alternative employers
9. State owned the means of production, and was formal distributor of all goods
10. Stores were regulated by the state
11. Selling goods for private property was a crime
12. This led to chronic shortages and rationing
13. 1930s were a decade of shortages, result of collectivization, famines, and money being taken away from other sectors
14. Rationing became a part of life
15. Living standards dropped considerably
16. For those in cities life revolved around getting basic necessities
17. Quality of goods was also a problem - very poor quality
 - a. Impossible to get things repaired
 - b. People couldn't find materials to fix things for themselves
 - c. Sale of yarn and linen was prohibited because they were in such short supply
18. Situation improved slightly in 1936 where some trades were re-legalized
19. Worst problems for consumers was finding shoes
 - a. Shoe production was affected due to shortage of leather, shortage of animals after the mass slaughter of animals
20. Children's shoes were even more of a problem
 - a. At the beginning of the school year in one town there was not a single pair of children's shoes for sale
21. Line at the shoe store
 - a. Became a police matter as they were blocking the road and breaking windows
22. Way to get scarce goods was through work
 - a. Factories had their own cafeterias, shoe stores, and apartments
 - b. These were accessible only to those who worked there
23. Housing was a major problem
 - a. Many people were moving into the cities
 - b. Little was done to build more housing
 - c. Municipal housing authorities could evict, and then move others in

- d. Envoies of the state were especially vulnerable
- e. One solution was to convert family apartments into communal apartment
 - i. Share kitchen and bathroom with others
- f. Only most privileged had separate apartments
- g. In 1930s some lived in corridors of apartments or slept in the communal kitchen
- 24. 1935 state embarked on ambitious program of urban reconstruction
 - a. Moscow was the center
 - b. The subway was the joy of this program
 - c. It reached into all corners of the Soviet Union as well
 - d. Programs to show new Soviet construction
 - e. Tore down the old
 - f. Destruction was regarded as construction
 - g. Buildings were built in a new classical style
 - i. Example is the seven sisters building
 - ii. Rumored to be built by German prisoners of war
- 25. Reconstruction could not keep up with the pace of urbanization
- 26. The housing needs of general population were ignored
- 27. Workers districts had no paved streets, no running water in Magnitogorsk
 - a. Whole city was short of power
 - b. Dangerous to walk in the street
- 28. There was a lot of poverty, meant increase in crime
 - a. Usually blamed peasant workers who had just moved in
- 29. 1930s were a decade of poverty around the world
- 30. There was a lot of destruction and dislocation of lives in such a short amount of time

Lecture - Survival

- 1. Everything was rationed
- 2. All food in 1931
- 3. People managed through Blat - mutual favours
 - a. Getting goods through informal connections and networks
 - b. Doing a favour, and getting a favour
 - c. It was illegal, but also universal
 - d. Most involved getting shoes and clothes
 - e. Created an illegal second economy
- 4. Joining the communist party
 - a. Party members lead more privileged lives
 - b. They held more key administrative positions
 - c. These were granted only by joining the communist party
 - d. This group had special access to goods and services
- 5. One of the concerns of the leadership was that people were joining for the benefits alone
 - a. There were several purges to rid the party of careerists
 - b. Concern of getting swept up
- 6. Peasants remained disadvantaged
- 7. Life was harder for the millions who were categorized as social aliens
 - a. Priests

