



REVISION – USSR & STALIN 1924-1953



Power Struggle (1922-1929)
Collectivization (1928-1939)
Industrialization (1928-1941)
Purges (1924-1939)
Foreign Policy (1928-1939)
WWII (1939-1945)
The USSR after WWII (1945-1953)

MATERIAL: Morris = 217-252

Overview:

Power Struggle 1922-1929

Co-operation against Trotsky: Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev formed a Triumvirate

12th Party Congress 1923: Trotsky looked like Lenin's successor...

13th Party Congress 1924: Zinoviev and Kamenev saved Stalin's political career

“Socialism in one Country”: During the autumn 1924 Stalin presented his idea

Struggle Trotsky-Stalin: Trotsky acted – The triumvirate counter-attack – Trotsky acted again

The Triumvirate ends: Zinoviev and Kamenev changes sides 1925 – Leningrad Opposition

14th Party Congress 1925: Central Committee + Politburo Stalinist-Bukharinist majority

United Opposition – 15th Party Congress postponed – Split within the Leftist United Opposition

15th Party Congress December 1926: End of Trotsky...

Stalin moved towards the defeated leftists – open split Stalin-Rightists – Stalin defeats the Right

The Power Struggle is over – **Stalin is in power!**

Soviet Economy

Aim - A Second Revolution to modernize Russia

Motives – To confirm his authority as a leader by getting rid of the “rightist opposition” / To be able to meet the RURAL CRISIS – all problems with NEP / To get rid of the rural “Class Enemy” - the “KULAKS” (de-Kulakization) / Modernize Soviet agriculture / To enable the Soviet Union to catch up with the economies of the Western World

Means – Collectivization (with forced grain procurements) / Industrialization (“*Heavy Industrialization*” – concentration on Heavy Industries and Exploitation of new Industrial Resources) / Improvement of Communications) / **GOSPLAN**

Collectivization

Lots of problems with Agriculture, problems with NEP and other reasons (Industrialization)

Second revolution – “*revolution from above*”

Aim – To end all private Land ownership

Means – The anti-kulak campaign (de-Kulakization)

Results - Disruption on the land / Peasant protests and uprisings / Catastrophic fall in food production / Reprisals against the peasants / Hunger and famine – 5 million people died of starvation

Start of Collectivization: 1928 – Stalin presents the idea of Collectivization – “voluntary”

Forced Collectivization: KOLKHOZ / SOVKHOZ

Strong reaction against Collectivization...

1936 – 90% of all peasant holding collectivized

Catastrophic results: Catastrophic fall in food production...

Forced grain collections:

Result - Hunger and famine

Industrialization

Reasons for the USSR industrialization: To provide the machinery especially tractors, needed to mechanize farming and produce more food / To catch up with the Western world and make Russia less

dependent on the West for industrial goods / To have a strong industry capable of producing armaments so that Russia could defend itself

GOSPLAN (the Central Planning Committee) - organize a fully planned and centralized economic policy.

First Five Year Plan 1928-1933 / **Second Five Year Plan** 1933-1937 **Third Five Year Plan** 1937-1942

First FYP – success (but did not meet the targets). Heavy industry and some “show pieces”: Magnitogorsk / Kuznetsk, Dnieprostroi dam

Second FYP – success as well (but did not reach the targets) heavy industry and new industries – such as metallurgy and chemicals. Double-tracked railroad. Show pieces; canals, Moscow Metro. **Armament...**

Third FYP – more on armament (1940 – 32.6% of the total budget)

Success? YES but the human costs were big!!

Organized/Planned industrialization: GOSPLAN / Individual plans/targets / Single Managers / Foreign specialists and experts / motivated workers

Workers motivation: Communistic enthusiasm / Propaganda / Awards (Stakhanovite) / Better wages...but also; “labour books” / the “uninterrupted week” / Internal passports / Absenteeism and late arrival was punished / Industrial planning was affected by the Purges...

Purges 1924-1939

USSR control + elimination of opposition: Authoritarian control through terror / Secret Police (CHEKA 1917, OGPU 1922, NKVD 1934) / Labor Camps (from 1918... at 1930 GULAG) / Propaganda and censorship / State control of education / State control of arts and sciences / Cult of the leader / Only one political party...

Purges in Russia unique: Because of their magnitude + involved all social groups / no evidence that the victims were at danger / punishment was both erratic and arbitrary / the "show trials" / legality was ignored

Stalin's elimination of opposition 1924-1939: 1924-1927 – Opposition / First FYP – engineers, technicians + administrators / 1932 – Ryutin Affair / 1934 – Kirov killed. Stalin used it... / Great Purge starts

Show Trials: First (1936) – Kamenev, Zinoviev / Second (1937) / Third (1938) – Bukharin, Rhykov

Purge of the Army: 35 000 officers executed or imprisoned (50% of the entire Officer Corps)

1939 - Yezhov, the Head of NKVD, was accused of being a British Agent and was executed.

Theories about the “Great Purges”: Totalitarian theories / Revisionist theories

Foreign Policies

Background Russia/USSR 1918-1930. 1920's = Diplomatic isolation...

USSR in the 1930's; 1931-33 – Japanese occupation of Manchuria (threat to Siberia) / Hitler became the German Chancellor, January 1933 / German-Polish non-aggression pact 1934 / New Soviet Policy

The “Soviet return to Europe”: Litvinov tried cooperation with Europe

Japan and China in the 1930's: China – non-aggression pact 1937 / Japan – neutrality pact 1941

Germany by the end of the 1930's: Appeasement made the USSR change policy / Molotov became new Foreign Minister / “Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact” 1939

USSR WWII

Russian resistance after the attack in June 1941 - advantages

War effort 1941-1942 – changed German War Plans

Battle of Stalingrad

German Offensive in 1943 – Kursk

Russian offensive 1944-1945

Stalin punished Russian minorities

USSR – Cost of the war: Over 20 million Soviet citizens died during the war / 70.000 villages destroyed / 98.000 kolkhozes, 1876 sovkhoses, 17 million cattle, 7 million horses, 65.000 km railroad etc...

Soviet Union 1945-1953

Domestic development: Stalin Cult / Very few public appearances by Stalin / Stalin broke up institutions with power... / New purges / “Leningrad Affair” / Campaign against Jews / “Doctor's Plot” / Changed role for women / new members – intellectuals, skilled workers / Russian science glorified – “pseudoscience”

Economic Policy: Wartime losses enormous / 4th Five Year Plan (1946-1950) concentrated on restoring infrastructure and heavy industry / Agriculture did not succeed as well – “private plots” a problem...

Culture: Anti-foreign (anti-western...) / Journal “Leningrad” was closed down / Authors and poets that didn't fit into the Stalinist mold were scorned / Cinema and Theaters – anything western was criticized / Philosophy was harshly criticized

Foreign Policy after WWII = Cold War

POWER STRUGGLE 1922-1929

Power Struggle 1922-1929: May 1922 – Lenin had his first stroke! This restricted him to participate in politics. The question that now came up was – Who was going to take over after Lenin? The most important members of the **POLITBURO** were Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin. Trotsky seemed to be the obvious successor...: _____

Stalin became the successor after a long period of “*Power Struggle*”. So what advantages did Stalin have and what weakness did Trotsky show?

