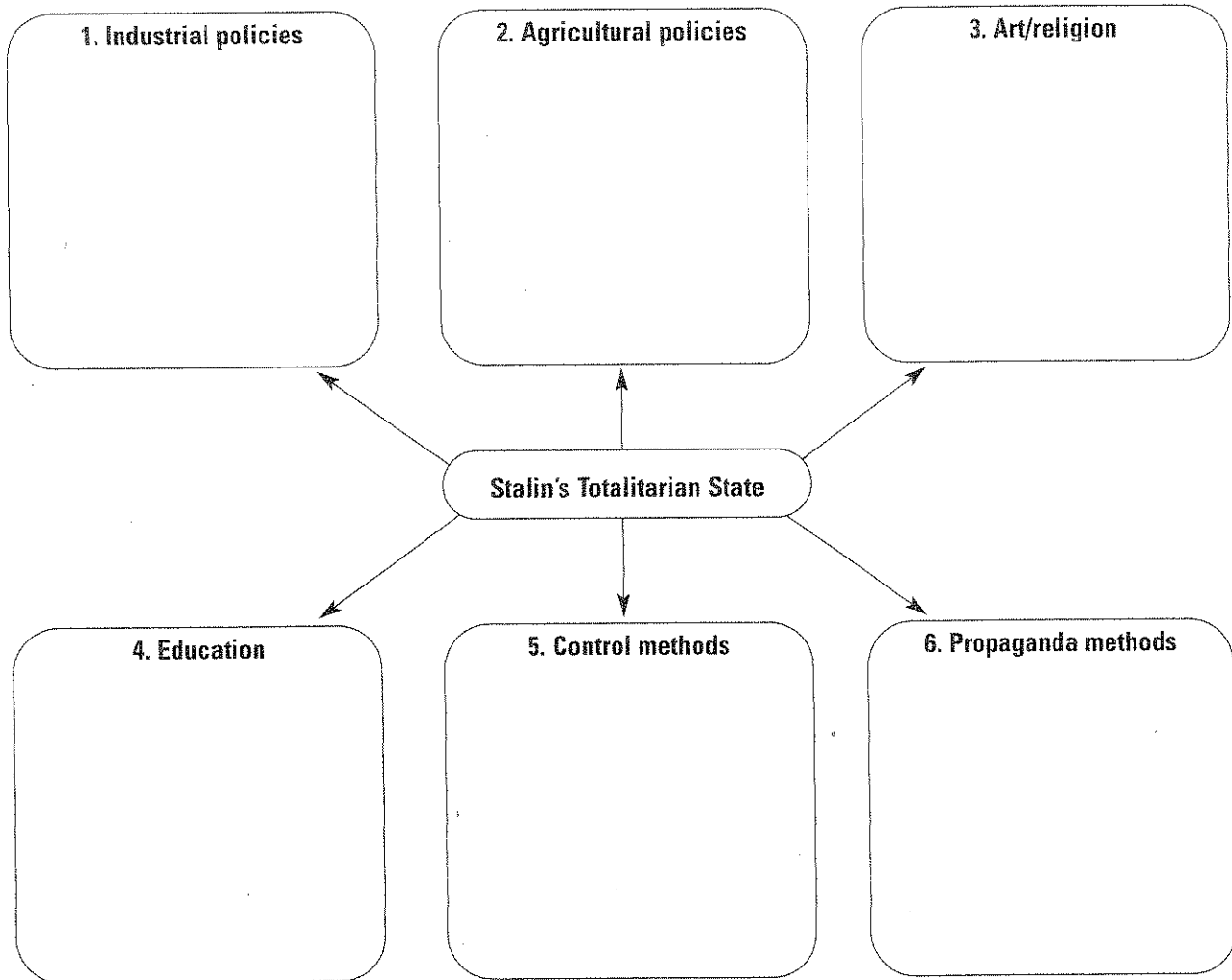


CHAPTER
30
Section 2

GUIDED READING

Totalitarianism
Case Study: Stalinist Russia

A. Determining Main Ideas As you read this section, fill in the web diagram with key characteristics of Stalinist Russia.