- b. Former nep men
 - c. Kulaks
 - d. Former leaders in the russian army or politics
 - e. They had a difficult time getting work, and work was they key to survival
 - f. Social aliens were barred from joining the party
 - g. Their children were expelled from schools
 - h. This stigma passed from father to child
 - i. Deprived of the right to vote
8. Many people lead a double life
- a. Meant changing identity, biting tongue, counselling views and history
 - b. Meant running away
 - c. To leave you needed papers as internal passports were introduced
 - d. Needed to get new identity documents
9. Before 1932 you could destroy documents and then make an oral declaration
- a. Popular to claim kiev as a birthplace as their records had been destroyed
 - b. After 1932 people got documents forged
10. Marriage and adoption were also popular ways to get a new identity
- a. Children sent to live with relatives who were not outcasts
 - b. They would marry people of lower class who were not outcasts
 - i. Easier for women to do
11. Famous cases was of gromov
- a. Late 1920s he assumed several identities
 - b. Every time he reinvented himself he forged newspapers
 - c. Gromov didn't want to keep a low profile, in it for the money
 - d. Managed to get an entire apartment in moscow all to himself
 - e. At his height in 1930s
 - f. Posed as a false specialist
 - g. Avoided getting caught by frequently moving and changing jobs
 - h. Arrived dropping big names and giving himself big titles
 - i. He was caught a bunch of times, but ofthe managed to escape
 - j. In 1934 he didn't manage to escape
 - i. He started to denounce those who had turned themselves in
 - ii. Kept up a steady stream of petitions and denunciations
 - iii. Eventually sentenced to death, commuted to labour
12. All sorts of con men and this attracted attention from the public
13. There was a subversive element to their stories and this had great appeal
14. Most people who lived double lives were in it to survive
- a. Was a vulnerable situation to live in
 - b. Trick was to move far away, avoid making enemies, and change jobs frequently
 - c. Hardest thing was you could never go home, always lived in fear
15. Political repression created added strains on the family

Legend of Pavlic

1. Allegedly denounced his father for hoarding grain
2. Became a patron sit of the pioneers

3. Story of his martyrdom was told in children's books
4. Almost everything about this legend was wrong
5. He had never been a pioneer, his father had been chairman of remote soviet
6. Father abandoned his mother
7. Not clear who murdered him or why - no evidence the family was involved, likely other teenagers
8. Legend was created and spread to encourage children to put communism over family
9. It was extremely rare for children to denounce relatives

Family

1. Divorce rate was high
2. Difficulty of getting necessities made everything a struggle
3. Families were held together through many generations of children
4. Babushka - was the key to the families survival
5. Could sometimes be a subversive element
6. Often brought different values - secretly baptised babies
7. Played an important role in the family

Lecture - Final Thoughts

1. 1930s were thought by some to be a great retreat
 - a. Retreat from revolutionary values, promoted traditional values of patriotism and the family
 - b. By end of 1930s it was more hierarchical than it had ever been
 - c. Undertook measures to strengthen the family
 - d. Abortion was outlawed in may 1936
 - e. State introduced incentives for women to have children
 - f. Mothers with more than 6 children got cash bonuses
 - g. Soviet state became pro family and pro natalist
 - h. Many women were opposed to the ban on abortion
 - i. Lack of space and no contraception were issues
 - j. Factories labour discipline was restored
 - k. Workers could be fired or evicted for not coming to work
 - l. Wage differences were introduced
 - m. Message of those who worked hard would be reward
2. Restoration of ranks and titles in the military
 - a. Bolsheviks had used practical titles
 - b. They reintroduced ranks and epilits
3. Teachers were put back in charge of academics, with traditional russian learning methods, return to the study of the russian tsars
4. Move of the ear was a movie about a russian prince
5. Later historians challenged the story of the great retreat
 - a. This was never announced by party
 - b. Socialist values were routinely emphasised
 - c. Bolsheviks had always had a hierarchical view and authoritarian
 - d. Hierarchy of knowledge was baked into lenin's views

6. 1936 constitution guaranteed soviet citizens right to a job, health care, and care for the elderly
 - a. An extreme form of the welfare state
7. High modernism
 - a. Characterized by boundless and crude belief in science to transform and manage the natural world and human beings
 - b. View shared by many, not a left wing or communist thing, global thing
 - c. Idea to engineer whole societies
 - d. Reached high point during and after world wars
 - e. Expressed through some development projects like with indigenous people
 - f. This blind enthusiasm for engineering and the bulldozing of civil society lead to tragic violent results
 - g. Destruction of all remnants of the past was equated with progress
 - h. Peter palchinski had foreseen and warned about this
8. How did ordinary people live?
 - a. Life on the inside looks very different than that it does to outsider historians
 - b. We think of human suffering
 - c. For many who lived in it it was a backdrop to their lives
 - d. Life in the soviet union would be very recognisable to us
 - e. Human beings are incredibly adaptable
 - f. Not passive victims of the state
 - g. They figured out how to live