- Religion: Pobedonostsev put all zemstva primary schools under church control and made sure peasants couldn’t go to secondary schools.
- Russification: He insisted on the use of the Russian language meaning all official documents had to be in Russian and all other languages were forbidden. The Jews felt so oppressed they joined the Bolsheviks. He embraced anti-Semitism and organised attacks on Jews which included raping Jewish women and children all with the support of the government.
- The independence of the zemstva was undermined with an act in 1890 which reduced the peasant vote and in 1892 made it harder for the wealthy to vote.
- In 1889 magistrates were removed.

**Alexander III “Great Spurt”**
- Ivan Vyshnegradsky:
  1. He strove to build up Russia's gold reserve
  2. By 1891 import duties reached 33%
  3. Grain exports increased by 18% between 1891 and 1881 and in 1892 the Russian budget was in surplus
  4. There was a famine in 1891-92 which affected 17/39 provinces and killed 300,000 people
  5. He reduced imports by increasing tariffs and in the tariff act of 1881 duties were increased meaning iron, cotton etc were protected from competition. Tariffs were extra or taxes put on goods that other countries had to pay.
  6. “We ourselves shall not eat but we shall export”
  7. He introduced subsidies which was when the government invested money into different industries.

**Development of the Railways**
- By 1890 60% of the railway system was state owned and by 1905 this increased to 66%.
- There was a rail between the Donbas coalfields and iron deposits in Ukraine
- The Batum-Baku railway connected the black sea with the Caspian sea increasing opportunities for expansionism.
- The Trans-Siberian railway became a massive industrial stimulus.
- The Trans-Siberian railway began in 1891 and wasn’t completed until 1902. It connected Moscow with the Pacific Ocean via the Chinese railway. Peasants were encouraged to emigrate to Serbia where there was no history of serfdom.
- In 1891 Russia had 1292 km of railways and in 1905 they had 59616 km of railways.

**Sergei Witte (1892-1903)**
● In October a general strike spread from Moscow to other cities. Barricades were set up on the streets.
● On October 26th the St Petersburg soviet of workers deputies was formed. Representatives from factories met to coordinate strike action. Soviets were formed in other cities too
● Nicholas II issued the October Manifesto on 30th October which promised a duma elected by the people, civil rights and the right to form political parties. This satisfied the liberals and they stopped fighting
● By december all of the troops were back in Russia and the Tsar felt strong enough to take back control. He used force to close down the St Petersburg soviet and crush an armed uprising in Moscow.

Liberal opposition
● They were in favour of constitutional change. They held meetings to discuss reform at universities which became centres for moderate thinking
● Liberal professionals formed unions which were more extreme in their demands than the zemstva liberals; “union of unions” led by Milyukov who wanted civil rights, political rights and universal suffrage

Social democrats
● Lenin and Trotsky were abroad at the beginning of 1905
● The party split making it harder to coordinate activity but both encouraged strike action.
● Trotsky increased the revolutionaries newspaper circulation to 500,000
● The St Petersburg soviet was made up of 500 members representing 5 trade unions and 96 factories.

Nationalists
● Seized the opportunity to advance to their own position
● Demands for independence from the poles and other nationalist minority groups responded with repression
● In Russia and poland over 400,000 workers became involved in strikes to disrupt the economy

Stolypin (1906-11)
● Repression:
  1. In 1907 around 1200 government officials were murdered in terrorist attacks by social revolutionaries. Stolypin met terror with terror. 1144 death sentences were made between 1906 and 1907
  2. The nooses used in hangings became known as “stolypin's neckties”
  3. 600 trade unions were forced to close
  4. During 1908 and 1909 16500 people were convicted of political crimes
3. All branches of legislation belong to the Tsar
4. The Tsar approves laws
5. The Tsar could appoint and dismiss the president of the councils.