B. Clarifying Define or identify each of the following terms:

totalitarianism command economy collective farm Five-Year Plan

We will practice reading these historical sources as a class. Write in notes based on the class observations of the sources.

Source 13:

Text:

Context:

Subtext

Source 14:

Text:

Context:

Subtext

Name _____

Take notes on the sources using the graphic organizer

Source 1: Text Context Subtext	Source 2: Text Context Subtext	Source 3: Text Context Subtext
Source 4: Text Context Subtext	Source 5: Text Context Subtext	Source 6: Text Context Subtext
Source 7: Text Context Subtext	Source 8: Text Context Subtext	Source 9: Text Context Subtext

Name _____

Source 10:	Source 11:	Source 12:
Text	Text	Text
Context	Context	Context
Subtext	Subtext	Subtext

You have been commissioned by a Russian history museum to create a plaque commemorating Joseph Stalin. Your task is to create the content of the plaque demonstrating your view of Joseph Stalin as based on the sources you have read.

Joseph Stalin 1879-1953

How I came to this opinion: What documents most influenced your decision and why?

Document 1

Such is the law of the exploiters-to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak-therefore you are wrong; hence you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty-therefore you are right; hence we must be wary of you. That is why we must no longer lag behind. In the past we had no fatherland, nor could we have had one. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, in the hands of the people, we have a fatherland, and we will uphold its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this, you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time and develop a genuine Bolshevik tempo in building up its socialist economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution: "Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries." We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall go under. – **Joseph Stalin speech 1931**

Document 2

This excerpt, from *The Land of the Soviets*, published in the U.S.S.R., describes the results of the Five-Year Plans.

The fulfillment of the first and second Five-Year Plans strengthened the Soviet Union's economic position and turned it into a powerful industrial state. . . . In 1937 the industrial output of the USSR was 5.8 times larger than in 1913. The rate of industrial growth in the USSR considerably exceeded that of the capitalist countries. By 1937 the Soviet Union was the first country in Europe and the second in the world in the volume of industrial production. . . . Socialist industrialization was accompanied by the rapid growth of the working class, and made it possible to liquidate unemployment. In 1940 there were 9,971,000 industrial workers, which was nearly three times more than in 1928. The working class was also changing its efficiency, technical and cultural levels were growing rapidly.

Document 3

This letter recounts Antsiferov's journey to Ussuri and his first months in the labor camps, offers this bleak account:

In the cattle car, no provision had been made for the Siberian cold. There was no light source in the dark except for what came in through the windows. We had to take turns sleeping. It was crowded. There wasn't enough food. Often we didn't have enough water. When I came down with angina, our group leader couldn't get a doctor for me. Add to all this the swearing, the quarrels, sometimes even fistfights, and thefts. . . . [When we arrived at the 145th,] we started work. I ended up in a brigade of the "unshod and unclothed," of those for whom there weren't enough uniforms. They used us for work inside the camp, and we also hauled firewood [indecipherable] from the other side of the River Ussuri. I was sent outside the camp to work

only twice. It was hard to walk through snowstorms dressed in the clothes that you remember, to cut wood in them, and to haul logs to camp without any gloves. . . . In the 174th, things got much worse. The guards were stricter. There wasn't enough water. We melted and drank snow for as long as there was any on the territory of the camp. At one point, there wasn't even an infirmary. We were put together with common criminals. I began to perform general assignment work. Even when I had the flu and the fever that it brings on, I couldn't get excused. . . . This is why I am so afraid of any change in my circumstances: I am drawing on my last reserves of strength. . . . There is no hope of any improvement in my situation. I am afraid things will get worse. That is why I look on myself, given my health, as doomed.

