A Level History
OCR History A H505

Unit Y318.
Thematic Study and Interpretations
Russia and its Rulers, 1855-1964

Booklet 1: The Nature of Russian Government
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Booklet section completed</th>
<th>Assessment marks/ grades</th>
<th>Revision materials created</th>
<th>Confidence?</th>
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<td><strong>The Nature of Government</strong></td>
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<td>Autocracy, dictatorship and totalitarianism</td>
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<td>Developments in central administration</td>
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<td>Methods of repression and enforcement</td>
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<td>The extent and impact of reform</td>
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<td>The nature, extent and effectiveness of opposition before 1917</td>
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<td>Changes in local government</td>
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<td>Attitude of the Tsars to political change</td>
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<td>Attitude of the provisional government to political change</td>
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<td>Attitude of the Communists to political change</td>
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<td><strong>The impact of dictatorial regimes on the economy and society of the Russian Empire and the USSR</strong></td>
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<td>Changes to living and working conditions of rural people: impact on the peasants of Emancipation, peasant land banks, famines, the NEP, collectivisation and the Virgin Land scheme.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Changes to living and working conditions of urban people: impact of industrial growth under the Tsars, War communism, NEP and the Five Year Plans on industrial workers; limitations on personal, political and religious freedom; reasons for and extent of economic and social changes.</td>
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<td><strong>The impact of war and revolution on the development of the Russian Empire and the USSR</strong></td>
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<td>The effects of the Crimean war on government, society, nationalities and the economy</td>
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<td>The effects of the Japanese war on government, society, nationalities and the economy</td>
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<td>The effects of the 1905 revolution on government, society, nationalities and the economy</td>
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<td>The effects of the 1917 Revolutions on government, society, nationalities and the economy</td>
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<td>The effects of the First World War on government, society, nationalities and the economy</td>
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<td>The effects of the Cold War on government, society, nationalities and the economy</td>
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<td><strong>Russia: Empire, nationalities and satellite states</strong></td>
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<td>The Polish Revolt 1863</td>
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<td>Expansion in Asia</td>
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<td>Russification</td>
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<td>Finland</td>
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<td>The Baltic provinces</td>
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<td>Impact of the First World War and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russo-Polish War</td>
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<td>Communist advance into Eastern and Central Europe after the Second World War</td>
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**Depth Study 1: Alexander II’s Domestic Reforms**

- The effects of the Crimean War
- The aims of Alexander II’s domestic policies
- The nature of his government
- Changes in central administration
- The extent and impact of domestic reform
- The extent and effectiveness of opposition
- Changes in urban and rural living and working conditions
- Limitations on personal, political and religious freedom
- Extent of economic and social change

**Depth Study 2: The Provisional Government**

- Main domestic policies of the Provisional Government
- The nature of the government- methods of repression and enforcement; the extent and effectiveness of opposition; limitations on personal, political and religious freedom.
- Changes in urban and rural living and working conditions.
- Extent of economic and social changes.
- The impact of the continuing war.
- Reasons for the overthrow of the Provisional government.

**Depth Study 3: Khrushchev in Power 1956-1964**

- The aims of Khrushchev
- The nature of his government; opposition, methods and enforcement of repression in Russia and its satellites; the extent and impact of reform.
- Changes in urban and rural living and working conditions.
- Limitations on personal, political and religious freedom.
- Extent of economic and social changes including economic planning and the Virgin Lands Scheme.
- The impact of the Cold War
- Khrushchev’s fall
A Chronological Summary of the Main Periods of Rule
Create the timeline of the following leaders- these are the leaders that we will be investigating over the course. Use pages 6-10 of your textbook and ensure that you get the **challenges** and the **domestic policies**.

Alexander II  
1855-1881

Alexander III  
1881-94

Nicholas II  
1894-1917
Things to do with this chronology

Keep going back and adding important details to the different leaders—what else do you learn?

Make judgements on them: e.g. autocratic, reformer, repressive etc. and add those to the evidence you collect.

Build comparisons between them—which ones are similar, which are different?

Highlight areas of change and continuity. Show where things do not change between the leaders.
The ideologies of ruling Russia
Section 1: Autocracy

Task 1: The role of the Tsar in Russia
a) Using page 12 of your textbook, annotate the image of the imperial crown of Russia with what the role of the Tsar in Russia was.

b) Why was the Tsarist regime considered the only practical way to rule Russia?