**The first Duma (May-July 1906)**
- National election campaign took place in 1905-06 but the Bolsheviks and social revolutionaries refused to participate.
- Duma of national hope
- More than ⅓ of the new deputies were peasants. They met with the Tsar in St Petersburg on May 1st 1906
- Witte and the prime minister resigned under pressure from reactionary influence at the court to dissolve the hopes of liberals who believed a form of government would form and evolve under Witte.
- Witte was replaced with Goremykin
- Nicholas II found the first Duma too radical. Their first act was to pass an “address to the throne” requesting universal male suffrage and the abolition of the death penalty
- The Duma passed a vote of no confidence in the government. 10 weeks later is was dissolved.
- 200 former Duma members travelled to Vyborg and issued an appeal that made citizens refuse to pay taxes and do military service. Month prison sentences were given to those who signed it. It also disenfranchised them.
- Rightists: 2%
- Mensheviks: 4%
- Kadets: 42%

**The Second Duma (feb-june 1907)**
- Prime minister Stolypin tried to influence the next election by supporting the Octobrists
- The Duma of national anger
- More oppositional.
- Neither the right or the left wanted the Duma experiment to succeed. Incapacitating it as a political force
- Stolypin couldn’t find any support for agricultural reform and resorted to passing legislation under the emergency powers granted by Article 87 which the Duma refused to ratify. He spread a rumour about the social democrat plot to assassinate the Tsar and Stolypin dissolved the Duma
- Social democrats were arrested and exiled.
- The weight of peasants and national minorities drastically reduced and the representation of the upper classes increased.
- Octobrists: 8%
- Kadets: 18%
3. They wanted to continue the NEP
4. Socialism would be achieved “at a snail’s pace”
5. Stalin refused to ally himself with the left as it would mean an alliance with Trotsky
6. He abandoned the NEP when it began to fail.

- **World Revolution**
  1. “Socialism in one country”
  2. Claimed it was the view Lenin had
  3. Direct opposition to Trotsky
  4. The Russian Revolution would be successful on its own because of the alliance of class. This made foreign aid unnecessary.
  5. Socialism is one appealing thing by playing on the nationalism giving Russia a leading role in world history.

- **The future of revolution**
  1. “Bonapartism”
  2. Trotsky to Stalin was the threat. He pointed out the danger of a revolution being hijacked by a military dictator.
  3. Many feared Trotsky like Bonaparte would use the army to become a military dictator.
  4. His statement in 1927 said he would assume dictator if Russia was attacked by foreign powers, this did nothing to settle fears.

**The Views of The Left**

- **NEP and Industry**
  1. They favoured the peasants and returned power to the capitalists at the expense of the working class and so NEP was economically misguided.
  2. They saw it as a betrayal of communism.
  3. Heavy taxes would create a good heavy industrial production

- **World Revolution**
  1. “Permanent revolution”
  2. No socialist society could exist alone
  3. They hoped for a western european revolution believing more advanced countries would provide Russia with resources needed to build socialism

- **The future of revolution**
  1. “Bureaucratic degeneration”
  2. They wanted to fight capitalists who joined the party for getting well paid jobs.
  3. Declaration of 46: those who spoke up were scared to do so. They wanted to be open to democracy within the communist party itself.
3. Higher production of grain for workers and they wanted to begin to sell overseas
4. They required less workers which released peasants to move into the city.
5. It was easier for the government to collect grain.
6. They wanted to eliminate the wealthy Kulaks who believed in private ownership.

- The first five year plan favoured heavy industry like Iron, Coal, Steel and oil over consumer goods like textiles.
- The majority of Stalin's industrial labour force were unskilled peasants who had recently left the countryside and so were poorly suited to the production of complex consumer goods but were well matched to the production of large quantities of raw materials. He believed it would give peasants the skills to work in more sophisticated industries.
- “Target mania” these targets seemed hopeless and unachievable. The first five year plan didn't set out to match raw materials to production and production to consumption.
- “Command economy” a system based on a series of central orders rather than a “planned economy”
- Coal
  1. In 1927 coal production was at 35.4 million tons.
  2. In 1933 the target was at 68.0 million tons but the actual production was 64.3 million tons.
- Oil
  1. In 1927 oil production was at 11.7 million tons.
  2. In 1933 the target was at 19.0 million tons but the actual production was at 21.4 million tons.
- Bribery and corruption were rife. Managers made illegal deals in their desperation to get the parts or supplies they needed to meet their targets. Some were known to hijack lorries and ambush trains.
- Bottlenecks appeared everywhere due to the shortages of materials and the inadequacy of the transport system.
- In some parts the economy was under production because factories were held up by shortages of materials, in other parts there was overproduction as people exceeded their targets.
- Managers forged their papers, all that matters is that they could prove on paper that they had been meeting their targets. Show trials were held to hammer home the point to those managers that hadn’t been meeting their targets.
- In March 1928 technical staff were accused of counter revolutionary activities at Shakhty coal mine. The staff were forced to confess in a show trial for the public to see. 5 were executed and the rest were given long prison sentences.
3. By February 1943 the axis forces had exhausted their food supplies and the remaining units surrendered.