Stalin’s advantages:

- Stalin had worked closely and loyally with Lenin
- Stalin had been a major worker for the Bolsheviks for several years
- Lenin regarded him as “the wonderful Georgian” (but this changed in 1922... - In 1922 Lenin criticized Stalin esp. after Stalin was rude to Krupskaya)
- Held key posts in party and government (had control over the Party appointments and organization)
 - **People's Commissar for Nationalities** (1917) in this post Stalin was in charge of the officials in the many regions and republics that made up the USSR (the official title of the Soviet state after 1922).
 - **Liaison Officer between Politburo and Orgburo** (1919) this post placed him in a unique position to monitor both the Party's policy and the Party's personnel.
 - **Head of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate** (1919) this position entitled him to oversee the work of all government departments.
 - **General Secretary of the Communist Party** (1922) in this position, he recorded and conveyed Party policy. This enabled him to build up personal files on all the members of the Party. Nothing of note happened that Stalin did not know about.

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

Trotsky’s disadvantages:

- He was arrogant and he lacked a power base in the Party
 - He focused too much on the administration of the Party/Army
 - Trotsky became a Bolshevik during summer 1917. He was a Menshevik after the split 1903. Pretty soon he established an independent intellectual group which worked together up to Summer 1917
 - He had been a brilliant leader of the Red Army – so they feared him
 - He was a Jew...
 - Trotsky’s strange lack of self confidence allowed Stalin to act
-
-
-

Co-operation against Trotsky: Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev formed a Triumvirate against Trotsky (Zinoviev and Kamenev had basically the same ideas as Trotsky, but they deeply disliked him). They opened up the old Party Records to the Central Committee and took out old letters where Lenin expressed disagreements with Trotsky (and his group of intellectuals – these letters came from the period before summer 1917). After this they started a “**whispering campaign**” against Trotsky;

- They revealed the earlier disagreements between Lenin and Trotsky
- Trotsky was a “non-Bolshevik” before Summer 1917
- Trotsky was portrayed as someone who was ruthlessly ambitious

12th Party Congress April 1923: At the 12th Party Congress (April 1923) Trotsky had looked like Lenin's successor, but he became more and more isolated. At the same Congress Stalin was re-elected General Secretary. The Party Congress also;

- Elected a new enlarged Central Committee. Of the 40 members only 3 strongly supported Trotsky
 - A special Control Commission was set up. It was supposed to examine the Party members and dismiss the ones that were not politically correct. **Stalin became the Supervisor of this Commission and he now began to replace Trotsky's supporters** with supporters of the triumvirate...
-
-
-

Key moments in January 1924:

- Lenin's sickness and death prevented his "*Political Testament*" from being published (which saved Stalin from being dismissed as General Secretary)
- Stalin's behavior during the funeral. When Lenin died Trotsky was on his way to the Black Sea to recover from previous illness. Stalin deliberately gave Trotsky the wrong date about the funeral – so Trotsky thought he could not make it back in time. After talking to Stalin it was decided that Trotsky should continue his recovery by the Black Sea. During the funeral Stalin acted like Lenin's successor (he read the funeral speech). His speech can be seen as the start of a "**LENIN CULT**". The triumvirate also raised doubts about Trotsky's absence.

Key benefits to Stalin from developments during Lenin's last years:

- The Lenin enrolment (the Party increased the number of members: 340.000 in 1922 to 600.000 in 1925. Stalin was as Party Secretary in charge of this enrolment...)
 - The attack upon factionalism (at the Party Congress 1921)
 - The Lenin legacy
-
-
-

13th Party Congress May 1924: Before the 13th Party Congress Krupskaya revealed Lenin's Political Testament to the Central Committee and senior delegates. She and several of her supporters thought this would be enough to stop Stalin's career. It was Zinoviev and Kamenev that saved Stalin's political career by arguing;

- Stalin has changed the policies he was criticized for
- The Party needs to stick together

The Central Committee decided to not publish Lenin's Testament (it actually remained a Party secret until 1956!) and Stalin remained the General Secretary. Krupskaya protested!!!... but Trotsky said nothing... The Congress also voted for the condemnation of Trotsky (this had been suggested at the previous conference when Trotsky was ill). Trotsky accepted the verdict of the Party. The triumvirate also acted in **COMINTERN** (the Third International/Communist International – set up in Moscow 1919...). In June 1924 Trotsky was not re-elected as a full member, his was replaced by Stalin. Trotsky was also threatened with expulsion if he engaged in any further political controversies.

"Socialism in one Country": During the autumn 1924 Stalin presented his idea "*Socialism in one Country*";

- The new State needs peace and political/economical stability so it can construct socialism on its own
 - It rejected the idea of a "**Permanent Revolution**" – Trotsky's idea since 1906
 - Bukharin now supported Stalin and he supported the idea of "**SMYCHKA**" – the political and economical alliance between industrial workers and peasants (within NEP)...
-
-
-

Trotsky reacts 1924. In November 1924 Trotsky finally acted;

- He published his speeches and writings of 1917 + a new part “**Lessons of October**”. This new part showed how he had opposed the Mensheviks since 1904... It also showed how close his and Lenin’s ideas were. It further showed how Zinoviev and Kamenev had opposed Lenin, especially about the October revolution in 1917, but there was not any criticism against Stalin...

The triumvirate counter-attack;

- They repeated the disagreements between Lenin and Trotsky
- They attacked Trotsky’s idea about the Permanent Revolution
- They more or less forced Trotsky to step down from his position as Commissar of War. In May 1925 Trotsky was given a new economic post; he was put on the Supreme Council of National Economy - VESENKHA
- They warned Trotsky – Another controversy and he would be expelled from the Politburo and the Central Committee

Trotsky acted again;

- He wrote (from his new position) about the threat of US Capitalism. He instead argued for more Socialist Planning to strengthen NEP and he argued for COMINTERN to adopt a more revolutionary line. This was a controversial statement – many peasants feared that Trotsky’s proposals would increase the Centralization, stop the growing prosperity (especially among the “Kulaks”) and lead Soviet into more wars. Stalin’s (and Bukharin’s) idea of a continuation of NEP (without Trotsky’s changes) and “Socialism in One Country” offered a more attractive future.
-
-

The Triumvirate ends – Zinoviev and Kamenev changes sides 1925: During 1925 a split between the members of the former triumvirate appears. Zinoviev and Kamenev now aligned themselves with the earlier Left Opposition and now criticized the idea of “*Socialism in One Country*” as anti-Leninist. Stalin and the “*Centre*” now received support from the Right; Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky.