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c) Is Tsarism an ‘evil’ institution according to these ideas?

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Task 2: Konstantin Pobedonostsev
Use the factfile on page 13 to develop an understanding of who Konstantin Pobedonostsev was and what he stood for.

Who was Pobedonostsev?

What was his role in Russian government?

What were his views on how Russia should be governed?

What was his influence on Russian government?
Task 3: Change and Continuity in the belief and execution of autocracy
Use the information on page 12-15 to create a summary of the different attitudes towards autocracy from the different Tsars. Use two colours- 1 for change and 1 for continuity.

You also need to use the events in the factfiles for each Tsar. Can you identify which of these events is change and which is continuity?

Nicholas I

Alexander II

Alexander III

Nicholas II

Task 4: Create a summary poster of how autocracy worked in imperial Russia. Make sure that you use all the key terms and their definitions plus examples from each of the Tsar’s reigns.
The ideologies of ruling Russia
Section 2: Marxism

You have some listening to do in today’s lesson. Your teacher is going to go through Marxism with you. Your job is to listen actively to what they are talking about and attempt to take notes. These will guide you through the main ideas of Marxism and how it applies to Russia. (NOTE: those of you going to university - this is what you will have to do there). Feel free at any point to interrupt and ask questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is Communism?</td>
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<td>What is the idea of the superstructure?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What is the Labour Theory of Value?</td>
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<td>What is the dictatorship of the proletariat?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What is Marxism-Leninism?</td>
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<tr>
<td>How does Marxism apply to Russia?</td>
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<tr>
<td>What issues were there in apply Marxism to Russia?</td>
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</table>

Use the notes and page 16-19 to create a poster about Marxism that deals with all of the above questions.
The ideologies of ruling Russia
Section 3: Totalitarianism

Task 1: A summary of Leninism
Use page 18-19 to complete the following tasks.
a) Russia is not ready for Marxism. Why not? What does Lenin propose to do about this?

b) What is Lenin’s interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat— the idea that the workers control the political power? You can also use the box on democratic centralism to help you.

c) How does Lenin begin to implement Marxism-Leninism?

War Communism and the New Economic Policy:

d) How does Lenin get criticised for this? What do others want to happen? (e.g. debate between Stalin and Trotsky).
Totalitarianism
Totalitarianism is the centralised form of dictatorial government that controls every aspect of the behaviour of the citizens of the state. There is some debate over how far that is the case in Stalin’s Russia. There is also some debate over how far Stalin based his ideology on Marxism-Leninism. We will come back to both of these debates.

Use page 20-24 to complete the following tasks.

Task 2: Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism (page 20-21)
a) It is really important that you complete this section in your own words- making sure you have the key terms clearly defined and explained. Feel free to use different colours/ post-its etc.

Complete the following table with an explanation of what Stalin is trying to achieve.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The ‘base of society’ can only be permanently changed by utilising a particular type of ‘superstructure’. How does Stalin go on to create this?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The superstructure had to be highly personalised under the total control of one individual. How does he go on to create this?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) What are the differences between a Lenin style dictatorship and Stalin’s?

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e) What do these policies illustrate about Lenin as a ruler?

...
c) Why are there changes?

Task 3: De-Stalinisation (page 21-24)
a) Describe the power struggle that brought Khrushchev to power.

b) How was leadership changed from what Stalin had done?

c) Why did Khrushchev de-Stalinise?

d) How did Khrushchev de-Stalinise?
e) What were Khrushchev’s main criticisms about Stalin?

f) What was the impact of Khrushchev’s secret speech?

g) How did Stalin deal with opposition?

h) What were the key features of de-Stalinisation?

i) How did Russia react? What continuity can you note there?

Task 4: Summary - Similarities and differences between autocracy, dictatorship and totalitarianism

Create an A3 poster that shows the similarities and differences between these three groups.

You will need to use your notes, and do some research on the different areas below.