4. “Harvest victory” was when Stalin transported the majority of grain out of the city before the Germans had attacked.

5. Between 25th July and 31st 32 soviet ships sunk.

6. In 1942 1000 tons of tombs were dropped in 48 hours but Stalin refused to evacuate people from the city.

7. The NKVD organised poorly armed “workers militias” composed of civilians not directly involved in war production for immediate use in battle. The civilians were sent into battles without rifles.

8. Stalin’s order no 227 of July 1942 decreed that all commanders who ordered an unauthorised retreat would be subject to military tribunal. It is estimated that 14000 soldiers of the Red Army were executed.

9. Operation little saturn: on 16th December the soviets launched an offensive that attempted to punch through the axis army. But this was abandoned on 23rd December and the aim was not to win as much time to withdraw forces from Caucasus.

10. The German army were running out of ammunitions and food and by the time urban warfare began the Germans were pushed back. Volga. But Hitler promoted Paulus to General field marshall and no German field marshal had ever surrendered therefore if Paulus surrendered he would shame himself.

11. It is significant as it marked a turning point for the Eastern front and the war against Germany. On 9th November 1944 Hitler blamed the loss of Stalingrad for Germany’s impending doom. They suffered a total of 1.1 million casualties.

- It is estimated that 85 million Russians found themselves under the control of the Germans and 5 million prisoners were taken by the Germans.
- Around 500000 Russian civilians fought on the side of German at the battle of Stalingrad. 13000 deserters were shot.
- In 1941 electricity supplies to the city were stopped.
- The government took 90% of the produce from collective farms.
- During the counter offensive and the March on Berlin 2 million women were raped.

The Economy

- By 1942 the Germans controlled ⅓ of Russia’s territory and agriculture. By this time Russia was only producing 59% of its 1940 output.
- It is believed that 70000 villages, 32000 factories and 65000 km of railways were destroyed during the war.
- The fourth five year plan (1946-50)
1. The aim of this was to get the soviet economy back to the growth levels achieved before the war.
2. This would then be followed by two other plans which would accelerate the development of heavy industry.
3. The production of consumer goods were neglected.
4. Up to 4 million prisoners of war were subject to conscript labour
5. The Lend-Lease act meant that they could receive aid from the USA, the United Nations as well as Britain and Sweden.
6. Ordinary Russian workers continued to work long hours in unforgiving conditions to increase production and productivity in industry.
7. There was a continuation of “gargantuan” projects. Great amounts of capital were ploughed into schemes with little economic return.
8. Collective farms and the peasants that worked the land suffered from shortages causing a famine in 1947.
9. Khrushchev who was minister for agriculture attempted to resolve these problems through joining farms together to make bigger farm units to share costs and raise production but this had little impact.

**Stalin’s Foreign policy**
- After the war Stalin wanted to increase his influence and was given the land he was promised through the 1944 Percentages agreement which agreed to a soviet sphere of influence as long as there is a free and fair election.
- In 1946 he made a speech stating that capitalism and communism are incompatible and that communism was going to dominate the world.
- The Truman Doctrine: pledged support to any country that was under threat from a communist take over.
- Stalin did a number of things:
  1. He forbade acceptance of US aid
  2. He created the cominform
  3. He made bilateral treaties which forbade states from making other alliances.

