## Aims and Results of Stalin's Social Policies

ЛЮБИМОМУ

СТАЛИНУ-

ЗА CHACTANBOE ДЕТСТВО

АСИБО

# 1. Religion

#### "Religion is the opium of the people"

Religion promoting bourgeois life

Religion is a threat to the worker because the loyalty and devotion of an individual should be to each other (the collective).

### Anti-religious campaign

- Shared Lenin's view that religion had no place in a socialist society
- Religion would challenge Stalin's cult of personality!
- 1928: Campaign against religion. Main target were Orthodox Christians but all religions were at risk.
- for Muslims... Sharia courts were abolished, the frequency of ritual prayers, fasts and feasts were abolished. Wearing the veil was also forbidden for muslim women.
- The closed churches and mosques were converted into schools or movie theatres
- Clerics who refused to co-operate were arrested or executed.

#### **Conformity is imposed**



your children.'



Cover of Bezbozhnik ('The Godless'), an anti-religious magazine published in Moscow

Из вселенском соборе. Когда до выгоды коснется, то и яви

111 - 1 1 1 1

#### Inconsistent policy denotes Stalin's pragmatism

- Religious belief persisted: in the 1937 Census, 57% of Russians are still believers.
- Difficult to suppress religion in countryside as opposed to the urban area
- Peasant revolts in response to anti-religious policies
- Temporary halt on religious suppression due to worldwide criticism such as by Pope Pius XI.
- Late 1930s, part of the Great Terror, assault on religion was renewed. 800 higher clergy and 4000 ordinary priests were imprisoned, along with many thousands of the laity. By 1940 *only 500 churches were open* (1% of 1917).
- Deep religious instinct in many russians

#### Inconsistent policy (continued)

- Stalin uses religion as a tool in Great Patriotic War. Churches were reopened, the clergy released and the people encouraged to celebrate the great church ceremonies.
- Worship lifted the soldiers' morale
- Holy Russia vs Godless invaders

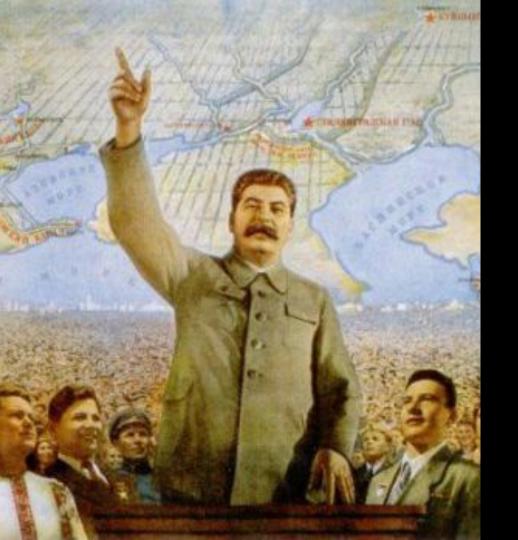
Out of the fear of **political** opposition

However there is a price:

- Total subservience to Stalin's regime is required by Orthodox Church
- 1946: Stalin required all the Christian denominations in the Soviet Union come under the authority of the Orthodox Church



# **Treatment of** National Minorities



Stalin belonged to one of the USSR's minority peoples, as a Georgian.

According to **Michael Lynch** (Western liberal perspective), Stalin feared that to allow minority rights would encourage challenges to his central authority.

#### Lenin

- Indigenisation
- Campaign against Slav and Great Russian chauvinism.
- native languages were tolerated and even encouraged through literacy campaigns
- all the major nationalities including Soviet Jews – allowed separate party sections.
- 15 union republics that were granted autonomy



Critics argued that Lenin's policies of granting the appearance of autonomy to national groups were devised to appease separatism, rather than to make up for the sins of the "oppressor nation."

Indigenisation Stimulated non-Russian national consciousness which was a problem for Stalin.

He needed to reverse what Lenin had done.

#### Stalin

#### - Russification

- "soviet" identity
- 1933: Stalin claims that anti-Soviet, bourgeois elements were promoting nationalism in minorities to undermine the Soviet system
- Russification of education
- Soviet patriotism = Great Russian nationalism.
- Russian became official language.