Use the diagram on page 25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>October Manifesto</th>
<th>Zemstvo</th>
<th>Dumas</th>
<th>New Economic Policy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Terror</td>
<td>Virgin Lands</td>
<td>The Reaction</td>
<td>Soviet Order No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Civil War</td>
<td>Collectivisation</td>
<td>1905 Revolution</td>
<td>War Communism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fundamental Laws</td>
<td>Okhrana</td>
<td>Command Economy</td>
<td>Emancipation of Serfs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Soviet Men</td>
<td>NKGB</td>
<td>Red Terror</td>
<td>MVD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodoxy, Autocracy, Nationality</td>
<td>Mir</td>
<td>Russification</td>
<td>Socialist Realism.</td>
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</table>
Developments in Central Administration
Section 4: The Government Under The Tsars

Task 1: The Government inherited by Alexander II
a) What do we mean by central government?
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b) What kind of government does Alexander II inherit?
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c) What are people starting to ask for?
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The answers to all of the above can be found on page 25 of your textbook.

Task 1: Changing Government Structures before 1905.
a) Distil the information on page 26 of your textbook into these tiny boxes explaining what the government institutions did; ensure that you highlight any changes so that they stand out. Make sure that you also identify where the power in these institutions lie.

The Personal Chancellery of his Imperial Majesty

The Imperial Council of State

The Tsar

The Senate

The Committee of Ministers (established in 1861)
b) Look back at page 25. How and why did the pressure for change increase?


c) The Response to the Events of 1905
Nicholas II responded by releasing the **October Manifesto** which created a more representative form of government centring on the Duma (parliament).

In the box below, create a diagram of what each section of the new government structure does. Make sure that you highlight where power lies and changes.

i. What evidence is there that the Tsar has given up some of his autocratic power to others?

ii. What evidence is there that the Tsar has maintained his autocratic power over Russia?
d) The Four Dumas

i. You are now going to do a more detailed analysis of the first three Dumas below. Include what has happened in each Duma, using page 28 and 29 of your textbook. Think about: what issues are important, what political parties become significant, how much they accomplish in terms of reform/improvements for the Russian people, how much power they have, how much they agree or disagree with the Tsar and what the consequences are for agreeing or disagreeing with the Tsar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The First Duma, April to July 1906</th>
<th>The second Duma, February to June 1907</th>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>The Third Duma, November 1907 to June 1912</th>
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</table>
ii. The Fourth Duma, November 1912 to February 1917
Read the section on the Fourth Duma up to the emergence of the Progressive Bloc on page 29 of your textbook and create your notes on the issues (as you did above) below, in this box.

The Fourth Duma, November 1912 to February 1917

... The progress of the First Duma was interrupted by the outbreak of the First World War

iii. Why did the Progressive Bloc emerge during World War I?

iv. What was the reaction of Nicholas II to the Progressive Bloc?

v. How did the economic and social context change during the war?

Economic and social issues

The Tsarina and Rasputin
Note: there is a PowerPoint of images of the Tsarina and Rasputin which can be used to see what perceptions there were of the two.

vi. The Key Events of 1917.
Use a plain piece of paper to create a timeline of the events leading to the end of the Romanov Rule. Use images, diagrams to add to your timeline to help you learn it. Use the information on pager 30 of your textbook. Only go up to the abdication of the Tsar.

**Conclusion Task:** Go back through your notes and on the Truthometer assess the truth of the following statements.

i. War changed government the most.
ii. The Tsars mostly worked on preserving autocracy.
iii. The Dumas were nothing more than a ‘talking shop’.
iv. Tsarist government did not change.
Developments in Central Administration
Section 5: The Government under the Communists

Task 1: The Provisional Government
In theory, the abdication of Nicholas and the formation of the Provisional Government marked the end of autocracy in Russia. In practice, the move towards greater democracy was short lived and the governance of Russia was soon dominated by a single individual—Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik party.

a) Why did the Provisional Government struggle to deal with its opponents? Look at page 30 of your textbook.

b) Which of those reasons do you think was the most significant?

c) Create a timeline of how the Bolsheviks managed to take over in 1917. Use page 31.

Important note: The February Revolution of 1917 is when the Tsar abdicated and was replaced by the Provisional Government. The October Revolution is when the Bolsheviks took over from the Provisional Government.

Task 2: Vladimir Lenin and the development of the Bolshevik Government.
Lenin’s problems Complete the diagram below with what Lenin’s problem was and if a solution is mentioned.