Leningrad Opposition: Kamenev had the support of the Party in Moscow and Zinoviev had the support of the Party in Leningrad (Petrograd had been renamed in 1924). During the summer of 1925 Zinoviev’s supporters started criticizing the growing dominance of the Right and together with Zinoviev and Kamenev they called for the “Struggle for Equality” and the revival of Lenin’s Internationalism. This group is often referred to as the **LENINGRAD OPPOSITION**. In October 1925 the opposition went a bit further. At a Central Committee meeting (prepared for the 14th Party Congress) Zinoviev and Kamenev joined forces with Lenin’s widow Krupskaya. They now demanded a free debate on all issues at the next Party Congress. Stalin was able to defeat this demand, with the support of the Right. The Left was warned to not make any public criticism of the official policies...

14th Party Congress December 1925: At the 14th Party Congress it was obvious that Stalin had managed to ensure support. When the questions about Stalin’s abuse of power and criticism against the Trotsky campaign came up the Congress voted for Stalin’s (and the Right’s) view with 559 votes against 65... The **new Central Committee** and the new Politburo received a **Stalinist-Bukharinist majority**. Now the Committee could act against the critics;

- Kamenev was demoted in the Central Committee
 - In early 1926 Zinoviev was forced to hand over the leadership of the Leningrad Party to Kirov. Zinoviev’s supporters were removed from their positions.
-
-
-

Second phase 1926-1928: In June 1926 Stalin launched a new attack on Trotsky. Trotsky answered by writing to the Politburo and ask for a Reformation of the Party before the country would be ruled by a new Autocratic Ruler. He also founded a new opposition group.

United Opposition (July 1926): In July 1926 a new opposition Group – the United Opposition was formed. This group included Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and a few other Party Members. The struggle would continue the next 18 months. They demanded;

- Greater Party Democracy
- More Industrial Planning
- Collectivisation of the Agriculture
- Permanent International Revolution

The group did not receive very much support. Only from about 6000 members of the 750 000 possible ones. Stalin, encouraged by their lack of support, banned their meetings and dismissed Oppositionists. He also accused the United Opposition of faction.

15th Party Congress postponed: Stalin tried to get the Control Committee to expel Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee, but he failed. He then postponed the 15th Party Congress (so Trotsky and Zinoviev couldn't view their ideas in public...). The United Opposition prepared for the Congress;

- They tried to get the Party to publish their Policy Program, but the Central Committee refused
- Then they published their Program themselves, but they got less people than they hoped for to sign it; about 6000 instead of calculated 20 000 / 30 000
- During the 10th anniversary of the October revolution they tried to address the crowds, but Stalin's supporters and the Police stopped them
- Because of their actions now the United Opposition were accused of factionalism
- On Stalin's demand Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the Communist Party, Kamenev was expelled from the Central Committee
- Hundreds of United Opposition supporters were also expelled from the Party

Split within the Leftist United Opposition: Once again a split between Trotsky and Zinoviev + Kamenev occurred. The two later ones made a truce with Stalin (October 1926). One of Trotsky's supporters had the full text of Lenin's Political Testament published – in New York Times! Stalin and the Politburo got very upset. They;

- Expelled Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Politburo
- Removed Zinoviev from his position as the President of COMINTERN

This made Krupskaya and other leaders of the United Opposition to make peace with Stalin... Stalin used newspapers and the whole Propaganda Machinery against the remains of the United Opposition.

- This made Zinoviev and Kamenev quiet
- Trotsky continued the struggle...
- Members of the United Opposition were dismissed from their jobs and sent to very isolated parts of the Soviet Union

15th Party Congress December 1926: Now Stalin gave his OK for the 15th Party Congress (December). Members of the United Opposition tried to get the Congress to annul the expulsions, but this demand was rejected. Trotsky now viewed the idea of forming a new Party. This made Zinoviev and Kamenev surrender to Stalin (they declared that they been "*wrong and anti-Leninist*" – in front of the whole Congress!). This was the end of the United Opposition! Zinoviev and Kamenev were sentenced to serve at least six months' of probation from the Party. After the Congress 1500 Oppositionists were expelled (and some were deported) – over 2500 signed recantations!

End of Trotsky:

- Trotsky was forcibly deported to Alma Ata in Turkestan (January 1928). The State Publishers were not allowed to publish his works and his books were removed from the libraries and the bookstores.
 - Trotsky and the former leftist leaders were now completely defeated! Now Stalin turned against the Rightists...
-
-

Third phase 1928-1929: In 1928 the USSR faced a serious **RURAL CRISIS** despite three good harvests;

- Bread shortages
- High food prices

Stalin moved towards the defeated leftists: This gave food riots and forced grain collections from the State. The Right resented these grain collections and the general idea of more State Control over the Industrial development. In April 1928 began the Central Committee to openly criticize “**Kulaks**”. They called these capitalistic peasants “*enemies of the State*”. The Party Officials who wouldn’t deal with the “**Kulaks**” (or were too lenient) were removed. Stalin had moved towards the old left. This caused a split among Trotsky’s supporters. Some of them now accepted and supported Stalin. To further emphasize his more leftist profile Stalin reinstated Kamenev, Zinoviev and about 3000 other former Oppositionists in the Party (June 1928).

Open split Stalin-Rightists summer 1928: During the summer of 1928 the split between Stalin and the Right became more evident. Both groups now tried to get support from the defeated Leftist Oppositionists...

- Bukharin approached Trotsky (through Kamenev). He forwarded the idea of “*Stalin is a new Genghis Khan*” and he “*will strangle us*” and make Soviet Union into a Police State where he will take total power.
- Stalin did not approach the leftist Opposition directly. He just gave some hints about a possible alliance.

Stalin defeats the Right: Stalin and his Police now became more and more violent against the peasants. This made Trotsky consider an alliance with Bukharin. The wanted alliance failed due to the reluctance of the supporters to co-operate with the “**old enemies**” and several leftists believed in Stalin’s move towards the left. So Stalin could defeat the Right without any official support from the left. To prevent future opposition;

- Trotsky was expelled from Russia (February 1929)
 - Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky were charged with factionalism. Bukharin was removed as an editor of Pravda, as a political secretary of COMINTERN and from the Politburo. Tomsky was dismissed from the Central Council of Trade Unions.
-
-

STALIN HAD NOW DEFEATED BOTH TROTSKY, ZINOVIEV, KAMENEV – THE LEFTIST BOLSHEVIKS AND BUKHARIN, RYKOV, TOMSKY – THE RIGHTIST BOLSHEVIKS. THE POWER STRUGGLE WAS OVER!

COLLECTIVIZATION 1928-1939

Aim, Motives and Means – USSR Economy

AIM

- A Second Revolution to modernize Russia

MOTIVES

- To confirm his authority as a leader by getting rid of the “rightist opposition” ((Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky)
- To be able to meet the RURAL CRISIS (Grain shortage, bread shortages and high food prices which led to food riots and forced grain collections) – all problems with NEP
- To get rid of the rural “Class Enemy” - the “KULAKS” (de-Kulakization)
- Modernize Soviet agriculture
- To enable the Soviet Union to catch up with the economies of the Western World

MEANS

- Collectivization (with forced grain procurements)
- Industrialization (“*Heavy industrialization*” – concentration on Heavy Industries and Exploitation of new Industrial Resources)
- Improvement of Communications)
- *GOSPLAN* – The USSR Economic State Planning Commission that had been established at the Party Congress 1921 became a good instrument for the Collectivization and Industrialization...

