

HISTORY + FOR EDEXCEL A LEVEL



COMMUNIST STATES

in the twentieth century

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INTRODUCTION

History+ for Edexcel A Level: Communist states in the twentieth century supports Edexcel's Route E. Specifically, it supports the following papers:

- Paper 1E: Russia, 1917–91: from Lenin to Yeltsin
- Paper 2E.1: Mao's China, 1949–76
- Paper 2E.2: The German Democratic Republic, 1949–90

About the course

Your overall A level History course for the Edexcel specification includes three externally examined papers and coursework. If you are studying AS History, there are two externally examined papers. The papers are:

- Paper 1: Breadth study with interpretations (AS and A level)
- Paper 2: Depth study (AS and A level)
- Paper 3: Themes in breadth with aspects in depth (A level only).

This book covers the breadth study with interpretations 'Russia, 1917–91: from Lenin to Yeltsin' and two depth studies of which you must study one: 'Mao's China, 1949–76' or 'The German Democratic Republic, 1949–90'.

How to use this book

This book had been designed to help you develop the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in Paper 1 and Paper 2.

The book divides into three main parts, dealing with Paper 1, Paper 2.1 and Paper 2.2 respectively. The structure of each part parallels the structure of the specification. Therefore:

- Paper 1 has four themes, each divided into three chapters, and a final section dealing with the historical interpretation, again divided into four chapters. Each theme and historical interpretation begins with a Big Picture, setting the scene for the material which follows.
- Paper 2 starts with a Big Picture overview of the whole period and then is divided into four chapters dealing with the four key topics of the specification.

Each chapter begins with an overview of the theme, topic or interpretation discussed to set it in context, and ends with a chapter summary to help with revision of the key points included in the chapter. Summary diagrams at the end of chapters should also help with revision.

There are a series of other features throughout the book to aid your understanding of the period and develop your essay writing skills.

Essay writing skills

There are features throughout the book to help develop your essay writing skills. The skills developed by the book will directly relate to the skills necessary to do well in the AS and A level exams.

Essay technique sections at the end of chapters develop essay skills. These include how to:

- focus on the question
- structure your answer
- deploy detail
- analyse
- create and sustain a balanced argument

and, where necessary, how to approach the sources and extracts that accompany some exam questions.

Practice questions provide exam-style questions so that you can practise answering questions related to the different topics and themes that you study.

Help with note making

On page ix there is a series of note-making styles, which you can use as you work through the book. These are designed to ensure that your note making is clear, and sets you up to revise for the exam.

Note it down activities appear throughout the book to guide your note taking. They sometimes refer back to the note-making styles outlined at the beginning of the book.

Work together

The book also contains work together activities. These consist of activities designed to help you work together to check your understanding of the topics as you go along.

Extended reading

In addition to the traditional textbook narrative, this book contains four specially commissioned essays from practising academic historians. These address the historical interpretation and are designed to introduce you to the historical debate in a way that is directly related to the exam.

Recommended reading

You can find recommended reading sections throughout the book. These are designed to point you in the direction of both classic works on the subject and examples of more recent historical writing.

About the exam

The A level exam

The A level comprises three papers and coursework. Papers 1 and 2 are examined at the same time as part of the same route. Paper 1 is worth 30 per cent of the total A level and Paper 2 is worth 20 per cent. Paper 3 is examined separately and is worth 30 per cent, with the coursework making up the final 20 per cent of marks. This section looks at Paper 1 and Paper 2, as these are the papers this book supports.

Paper 1

The Paper 1 exam paper is divided into three parts: Section A, Section B and Section C. The different sections will test different skills and aspects of the history you have studied.

Sections A and B test your knowledge of the period 1917–85. The questions test your breadth of knowledge of four key themes:

- Communist government in the USSR, 1917–85
- Industrial and agricultural change, 1917–85
- Control of the people, 1917–85
- Social developments, 1917–85.

Section C tests your depth of knowledge regarding a historical interpretation.

Sections A and B

Sections A and B test the breadth of your knowledge, and each section requires you to write an essay. In both Sections A and B you have to answer one question from a choice of two.

Section A of the exam paper contains two questions, of which you are required to complete one. Questions in Section A will test the breadth of your knowledge by focusing on at least ten years.

Section B of the exam paper also contains two questions, of which you are required to complete one. Questions in Section B will test the breadth of your knowledge by focusing on at least one-third of the period you have studied: c.23 years.

Neither Section A nor Section B requires you to read or analyse either sources or extracts from the work of historians.

Section A and B questions require you to deploy a variety of skills. The most important are focus on the question, selection and deployment of relevant detail, analysis and, at the highest level, prioritisation.

Questions in Sections A and B will focus on one of the following concepts:

- cause
- consequence
- change/continuity
- similarity/difference
- significance.

Therefore the questions will typically begin with one of the following stems:

- How far ...
- How accurate is it to say ...
- To what extent ...
- How significant ...
- How successful ...

Section C

Section C of the exam paper is different to Sections A and B. While Sections A and B test your own knowledge, Section C tests your own knowledge and your ability to analyse and evaluate interpretations of the past in the work of historians. Therefore Section C contains two extracts from the work of historians. Section C of the exam contains one compulsory question.

Section C focuses on an interpretation related to the following controversy:

What explains the fall of the USSR, c.1985–91?

It looks at the following aspects of the potential crisis:

- The significance of the economic weaknesses of the USSR and the failure of reform
- The effects of Gorbachev's failure to reform the Communist Party and the Soviet Government
- The impact of the national resurgence in the late 1980s in the Soviet republics and in the communist states of Eastern Europe
- How far Gorbachev and Yeltsin can be seen as responsible for the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

Note taking

Good note taking is really important. Your notes are an essential revision resource. What is more, the process of making notes will help you understand and remember what you are reading.

How books work

Most books are written as clearly as possible. Therefore writers use a variety of techniques to help you learn.

Authors often break up their work into key points (the most important ideas and themes) and supporting evidence (the details that support the key points). Key points are usually general statements. For example, a key point might be 'During the Civil War the government increasingly became a party-state based on the Communist Party.' The supporting evidence might be a list of detailed examples that indicate the key point is correct.

How to make notes

Most note-making styles reflect the distinction between key points and supporting evidence. Below is advice on a variety of different note-making styles. Throughout each section in the book are note-making activities for you to carry out.

Hints and tips

The important thing is that you understand your notes. Therefore you don't have to write *everything* down, and you don't have to write in full sentences.