-**Nikolai Antsiferov**, a Russian literary critic and survivor of the notorious Solovki and White Sea Canal concentration camps

Document 4

In this excerpt from a 1929 speech delivered by Stalin, he explains the collectivization policy and the need to eliminate the kulaks (wealthy farmers).

The solution lies in enlarging the agricultural units . . . and in changing the agricultural base of our national economy. . . .the Socialist way, which is to set up collective farms and state farms which leads to the joining together of the small peasant farms into large collective farms, technically and scientifically equipped, and to the squeezing out of the capitalist elements from agriculture. . . . Now we are able to carry on a determined offensive against the kulaks, to break their resistance, to eliminate them as a class and substitute for their output the output of the collective farms and state farms.

Document 5

This excerpt, from "Forced Famine in the Ukraine: A Holocaust the West Forgot" by Adrian Karatnycky, was printed in *The Wall Street Journal*, on July 7, 1983.

Today, reliable academic estimates place the number of Ukrainian victims of starvation at 4.5 million to 7 million. The famine was in part the by-product of Stalin's relentless drive to collectivize Soviet agriculture. The famine was a clear result of the fact that between 1931 and 1933, while harvests were precipitously declining, Stalin's commissars continued to . . . confiscate grain. Peasants were shot and deported as rich, landowning "kulaks". . . . While the drive to collectivize agriculture was a wide-ranging phenomenon common to the entire U.S.S.R., only in the Ukraine did it assume a genocidal character. Indeed there can be no question that Stalin used the forced famine as part of a political strategy whose aim was to crush all vestiges of Ukrainian national sentiments.

Document 6

This excerpt from *The Land of Soviets*, published in the U.S.S.R., gives a soviet perspective of the collectivization.

The radical step forward by the majority of the peasantry towards a collective way of life was taking place against the backdrop of a bitter struggle between Soviet power and the kulaks. The [kulaks] stooped to all possible means to wreck the collectivization campaign. The murdered collective farm activists and Party and government officials sent to the villages to help the peasants; they set fire to collective farm buildings; they poisoned the cattle and destroyed farm machinery. . . . The Soviets had the right to banish them from their villages. . . . The exploiter class—the rural bourgeoisie—was finally abolished.

...

Document 7

In this excerpt, the French ambassador to the Soviet Union described the public trials that were part of the “great purges” of Stalin.

I personally attended the second and third Moscow trials, those of 1937 and 1938. . . . Pyatakov [another defendant] arose . . . confessed . . . to a number of crimes. Did these “confessions” carry any share of truth? It is possible that the accused were hostile to Stalin’s regime. . . . But the lessons they recited must have been forced from them . . . it is more likely that the GPU [secret police] touched each at his weak point. It is also probable that the accused gave in to some form of pressure. Some would give in to save their families, others in the hope of saving their own lives.

Document 8

Soviet accounts maintain that Stalin took advantage of the Great Purge to strengthen socialist ideology within the Soviet Union. In other words, the Great Purge was not a ruthless political scandal as many Western sources claim, but a necessary measure to be taken to restore social stability. Khrushchev in his memoir completely agrees that the victims of the Purge deserved death penalty.

"Everyone who rejoices in the successes achieved in our country, the victories of our party led by the great Stalin, will find only one word suitable for the mercenary, fascist dogs of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite gang. That word is execution."

Meanwhile, Nettl believes that the Great Purge was a choice that Stalin had to make in

order to boost production. He writes that the Great Purge was not only a measure that eliminated Stalin's enemies but also an inevitable decision to stimulate the Five Year Plan. Instead of spurring the atrocity of Stalin, it suggests that there was a sociopolitical cause for the Great Purge.

"The great purges from 1934 to 1938 seem to be in flagrant contradiction to the demands of forced industrialization. If the party was to lead society in its enormous production drive, it would surely need to be cohesive and united. But there are two approaches to cohesion and unity: consensus or discipline, persuasion or terror. Stalin chose the latter alternative. Society and Party were galvanized simultaneously."

