

- Authorities ordered all peasants to turn over their entire produce from farming, except for the bit they needed for themselves to eat
- If Civil War was lost, entire communist revolution was lost
- Many peasants resisted
- Black market absorbed huge amounts
- 29% of food distributed through government
- 7.5 million people died of starvation
- Change from old way to new way of doing things
- Drastic and violent
- Politically successful (urban workers and soldiers fed) but an economic failure (production of food far worse)

Lenin and the New Economic Policy:

- War communism and civil war devastated economy
- Food shortages, strikes, riots
- Kronstadt Mutiny – naval seamen rebelled against Bolsheviks, demanded freedom of speech and press, new elections by secret ballot, no single party system, freedom of assembly for trade unions and peasant organizations, no more grain requisitioning, and free market for peasants – brutally put down by Trotsky
- People dissatisfied with Bolshevik rule
- Lenin showed ability to compromise – New Economic Policy (NEP)
- Some private enterprise permitted
- Peasants allowed to sell surplus
- Workers in small factories allowed to purchase their factories and return it to private ownership
- Peasants taxed, but allowed to keep all surplus (incentive to increase production)
- 1928 – economy recovered
- Social results of NEP were a threat to Bolsheviks – increase in Nepmen (small business people) and Kulaks (wealthy peasants)

Rest of Lenin's Years:

- ◦ Shot in 1918 by protestor (not fatal)
- ◦ Stroke in 1922
- Bolshevik Party became known as Communist Party
- ◦ Russia became known as the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
- ◦ Constitution – federal system with each region having a regional government but ultimately ruled by a central government based in Moscow (CPSU)
 - Originally only 4 republics
 - By 1991 – 16 republics
 - Originally thought communism might spread to rest of Europe – held off on trade arrangements
 - Communist International – supervised international communist revolutions
- ◦ Comintern – aid Communist Revolution, fund uprisings, finance foreign Communist Parties, distribute literature, place agents in other countries

- 1921-22 became apparent that international revolution would have to wait - entered agreements with western nations in order to build up industrial base (necessary)
- **Treaty of Rapallo** – USSR agreed to manufacture illegal war materials for Germany and train German pilots and personnel in exchange for much-needed steel manufacturing technology
- 1923 – Ukraine joined USSR

General Secretary:



- Most powerful figure in USSR after Stalin
- Also known as First Secretary

Politburo:



- Central policy making and governing body
- Oversaw operations of Central Committee
- Made all major policy decisions and put them in action
- If not also members of Secretariat, power was reduced
- Elected by Central Committee

Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee:

- Responsible for central administration of Communist Party
- Elected by Central Committee
- General Secretary and Politburo were leaders

Central Committee:

- Elected every 5 years by Party Congress
- Directed all Party and government activities
- Rubber-stamped all decisions from Politburo
- Met twice per year
- Rarely made major decision

Party Congress of the Soviet Union:

- Gathering of delegates of Communist Party and predecessors
- Annual events in 1920's
- Organ for the decisions of Politburo and Party propaganda

Supreme Soviet (Council):

- Highest legislative body when Party Congress wasn't meeting
- Only power to pass constitutional amendments
- Two chambers of 750 members each: The Soviet of the Union (population) and The Soviet of Nationalities (ethnic groups)
- Met twice per year
- Rubber-stamped legislation from Politburo
- Each republic had own Supreme Soviet

Party Committees (Partkoms):

- Controlled institutions, factories, collective farms
- Led by elected partkom secretaries
- Three levels of party committees

Party Cells:

- Created within any organizational entity whatsoever, as long as there were 3 Communist Party Members
- Managed by party bureau
- Secretaries were often regular employees of the plant, factory, hospital, or school

Regular Members of the Communist Party:

- Very tough to get into – investigation of past, must have support of several different committees
- Youth stages: Youth Pioneers, Komsomol (Communist Youth League)
- 1918 – 200,000 members
- 1933 – 3.5 million members (Stalin's recruitment)
- 1939 – 1.9 million members (purges)
- 1986 – 19 million members

Apparatchik:

- Professional functionary of Communist Party or government that held any position of bureaucratic or political responsibility
- Member of governmental or party "apparat" (apparatus)
- Frequently transferred between different areas of responsibility
- Not highly skilled in any trade or area
- Good communists with excellent connections

Nomenklatura:

- Name given to CPSU members who occupied higher-level jobs approved by Communist Party
- Very elite
- Given special privileges
- State-owned factory – top managers would be nomenklatura, Party officials working at the factory were a separate and independent hierarchy
- Party Secretary would report to the nomenklatura as an employee, but the nomenklatura would report to the secretary as an ordinary Party member
- Important managers usually belonged to higher Party levels than the local cell