While making notes you can use abbreviations:

Full text	Abbreviation
Communist Party	CP
New Economic Policy	NEP
Civil War	CW
Lenin	<u>L</u>
First World War	WW1

You can use arrows instead of words:

Full text	Arrow
Increased	↑
Decreased	↓

You can use mathematical notation:

Full text	Mathematical notation
Equals	=
Plus, and	+
Because	∴
Therefore	∴

Here is an example:

Text	Notes
The Crisis of 1921, which included rebellion among the peasants, workers' strikes and military mutiny, showed the extent of opposition to Lenin's government and therefore forced Lenin to reform.	Crisis 1921 = ↑ opposition ∴ <u>L</u> made reforms

Note-making styles

There are a large number of note-making styles. You can find examples of four popular styles below. All of them have their strengths. It is a good idea to try them all and work out which style suits you.

The examples below are of notes taken from Chapter 1 on page 4.

Style 1: Bullet points

Bullet points can be a useful method of making notes because:

- they encourage you to write in note form, rather than in full sentences
- they help you to organise your ideas in a systematic fashion
- they are easy to skim read later
- you can show relative importance visually by indenting less important, or supporting points.

- 1 Scan the section before you read it in depth. Identify headings (points of explanation). Significantly, you should try looking for the key points in the first sentence of each paragraph. On your page of notes, set the key points out in sections.

- 2 Now read carefully through the section. Write supporting points or points of evidence under the relevant headings.

The end result should look like this:

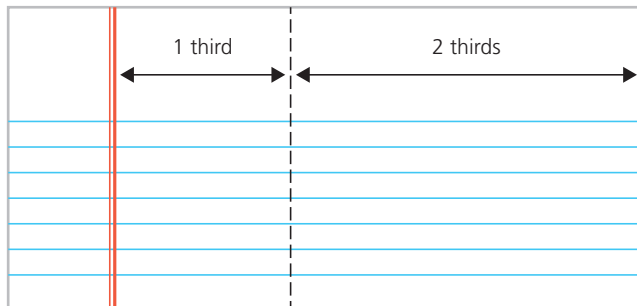
Key features of Russia before 1917

- Empire ruled by all-powerful Tsars
 - Repression widespread
 - Weak rural economy: poverty + little industry
 - Underground opposition (RSDLP) (SRs)
 - Impact of WW1 – economic chaos =
- 1 Feb Rev. = Prov. gov
2 Oct. Rev = L + Bolsheviks take power

Style 2: The 1:2 method

The 1:2 method is a variation on bullet points. The method is based on dividing your page into two columns: the first for the main point, the second for supporting detail. This allows you to see the structure of the information clearly.

- 1 Divide your page like in the example below:



- 2 Write the key points in the left-hand section.
3 Write the supporting detail in the right-hand section.

The end result should look like this:

Key points	Supporting detail
Russia before 1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Powerful Tsars ruled; 1884–1917 = Nicholas II • Empire – Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Finland, Estonia • Repression widespread – e.g. Lena Goldmine massacre 1912 • Little modern industry: 2.4m/140m industrial workers • Opposition – underground; aim to overthrow Tsar + end poverty, e.g. RSDLP and SRs

Style 3: Spider diagrams

Spider diagrams or mind maps can be a useful method of making notes because:

- they will help you to categorise factors; each of the main branches coming from the centre should be a new category
- they can help you see what is most important; often the most important factors will be close to the centre of the diagram
- they can help you see connections between different aspects of what you are studying; it is useful to draw lines between different parts of your diagram to show links
- they can also help you with essay planning; you can use them to quickly get down the main points and develop a clear structure in response to an essay question.

- 1 Draw a circle in the middle of your piece of paper. It should be large enough to contain the section title.
- 2 Scan the section and identify headings. Draw lines out from your central circle – remember to leave plenty of room between them so that you can fit in all of your notes.
- 3 Read through the section carefully. Write supporting points or points of evidence under the relevant headings.

Theme 1 Communist government in the USSR, 1917–85

The Big Picture

The story of communist government in Russia is one of rise, transformation and decline.

At first, under Lenin, the new government was radical, uncompromising and revolutionary. Lenin overthrew the existing government, fought a bitter civil war, and created a wholly new type of government. Lenin claimed he was establishing a government of the workers. However, Lenin's Russia was a mix of a utopian vision and skilful political compromise. Therefore, in order to ensure the survival of the new government at all costs, Lenin's government was based much more on administrators and bureaucrats than it was on working people. Fundamentally, Lenin's government was based on the Communist Party. In fact Lenin established a one-party state which guaranteed the supremacy of the Communist Party within Russian Government.

Stalin started a revolution of his own. His 'revolution from above' was designed to build on Lenin's achievement. Lenin had ended capitalism, but Stalin would begin the world's first serious attempt to create a socialist society. Stalin's revolution made Russia an economic giant. But it also created a totalitarian state: a government based on terror, propaganda and a cult of personality.

After Stalin's death Khrushchev attempted to reform the Russian Government. Communism in Russia became more humane – people were no longer sent to labour camps or executed in such large numbers. After the horrors of Stalinism, Khrushchev wanted to revive popular faith in Communism. But Khrushchev's reforms had the potential to destabilise communist rule in Russia. Consequently, in order to protect the power of the Party, Khrushchev was replaced by Brezhnev, a leader that the Communist Party could rely on to protect its position. Under Brezhnev, Communism in Russia lost its revolutionary energy and finally completed its journey from revolutionary movement to party of government. Brezhnev's greatest strength was also his greatest weakness: his ability to guarantee stability meant that he was unable to reform. Between 1982 and 1985, Russia's final leaders struggled with the same problems that had faced Khrushchev and Brezhnev: how could the Communist Party reform without abandoning the one-party state created by Lenin?

In this theme you will consider the following.

- How Lenin and the Communist Party won and consolidated power, 1917–24:
The changing nature of Lenin's government from the October Revolution, through the Civil War to Lenin's death.
- Russia under Stalin, 1928–53:
The elimination of Stalin's opponents, the Great Terror and the creation of a personal dictatorship.
- Communist government, 1953–85:
Khrushchev's attempts to reform the Communist Government, Brezhnev's attempts to stabilise communist rule, and the growing political difficulties of the Communist Government under Andropov and Chernenko.