ζ *Y* M M M Stalin believed that by assimilating the different ethnic groups to the Russian culture...

By the methods of brutality, coercion, forcing people to speak the same language, he would "bind" the nations together.

This would create a single Soviet identity

= same language = same culture = same ideology = less problems for Stalin's consolidation of power



- Stalin divided central Asia into five separate republics to weaken any pan-Turkic loyalties.
- Aka "Stalin's Machiavellian ethno-political management"

#### Was this random?

"the wavy, overlapping borders of Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are hangovers from the Soviet borders, and often appear as if drawn at random by a drunkard holding a pencil." -Stuarton

Vs. Stalin intentionally mixed populations to "maintain ethnic tension"

- According to Ward, a **semi-colonial** relationship developed between Moscow and these republics.

## Purges

increased repression and surveillance of the non-Russian minorities

From 1937-1938, over 30% of executions carried out were in connection with ethnic minority issues.

### Deportation

Method of removing potential leaders and supporters of breakaway nationalist movements

- 1940: takeover of the Baltic states resulted in 2 million being deported, the majority of whom died.
- 1941: deportation to Siberia of 7 national groups: Volga Germans; the Kalmyks; the Crimean Tatars; and the Chechens, Ingush, Karachai, and Balkars of the Northern Caucasus.
  - Result: deaths of one-third of the 4 million involved.



венсилого населения, прожавающего в рабовах Поволжья, вмеются рерати занам област, тысячи и лесятии тысяч диверсантов и шлионов, которые по сигналу. зый раз отбрасциялия данному из Гормания, должны произвести вэрыны в районах, заселен вего потерики. Батар ных немпами Поволжья. sat sympt learents

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В случат, если произойдут диверсконные акты, затехныме по фашесты брокази поле указке на Германии ненецкими диверсантами и шинонами в респуб. одетичение бен ч ание немпея Поволяья или в прилогающих районах и случится про-Бришноса уначтожала вопролитие, Советское Правительство по законам военного времени офяверов этого пода. будет выкуждено при. из карательные меры против всего неменного На третий земь бося васеления Поволжья. BROM BORNOY DOCUMENT IN

Во взбежание таких нежелательных налений и для предупреж-Spacnenpuedant a suppli атажа серьезных крозопролитал Презнакум Верховного Совета СССР вызмятельно отватий признал необходиным переселить все неменков население, прожива- для таках, каказы рек вщее в районах Поволжья, в другие районы с тем, чтобы пересля- фаннутские така протиме были наделены землей и чтобы им быля оказана государствен развенство зават. То ные помощь по устройству в новых районах. CENNAL HA MARY & LOOSE

Для расселения выделены изобилующие пахотной землей районы эроных такая возых Новосибирской и Онской областей. Алтайского края, Казахстана и коралинай в такс. по 28th pressor spanning a другие соседние местности.

В связи с этим Государствеяному Комитету Обороны предлисано рачки. Такки стореля срочно произвести переселение всех ненцев Поволжья в инделить гах враделых чания переселяемых немого Поволжья землей и угодьями в вовых районах уляце Фрунзе в понтр nonals not orone uporti

Председатель Президнума Верховного Совета СССР м. КАЛИНИН.

Секретарь Президнума Верховного Совета СССР **А.** ГОРКИН.

Москва, Кремль 28 августа 1941 года.

#### **ДВИЖЕНИЕ СОЛИДАРНОСТИ**

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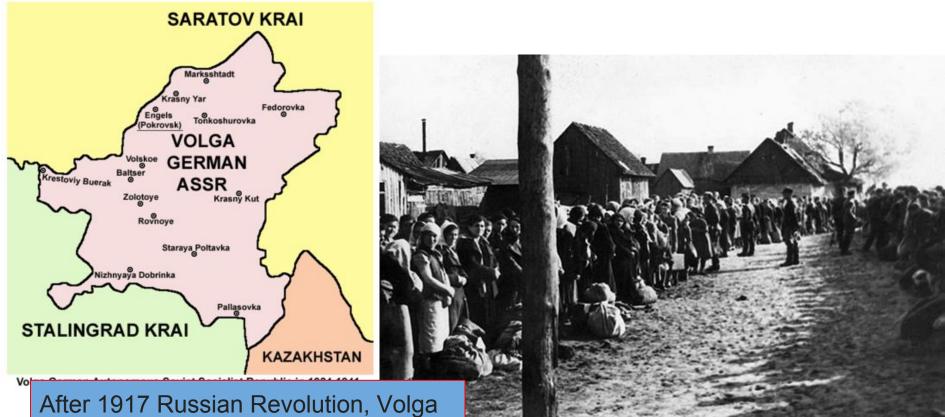
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#### **Deportation Decree**