Problem 1: The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets

Problem 2: A Petrograd Revolution

Problem 3: The Constituent Assembly

Problem 4: The Decree on Land

Problem 5&6: The issue of the war and the end of the war.
**Task 3: The Organisation of the New Bolshevik Government**
a) Use page 32-34 to explain how the New Bolshevik Government was set up. You need to demonstrate where it was set up to be democratic, but in truth, it was a dictatorship. It would be a good idea to highlight key terms with their definitions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illusions of Democracy and a break with the tsarist past.</th>
<th>The True Nature of Russian Government</th>
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</thead>
</table>


b) How would you get ahead in the RSFSR? (if you don’t know what the RSFSR is, take a closer look at page 32).

c) Read this section below on the Lenin Enrolment. How did the Bolsheviks try to get the proletariat more involved in the party?

**KEY TERM**

**Lenin Enrolment**
A campaign launched between 1923 and 1925 to increase the membership of the Bolshevik Party, particularly the number of industrial workers in the party.

**Structural changes in the party**
Between 1923 and 1925 the party increased its membership by launching the ‘Lenin Enrolment’ – a move designed to enhance Stalin’s power. The aim of this membership drive was to increase the number of true proletarians in the party ranks. Over 500,000 workers were recruited, doubling the party’s membership, and this was to have important consequences. The new members were largely poorly educated and politically naïve. They may have seen party membership as an opportunity to further their career and escape from the working class; certainly many of these new members made successful careers in the party structure. It is clear that these new members saw the party as a source of privileges and that retaining these privileges depended on loyalty to those who had allowed them into the party. As General Secretary, it was Stalin who was responsible for supervising the ‘Lenin Enrolment’ and it greatly extended his influence in the party. He could provide party officials with better living quarters, additional food rations and trips abroad to recuperate from illness. Stalin’s humble background may well have helped him in the identification of the needs and demands of these new members and, in the power struggle which followed, he was careful to make his views echo those of the rank and file.

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Faction: a small organized dissenting group within a larger one, especially in politics.

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d) Read the following on the ban on factions, in 1921. How else does Lenin tighten his grip on the party?

The splits in the party during 1920 had angered Lenin. Groups like the Workers’ Opposition and the Democratic Centralists (campaigning for more democracy in the party) seemed to him to be an unnecessary distraction given the crises they faced in 1921 (famine, revolts, Kronstadt mutiny). He called for unity and an end to splits and factionalism. As a result in 1921, the Tenth Party Congress agreed to pass a ‘ban on factions’. This meant that once party policy had been agreed by the Central Committee then everybody was expected to accept it and not form ‘factions’ to challenge the party line. The penalty for factionalism was expulsion from the party.
e) Post-it Opinions: how autocratic was Lenin’s government?
Take a post-it and on it write an answer to that question with one compelling piece of evidence that explains how autocratic you think Lenin’s government was.
When we have discussed the class’s responses, you will see if your opinion changes- add your final opinion to this post-it.

**Task 2: Stalin and the USSR**

a) Read page 34-35, what did Stalin aim to do when he took power in 1929.

b) What changes did he make to the structure of the USSR in his new constitution of 1936?

Structural Changes:

Democratic Changes

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c) Read the section on the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Exactly how democratic was Stalin’s new constitution?
d) What difference did further additions to the USSR make?


e) What difference did de-Stalinisation make?

f) Post-it Opinions: how autocratic was Stalin's government?
Take a post-it and on it write an answer to that question with one compelling piece of evidence that explains how autocratic you think Stalin's government was.
When we have discussed the class's responses, you will see if your opinion changes- add your final opinion to this post-it.

Conclusion Task: Were Stalin and Lenin Red Tsars?
**Developments in Administration**  
**Section 6: Changes to Local Government**

Task 1: Different types of local government/ representation of the people  
Use page 37-38 of your textbook to complete the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of government</th>
<th>How did it come to be set up? (include under which leader)</th>
<th>How did it work? (who was involved/ what did it do)</th>
<th>How far did it change the nature of autocracy?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mir</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zemstvo (Zemstva plural)</td>
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<td>Duma</td>
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<td>The Third Element</td>
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<td>Soviets</td>
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**Task 2: How did the judiciary change?**  
a) Why are the judiciary ‘an important organ of government’?

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Developments in Administration
Section 7: Methods of Repression and Enforcement

Task 1: Describing Repression
a) Use page 39-40 for your notes on this section.

KEY TERM BOX:
What does repression actually mean?

What is meant by ‘epidemics of repression’?

b) What are the main tools of repression?