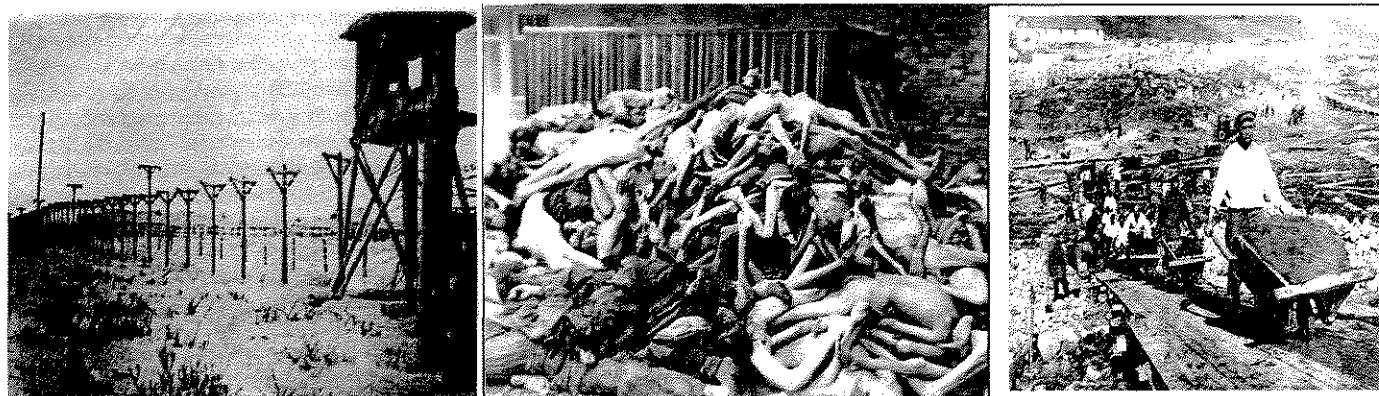
Document 9

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN			
The key figures of plan fulfilment were as follows:			
	1927-8 (actual)	1932-3 (plan)	1932 (actual)
National income (1926-7 roubles in 100 m.)	24.4	49.7	45.5
Gross industrial production (1926-7 roubles in 100 m.)	18.3	43.2	43.3
Producers' goods (1926-7 roubles in milliards)	6.0	18.1	23.1
Consumers' goods (1926-7 roubles in milliards)	12.3	25.1	20.2
Gross agricultural production (1926-7 roubles in milliards)	13.1	25.8	16.6
Electricity (100 m. Kwhs)	5.05	22.0	13.4
Hard coal (million tons)	35.4	75	64.3
Oil (million tons)	11.7	22	21.4
Iron ore (million tons)	5.7	19	12.1
Pig iron (million tons)	3.3	10	6.2
Steel (million tons)	4.0	10.4	5.9
Machinery (million 1926-7 roubles)	1822	4688	7362
Superphosphates (million tons)	0.15	3.4	0.61
Wool cloth (million metres)	97	270	93.3
Total employed labour force (millions)	11.3	15.8	22.8

(SOURCES: 1932 figures from *Sotsialisticheskoe stroitel'stvo* (1934) and the fulfilment report of first five-year plan. For sources of other figures see table on page 146.)