In the "Bolshevik", Russian newspaper published August 30 1941

"In order to avoid such undesirable occurrences and for the prevention of serious bloodshed, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR deems it necessary to resettle the entire German population residing in the districts in the Volga Region and other districts



German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established in 1924

#### **Target on Ukrainians**

- Resistance to collectivisation greatest among the non-Russian nationalities, particularly in the Ukraine
- Repression of Ukrainian peasants who resisted collectivisation, involving mass executions, arrests, and deportations
- campaign against Ukrainian nationalism.

 Ethnic Ukrainian officials were largely replaced by Russians.
Non- Russian novelists STILL encouraged to write in their native languages, as long as they conformed to 'Socialist Realism' and rejected 'bourgeois-nationalism'

#### Holodomor 1932 - 1933

- Man-made famine = 'extermination by famine'
- Ukraine was prosperous agriculturally and those prosperous peasants were deemed as 'kulaks'
- Ukrainians came to be considered **enemies of the state** and were shipped away to remote areas such as Siberia
- Stalin increased the **quotas** required by Ukrainian farmers and punished those who resisted.
- Also known as 'The Ukrainian Genocide' because it is estimated that **3.3 million** Ukrainians lost their lives as a direct result from the famine
- Overall 10 million lost their lives
- Stalin refused aid from the Red Cross

#### Holodomor (continued)

- **Potemkin villages** were created by the Soviets to convince foreign visitors into believing that they were prosperous. The villages were set up with items and food brought in for the occasion.
- Soviet foreign minister, **Maxim Litvinov**, publicly denied the existence of Famine in the USSR in 1933.

"The peasants ate dogs, horses, rotten potatoes, the bark of trees, anything they could find," - Fedor Bleov, a witness



#### **Indifference of the West**

- Western governments including Great Britain, Canada, the United States, Germany, Italy and Poland were informed about the Famine in Ukraine.
  They chose to adopt a policy of **pop-interference** in the internal affairs of a
- They chose to adopt a policy of **non-interference** in the internal affairs of a foreign sovereign state.
- The US knew what was going on in Ukraine however, it did not challenge their interests so they remained neutral. Franklin D Roosevelt at the time was establishing formal diplomatic relations with the USSR and did not wish to compromise negotiations.



Holodomor Memorial in Washington DC

Monument in Kiev

### Was it a genocide?

**Walter Duranty** was a denier of Holodomor. He was a British journalist working for the NY Times and wrote that "conditions are bad, but there is no famine."

In 2006 the Security Service of Ukraine released Holodomor archives which suggest that the USSR singled out Ukraine by **not giving it the same humanitarian aid** given to other republics.

Russia says that it cannot be classified as a genocide as millions of people from various ethnic backgrounds across the Soviet Union suffered.

**Robert Service:** the requisitioning quotas were cut three times during 1932 in response to evidence of widespread starvation. Stalin needed Ukrainian labour as much as he needed labour from elsewhere and that **a deliberate policy of starvation would not have made economic sense** 

#### **Deportation of Ukrainians**

- Stalin decided to further deport Ukrainians in order to eliminate those who were defending a model of a different non-Soviet Ukraine
- September 10, 1947: the USSR Council of Ministers decides to deport Ukrainians from Ukrainian SSR to Siberia and Kazakhstan.
- October 21 1947: Deportation started
- 100,000 were deported according to some documents, the actual number reached 150,000

Ukrainian perspective- or twice as many were deported!

- Most of their property was left behind and others who weren't deported like ethnic Russians in Ukraine were allowed to steal

#### **Richard Overy:**

#### Stalin's aims:

- to unite all nationalities through socialism
- Defending the "motherland"

Therefore...

e naga daga REK Bautagitaki

Stalin was not a Russian nationalist, suggesting that his policies were *political and strategic* rather than ethnic or racial.