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Tool</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
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Task 2: The different methods of repression
Complete the following task as a timeline that goes across our different leaders.
For each type of repression, create an explanation of what each leader does. You will need to show:
  a) How they use each type (DESCRIPTION)
  b) Change with what has gone before (ANALYSIS)
  c) Continuity with what has gone before (ANALYSIS)
  d) Effectiveness/ importance (EVALUATION)

The types of repression that you need to complete are: the secret police, use of the army, censorship, propaganda and reform.

Use pages 40-48 of your textbook for the information,

Task 3: Conclusion Task (complete on lined paper)
1. How different was Communist Rule to Tsarist Rule?
2. To what extent was Stalin the most autocratic of all the Russian leaders?
3. CHALLENGE: Which regime was the most repressive? Communist rule, Tsarist Rule or Nazi rule?
The First Russia Essay
Section 8: Changes to Local Government

Task 1: The Key Differences between the Russia essay and the Germany/Tudor essays
a) Spot the difference: what is the difference between these two photographs?

What are the differences between the type of information that you get from each?

Task 2: So, how do I write Russia essays?
a) Use the Russia essay Prezi on the History website: http://history-groby.weebly.com/russia-and-its-rulers.html to create a list of what is and isn’t required in your Russia essays.

What should I do in an essay?

What shouldn’t I do?

b) "The Russian people were constantly repressed between 1855-1964". How far do you agree with this statement? Write up a paragraph that would be a response to this answer on lined paper and self assess it using the mark scheme provided.
Opposition to the Russian Government
Section 9: The Opposition to Regimes from Political Parties

An Opening Question: What are political parties? What do they want? What do they do?
Develop your ideas in this box.

Based on what you have decided above, what approach to political parties do you think your Russian leaders would take?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alexander II</th>
<th>Alexander III</th>
<th>Nicholas II</th>
<th>Provisional Government</th>
<th>Lenin</th>
<th>Stalin</th>
<th>Khrushchev</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An important note about Political Parties in Russia

Political parties were made legal in 1905, but were banned by the Bolsheviks in 1921. Before 1905, political groups did exist, although illegally, but were tolerated as long as their behaviour remained respectable.

Task 1: Opposition under the Tsars
a) You need to complete the notes on the following opposition parties in order to have full understanding of what each group did. Use pages 49-51

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Populists (Narodniki)</th>
<th>When were they active?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who made up this group?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did they believe?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What methods did they use?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How successful was this opposition group?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The People’s Will</th>
<th>When were they active?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What kind of group were they?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where did they come from?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What was their primary objective?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did they achieve?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How successful were they?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Socialist Revolutionaries</th>
<th>When were they active?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who were they and what did they do?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did the Left of the party do?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did the Right of the party do?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How successful were they?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Social Democrats</td>
<td>When were they active?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What were their influences?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did they actually want to achieve?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happened in 1905?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>How successful were they?</strong> (you will need to think about this)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Liberals</th>
<th>When were they active?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What did this group want?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is clearly no evidence of any success. Don’t worry!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Kadets and Octobrists</th>
<th>When were they active?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do they want?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do they go on to do?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were they at all successful?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is the point you will make in your essays!

b) Overall, how successful is opposition to tsarism from political parties before 1917?

This is the explanation you will add in your essays!

c) Why was opposition to tsarism so successful/ unsuccessful before 1917?

Your notes are the support for the points above!
Task 2: Opposition to the Provisional Government

a) Using page 51, what kind of opposition did the Provisional Government face? 

b) Which of these kinds of opposition were the biggest concern for the Provisional Government? 

c) Why was this the biggest concern to the Provisional Government? 

Task 3: Opposition to Lenin

Results of the election for the Constituent Assembly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SRs</td>
<td>17,490,000</td>
<td>370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolsheviks</td>
<td>9,844,000</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Minority Groups</td>
<td>8,257,000</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left SRs (Pro-Bolshevik)</td>
<td>2,861,000</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadets</td>
<td>1,248,000</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensheviks</td>
<td>1,248,000</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41,686,000</td>
<td>717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) What percentage of the vote/ seats did the SRs get? 

b) What percentage of the vote/ seats did the Bolsheviks get? 

c) What percentage of the vote/ seats did the Bolsheviks + the pro-Bolshevik Left SRs get? 

d) What can you learn about the popularity of the Bolsheviks in Russia through these results? 

Please note: you have been asked to work out these percentages because it will actually help you with your essays - it is easier to remember how many votes cast which you can then use as evidence.
e) Why did Lenin decide to use military force to end the constituent assembly?

f) What do you think that Lenin meant by this phrase?