Power Struggle Between Trotsky and Stalin:

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- Politburo had Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Radek, and Rykov as members after Lenin's death
- Power vacuum created



- Three ideological positions emerged in regards to the future of the Soviet Union
- Left wing – Trotsky - believed that socialism depended on worldwide revolution; NEP betrayed communist theories, pushed for worldwide communist revolution or USSR would fail
- Right wing – Bukharin - believed that worldwide revolution was ultimately essential, but did not have to happen immediately – more concerned with continuing on as they had been (NEP) and building towards utopian state
- Central or moderates – Stalin (pretended) - believed that pure socialism could be built in one country and did not depend on worldwide revolution, wanted to be able to defend themselves from capitalist attacks first and concern themselves with the rest of the world later, hated NEP – “Socialism in One Country” slogan
- Trotsky – Lenin’s chief assistant
- Stalin – General Secretary of the Party (very powerful)
- Stalin filled party with men that were loyal to him, portrayed himself as very close to Lenin
- 1927 – Stalin won struggle, expelled Trotsky from the party, then exiled him and sentenced him to death

Economic Planning:

- Change in economic planning – instead of guiding industrialization Stalin forced it
- All planning done from Moscow
- Huge problems (size of USSR and diverse nationalities that composed it)
- “Guns Before Butter” – USSR was going to focus on building up its heavy industry and armaments rather than consumer goods
- Stalin wanted to abolish NEP – disliked compromise between communism and capitalism
- Changed back to more “pure” communist model – Five-Year Plans (goals for agricultural and industrial production with established daily, monthly, and yearly quotas)

First Five-Year Plan:

- **Command economy:** free market is totally eliminated, production, distribution, and consumption of goods is controlled by the state, individual economic initiative is eliminated – opposite to free market economy
- **Collectivization:** USSR needed an enormous supply of agriculture to feed an increasing industrial working population – thus, Stalin joined all small farms together to make enormous agricultural factories that would increase yield (did not work)
- 75% of people still in agriculture
- Stalin took control of the food supply and created a large group of workers who could move to cities and work in urban industry
- Foreign loans for funding industry forbidden
- Agriculture used to fund heavy industry – exported or sold to the people of the USSR, and the profits used to fund heavy industry

- Two types of collective farms – state farm (agricultural factory in which peasants worked the land for a wage, and losses were taken on by the state) and a collective farm or Kolkhoz (operated like a business in which the farm paid the state a tax, overhead was covered by the earnings of the farm, and any surplus was divided amongst the laborers)
- Collective workers allowed small private plots and a limited number of livestock
- Many peasants resisted collectivization – led to widespread famine
- Kulaks (rich peasants who owned property worth \$800 and hired laborers) were destroyed by Stalin because they responded by burning crops and killing livestock – killed or sent to gulags (prison camps) in Siberia
- 1931-32 widespread drought that caused millions to die of starvation and disease
- By the end of the Third Five-Year Plan 25 million farms had been collectivized
- Farmers cared more for their own plots than they did the collective farms
- Grain and produce taken to be used to feed the cities or sell on the international market

Heavy Industry and Industrialization:

- Stalin wanted to force this development
- Wanted USSR to build infrastructure necessary for weapon building in order to protect them from invasion
- Commitment had to be total
- Industrialize or be destroyed
- Knew that invasion from the west was inevitable at some point
- Gosplan (state planning commission) created five-year plans
- Competition replaced wages as incentive for working harder – led to various departments fudging numbers so they would look better in Stalin's eyes
- Saboteurs and lazy workers severely punished
- Aleksei Stakhanov – coal miner who mined more than 14 times his quota, became model for Soviet workers
- Goal of Five-Year Plans was to increase industrial output by 250%
- Large mega-projects completed (dams, factories, and canals) by slave labor
- Understood that modern warfare would require a strong air force
- One of the problems with communist economies is that they lack innovation and research into product development – Soviets built a new type of plane that was out of date by the time the project was completed
- All projects depended on slave labor – 10 million political prisoners

Summary of the Five-Year Plans:

- Totally eliminated capitalism
- Only met goals in oil industry, but did improve production in other areas
- Enormous cost of human suffering was justified by the idea that at least the Soviet Union would not be crushed by their enemies – created military machine
- Failures in plans were blamed on enemies of the state
- Cheka and OGPU were secret police forces designed to hunt down enemies of “the Plan”