Problems with Agriculture and problems with NEP:

- The peasants used **old traditional methods** – strip farming with wooden ploughs were common
- **No machinery** – the peasants often used old wood equipment
- The farmers **just worked for their subsistence** – not for anybody else...
- The **farms were to small** for efficient farming – after the revolution land was handed out to the individual peasants. This land was often to small and divided into many different plots. Some of this land had later been subdivided...
- The peasants were very reluctant to deliver grain to the **low fixed prices** the State offered
- Prices of manufactured goods had become high
- Entrepreneurs and rich peasants (“**kulaks**”) – gained from the new system, but most peasants and many workers in the urban areas were under strict state control
- A new group of traders, the “**Nepmen**”, made huge profits from buying food and goods cheaply and selling them more dearly...
- This economy was a capitalistic economy, based on capitalistic methods. This caused a lot of criticism from the leftist Bolsheviks (caused a split within the Party) – NEP was ideologically incorrect!

Other reasons for an agricultural reform:

- **To be able to carry through a major modern industrialization** efficient farming and accurate food supplies were absolute necessary
- **Industrialization demanded capital** – money!!! Russia needed to import foreign machinery and some foreign expertise. The **traditional export article was grain...**
- Efficient **mechanized farming would release peasants** who would be available as workers to the fast growing industries

SECOND REVOLUTION: So in the late 1920s Stalin decided to impose on the USSR a crash program of reform of the Soviet economy. Stalin called this big economic reform “**the second revolution**”. It is also frequently defined as a “**revolution from above**”.

Aim, Means and Results – Collectivization:

AIM

- To end all private Land ownership

MEANS

- The anti-kulak campaign (de-Kulakization)

RESULTS

- Disruption on the land
- Peasant protests and uprisings
- Catastrophic fall in food production
- Reprisals against the peasants
- Hunger and famine – over 5 million people died of starvation

Start of Collectivization: 1928 – Stalin presents the idea of Collectivization. He claims that it was “voluntary” – a free and eager choice of poor peasants (- 1.7% had collectivized in December 1928) He also identified a “**Class Enemy**” – the **KULAK** (The held back the workers revolution by monopolizing the best land and they employed cheap peasant labor to farm it...). In a speech December 1929 Stalin said: “*We have passed from a policy of confining the exploiting tendencies of the Kulaks to a policy of liquidation of the Kulaks as a class*” (DE-KULAKIZATION)...

Forced Collectivization: In 1929/1930 groups of Party Activists and Party Officials (over 25000) backed by the **OGPU** (before 1924 the **CHEKA**) and sometimes the Army were sent out to the countryside – to organize, with force if necessary, the peasants into collective farms.

The peasants had to sign a register where they expressed a demand to be collectivised! After this animals, equipment and buildings were taken from the more wealthy peasants (the “Kulaks”) and this would form the basis for the new collective farm. There were two basic types of collective farms;

1. **KOLKHOZ:** Land and equipment was collectively owned by the peasants within the collective. They lived and worked at the farm “rent-free” as long as they delivered a big proportion of the produce to the State. The surplus was divided among the members and each family was allowed to have a small plot for own produce and some animals... Each Kolkhoz (normally about 70 households) was headed by a Farm Manager. He had to make sure that the State demands were met and that the farm was organized in an appropriate way. The Kolkhozes did not have any heavy machinery of their own – Special **MTS (Machine Tractor Stations)** were established to supply the collective farms with machinery and to supply seed. These favours had to be paid in grain... 1929-1932 – over 25 000 MTS were built. The Kolkhoz was the most common collective farm.
2. **SOVKHOZ:** This was a State farm where everything was State property. These collective farms were much larger and much more mechanized. The peasants got paid a regular wage on these farms...

REACTION: To avoid having their land and buildings seized, their animals and equipment confiscated more wealthy peasants burned their own houses, farms and crops and they killed their animals. In some areas riots and armed rebellions broke out (especially in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and North Caucasus).

1936 – 90% of all peasant holding collectivized: In March 1930 the Party Officials announced that **58%** of the peasant holdings had been collectivised. This number was most likely wrong – historians have estimated the actual number to be around **20%** (from **1.7% in December 1928**). A minor halt of the collectivisation came in March 1930. The Party Officials were afraid that the harsh way the collectivisation had been carried out so far would destroy the harvest of 1930. After the harvest was secured the collectivisation continued. By 1936 over 90% of the peasant holdings had been collectivised!!!

INDUSTRIALIZATION 1928-1941

Why did the Soviet Union need to industrialize?

There were three main reasons for developing industry quickly;

- To provide the machinery especially tractors, needed to mechanize farming and produce more food
- To catch up with the Western world and make Russia less dependent on the West for industrial goods
- To have a strong industry capable of producing armaments so that Russia could defend itself

To be able to carry through the necessary changes Stalin and the Central Committee gave **GOSPLAN** (the Central Planning Committee) the task to organize a fully planned and centralized economic policy. The **GOSPLAN** determined what, how, when and where something should be produced. They also determined prices and wages. The result was the **FYP** (Five Year Plans);

- **First Five Year Plan** - 1928-1933
- **Second Five Year Plan** - 1933-1937
- **Third Five Year Plan** - 1937-1942 (interrupted by WWII)

The **first FYP** concentrated on the production of energy and of construction materials; coal, oil, electricity, iron, steel, cement, and machine production. This production should lay the foundations for future industrial growth. The target within each sector was often to double or triple the production... Coal, Oil, Iron, and Pig iron doubled their output...

| | 1927 | Target | 1932 | |
|----------|------|--------|------|--------------|
| COAL | 35.4 | (75) | 64.3 | million tons |
| OIL | 11.7 | (22) | 21.4 | million tons |
| IRON ORE | 5.7 | (19) | 12.1 | million tons |
| PIG IRON | 3.3 | (10) | 6.2 | million tons |
| STEEL | 4.0 | (10.4) | 5.9 | million tons |

The machinery output increased four times!!! Electrical output went up 250%. 1500 new industrial plants were constructed and over 100 new towns were built. Some of these were “*show pieces*”;

- **MAGNITOGORSK** URALS – Iron and Steel production
- **KUZNETSK** SIBERIA – Iron and Steel production
- Several other big projects also occurred like the construction of the **DNIEPROSTROI DAM** (biggest in Europe)...

The **Second FYP** concentrated on **heavy industry**; Coal, Oil, Iron, Pig Iron and Steel. The targets were now a bit more realistic, but still they were often too high. Beside the above concentration on heavy industry some emphasis was also put into **new industries** – such as **metallurgy**; lead, zinc, nickel and tin as well as **chemicals**. The improvement of communication was another target;

- The railroads were largely double-tracked
- Canals were built (like the Moscow-Volga and Volga-Don Canals)
- The Moscow Metro...