**Yugoslavia**
- At the end of the war Yugoslavia was still a new country only being established in 1920.
- In 1945 new elections were held, the outcome was the installation of a communist government led by Tito.
- Tito was a popular leader that wanted to maintain independence and prevent a stalinist regime.
- Titos non compliance with Stalin meant that in 1948 Yugoslavia was expelled from the cominform.
- In 1955 Khrushchev visited Tito to offer help for the future of Yugoslavia.
● At the Yalta conference in 1945 the “four power control of zones” was established. This meant that each of the allied forces would be allotted a zone within Germany to administer until a foundation for peace could be laid.
● Stalin believed this would prevent the allied powers from limiting Russian influence.
● As a concession to the Russians, Britain and the US agreed to pay 10% reparations to the Russians and an extra 15% in exchanged for raw materials and food they needed from Stalin.
● In 1948 Western allies introduced a new currency, the Deutschemark. Soviets used the Ostmark in their zones. They also blockaded west Berlin to prevent the east being exposed to capitalism.

Poland.
● Stalin's view was that Poland should be incorporated into the USSR which helps explain why he signed the Nazi-Soviet pact with Germany in 1939.
● The polish government fled to London and went into exile/
● Germany was able to implement a soviet style government across Poland with the establishment of a Russo-polish front.
● In 1947 a provisional constitution and council of state was established.
● By 1948 a one party state had been established, those who disagreed were arrested.
● In 1952 Poland was renamed the people republic of Poland.
● In 1956 peasants were able to hold small landholdings and the catholic church was allowed to teach religion in schools.

After the death of Stalin

Malenkov
● Head of the soviet government.

Molotov
● Foreign secretary

Khrushchev
● Communist party secretary

Bulganin
● Deputy head of the government.

Beria
● Head of the secret police
In June 1947 the USA revealed an economic recovery plan for Europe.
This was rejected by Molotov as it was seen to spread capitalism.
Stalin saw the success of the Second World War as a demonstration of how strong the Soviet economic system was.

Cominform
The Cominform was established in September 1947 in opposition to the Marshall plan.
This was the Soviets rejection to western financial help suggesting economic recovery for the east was established through cooperation.

The Cold War during Khrushchev
As a part of de-Stalinization Khrushchev took a new approach of “peaceful cooperation” with the west.

“Peaceful cooperation”
Cominform was disbanded.
In September 1959 Khrushchev flew to the USA for the first time meeting with President Eisenhower at Camp David. These meetings were considered so constructive they gave rise to the term “the spirit of Camp David” as an expression of the improved Soviet-American understanding of nuclear weapons.

“Courageous Failure”
In 1955 the Warsaw pact was signed with many of the satellite states. This was in direct response to NATO and it was when the Soviet Union and the satellite states promised to defend one another if any was to be attacked.
Khrushchev deployed 30,000 to Hungary to crush the Hungarian uprising in 1956.
In 1957 the USSR launched Sputnik 1 marking the beginning of the space race with the US. Sputnik 1 was the world’s first artificial satellite.
In 1960 at the Paris International Conference it broke up in acrimony after Khrushchev announced that the USSR had shot down an American reconnaissance plane spying over the Soviet Union. He demanded an apology from Eisenhower and stormed out of the conference.
In June 1961 Khrushchev met with President Kennedy to discuss Berlin. There were over 2 million refugees fleeing from East Berlin under Soviet influence to West Berlin which was under western influence. Khrushchev demanded the removal of western powers forces from Berlin. In August Khrushchev gave approval; to East Germany’s leader to order the construction of the Berlin wall.
• He was unable to resolve the conflict with China in order to retain the success of the USSR and the communist world.
• He had awakened hopes of independence in the Eastern bloc only to then impose military intervention and revoke these feelings of liberty and nationalism.
• Due to the Cuban Missile Crisis he was also unable to establish any “peaceful Coexistence” with the west and this aroused bitterness in his Kremlin colleagues.
• Khrushchev made unrealistic promises about the productivity of the Soviet economy and the virgin land campaign failures brought him much criticism and discredit.