“\[Image\]
The Russian soviets place the interests of the toiling masses far above the interests of treacherous compromise disguised in a new garb”


g) “Opposition to the Bolsheviks was still rife, and concerns were expressed within the party over the methods adopted by Lenin”. Why?

h) What was the impact of the Civil War on opposition to Lenin?

i) How successful was opposition to Lenin?

j) Why was there no further opposition to Lenin- or in fact, the Communist Party in Russia?
Opposition to the Russian Government
Section 10: Opposition from Individuals and Cliques

Task 1: How the Tsars dealt with opposition from Individuals and Cliques

The Demotion of Witte, from The Origins of the Russo-Japanese War by Ian Nish

“Meanwhile rumours were circulating that Witte had said some uncomplimentary things about the Tsar to one of the private secretaries and that these had leaked out. On 28th August, Nicholas summoned Witte into private audience at Tsarskoye Selo and told him that he was being appointed chairman of the council of minister, which had hitherto been a post of an honorary nature without great responsibility. Behind the immediate issue of the personal insult to a sensitive tsar, there was the more enduring issue that Witte had been growing very powerful and this power had been resented by a jealous tsar. Witter’s demotion had been a long time coming. He was astonished and disbelieving when the moment came because he had come to regard himself as indispensable to the administration”.

a) What does this indicate about the Tsars actions to opposition from individuals?

b) What can you learn from page 53 of the textbook about what happened to opponents of the Tsars?

c) Where does Witte end up in 1905?
Task 2: Inside opposition during the rule of Lenin

a) Use page 53 of your textbook to develop your notes on inside opposition during the rule of Lenin—where does internal disagreement threaten to derail the revolutionary movement? (Write your answer inside Lenin’s head!) See below for a definition of War Communism and the NEP which might help you understand opposition to Lenin.

b) What outside opposition are you aware of? Add it to the outside of Lenin’s head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War Communism</th>
<th>New Economic Policy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State control of the economy, with all industry nationalised, partial militarisation of labour and forced grain requisitioning leading to starvation in rural areas. No private trade was allowed.</td>
<td>Lenin changed from unpopular War Communism allowing denationalisation of small scale enterprise, private ownership and restrictions on private sales. End to grain requisitioning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Task 3: The Power Struggle after Lenin's Death

Lenin’s Testament, December 1922

Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has immeasurable power concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand... is distinguished not only by his outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present Central Committee, but he has displayed excessive self-assurance... These two qualities of the two outstanding leaders of the present Central Committee can inadvertently lead to a split...

I shall not give further appraisals of the personal qualities of other members of the Central Committee, but recall that October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev was no accident, but neither can the blame for it be laid on them personally, any more than non-Bolshevism can upon Trotsky. Speaking of the young Central Committee members I wish to say a few words about Bukharin... Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxist.

(Postscript added 4 January 1923)

Stalin is too rude, and this fault... becomes unacceptable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades that a way be found to remove Stalin from that post and replace him with someone else who differs from Stalin in all respects, someone more patient, more loyal, more polite, more considerate.

a) Read Lenin’s testament and complete the table below about Lenin’s attitudes to each as shown in his testament.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Stalin</th>
<th>Trotsky</th>
<th>Zinoviev + Kamenev</th>
<th>Bukharin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Who do you think Lenin believes should be his successor? Support with evidence from the Testament.

Who do you think Lenin believes should not be his successor? Support with evidence from the Testament.

What do you think the effect was of Lenin’s testament (which was to be read out at the XII Party Congress of the Russian Communist Party to be held in April 1923) on the leadership battle?

Note: the October episode for Zinoviev and Kamenev refers to their opposition to the October Revolution in 1917.
Task 4: How did Stalin overcome all opposition to become the ruler of Russia?

a) Use pages 54-55 of your textbook and page 190-191 of Russia under Tsarism and Communism to complete the following notes.

What were the skills and attributes used by Stalin to gain control of Russia?

b) What change and continuity can we see between methods of dealing with opposition from individuals and cliques?

How did Stalin get rid of Trotsky?

How did he oust Zinoviev and Kamenev?