...but before the end of the second FYP the international situation demanded some of the resources to be put into the armament industries (3.4% of the total expenditure in 1933 and 16.1% in 1936!).

| | 1933 | Target | 1937 | |
|----------|------|---------|------|--------------|
| COAL | 64.3 | (152.5) | 128 | million tons |
| OIL | 21.4 | (46.8) | 28.5 | million tons |
| IRON ORE | 12.1 | (?) | (?) | million tons |
| PIG IRON | 6.2 | (16) | 14.5 | million tons |
| STEEL | 5.9 | (17) | 17.5 | million tons |

The **Third FYP** came in 1937 and was intended to last to 1942, but it was interrupted by the German attack on Russia 1941. Due to the international situation more and more of the resources were concentrated on the armament industries; tanks, airplanes, weapons... By 1940 the government invested about **32.6%** of the total expenditure in the rearmament.

Did the three Five Year Plans reach the main aim – to make the USSR catch up with the western capitalist economies?

YES!

- the production of industrial goods was 2.6 times greater than in 1928
- the production of iron, oil and electricity grew even faster
- the urban work force grew; in the end of the 1930's it was 32% of the total work force (compared with 47% peasantry)
- the gross national product of the USSR increased by nearly 12% between 1928-1937 (compared with USA: 1.3%, Great Britain: 2.5% and Germany: 2.6%)
- no unemployment (1.7 million in 1929)!
- many women found work – 4 out of 5 new workers were women during the period 1932-1937

...but the human cost had been high!!!

- all human rights were gone
 - people were moved to areas where no equipment existed, where there was not any (or very poor) housing and poor wages...
 - during the two first FYPs – food shortages and rationing
 - the unrealistic quotas often meant neglect of safety precautions – so there were many accidents and deaths (over 100 000 workers died when the canals were built)
-
-
-

How was the industrialization organized: On the very top was the state planning commission – **GOSPLAN** (founded in 1921). **Individual plans/targets** were set for each industry. **Single Managers** were reintroduced by Stalin to run state enterprises and factories. They were responsible for the targets they had to fulfil. If they did well they were rewarded with large houses, cars, etc... if they didn't they were threatened with prison, labour camps and in some cases death!

Foreign specialists and experts were brought in. They were going to help develop the industry. Several American and British engineers came to the USSR these years. They help construct the Dniepr Dam and the Ford motor company helped the Soviet car industry to build 140 000 cars in 1932.

PROBLEMS: The central planning was though not very efficient – when one factory depended on another for parts sometimes they were forced to wait weeks and there was no other producer. In the factories untrained workers had to produce goods fairly quickly to fulfil the targets. This led to many mistakes. Machines were wrecked and the product sometimes became so poor that it was unusable. These mistakes were not accepted – “*wreckers*” and “*saboteurs*” were found and punished...

How did Stalin get the workers to work so hard: The USSR hardly had any consumer goods. They had low wages, food shortage, poor work and living conditions. Still the workers worked very hard. **WHY?**

- Communistic enthusiasm existed, especially among the young “pioneers” who wanted to build a better Soviet society

- Propaganda! Show pieces, films, posters, newspapers and radio was all under total government control – and the government used it!
- Awards and Honour! The Stakhanovite movement... (Stakhanov was a Donbass miner who moved 102 tons of coal during one work shift – compared with the normal amount of 7 tons). The Stakhanovites got better housing, free holidays and cash prizes...
- Better wages – especially for skilled workers. They could get up to 4 times the wages of an unskilled worker...

...but also;

- The workers had to always carry their “labour books” with them. In this book their job was recorded as well as unfavourable comments about them. A bad record could lead to less food rations or imprisonment. This was one way of controlling the work force...
- the “uninterrupted week” was introduced in 1929 (shift work all week so the machines never stopped)
- the old Tsarist system of Internal passports were reintroduced (in December 1932) which made it impossible for the workers to move around – trying to find a place that paid well
- Absenteeism and late arrival was punished! First the worker had to pay fine, later he risked the loss of rations. If it was repeated he could lose his job and/or his housing. After 1931 such offences were criminalized and punished by imprisonment or deportation to labour camps. In 1929 OGPU had established many forced labour camps in several remote regions. The Chief Administration of Camps – the GULAG ran these camps. The number of prisoners grew from 30 000 in 1928 to about 3 million in 1939. Many of the prisoners were deported ex-kulaks or workers... In the later 1930’s victims of the Purges became more numerous
- Industrial planning was affected by the Purges – thousands of managers and experts were imprisoned or executed

An overview of the Russian (and Soviet) economy 1913-1953:

| Product | 1913 | 1921 | 1928 | 1933 | 1940 | 1945 | 1953 |
|------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Agricultural | | | | | | | |
| Grain (million tons) | 86 | 36 | 73 | 69 | 95 | 75 | 83 |
| Cows (millions) | 29 | 25 | 29 | 19 | 28 | 23 | 25 |
| Pigs (millions) | 23 | 13 | 19 | 10 | 27 | 11 | 29 |
| Industrial | | | | | | | |
| Electric power (billion kwh) | 2 | 0.5 | 5 | 16 | 48 | 43 | 119 |
| Crude oil (million tons) | 9 | 4 | 12 | 22 | 31 | 19 | 48 |
| Coal (million tons) | 29 | 9 | 35 | 76 | 165 | 149 | 301 |
| Steel (million tons) | 4 | 0.2 | 4 | 7 | 18 | 12 | 34 |
| Trucks (millions) | 0 | 0 | 0.7 | 4 | 14 | 7 | 24 |
| Tractors (millions) | 0 | 0 | 0.1 | 7 | 3 | 0.7 | 10 |
| Consumer | | | | | | | |
| Automobiles (millions) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 6 |
| Washing machines (millions) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.5 |
| Cameras (millions) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 35 | 0 | 46 |
| Radio sets (millions) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 16 | 1.5 | 129 |
| Shoes (million pairs) | 60 | 28 | 58 | 90 | 211 | 63 | 238 |

PURGES 1924 – 1939

How did the USSR control and eliminate opposition?

- Authoritarian control through terror
- Secret Police (CHEKA 1917, OGPU 1922, NKVD 1934)
- Labor Camps (from 1918... at 1930 GULAG)
- Propaganda and censorship
- State control of education
- State control of arts and sciences
- Cult of the leader
- Only one political party

What are the “Purges” / “Great Purges”?

Millions of Russians; in the Communist Party, the Army, the arts and sciences... were arrested and either sent to labor camps or shot... These Purges were unique;

- Because of their magnitude and the fact that they involved all social groups
- Because there was no evidence that the victims were a danger
- Because punishment was both erratic and arbitrary ranging from death to prison. Sometimes the latter was followed by reinstatement (like the airplane designer TUPOLEV)
- Because of the "show trials" held - at which fantastic confessions were made
- Because legality was ignored, even the rule that Party members on the Central Committee could be removed only by 2/3 vote by the Central Committee (in fact some members were shot even without a trial). Lenin tried to preserve legality. He rejected torture to extract information. In 1920 Lenin ordered that prisons should not be punitive. Stalin specifically authorized "*physical pressure...*"

Many Russians remained convinced that Stalin did not know what was happening. In Russian the Great Purge is called "*Yezhovschina*" – "*Yezhov's thing*" after Nikolai Yezhov, Chief of the Secret Police NKVD 1936-1938.