TIMELINE

1914	Russia enters the First World War
1917 February	The February Revolution overthrows the Tsar
1917 March	a Provisional Government is established
1917 October	The October Revolution overthrows the Provisional Government. Lenin establishes <i>Sovnarkom</i> .
1918–1921	Increasing political centralisation during the Russian Civil War. Lenin disbands Constituent Assembly
1921	Opposition political parties banned. The Communists triumph in the Civil War. Russia becomes a one-party state
1921 March	Party Congress bans factions.
1924 January	Lenin dies
1928	Stalin emerges as leader of Russia
1934 January	Private criticism of Stalin expressed at the Congress of Victors
1934 December	Kirov is murdered in Leningrad
1935	The Great Terror begins with a purge of the Leningrad Communist Party
1936 August	Stalin removes high profile opponents in the first of Moscow show- trials
1936 September	Yezhov becomes head of the secret police. The Great Terror intensifies
1953 March	Stalin dies
1956 February	Khrushchev's secret speech – beginning of widespread de-Stalinisation
1957 July	Greater freedom of expression is permitted following the World Festival of Youth and Students
1964 October	Khrushchev removed from office. Brezhnev begins to reverse Khrushchev's reforms
1966 December	New criminal code tightens laws on political dissent
1975	Brezhnev becomes increasingly ill and unable to govern effectively
1976 February	Brezhnev fails to introduce reforms at the Twenty-Fifth Party Congress, in spite of growing economic, social and political problems
1982 November	Andropov initiates reforms to tackle corruption
1984 February	Andropov dies and is replaced by Chernenko before his reforms had taken effect

1a: Establishing Communist Party control, 1917–24

Overview

Russia experienced two revolutions in 1917. The first led to the downfall of the Tsar – the head of the royal family. The second led to the creation of a radical new form of government which promised freedom and equality for Russia's working people. In order to achieve this, revolutionary leader Lenin constructed a new government. At first, Lenin promised a democratic government, which would be based on the support of all working people. Lenin's first actions were truly popular, reflecting long-standing desires of Russia's workers, peasants and soldiers. However, Lenin's new government was also ruthless, and from the very start it terrorised its opponents. Moreover, for Lenin, democracy was less important than his desire to maintain control. Therefore, when his party lost elections Lenin disregarded the results.

Lenin abandoned democracy altogether during Russia's Civil War, and the new government became increasingly centralised and authoritarian. Lenin's victory in the Civil War did not lead to the restoration of democracy. Rather, Lenin outlawed rival political parties and by 1921 had created a radically new kind of government: a one-party state. However, it was highly centralised and authoritarian, and therefore nothing like the free and democratic society that he had promised in 1917.

This chapter examines the creation of the communist one-party state through the following sections:

- 1 Background to the Bolshevik Revolution
- 2 Lenin's state, 1917–18
- 3 The impact of the Civil War, 1918–21
- 4 1921: Crisis and reform
- 5 Conclusion: Lenin's legacy.

1 Background to the Bolshevik Revolution

Before the revolutions of 1917 Russia was ruled by a series of all-powerful emperors. **Tsar** Nicholas II, Russian Emperor from 1894 until 1917, was widely regarded as more repressive than other European rulers. Repression was widespread and the vast majority of the Tsar's subjects were impoverished and had no political rights. For example, hundreds of miners who protested for higher wages at the Lena goldmine in 1912 were brutally massacred by the Tsar's troops. The Tsar's empire extended beyond Russia and included the Ukraine, Georgia, Finland and Estonia.

While the government was strong, the economy was weak compared to that of Britain, Germany, the USA and other major powers. Russia had very little modern industry. Indeed, by 1913 only 2.4 million of Russia's 140 million people worked in large factories. Nicholas II's government tried to encourage economic growth, but it was only partly successful. What is more, even in periods of economic growth, the population as a whole remained extremely poor.

Political repression and massive economic inequality led to the growth of underground opposition to the Tsar. Around 1900 the two largest opposition parties were

the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (**RSDLP**) and the Socialist Revolutionaries (**SRs**), both of which were committed to overthrowing the Tsar, liberating the people of the Russian Empire and ending poverty. However, neither group were able to organise effectively due to the Tsar's political police, who routinely spied on these groups and arrested and exiled their leaders. In spite of repression, Tsarism was rocked by the **1905 Revolution**, a series of revolts that almost led to the overthrow of the Tsar. Political compromise and renewed repression ensured the survival of the regime until the **First World War**.

The First World War

Russia entered the First World War in 1914. Russia's economy was incapable of providing the food and equipment necessary to fight the war. Additionally, the Tsar was an incompetent wartime leader. By early 1917 economic chaos, military defeat and political mismanagement led to the February Revolution: a popular uprising in Petrograd, Russia's capital city that overthrew the Tsar and set up a **Provisional Government**.

The Provisional Government

Following the February Revolution, the Provisional Government introduced a series of reforms. The Tsar's **despotism** was replaced by a liberal system,

which included **freedom of expression**, **freedom of assembly** and **freedom of religion**. Additionally, the Provisional Government promised democratic elections to form a new government. However, the Provisional Government continued to fight the First World War.

Lenin, a radical member of the RSDLP, argued for a second revolution. Following his return from exile in April 1917, he demanded an immediate end to the First World War and the **redistribution** of land to the peasants. These demands were summarised in the slogan 'Peace, Land and Bread'. As the Provisional Government continued to fight in the war and Russia's economic problems grew worse, Lenin's message became increasingly popular.

By October 1917 Lenin and his followers the **Bolsheviks** had enough support to overthrow the Provisional Government. Lenin and Trotsky (see page 7) seized the moment and organised a **coup d'état**, which allowed the Bolsheviks to take power.

Note it down

Using bullet points (see page ix), make notes on the key features of Russia prior to 1917. As this is background you do not need a great deal of detail. Rather write a single bullet point on the key political, economic and social features of the period. Additionally, summarise the impact of the First World War on the Russian Government in a single bullet point.

Lenin's ideology

Lenin seized power because he believed that a global revolution was necessary to replace **capitalism** and **imperialism** with **socialism**: a new social system that would allow all people to be genuinely free and equal. This view was based on a Marxist view of history.

The Marxist view of history

Karl Marx was a German philosopher and revolutionary, who lived in the nineteenth century. He became famous

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, 1870–1924



Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is one of the most famous revolutionaries of all time. Born in the late nineteenth century, he is remembered as the man who led the first successful communist revolution. Lenin's early life was troubled by radical politics. Aleksandr, his older brother, was executed in 1887 for the attempted assassination

of Tsar **Alexander III**. Following this, Lenin's family were shunned by their community. As a student Lenin joined a radical socialist movement; this led to his expulsion from university for protesting in favour of student rights. In spite of this he continued to be involved in revolutionary politics. Even as a young man, Lenin was a natural leader and therefore tended to play a leading role in the underground radical groups he joined. As a result he was targeted by the police and in 1897, like many Russian revolutionaries, he was arrested and exiled.

Between 1899 and 1903, Lenin played a leading role in the foundation of the RSDLP – which became Russia's most influential Marxist party. Lenin became leader of the Bolshevik **faction** of the RSDLP. Lenin, like many Russian radicals, wanted to transform Russia. He wanted to destroy the royal family, end the power of the Russian Church and create a modern nation, which embraced cutting-edge science and industry. In so doing, Lenin hoped to improve the lives of millions of working Russians who lived in poverty. Between 1903 and 1917 Lenin spent a great deal of time in exile. He was a brilliant writer and organiser, but he also had a reputation for being manipulative and for getting his way by scheming within the RSDLP.