How did Bukharin come to be removed?
Task 3: The Purges

a) From what you have learned so far and this image, what is Stalin’s approach to dealing with potential threats?

b) Use page 55. What was the change of policy for critics of Stalin?

c) Give some examples of the purges in action.

d) What effect did that have on how effective opposition could be?
Opposition to the Russian Government
Section 11a: Opposition to regimes from Peasants

Task 1: What general statements can we make about peasants in Russia?
Use page 56 of your textbook to develop a spider diagram about the peasants in Russia. Pick out some key facts that might help you understand how the peasants thought about the regimes in Russia.

Task 2: Peasant Opposition under the Tsars
a) Use page 56 to 57 to develop your notes on the different peasant opposition during this period under the Tsars. (You will need to remind yourself of the dates for each Tsar)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsar</th>
<th>Unrest</th>
<th>Why was there unrest?</th>
<th>How was it dealt with?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexander II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Your textbook doesn’t contain much detail. Use some of the notes from the first edition of this textbook/ or your own research using the internet to add more detail to your notes.

b) Conclusions about opposition from peasants to the Tsars.
On the full size copy of the Truthometer, using one colour of pen, note down where these statements fall- with an explanation of why they fit there. Make sure that you use evidence from the table above.

- Peasants only rebelled against Tsarist regimes when they were lacking food.
- The Tsars used both force and reform to suppress the peasants.
- The peasants were always disorganised when they opposed the Tsarist regimes.

Task 3: Peasant Opposition to the Communists

a) Use page 57 to develop your notes on the different peasant opposition during this period under the Communists. (You will need to remind yourself of the dates for each Communist). You may need some of the key concepts underneath.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsar</th>
<th>Unrest</th>
<th>Why was there unrest?</th>
<th>How was it dealt with?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lenin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stalin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khrushchev</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War Communism</th>
<th>State control of the economy, with all industry nationalised, partial militarisation of labour and forced grain requisitioning leading to starvation in rural areas. No private trade was allowed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Economic Policy</td>
<td>Lenin changed from unpopular War Communism allowing denationalisation of small scale enterprise, private ownership and restrictions on private sales. End to grain requisitioning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivisation</td>
<td>Stalin’s policy of creating more efficient farming in Russia by forcing peasants to combine their own small, individually controlled farms into one large farm that they all worked on.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dekulakisation</td>
<td>Kulaks were the more successful group of peasants who particularly made money through the NEP. Stalin turned against this group, labelled it a bourgeois enemy of the people and demanded their removal, sending them to gulags and executing them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Your textbook doesn’t contain much detail. Use some of the notes from the first edition of this textbook/ or your own research using the internet to add more detail to your notes.

b) Conclusions about opposition from peasants to the Communists.
On the full size copy of the Truthometer, using a different colour pen to the Tsars, note down where these statements fall- with an explanation of why they fit there. Make sure that you use evidence from the table above.
- Some peasants supported the Bolsheviks, others supported the white armies during the Civil War.
- Peasants did not care for War Communism.
- Communists used reform more than force to repress peasant opposition.
- Collectivisation was unpopular.

c) Comparisons between opposition to Communists and Tsars
Take a final colour of pen to the one you used for Communists and Tsars and put these statements onto your Truthometer- again, using your evidence to support your conclusions.
- Opposition from the peasants was more violent for the Tsars than the Communists.
- Opposition from the peasants was less successful under the Communists than the Tsars.
- Peasants were never politically motivated in their opposition to either the Communists or the Tsars.
- Khrushchev was the least under threat from peasant opposition.

**Opposition to the Russian Government**

**Section 11b: Opposition to regimes from Workers**

Task 1: The Proletariat “They’ve never had it so good”
Look at the images below. From what you know of Russian history so far and the images you see here, why might the workers possibly oppose the regimes?

Note: when we refer to the workers, we are referring to people employed in any industry found in a town/ city or heavy industry located out of the main cities (such as mines)
Task 2: How did the workers oppose the regime?
Complete the mind-map below with the details of the workers rebellions and revolts. Pages 57-59 have the information that you require.

CHALLENGE: How might this affect their treatment under Tsars?

Treatment of workers

The importance of workers to politics

Workers' tactics

Opposition to the Russian regimes from workers 1855-1964

Events that had an impact on the Russian workers

The Second World War

Civil War

CHALLENGE: Add these conclusions to your peasants Truthometer- in a different colour to your original three: a) the peasants were more successful than the workers in getting what they wanted; b) there was more repression on workers than peasants; c) the peasants were more threatening to Russian regimes than the workers.