Stalin's elimination of opposition 1924-1939:

- **1924-1927** – The removal of opposition when Stalin came into power. This opposition was usually expelled from the party or they lost their position.
- **1928-1932** – First Five Year Plan (FYP). Trial against "*bourgeois*" engineers, technicians and administrators accused of sabotaging the plan! Sometimes secret trials, sometimes show trials and sometimes no trials at all... The accused generally confessed, even to crimes they had not been accused of. They were then either imprisoned or shot. So why did they confess?
 - Sometimes the confession was extracted by torture
 - Sometimes the confession was extracted by threats to the prisoners' family or by promises of leniency...
- **1932** – The Ryutin Affair. The rightist party member Ryutin wrote a document calling for;
 - The end of the forced collectivization
 - Rehabilitation of defeated Oppositionists (including Trotsky)
 - Dismiss Stalin!

Several prominent communists signed this document... The trial against Ryutin was in September 1932. Stalin wanted Ryutin executed - the Politburo refused to go that far. He was instead expelled from the Central Committee together with Kamenev, Zinoviev and 17 "others"

- **1932-1933** – FAMINE...
- **1932-1934** – During this period nearly one million members were expelled from the party. They were often referred to as Ryutinites...
- **1934** – By 1934 things started to improve. Many wanted to slow down the drive towards industrialization and they wanted to improve the relations with the peasants. Sergei Kirov,

the Leningrad Party leader, was a spokesman for this group at the 17th Party Congress. At this Congress;

- The Congress abolished the post of General Secretary - instead four secretaries were elected (Stalin, Kirov, Kaganovitch, Zhdanov)
- Kirov received more votes than Stalin when votes to the Central Committee was counted (nearly all 1225 delegates voted for Kirov, but over 300 did not vote for Stalin at all...)

Later 1934 (December 1st) Kirov was assassinated (shot in the back outside his office...). A "*mysterious person*" named Leonid Nikolayev was the assassinator. Several theories about who was behind Lionid Nikolayev exist;

- Stalin
- The extreme left
- NKVD
- "Just" Nikolayev

No matter who was behind it - Stalin used it! The same evening the Presidium of the Soviet Union issued a decree that gave NKVD extra-ordinary powers;

- The indictment was to be handed to the accused one day before the trial
- Limited investigation of crimes to 10 days
- Rapid execution without appeal
- So thousands of people were arrested within the coming weeks
- Several hundreds were trailed
- Over one hundred Party members were executed

They were accused of a plot to overthrow Stalin and the Communist Party. Most of the accused belonged to the old "Leftist Opposition, the Leningrad Opposition, and the United Opposition. Zinoviev and Kamenev were arrested in January 1935. Together with 17 others they were sentenced to 5-10 years of prison. Several NKVD members from Leningrad were also trailed and imprisoned... Due to the improving economic situation and the work on a new Constitution the purges were slowed down in the middle of 1935. A year later - summer of 1936 they started again. This is the start of the "***Great Purge***"...

Summer of 1936: New accusations against Zinoviev, Kamenev and 14 other leading Communists came up. They were now accused of organizing a counter-revolutionary conspiracy and plotting to kill Stalin and other Politburo members. This was the "**FIRST SHOW TRIAL**" - it was open to the press and broadcasted on the radio... In this trial they were also accused of planning to murder Lenin (these plans were made at a hotel that had been demolished years before the date when the plans were made... and one of the accused, Smirnov, was in jail when the plot was done). 14 of them admitted their guilt - all 16 were found guilty and shot!

January 1937: In January 1937 the "**SECOND SHOW TRIAL**" was held. 17 leading members of the Communist Party were accused of plotting with Trotsky in league with Nazi Germany and Japan. They planned (according to the State Prosecutor) to carry out assassinations, terrorist activities, sabotage of industries and spying. Several confessions were made and 13 of them were executed.

After this trial the Central Committee met and decided to step up the Purges (this decision was taken by Stalin, Molotov (Foreign Minister), Yezhov (Head of the NKVD) and Andrei Vyshinsky (State Prosecutor).

March 1938: In March 1938 the "**THIRD SHOW TRIAL**" was held. Accused were Bukharin, Rhykov and 19 other Party members. They were accused of being members of a "*Trotskyist-Rightist*" bloc, responsible for industrial sabotage, weakening the Red Army, spying, attempts to restore capitalism, etc.... Most of them confessed (but Bukharin refused!). Bukharin, Rhykov and 16 others were found guilty and shot!

The Purge was now reaching its peak ("*The Great Terror*" or "*Yezhovshchina*"). First the purges mostly hit the Party members but after mid-1937 they included other groups as; administrators, specialists (like engineers, railroad workers etc....) and the Red Army! In May 1937 was Marshal Tukhachevsky (Chief of General Staff and one of the Deputy Commissars for Defense) and Gamarnik (Head of the Red Army's Political Commissars and also one of the Deputy Commissars for Defense) arrested! Marshal Tukhachevsky was executed in June 1937 (Gamarnik committed suicide). By the end of 1938;

- 3 out of 5 Red Army Marshals had been executed
 - 14 out of 16 Red Army Commanders had been executed 8 out of 8 Admirals had been executed
 - 60 out of 67 Red Army Corps Commanders had been executed
 - 136 out of 199 Red Army Divisional Commanders had been executed 221 out of 397 Red Army Brigade Commanders had been executed
 - 11 out of 11 Deputy Commissars for Defense were executed and 75 out of the 80 members of the Supreme Military Council...
 - All together 35 000 officers were executed or imprisoned. This was about 50% of the entire Officer Corps...
-
-

March 1939 - at the 18th Party Congress Stalin announced that "*mass cleansings*" were no longer needed and he also admitted that some "*mistakes*" had been made. Later 1939 Yezhov, the Head of NKVD, was accused of being a British Agent. He was executed. This ended the mass arrests and several thousand Gulag prisoners were released. Even more people were rehabilitated in their jobs and the Party... Though, some cleansing continued. Now under the new Head of NKVD - Laurenti Beria!

Theories about the "Great Purges":

1. **Totalitarian theories** - This theory focus on the role of Stalin and his position as dictator of the Soviet Union.
 - Some say Stalin launched the purges as a "*rational*" response to the circumstances of the 1930's.
 - Others say that he suffered from some form of mental illness that led to irrational and extreme action.
 2. **Revisionist theories** - More recent some historians claim that genuine opposition that posed a threat to Stalin's position existed!
 - Getty – There was a "*Trotskyist-Zinovievist*" plot!
 - Rittersporn – NKVD and local party bosses were out of control and used the purges for personal gains...
-
-
-
-
-
-

STALIN – FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 1930’S

Background Russia/USSR between 1918-1930. Diplomatic isolation...

1918 – **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.** Lost lots of territories, population and natural resources.

1918-1921 – **Russian Civil War.** The Bolshevik government consolidated the power. Foreign intervention...