Lenin's personality affected his approach to politics. He could be extremely **pragmatic** and therefore willing to sacrifice important principles in order to safeguard his power. He enjoyed arguing with his colleagues and getting his own way. He also had a reputation for experiencing fits of rage – in fact his outbursts were so frequent towards the end of his life that his colleagues suspected he was mentally unstable. Finally, Lenin despised 'sentimentality'; therefore he felt little sympathy for the suffering of others and was prepared to use violence and terror to achieve his goals.

for arguing that the workers should rise up and destroy capitalism in a revolution. Marx's view of revolution was based on his theory of history. Marx argued that history had progressed through a series of stages, as Table 1 shows.

Table 1: Marx's four stages of history.

Primitive Communism	Humans lived in a simple society where they hunted and gathered. There was no government and all people were essentially equal.
Classical slavery	In ancient Greece and Rome society was divided into masters and slaves. Society became more sophisticated, but was deeply unequal.
Feudalism	During the Middle Ages, society was controlled by noble families who owned the land and controlled the lives of the peasants who worked for them.
Capitalism	Following the Industrial Revolution, power passed to people who owned the new factories. Workers, the proletariat , were essentially powerless due to their extreme poverty.

Marx argued that progress from one stage to another occurred due to **class** conflict. For example, at the end of feudalism the new capitalist class overthrew the old feudal lords and established a new kind of society based on industry rather than on the control of land. Marx argued that the English, American and French Revolutions were examples of the victory of capitalism over feudalism.

Marx believed that capitalism would also come to an end. He argued that, following a workers' revolution, capitalism would be replaced by socialism in Europe's most advanced economies. Lenin believed that the chaos produced by the First World War provided an opportunity to overthrow capitalism across Europe.

The state and revolution

Marx's writings did not contain a clear indication of how a revolution would be carried out, or what socialism would look like. Indeed, Marx's writings were contradictory. In some places, Marx argued that a revolutionary government would be more democratic than a capitalist government; however, he also famously wrote about the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', which would use its power ruthlessly to destroy the power of capitalists. Lenin seems to have taken both of these ideas seriously.

2 Lenin's state, 1917–18

Lenin's new **state** changed over time. Initially, he embraced a radically democratic state. However, by the summer of 1918, the revolutionary state was much more **authoritarian**.

Note it down

Using the 1:2 method (see page x) make notes on the following topics:

- How did Lenin justify his new state?
- How was Lenin's new state structured?
- How powerful was Lenin's state between 1917 and 1918?
- How democratic was Lenin's state between 1917 and 1918?

Creating a 'soviet-state'

In October 1917, Lenin seized power on behalf of the **soviets** – small democratic councils that had emerged spontaneously in every town and village across Russia after the February Revolution. Between February and October 1917, the soviets played a key role in governing Russia. Additionally, the local soviets sent representatives to the **All-Russian Congress of Soviets**, which met in June 1917 to discuss Russia's future. Lenin and other senior Bolsheviks argued that the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which met for a second time in October, should become the basis of the new Russian Government. Indeed, the October Revolution formally handed power to the All-Russian Congress. However, as the All-Russian Congress was too big to meet regularly they elected the Council of People's Commissars (*Sovnarkom*) to govern Russia on a day-to-day basis.

Sovnarkom

Sovnarkom was essentially the new Russian **cabinet**. The first *Sovnarkom* was made up of 13 People's Commissars. Lenin was elected Chairman of *Sovnarkom*, and other Commissars included Leon Trotsky (see page 7), who was head of the **People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs**, and Joseph Stalin (see page 8), who was head of the **People's Commissariat of Nationality Affairs**. All of the new Commissars were revolutionaries. The vast majority had supported Lenin since 1903. Many had worked with him in exile, and all had supported the Bolshevik seizure of power.

Leon Trotsky, 1879–1940



Before 1917 Trotsky was already a revolutionary hero due to his role in the failed 1905 Revolution. Trotsky and Lenin disagreed violently about politics before 1917. However, following the February Revolution they worked closely together until Lenin's death. Trotsky played a leading role

in the October Revolution and in the first years of Russia's Communist Government. He also led the Communist's Red Army to victory in the Civil War (see page 9). In spite of his brilliance, he was not universally popular among Lenin's followers. He was viewed as arrogant and unreliable. Additionally, he was viewed as a threat, and therefore other senior members of the Party plotted successfully to expel him from the Party and from Russia.

Lenin's first government passed a series of **decrees** that were genuinely popular. Immediately following the October Revolution, Lenin gave a speech to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. He proposed a series of decrees which the Congress of Soviets voted to approve:

- the Decree on Land (October 1917), which gave peasants the right to seize land from the nobility and the Church
- the Decree of Peace (October 1917), which committed the new government to withdrawing from the First World War and seeking peace.

Lenin continued to publish popular decrees for the first few months of the government, including:

- Workers' Decrees (November 1917), which established an eight-hour maximum working day and a minimum wage
- the Decree of **Workers' Control** (April 1918), which allowed workers to elect committees to run factories.

These early measures allowed Lenin to establish control over Russia in two main ways. First, the decrees won popular support for the regime from workers, peasants and soldiers. Second, ending the First World War gave the revolution what Lenin called 'breathing space' in which to begin to rebuild the economy and to start constructing a new government.

For the first few months, *Sovnarkom* had little real power. The October Revolution had occurred in Russia's capital city, Petrograd. At first, it did not give Lenin control of Russia's other major cities or the vast rural areas that made up the majority of Russia's territory. Senior figures from the former government still had a great deal of power and refused to recognise Bolshevik authority. For example, in late November General Dukhonin, Chief of Staff of the Russian army, refused a direct order from Lenin to stop fighting and begin peace negotiations. Equally, the Russian State Bank and State Treasury went on strike immediately after the revolution, denying Lenin's new government the funds that it needed to operate.

Initially, *Sovnarkom* was also extremely disorganised. This is evident from Lenin's early appointments of People's Commissars. For example, in the first few days of the new government, Stalin's Commissariat for Nationalities was, in reality, just a desk in the corner of a room at the Smolny Institute, the building where *Sovnarkom* was originally based.

Equally, Vyacheslav Menzhinsky's Commissariat of Finance was initially nothing more than a sofa with a large piece of paper pinned to it bearing the words 'Commissariat of Finance'. Lenin's government would need to fight a civil war before it had genuine control of the whole of Russia.

How democratic was Russia in 1918?

Lenin and the Bolsheviks claimed that the new government was truly democratic. Lenin argued that the new state was based on committees of working people who participated in government on a day-to-day basis. He claimed the soviet-state was more democratic than the systems in Britain, the USA and France where people merely voted once every four or five years. This commitment to people power was also reflected in the title of the new leaders, who were known as People's Commissars. Trotsky suggested this title in order to demonstrate the revolutionary nature of the new government. In so doing, he deliberately used the terms that were associated with the government that took power after the French Revolution.