## 3. Education



### Aims of educational reform

Reverse the trends initiated by the Bolsheviks under Lenin



Modernise the Soviet Union by boosting literacy rate



Create a generation of disciplined young people

"It is the duty of each school child to acquire knowledge persistently so as to become an educated and cultured citizen and to be of the greatest possible service to his country"

- Rule One: The 20 rules of Student Behaviours, 1927-35

#### **Methods**

- In 1930, 4 years of primary education was made mandatory
- In 1939, it was compulsory for children to have 7 years of schooling
- Exams that were banned under Lenin were reintroduced
- In History textbooks, Stalin's role in the 1917 Revolution is exaggerated
- State-prescribed text books to be used.
- Homework is a regular requirement.
- State-organised tests and examinations.
- School uniforms made compulsory (girls must have their hair in pigtails).
- Fees to be charged for the last three years of non-compulsory secondary schooling.





## What were the results of the education reforms?

- Number of children attending school rose from 12 million to 35 million (1929-1940)
- 60 % of university undergraduates were women in 1940
- By 1939, schooling for eight- to fourteen-year-olds had become universal in the urban areas.
- Between 1926 and 1939 the <u>literacy rate</u> for the population over the age of nine increased from 51 to 88 percent.

## "Literacy is the road to communism"

## Propaganda poster



## Was it an egalitarian system?

#### Soviet justification:

- all societies, including socialist ones, need a trained section of the community to serve the people in expert way
- Although a selective process, it was selection by ability, not, as in the corrupt tsarist days or in the capitalist world

However, it presented a PARADOX

- Emergence of privileged elites
- 1928-32 A third of all undergraduates were Party nominees.

In universities, all academicians have to be politically correct, stay within Stalinist values

"Ideas are more powerful than guns. We would not let our enemies have guns, why should we let them have ideas."

**Joseph Stalin** 

Honor and glory to a soviet teacher

СЛАВА

## Спасибі партії, спасибі рідному Сталіну



Да Здравствуют юные пионерыдостойная смена Ленинско- Сталинского комсомола



# **Youth Movements**

#### Komsomol

- Began in Lenin's time but created as formal body in 1926
- Ages 14-28

#### **Young Pioneer**

- Ages 10-14

#### **Little Octobrists**

- Ages 7-10







Movements are attractive thanks to its privileges!

- In the Komsomol, membership rose from 2 million (1927) to 10 million (1940)
- Idealism and enthusiasm of youth exploited
- Members are taught to be a good communist and to be physically active.
- Komsomol provided cheerleaders and flag wavers for Stalin's bday
  - = No questioning





# Compared to Leninism

## Leninism:

- Marxist rejection of marriage as a bourgeois institution
- Divorce is easier and had attempted to liberate women from the bondage of children and family
- By the end of the 1930s the Soviet divorce rate was the highest in Europe, one divorce for every two marriages
- Stalin was convinced that the earlier Bolshevik social experiment had failed.

The "Great Retreat"

Sheila
Fitzpatrick

'a poor husband and father, a poor wife and mother, cannot be good citizens'



- Family = central unit in society
- Rejected sexual freedoms that followed the 1917 Revolution
- Good Communist was a socially responsible one
- The collectivisation programmes and disruption by civil war left many orphans