1921 – **Treaty of Riga.** War between Russia and Poland ended with some losses for the Russia.

1921 – **Trade agreement with Great Britain.**

1922 – **Treaty of Rapallo.** Russian and German agreements. Germany recognized the USSR.

1924 – The **USSR recognized** by Great Britain, France and Italy.

1925 – **Treaty of Locarno.** This was viewed with suspicion as part of a Capitalist conspiracy against the USSR. The USSR more isolated again...

1926 – The **Treaty of Rapallo** was renewed.

1928 – The **USSR signs the Kellogg-Briand Pact.**

USSR in the 1930’s

A few events made Japan and Germany become a threat to Russia:

- 1931-33 – Japanese occupation of Manchuria (threat to Siberia)
- Hitler became the German Chancellor, January 1933
- German-Polish non-aggression pact 1934

Russia now wanted to break their diplomatic isolation. They started a campaign to get better relations with Europe – “*Soviet return to Europe*”

The “Soviet return to Europe”;

- The Secret military co-operation with Germany ended
 - May 1934 Russia signed a “*Russo-Polish*” non-aggression pact
 - June 1934 Russia recognized the loss of Bessarabia (better relations with Romania)
 - September 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations
 - May 1935 Russia and France signed a mutual defence treaty
 - May 1935 Russia signed a mutual defence treaty with Czechoslovakia.
 - July/August 1935 (the 7th Comintern Congress - in Moscow) Stalin encouraged co-operation within “*Popular Fronts*” against right-wing Fascism
 - October 1935 Italy invaded Abyssinia. Russia demanded oil, coal and steel sanctions against Italy – in vain... (Great Britain and France refused)
 - March 1936 Germany denounced the 1925 Locarno Treaty – threat against the USSR
 - July 1936 the Spanish Civil War started – Russia gave aid to the Republican govt.
 - July 1936 the Straits Convention was signed in Montreaux
 - November 1936 the Anti-Comintern Pact established (Germany + Japan) – more threat against the USSR
 - November 1936 Russia introduced conscription
 - December 1936 Russia helped the Nationalists and the Communists in China to reach a truce – the Xian Compromise
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-

Relations with Japan and China in the 1930's;

- Stalin wanted to avoid trouble with Japan. 1935 he sold Russia's share of the East China Railroad to the Japanese
 - Russia helped bring the Xian Compromise to its conclusion. Lots of Soviet equipment and some advisers were sent to China
 - 1937 China and Russia signed a non-aggression pact
 - 1938 border clashes between Russia and Japan - led to a full-scale battle on the East Siberia-Manchukuo border (called the *Battle of Lake Hasan* by Russia). After almost two weeks of fighting (including planes, tanks, heavy artillery) the Japanese were driven back and armistice was signed.
 - May 1939 new border clashes between Russia and Japan. The Japanese troops were driven back from the Nomonhan district of Outer Mongolia. A truce was signed.
 - April 1941 **Russia and Japan signed a Neutrality Treaty** for five years (but it could be denounced after four years). It was not until the 8th of August 1945 (two days after the Hiroshima bomb) that Russia denounced this Treaty and attacked the Japanese in China. This was the start of "*the Nine-Day War*" which was successful.
-
-
-
-

Relations with Germany by the end of the 1930's:

- Stalin changed his stern policy against Germany after the deteriorated relations with Japan and the appeasement policy of Britain and France plus their refusal to conclude an alliance with Russia.
 - Russia was not invited to the Munich Conference of September 1938. At this conference the British Prime Minister Chamberlain and the French Prime Minister Daladier agreed to let Germany annex the Sudetenland (and later most of Czechoslovakia). Thereby France dishonoured their 1924 Treaty with the Czechs. Stalin saw it as an attempt of the Western Powers to divert Hitler's focus towards the East. Russia had publicly announced its willingness to support the Czechs but they had gained no support.
 - March 1939 Germany seized the rest of Czechoslovakia. Russia (Litvinov) proposed a conference between the British, French, Polish, Soviet and Turkish representatives to consider future military action. The British government rejected the proposal as "premature" and no conference followed.
 - March 1938 Hitler denounced the 1934 *German-Polish Non-Aggression Pact*. This was according to Stalin another sign of Germany's intentions in the East. Litvinov outlined a French, British and Russian alliance with military commitments against Fascist Powers. Britain once again refused to agree on Litvinov's suggestion. However, in April 1939, both France and Britain guaranteed Poland, signing a Pact of Mutual Assistance with Poland. This was a bit of relief for Stalin. Now he could remain neutral and see the western powers destroy each other.
 - May 1939 Molotov became the new foreign Minister of Russia. He set out to try to find a peaceful settlement of issues between Germany and Russia. The result was the "*Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact*" signed in August 1939. This pact included a trade agreement, a non-aggression pact and a "secret clause" – which established spheres of influence in Eastern Europe, with Poland being divided between Germany and the USSR. Just a few weeks later the Second World War started with a German attack against Poland...
-
-
-
-
-
-

THE USSR DURING WWII

Russian resistance after the attack in June 1941: When the German attack came to a stop at winter 1941-1942, Stalin and Russia's war efforts came to make a difference;

- The **unified Soviet Command structure** was much more efficient than the German system. The centralized political authority had an experience in mobilizing and directing the military and industrial forces
- The **third 5-year plan (1937) paid off**. This plan dictated the establishment of many new industrial concentrations in the region of the Ural Mountains and in Siberia. When the war against Germany started factories from the western regions were moved east. 1360 factories were moved east in 1942 and 2250 new units were established between 1942-1944. By the end of 1943 the Trans-Ural region produced 2.5 the rate of the complete Soviet Industry in 1940. This year the Soviet military production also exceeded the German (30.000 tanks and 40.000 air crafts)
- **Stalin rehabilitated the Orthodox Church** which blessed the work of "our government". They condemned traitors and excommunicated them (expelled them from the Church). In 1943 the Church got to elect a new Patriarch. By 1945 24.000 churches were reopen and 74 bishops were back in office...
- **Stalin re-introduced privileges of higher military ranks**. The military also got much more influence in the Party. 1941 - 15% and in 1945 - over 50%!
- The **aid from the allies** helped... (**Lend-Lease agreements** with the US)

To this can be added;

- Bad weather
- Hard resistance
- The enormous distances

War effort 1941-1942 – changed German War Plans: The strong Russian war effort made Hitler changed his tactic; In September 1941 the German troops stood outside Leningrad. Now a 900 day long siege started (September 1941 - January 1944). In October 1941 Hitler had reached 80 km from Moscow before the winter tied the German troops (they were not prepared for winter war...) – Hitler decided to restrict the 1942 offensive to the Southern Front; to the industrial area of the Don Basin and towards the oilfields of Baku (Caucasus). The plan was to eventually create a link to the Axis forces in North Africa (through the Middle East).

Battle of Stalingrad: The battle of Stalingrad lasted between September 1942 and February 1943. Hitler had divided his forces into two units. One went directly towards the Caucasian oilfields and the other one went towards Stalingrad. In September 1942 the German troops reached Stalingrad... An army of 300.000 German men siege the city. The fighting was very intense. The Soviet troops fought to hold every street, every building - even individual rooms.