Broad-based support

There is clear evidence that the new government was genuinely democratic. For example, the first decrees were genuinely popular and reflected what the majority of the workers, peasants and soldiers wanted. Equally, in 1918 Russia was not yet a one-party state. According to the **Constitution of 1918**, *Sovnarkom* was responsible to the Congress of Soviets – which contained representatives

Joseph Stalin, 1878–1953



Prior to the October Revolution Stalin was one of a number of dedicated revolutionaries who spent long periods in exile due to their political beliefs. Born in Gori, Georgia, then part of the Russian Empire, the young Stalin trained as a

Christian priest. However, after reading the work of Marx, he abandoned the Church in favour of revolution.

Stalin was one of the first members of the revolutionary RSDLP in Georgia and from 1906 was a regular at RSDLP Party Congresses, becoming known to Lenin. Stalin was not regarded as an outstanding speaker or as a gifted intellectual, but was respected as a capable administrator. Lenin valued his loyalty. Consequently, he became part of Lenin's inner circle and played small but important roles in the October Revolution and the Civil War (see page 9). Stalin was highly ambitious and once in power his desire to dominate the Party and punish his opponents became evident.

of many political parties including the Bolshevik's main rivals, the **Mensheviks**, and the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs). What is more, a faction of the SRs supported the new government and some SRs initially had junior roles in the new government.

One of the reasons that there was broad-based support for the new government in Petrograd and Moscow was the belief that it would become a **coalition government** representing all of Russia's main socialist parties. Indeed, moderates within the Bolshevik Party, such as **Zinoviev** and **Kamenev**, argued that Lenin should form a coalition government and work with other political parties. However, when Bolshevik moderates were unable to persuade Lenin to compromise they resigned in protest. As a result, by November, Lenin's new government was dominated by people who wanted the Bolshevik Party to govern alone.

Additionally, there was genuine support for a Bolshevik-dominated government among the workers of Petrograd in the early days of the revolution. For example, the Petrograd Trades Union Council, which met on 31 October, and the First Conference of Female Factory Workers, which met on 5 November 1917, both gave their full support to the new Bolshevik Government. They supported Lenin's early decrees and the courage the Bolsheviks had shown by overthrowing the Provisional Government in the October Revolution.

The Constituent Assembly

In January 1918, there was a clear indication that Lenin was turning against democracy. Specifically, Lenin refused to recognise the results of a nationwide election held in November 1917. The election created a **Constituent Assembly** with a Bolshevik minority, which met for the first time in January 1918. Lenin closed the Constituent

Assembly by force after only one day, claiming that it posed a threat to the power of the soviets.

However, Lenin was also willing to disregard the soviets. In March 1918, Lenin approved the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which gave away a significant proportion of Russian territory to the **Central Powers** in order to end Russia's involvement in the First World War. The treaty was extremely unpopular and therefore the Bolsheviks lost the soviet elections across Russia in April and May 1918. In order to retain power, Lenin refused to recognise the results, arguing that the elections had not been fair. Moreover, Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries were expelled from the soviets. Lenin demanded new elections, but quickly postponed them due to the outbreak of the Civil War. **Nikolai Bukharin**, the official Bolshevik **Party theorist**, argued that 'formal democracy', by which he meant elections to the soviets, had to be abandoned in order to win the Civil War. As a result of the abolition of the Constituent Assembly and Lenin's refusal to recognise the results of new soviet elections, Lenin was able to consolidate Bolshevik power. However, it became more difficult to argue that the new government was democratic.

How democratic were the early decrees?

Many of Lenin's early decrees were extremely popular. However, it could be argued that Lenin was forced to be democratic, because, in the early days, the new government had very limited power. Therefore Lenin was forced to allow the peasants to seize land, and the workers to take control of their factories. In this sense, rather than extending the rights of Russian people, the early decrees merely authorised what was already taking place.

3 The impact of the Civil War, 1918–21

The Russian Civil War (1918–21) allowed Lenin to establish communist control over the whole of Russia. Moreover, it radically changed the nature of the Bolshevik Party (renamed the Communist Party in 1918), and the new government. The Civil War led to the creation of a 'party-state' and, as a result of the Civil War, the state became increasingly authoritarian and **centralised**.

Note it down

This section focuses on the transformation of Lenin's government during the Civil War. Using a mind map (see page x), make notes on the following topics:

- Changes to the government
- Reasons for government changes
- Nature of the government by 1921.

The Russian Civil War

From the start, Lenin's revolutionary government faced serious opposition. Lenin described the war as a battle between the Communist Reds and the **reactionary** Whites, but in reality the war was more complex. The Bolsheviks had opponents on all sides. Senior members of the Russian army wanted to re-establish Tsarist rule, while others wanted a military dictatorship or a democratic system like France or America. The new government had radical opponents

too. The SRs and Mensheviks wanted a more democratic type of socialist government, and **anarchists** wanted to abolish government altogether. Britain, France, the USA and Japan also sent troops to fight the new government. Some countries feared that a successful revolution might spread, while others wanted to gain territory.

The first signs of military conflict emerged in January 1918 as General Kornilov organised an anti-Bolshevik army in the Don region. SRs and liberals set up a rival government in Omsk, Siberia, while other SRs based in the city of Ufa tried to revive the Constituent Assembly. A full-scale civil war broke out in the summer of 1918, with the enemies of the Bolsheviks gaining significant ground in the first six months of 1919. Following the failure of anti-Bolshevik forces to capture Petrograd and Moscow, Russia's new capital city, in the summer of 1919, the **Red Army** began to win the war.

The Red Army extended communist power by winning victories against Nestor Makhno's anarchist army in the Ukraine, against Alexander Kolchak's authoritarian government in Siberia, and against Anton Denikin's army in the Crimea (see Figure 1).

Government during the Civil War

Lenin's primary objective during the Civil War was to ensure the survival of the new government. Lenin was willing to do whatever was necessary in order to win. As a result of the Civil War, government changed in two ways:

- Lenin's government became increasingly centralised.
- The Communist Party became increasingly powerful.



▲ Figure 1: The Civil War, 1918–21.

Lenin's prime method of ensuring victory was to centralise power.

- He centralised control of the economy with the policy of War Communism (see page 43).
- He also relied on political centralisation, working through the loyal Party *nomenklatura* rather than the more democratic soviets, and using terror to suppress opposition.
- Trotsky, leader of the Red Army, made the Red Army more authoritarian. He introduced conscription, harsh punishments and relied on former Tsarist generals to lead the army.

Centralisation ensured that the government, the economy and the army were able to win the war. However, it also took power away from the workers, peasants and soldiers who the communists claimed to represent.