**Aim:** Did stalin implement the "great retreat" to restore the social balance?

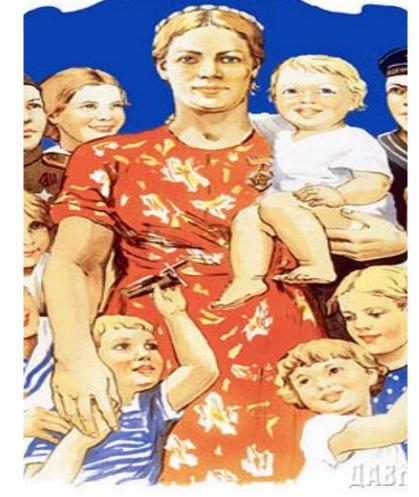
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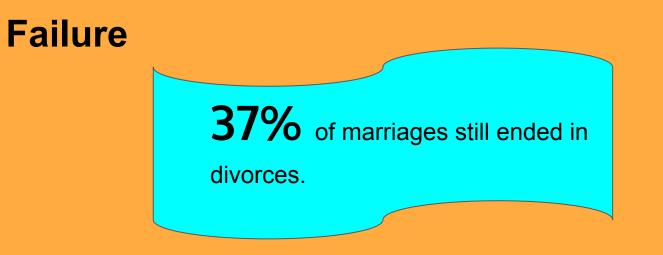
- Unregistered marriages were no longer to be recognised.
- Divorce was to be made more difficult by raising the fee
- Abortion was heavily restricted
- Women were rewarded with medals for giving birth to 10+ children.
  - Children born outside marriage were no longer allowed to inherit property from their father
- The family was declared to be the basis of Soviet society.
- Homosexuality was outlawed.

ГЕРОИЧЕСКОЙ СОВЕТСКОЙ ЖЕНЩИНЕ



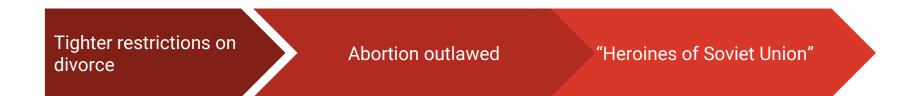
# АВА МАТЕРИ ГЕРОИН





According to **Moshe Lewin**, officially there was a slight improvement in the birth rate in 1937 but it fell again in 1939

## Addressing Failure - New Family Laws on July 9, 1944



Taxes Increased on parents with fewer than 2 children

Right to inherit family property re-established

## Status of Soviet Women

# Western perspective (Lynch's book)

There little room for the notion of the independent, self-sufficient female in Soviet Russia

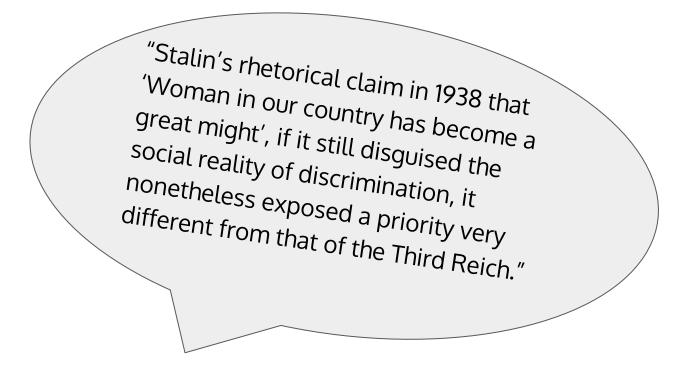
A loss for female members of Party like Kollontai

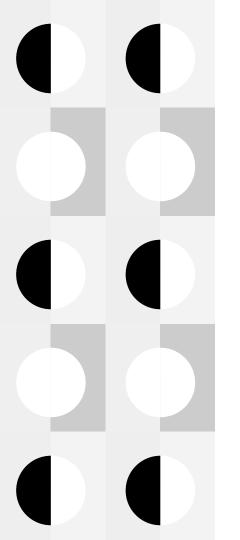
#### However,

Soviet propaganda spoke for equality of women

by 1939 one third of Soviet
engineers were women and 79%
of doctors were women.

## Richard Overy:





## Housewives' Movement'

- created in 1936 under Stalin's patronage.
- Composed of the wives of high-ranking industrialists and managers
- task of 'civilising' the tastes and improving conditions of the workers.

However, besides these elites, most women were not in a position to speak out.

Lynch: Heavy burden for women as they have 2 roles to fulfill!

# In the war



- Great demand for labour from women
- Women were mothers, homemakers and workers that contributed to the expansion of the Russian economy.
- On collective farms, women were expected to work in the fields
- Also trained as pilots during WWII and were on active duty unlike West
- over half a million women fought in the Soviet armed forces
- However... women's pay rates actually dropped from 1930-45





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### **Geoffrey Hosking**

'the fruits of female emancipation became building blocks of the Stalinist neo-patriarchal social system.'