Document 10

Gulag Pictures



Document 11



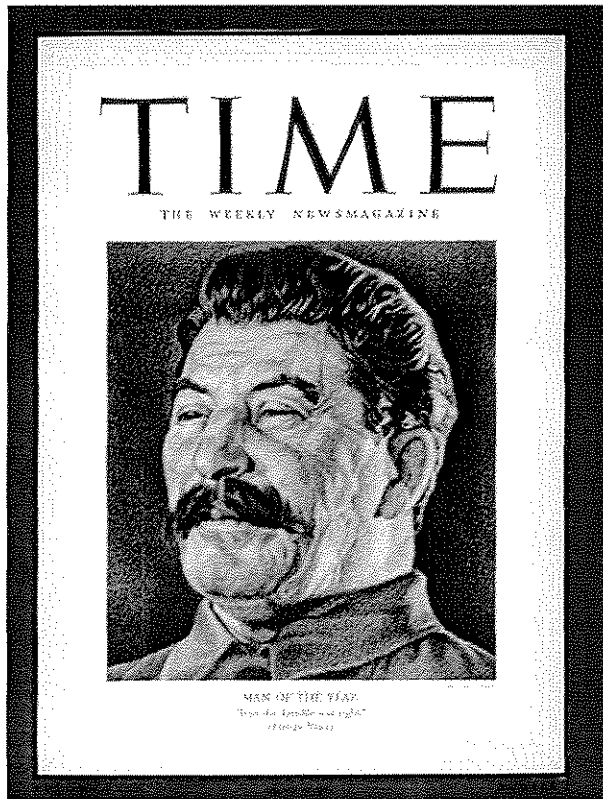
Document 12

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealing among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail. But I think that from the standpoint of safeguards against a split and from the standpoint of what I wrote above about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky it is not a [minor] detail, but it is a detail which can assume decisive importance.

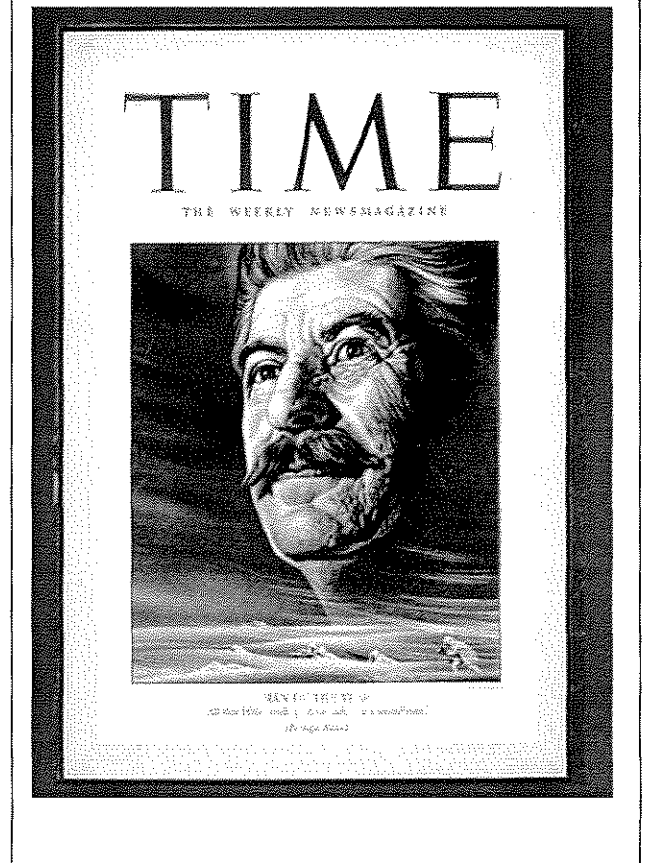
- Lenin 1923

Document 13

1939 Time Man of the Year



1942 Man of the Year



Document 14

The Communist Party celebrated the 130th birthday of Joseph Stalin on Monday with an appeal for people not to bring up the more unseemly aspects of his record. Stalin is a polarizing figure in Russia, still popular for winning World War II and industrializing the Soviet Union while reviled for the purges that killed or displaced millions of people. On Monday, the Communists sought to focus on the achievements, lining up in Red Square to lay flowers on his grave, above. "We would like very much on this day for the discussion about any mistakes of the Stalin era to stop, so that people can reflect on the personality of Stalin as a creator, thinker and patriot," said Ivan Melnikov, a senior party official. – **NY Times December 21, 2009**