While the fighting went on in the city the Germans were encircled by Marshall Zhukov in November. When Von Paulus, the Commander of the German 6th Army realized that the position was hopeless he asked for permission to give up. Hitler refused; "*Surrender is forbidden. The army will hold their positions to the last man and the last round of ammunition*".

Von Paulus continued two more months. When he finally surrendered in February over 200.000 of the German men were dead. Over 90.000 men were taken prisoner. The Russian victory in Stalingrad showed that Germany could be beaten. Soviet Union lost more men at the battle of Stalingrad than the US lost during the whole war, but it was a turning point!

German Offensive in 1943 – Kursk: Hitler's answer was to start another offensive. At Kursk about 1 million men (440.000 German men and 500.000 Soviet men) and 8000 tanks (3000 German and 5000 Soviet) met. Germany used their latest tanks, newest guns and most experienced men.

Through several spies Stalin knew the German plans in detail. Russia had therefore established a defence line with over 20.000 canons (with about 1000 "Stalin organs") to meet the attack. At 03.30 in the morning of 5 July 1943 the German troops attacked. After 6 days of fierce fighting over 50.000 German soldiers were dead and half of the tanks were destroyed. Two days later Hitler gave the order to cancel the offensive - Allied troops had landed at Sicily (10 July). This was the last German offensive on the eastern front. Hitler had lost another army with some of his best modern equipment and most experienced men. From now on the Russian army was on the offensive.

Russian offensive 1944-1945: In 1944 the Red Army started a major offensive. By early 1945 they were in Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia. All the territory taken by the Germans was retaken by 1945. In May 1945 the Red Army reached Berlin - the Second World War was over!

Stalin punished Russian minorities: Among some non-Russians there had been sympathy for the Germans. In Lithuania there had been a rebellion, the Ukrainian anti-Soviet partisans had killed the Red Army General Vatutin and an anti-Soviet army had been formed under General Vlasov. Stalin was swift and brutal in his response. From Lithuania 280.000 people were deported between 1946-1949. The allies handed the Vlasovite army back to Soviet after the war. General Vlasov was hanged on a meat hook at the Red Square. Groups like the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tartars were also deported to the east under terrible conditions. Many died during the trip and several more in the work camps which was the final destination.

USSR – Cost of the war: Over 20 million Soviet citizens had died during the war. The Soviet Union lost more people than all other allies put together. Cities were ruined, the land destroyed and most of the farm animals were killed. Some numbers: 70.000 villages had been destroyed, 98.000 kolkhozes, 1876 sovkhoses, 17 million cattle, 7 million horses, 65.000 km railroad etc...

SOVIET UNION 1945-1953

Domestic development:

- Stalin Cult
 - Very few public appearances by Stalin - it was hard to interpret Stalin's thoughts since he hardly wrote anything (3 items 1947, 2 in 1949).
 - Stalin broke up institutions with power..."
 - GKO = State Defense Committee
 - Church
 - Military leaders were downgraded (Marshal Zhukov was sent to the Odessa military district and he lost his position in the part Central Committee)
 - Politburo, Secretariat and the Orgburo elected new members in 1946. Stalin controlled them well by just let smaller groups meet and discuss different issues, never the full bodies...
 - Some demobilization. Returning Russian POW was sent to Siberia! **Why?** Stalin feared that they might turn against him and that they might contaminate the people with their experience... Every POW was regarded as having let the country down!
 - New purges. About 100,000 members per year were expelled up to 1953. The claustrophobic atmosphere of the late 1930's returned...
 - The "*Leningrad Affair*". This was the framing and execution of leading Leningrad and Soviet officials (like Rodionov; Prime Minister and Voznesensky; leading economist) in 1949. The reason for these executions is still unclear.
 - One group that was badly criticized were the Jews. Jewish theaters and journals were closed down and Jewish intellectuals were arrested. Molotov's wife was Jewish and she had been forced in exile. Molotov didn't dare to discuss this with Stalin...
 - The "*Doctor's Plot*". The news about this plot was published in Pravda in January 1953. The medical specialists, mostly Jewish, were accused of cooperating with US Jewish organizations. They planned according to Pravda to wipe out the top Soviet leadership. The campaign was dropped when Stalin had a stroke and died in the beginning of March 1953
 - Women. Stalin's attitude to women was that they should bear children. Since there was a lack of men the law about paternity suits changed. A man was not held legally responsible for any offspring's born out of wedlock! Women who had taken over men's work during the war must now step down when they returned.
 - Party members were introduced to a campaign to raise their ideological level
 - New members grew slower and they were picked from a "*new*" group - engineers, technicians, skilled industrial workers...
 - All Russian discoveries were glorified while all foreign discoveries were nothing more than "*pseudoscience*"
-
-
-
-

Economic Policy:

- The wartime losses had been enormous; 70,000 villages, 98,000 kolkhozes, 1,876 sovkhoses, 17 million head of cattle and 7 million horses had been driven away. All railroad bridges into "Europe" and 65,000 km of railroad tracks had been destroyed.
- The **4th Five Year Plan** (1946-1950) concentrated on restoring the infrastructure and heavy industry. Due to forced labor and POW and the capital equipment seized as reparations from Germany the plan was largely fulfilled by 1950. The industrial production was now back to pre-war levels. In reality though there was no "*master plan*", merely a mass of lower-level plans that the centre tried to coordinate (**Gosplan** = State Planning Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers; responsible for drafting economic plans and checking on their implementation - founded already in February 1921)

- Agriculture did not succeed as well. In 1946 was a big drought and lots of mechanical equipment was missing. This led to an increased move in to the cities.
 - Even though we saw an increase of collective farms the output in 1953 was not back to the levels of the 1930's... One of the main reasons for this was the farmers effort to cultivate their "*private plots*". The Authorities under Nikita Khrushchev tried to increase the taxes on the small plots which led to a reduction of the private plots by the farmers themselves. This occurred at the same time as it was a food shortage. The private plots were responsible for about half the total output of agriculture at this time...
-
-

Culture:

- Anti-foreign (anti-western...)
 - The Journal "*Leninrad*" was closed down because it showed some foreign sympathies
 - Authors and poets that didn't fit into the Stalinist mold was scorned (Mikhail Zoshchenko was called the "*scum of the literary word*" and the poet Anna Akhmatova was called a whore...)
 - Cinema and Theaters went through the same treatment - anything western was criticized
 - Philosophy was also harshly criticized
-
-

Cold War:

- Origin of the Cold War is very complex but one crucial reason was the fact that USSR felt herself inferior to the US. Stalin was reluctant to accept any US offers. He always thought it was some kind of trap. This also meant isolation and better control over Russia for Stalin...
 - Soviet tried to give the impression that Russia was strong and that the US was not half as strong as she appeared to be... therefore the USSR often refused to even negotiate. If they did than the negotiators had no power and they were instructed to hold on to what the USSR had and try to gain further advantages possible...
-
-
-
-
-
-