The emergence of a 'party-state'

At first, the new regime described itself as a 'soviet-state' (see page 6); however, during the Civil War the government increasingly became a party-state, based on the Communist Party.

Civil war meant that the new government often had to act quickly to achieve victory. Consequently, Lenin tended to rely on the **Politburo**. Lenin preferred working with the Politburo to *Sovnarkom* as it was smaller – between five and seven members – and therefore could reach decisions more quickly. Additionally, he preferred working with the Politburo because it contained his most loyal supporters, people such as Stalin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Lenin did not abolish *Sovnarkom*. Rather, it simply ceased to function as the main centre of government. From 1920, the Politburo effectively became the government of Russia. *Sovnarkom* played a much smaller role, merely approving the decisions that had already been made by the Politburo. The Politburo clearly provided clear and effective leadership during the Civil War. However, the rise of the Politburo indicated that the new government was based on the Communist Party rather than the soviets.

This pattern of Communist Party dominance also emerged at a local level. Senior Communists preferred to work through the Communist Party, which had branches all over the country. They did not trust the local soviets, as SRs and Mensheviks were still present on many of them. Therefore the soviets were often bypassed in favour of the communist *nomenklatura*: Party members who senior officials trusted to implement government policy without question.

By 1921, the new government was based on two parallel structures: the Communist Party and the soviet-state. As the Civil War continued and other political parties were increasingly excluded from the government, the soviet-state lost power to the Communist Party. Due to increasing Party dominance the new form of government became known as the 'party-state'.

Red Terror

In December 1917 Lenin created the All-Russian Emergency Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (**Cheka**), a political police force tasked with defending the revolution. During the Civil War **Chekists** were responsible for raiding anarchist organisations, closing down opposition newspapers and expelling Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries from the soviets. The Cheka was willing to imprison, torture or kill anyone who the communists viewed as a threat. For example, in Kremenchuk in the Ukraine, Church leaders were impaled on spikes, while in the city of Oryol victims were frozen and put on display as ice statues. Women captured by the Cheka were routinely raped. Lenin argued that during a revolution, civil war and terror were necessary to protect the new government from its enemies.

Building the Red Army

In order to fight and win the Civil War, Lenin reformed the army. Following the February Revolution, the Russian army had been democratised: soldiers' committees were empowered to elect senior officers. Lenin abolished this system and Trotsky put Tsarist generals back in charge of the army. This created outrage among **idealists** in the Party, who accused Lenin and Trotsky of betraying the principles of the revolution. Nonetheless, abolishing democracy and putting highly trained experts in charge of the army paid off, and the Red Army became a disciplined and successful fighting force.

The changing nature of the Communist Party

By 1921, the Communist Government was no longer a government of the workers, peasants and soldiers. While the soviets had been made up of working people, the communist *nomenklatura*, who administered the policies of War Communism, were largely educated members of the former middle class – economists, statisticians and engineers – who had worked for the pre-revolutionary government. The communists needed their administrative and technical expertise to help run industries and supply the army during the war.

4 1921: Crisis and reform

The communists had won the Civil War due to their ability to control the whole Russian economy and their willingness to dominate the government. However, this had made the new government extremely unpopular. The Crisis of 1921, which included rebellion among the peasants, workers' strikes and military mutiny, showed the extent of opposition to Lenin's government and therefore forced Lenin to reform.

Note it down

This section focuses on the impact of the Crisis of 1921 on Lenin's government. Using a spider diagram (see page x), make notes on the impact of the Crisis.

Popular unrest

By early 1921, the communists had won the Civil War. However, the Civil War had ruined Russia's economy. Droughts in 1920 and 1921 made the situation worse, threatening famine. Peasants in Tambov, led by Aleksandr Antonov, began a rebellion against communist **grain requisitioning** and Cheka brutality. By January 1921 Antonov had a force of 50,000 anti-communist fighters. Antonov's revolt was not the only challenge to the Bolsheviks in the countryside. In March 1921 there were peasant attacks on government grain stores all along the Volga River.

In the major cities there were strikes against communist policies in early 1921. In Petrograd the Red Army responded by opening fire on unarmed workers. Sailors at the Kronstadt naval base, horrified by the communists' suppression of the Petrograd strikes, rebelled. The Kronstadt sailors demanded a series of reforms, including:

- the immediate free and fair election of new soviets
- release of all anarchist, Menshevik and SR political prisoners
- a restoration of freedom of speech and the press
- the abolition of the Cheka
- an end to War Communism (see page 43).

In essence, the Kronstadt sailors wanted a return to soviet democracy. This demand was summed up in their slogan 'Soviets without Communists'.

Even some communists felt that Lenin had gone too far and that the time was right to revive soviet democracy. Lenin responded swiftly to these challenges. By mid-March the Red Army had crushed the Kronstadt uprising. The Red Army was equally ruthless in Tambov. In May they suppressed the rebellion by deporting 100,000 people

to labour camps and attacking peasant villages with poisoned gas.

One-party state

Lenin responded to the unrest by suppressing opposition political parties. In so doing he created a one-party state. During the Civil War, opposition political parties were often persecuted by the Cheka. In spite of this they had survived the Civil War and therefore were able to play a key role in the strikes of early 1921.

From February 1921 Lenin authorised the Cheka to destroy opposition political parties. At the end of February 1921, all Mensheviks in Petrograd and Moscow, including one of the Mensheviks' leaders, Fyodor Dan, were arrested and sent to the Butyrka Prison. Similar steps were taken against the SRs. Twenty-two leading SRs were put on trial in early 1922 and sentenced to prison or exile. Consequently, between 1921 and 1922, the communists' dominance of Russia was consolidated by crushing opposition political parties.

The 1921 Party Congress

Lenin recognised that the unrest in Tambov, Petrograd and Kronstadt reflected the fact that Russian workers and peasants were deeply dissatisfied with the regime. As a result, Lenin pushed through a series of reforms in the 1921 Party Congress. The New Economic Policy (see page 45) liberalised the economy, while the ban on factions tightened Lenin's political control.

Lenin faced opposition from several factions within the Bolshevik Party, including:

- the Workers' Opposition: a group who wanted to reintroduce workers' control of industry
- the Democratic Centralists: a group who wanted to make the Communist Party more democratic.

Lenin introduced a **resolution**, entitled 'On Party Unity', which banned factions inside the Party. Party members found guilty of forming factions could be expelled from the Party as punishment. The ban on factions helped strengthen Lenin's position within the Party by making opposition to his policies more difficult to organise.

The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union was created in 1922. In theory the Union was made up of independent republics. By 1940 there were fifteen Soviet republics including the Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia, and the Uzbek, Kazakh and Tajik Republics. Each republic had its own Soviet system, and each republic, apart from Russia, had its own Communist Party.