- Gulags (forced labor camps) grew in number and size
- Brutal program of industrialization produced unbelievable results – surpassed France, Japan, and Italy, and possibly even Great Britain
- Turned USSR into world superpower
- 90% of peasants living on collective farms
- Agricultural production increased, population boomed
- 1935 rationing was lifted
- Urbanized Soviet population
- USSR worse at feeding itself, even though production was going up
- Not able to produce as high quality products as Japan or Germany

Second Five-Year Plan:

- Focus changed
- Tractor factories, manufacture of machine tools and ball bearings became very important
- Re-set goals (had been too high)
- Some party officials started to revolt (suppressed)
- Kirov pushed forward as political force, but shot on Stalin's orders

The Purges (four years):

- OGPU (secret police) was renamed the NKVD and became favorite instrument for removing enemies
- Purged many real and invented enemies from the armed forces, Party, and the NKVD
- ½ of the officers in the Red Army executed
- Show trials very prominent
- Western media invited to attend the trials
- Stalin did this because he was paranoid, unsure of himself, and wanted to remove any potential military or political rivals
- Communist Party dropped from 3.5 to 2.7 million
- Led to idea that the USSR's Armed forces were not strong because so many competent officers had been purged by Stalin – confirmed during the Red Army's failure against the Finns during the Winter War

Russian Foreign Policy 1917-1939 (Background):

- Many nations would not diplomatically recognize the Bolshevik government after it took over in 1917
- Would not place diplomats or embassies in the Soviet Union and would not allow Soviet diplomats in their countries
- Refused to recognize the Soviet Union as the legitimate government of Russia
- Lenin felt that Russia would not survive if they continued fighting in the war, and took Russia out with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
- Lenin did several things to create enemies amongst western countries – published secret treaties of the Allies, and formed the Communist International and Comintern to push for international revolution

- Foreign intervention in the Civil War pitted the West against Russia
- Because Russia was communist and because of the revolution foreign trade came to an end during the revolution and some time afterward
- After WWI Lenin felt that a worldwide revolution was imminent (wrong) – internal troubles soon made the USSR's leadership of revolutions impossible, and communist revolutions were crushed in other countries – USSR would be isolated
- Soviet Foreign Policy dominated by two principles – that her adopted and chosen ideology preached world revolution, and when that didn't happen she felt as if she was an enemy to everyone
- ◦ Felt that capitalist nations were determined to destroy her

Lenin and the West:

- # ◦ Lenin cancelled all Tsarist treaties and agreements with other countries (included foreign debt and seizure of all foreign territories)
- ◦ Britain recognized the USSR in 1924, others soon followed
- First international conference attended by the USSR was in 1922 in Italy – showed that the Soviet Union was breaking out of its isolation
- ◦ Signed Treaty of Rapallo – two international outlaws (USSR and Germany) united to oppose the West
- ◦ Under Stalin, "Socialism in One Country" meant that the Soviet Union had to be made strong so it could resist an inevitable outside attack
- Following the recovery of her economy, began to participate in Western conferences
- ◦ 1928 signed Kellogg-Briand Pact that denounced war as a method of solving disputes
- 1934 joined League of Nations
- ◦ 1932 signed non-aggression pacts with Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Finland
- ◦ 1934 signed non-aggression pacts with Czechoslovakia and Rumania
- ◦ 1935 signed treaties of mutual assistance with France and Czechoslovakia
- 1932-1935 a period of "normalization" – began to make treaties, were officially recognized by the US – called "rapprochement" (the resumption of harmonious relations that brought them closer to the west)
- ◦ 1935 decided to oppose spread of fascism and changed view of disarmament to rearmament in order to protect themselves
- ◦ During the Appeasement Crises of the 1930's became worried about the rising powers of Japan and Germany – concerned about a two-front war and a union between the avowed anti-communists
- ◦ Stalin let it be known that he would fight over Czechoslovakia – not invited to Munich where the Western nations gave up a lot of the Czech portion
- Negotiated in 1939 with Britain and France in regards to Hitler – came to a standstill in August
- ◦ **Nazi-Soviet Pact:** Secret talks were going on between Hitler and Stalin at the same time as the talks with Western powers – in 1939 agreed upon an agreement of strict neutrality, where Hitler guaranteed himself a one-front war in Europe and Stalin got time to prepare for the inevitable German invasion – however, the two

leaders hated one another, and there were no illusions. The secret part of the treaty was the splitting up of Poland between the Soviet Union and Germany

- **Big event:** In 1941 Stalin signed a non-aggression pact between the Soviet Union and Japan, guaranteeing them that even if Germany invaded, the Soviet Union would not have to divide its forces and fight the Japanese in the East