5 Conclusion: Lenin's legacy

Between 1917 and the time of Lenin's death in 1924, Russia was transformed. Lenin succeeded in creating a Dictatorship of the Proletariat to defend the revolution. However, he destroyed soviet democracy and replaced it with a one-party state. The original **institutions** that had been created after the October Revolution had lost their power to Party institutions that had emerged during the Civil War. For example, *Sovnarkom* ceased to play an important role in government, while the Politburo made all of the important decisions that affected Russia.

During the Civil War Russia became extremely centralised. The creation of a one-party state and the ban on factions meant that political centralisation increased after the Civil War.

Lenin argued that the ban on factions, the ban on other parties and the decreased role of the soviets were temporary. However, there was no sign before Lenin's death that the government had plans to make Russia more democratic.

Lenin also created a system in which the political police played a significant role. Again, the Cheka were introduced in 1917 as a temporary measure. But after the Civil War they still played a significant role, persecuting opposition

political parties. In this sense, Lenin created a system in which individuals had no rights as the Cheka were free to persecute anyone that the government perceived as a threat. Indeed, Lenin established the principle that violence was justified in order to protect the revolution.

Finally, Lenin replaced a workers' government with a highly bureaucratic one. Soviets full of workers, peasants and soldiers were replaced by specialists and administrators, few of whom were from the working class.

Work together

Having made notes on this chapter, swap them with a partner. Consider the following questions:

- 1 Has your partner taken all of the key points down?
- 2 Has your partner got enough supporting detail points to support the key points?
- 3 Has your partner missed anything?
- 4 Have you missed anything that your partner has noted down?
- 5 Could you revise from your partner's notes?
- 6 How could you both improve your note-making style?

Use these questions to feed back to each other and improve your note making.

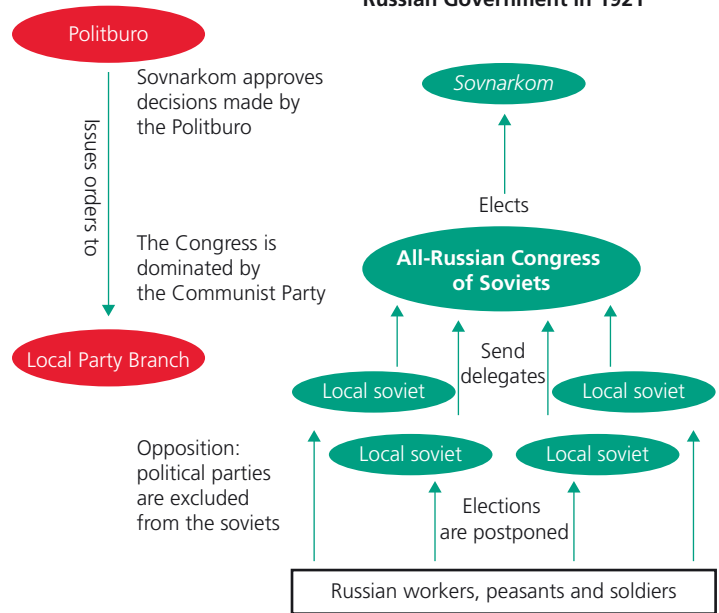
Chapter summary

- Lenin seized power in Russia in the October Revolution of 1917, proclaiming 'All power to the Soviets'.
- Initially, Lenin's government was based on the soviets.
- Bolshevik popularity declined between October 1917 and April 1918.
- Lenin refused to recognise the results of new elections to the soviets in mid-1918.
- During the Russian Civil War, 1918–21, the Russian Government became increasingly centralised and dominated by the communists.
- During the Civil War the Politburo replaced *Sovnarkom* as the effective government of Russia.
- The communists won the Civil War using a combination of political and economic centralisation, military discipline and terror.
- Following the Civil War Lenin banned opposition political parties and created a one-party state.
- Following the Civil War Lenin banned factions within the Communist Party, further centralising the Party.
- The Communist Government continued to use political centralisation and terror to govern Russia after the Civil War.

Russian Government in October 1917



Russian Government in 1921



▲ Summary diagram: Establishing Communist Party control, 1917–24.

Recommended reading

- G.L. Freeze (ed.), *Russia: A History* (Oxford University Press, 2002), especially pages 253–262 on the political consequences of the Russian Civil War.
- R. Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (Pan Macmillan, 2010), especially the Introduction which provides an overview of Lenin's life, ideas and legacy.
- R. Service, *The Penguin History of Modern Russia: From Tsarism to the Twenty-first Century* (Penguin, 2009), especially Chapter 1 which deals with Russia prior to the First World War.
- R.G. Suny (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Russia, Volume III* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), especially Chapter 4 which deals with the revolutionary period of 1917–18.

Essay technique: Understanding the question

Section A and B questions require you to deploy a variety of skills. The most important are focus on the question, selection and deployment of relevant detail, analysis and, at the highest level, prioritisation. The introduction to this book gives more detail about Section A and B questions (see pages vi-vii). Section A and B questions for AS level are different from those for A level, and some guidance about this is given on pages vii-viii. However, you will need to develop very similar skills for the AS exam, therefore the activities will help with the AS exams as well. There are also some AS-style questions to practise at the end of chapters.

In order to answer the question successfully you must understand how the question works. The question below is written precisely in order to make sure that you understand the task. Each part of the question has a specific meaning.

'How accurate', like other stems such as 'How far', indicates that you are required to evaluate the extent of something, rather than giving a yes or no answer.

How accurate is it to say that Russia was a totalitarian state in the years 1928-41?

This sets out the subject that you must address.

The dates define the period that you should consider.

Overall, **all** Section A and B questions ask you to make a judgement about the extent of something, in a specific period. In order to focus on the question you must address all three elements. The most common mistakes come from misunderstanding or ignoring one of these three elements.

Activity: What should a good answer look like?

Having read the advice on essay questions on this page and in the introduction (page v), complete the following activity:

- 1 Make a bullet-point list of the skills that you need to do well in this type of essay.
- 2 Number the skills in order of their difficulty, so the easiest skill to demonstrate is 1, and the hardest 4.
- 3 Try to work out what a good essay would look like. Specifically, note down your thoughts about:
 - roughly how many paragraphs the essay should have
 - which skills you should deploy in which sections of the essay
 - how you should structure the different types of paragraph.

TIP: Don't just guess; use the advice in this section and in the introduction to try to figure out what a good essay should look like.

Work together

Having completed these activities, swap them with a partner. Consider the following questions:

- 1 Did you agree on which skills were easiest to demonstrate and which skills were hardest? How did each of you make this judgement?
- 2 Did you agree on the number of paragraphs in the essay?
- 3 How did you and your partner make the judgement about the number of paragraphs you should write?
- 4 If you had different reasons for the judgement, whose reasons were better and why?
- 5 Did you agree on where the different skills should be used?
- 6 Were your reasons for locating skills in different parts or throughout the essay as good as your partner's reasons?
- 7 Did you agree on how to structure each paragraph?
- 8 Can your partner justify their thoughts on how to structure a paragraph?

Use this discussion as a basis for further notes on how to approach the question. For advice on the structure of the essay see page 26.

GLOSSARY

Paper 1: Russia 1917–91: from Lenin to Yeltsin

1905 Revolution A series of events during 1905 in Russia which threatened to overthrow the Tsar. The 1905 revolution did not destroy Tsarism, but it did lead to some reforms.

9+1 An agreement between the Soviet government and nine Republics to create a federation to replace the Soviet Union.

Absenteeism Regularly missing work without a good reason.

All-Russian Congress of Soviets An organisation representing the whole of Russia. The Congress was elected by Soviets across the whole nation. It met semi-regularly between 1917 and 1922 to decide policy for the whole of Russia. In theory it was the highest law making organisation in the Soviet Union from 1922. However, in reality the leadership of the Communist Party exercised power.

Anarchists Political radicals or groups of radicals who wanted the Russian revolution to destroy capitalism and the state. Anarchists were critical of Communists for reintroducing a political police, and for recreating an army after the revolution. The anarchists believed that the Communist government, like all governments, would be repressive.

Approval rating An opinion poll in which people pass judgement on a leader.

Arms race A competition to develop and produce increasingly deadly weapons. During the Cold War the Arms Race focused on nuclear missiles.

Authoritarian A policy, or a style of government that emphasises the importance of strong government control and obedience. Authoritarian governments often have extensive powers with few limits.

Autonomy Self-government.

Black market The illegal trading of goods and services.

Bolsheviks A faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party, led by Lenin. The Bolsheviks led the 1917 Revolution and later called themselves the Communist Party.

Bourgeoisies The term used by Karl Marx to describe the middle class.

Cadre A group of leaders.

Capitalism An economic system based on free trade and the private ownership of property.

Capri pants Trousers that were extremely fashionable in the 1950s and 1960s among American women. They tended to be high-waisted and three quarter length, ending mid-calf.

Central Control Commission The body within the Communist Party that was responsible for investigating and disciplining Party Members who were accused of corruption.

Central Powers A military alliance during the First World War between the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire.

Centralised A form of organisation in which power is concentrated at the centre. For example, in the Soviet Union, power was centralised in the sense that it was exercised by the leaders of the Communist Party, rather than being dispersed throughout the government or country.

Cheka A political police force created by Lenin.

CIA Central Intelligence Agency.

Class enemies Individuals and groups who were considered to oppose the working class and therefore the Communist Party.

Class, or social class Groups of people who have a similar economic and social status, for example the working class and the middle class.

Coalition government A government controlled by an alliance of two or more political parties.

Co-education Education of female and male students in the same institution.

Colonies A territory that is under the control of another state, part of an empire.

Command economy An economic system that is centrally directed. Production is organised in accordance with orders issued by the central government.

Constituent Assembly An elected body which was supposed to agree a constitution for Russia after the Tsar was deposed. The Assembly met once and was then dissolved by force by Lenin's revolutionary government.

Constitution of 1918 a document published in 1918 setting out the structure and powers of Lenin's new revolutionary government. Significantly, the Constitution did not reflect the actual nature of Lenin's government which was based on the power of the Communist Party rather than democratically elected Soviets.

Continuous assessment A way of judging student work and progress on an on-going basis, rather than through final exams.

Factionalism The splitting of a group into different subgroups who may oppose the majority view.

FDGB Free German Trade Unions Federation, a mass organisation associated with the SED.

FDJ Free German Youth, a mass organisation.

Federal republic Country without a monarchy made up of different states, for example the FRG and USA.

Five-Year Plan Plan for economic goals and production targets over a five-year period.

Frederick the Great Powerful 18th century Prussian king.

Functionary An employee who obeys orders.

General strike A strike of the entire national workforce, bringing most of the economy to a halt.

Gestapo The secret police in Nazi Germany.

Glasnost Gorbachev's policy of openness to discuss the economic ills in the Soviet Union.

Glass ceiling An artificial barrier which prevents members of different groups being promoted beyond a certain level.

GDP Gross Domestic Product: the total wealth produced by a country in a given period.

GNP Gross National Product: an indicator of national wealth which shows the total value of goods and services produced in a country.

Gulag system The USSR's system of prison camps.

Hard currency Money with a convertible value.

Hardliner People who oppose reform.

Heavy plant machinery Large-scale machinery such as cranes.

Hitler Youth The youth organisation in Nazi Germany.

Honey traps Schemes by which people are placed in compromising positions for blackmail purposes.

Housing census A census to evaluate housing quality.

Humanitarian crises Large-scale catastrophes such as famine or war.

Imperialism The acquisition of colonies and empire.

Industrial plants Factories.

Infant mortality rate The death rate of small children.

Institutes of Education Colleges of Education often associated with teacher training.

Intelligentsia Intellectuals.

Interest rates How much someone pays for borrowing money.

International city City belonging to no one country, often administered by the United Nations.

International Monetary Fund International fund lending money to countries with economic problems.

Internationalism Support for international ideas and co-operation rather than focusing on the national interest.

Jugendweihe Secular ceremony to mark the transition from childhood to adulthood introduced by the SED.

Junge Gemeinde Youth organisation run by the Protestant Churches.

Kindergarten School for very young children.

Kirchenkampf Name given to the campaign against the Churches in the early years of the GDR.

Kremlin Centre of government of the Soviet Union.

KVP The People's Police.

Labour days Holidays to celebrate international labour, for example 1 May.

Labour force The workforce.

Länderkammer The upper legislative House representing the states, abolished in 1958.

LPD Political party which originally supported democracy and opposed state ownership but co-operated with the regime.

LPG Large-scale collective farm in the GDR.

Machine tools Tools to make goods in factories such as lathes.

Metropolitan: title of a senior member of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Minimum wage The lowest wage at which an employee can be paid.

Minister-President Name given to the Prime Minister or head of government in the GDR (as opposed to the Secretary-General of the SED); also name given to the heads of the states in the FRG.

Nationalism The belief that all nations should govern themselves without interference from other nations. It often goes hand in hand with national pride: the feeling that there is something special and admirable about a person's own country.

Nation-state A state where people are united by factors such as common language and culture.

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, a military alliance between North American and Western European countries.

NCO Non-commissioned officers.

New Forum National movement advocating political reform in the GDR.

'Niche' society Theory that citizens outwardly conformed to life in the GDR while placing more importance on their private lives.

No-man's-land Area between two opposing forces.

'Normalisation' thesis The idea that people accepted life in the GDR because it was all they knew.