

8 - RUSSIA in the 20th CENTURY and Today

The Rise of Communism :

Karl MARX (1818 – 1883) and Friedrich ENGELS (1820 – 1895)

-*The Communist Manifesto* (1848), *Das Kapital* (1867)

-The International Workingman's Association = The First International

-dialectic materialism = the “scientific analysis of class struggle”

-history progresses through class struggle

-the feudal, castle-owning nobility vs. the merchant class

-the merchant class triumphs to become the bourgeoisie

-the final struggle: the bourgeoisie vs. the proletariat

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-the bourgeoisie: the class of modern capitalists — those who own
“the means of production” (that which makes production possible),
but who do not work

-the proletariat: the class of wage labor — “they can only sell their labor”

-Marx rejected Liberalism: freedom of press, freedom of speech, parliamentary government,
and the rule of law are merely “bourgeois instruments of oppression”

-justice and morality are subordinated to class :

the Proletariat is the only class that has truth, justice, and virtue

-the final struggle

-capitalism will destroy itself through overproduction, economic crises, social chaos

-the proletariat will become conscious of its historical task:

-it will rise up in a violent overthrow of the Bourgeoisie in an inevitable revolution,
it will seize power and production, led by an enlightened vanguard

-all private income-producing property will be abolished

-all production will be centralized in the hands of the proletariat,
creating a temporary “dictatorship of the proletariat”

-all social classes will be absorbed into one class

-then the state will “wither away”, creating a society of peace, harmony, prosperity

-the victory of the proletariat is “fore-ordained” by history

The Rise of Anti-Semitism and of ZIONISM

-Joseph-Arthur, Count GOBINEAU (1816 — 1882), French diplomat

-*Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853 — 1855)

-the superiority of the Aryan races over all others

-“the more a civilization's racial character is diluted, the more it loses its
vitality and creativity, and it sinks into corruption and immorality”

-“the PALE of SETTLEMENT” (Tsar Nicholas I)

-regions of Russia (primarily Polish and Ukrainian areas) where Jews could live

- assassination of Tsar ALEXANDER II (1881)
 - first POGROMS (“devastations”) against Jews in Russia (1881 — 1884)
 - the May Laws (1882)
 - expulsion of many Jews outside the Pale of Settlement
- Édouard Drumont (1844 — 1917) / *La France juive* (Jewish France / 1886)
 - the Aryans and the “Semites” (Jews) will always be at war
 - the Semites will strive to enslave the Aryans
- the *Dreyfus Affair* (1894 — 1906) in France
 - Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859 — 1935), falsely accused of treason
- Theodor HERZL (1860 — 1904)
 - Austro-Hungarian correspondent in Paris at the time of the Dreyfus Affair
 - he organizes the first ZIONIST Congress in Basel, Switzerland (1897)
 - “Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law”
- The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*
 - purported to be the report of a series of meetings during the 1st Zionist Congress (in Basel / 1897) in which Jews developed plans to subvert Christian civilization, infiltrate and sabotage European governments in order to enslave the Europeans and to create a world state, that is, to achieve world domination
 - believed to have been fabricated by operatives in the Russian secret police
- new pogroms in Russia (1902 — 1906)
 - great exodus of Jews from Russia (1881 - 1910)
 - Sholem Aleichem (1859 — 1916 in NYC) > *Fiddler on the Roof*

The IMPERIALIST AGE (c. 1870 – c. 1914)

- fierce European rivalries for world empire :
 - the British Empire = “the sun never sets on the British Empire”
 - the Russian Empire, France, the United States, the German Empire, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, the Spanish Empire, the Portuguese Empire, the Dutch Empire, the Japanese Empire — all strive to expand their colonial holdings to “keep up with the British”
- impulses for aggressive imperialism :
 - economic expansion: raw materials & new markets for trade and commerce
 - missionary impulse: Christianity, or the expansion of Western Liberalism
 - Social Darwinism: nations and races struggle for survival
 - only the fittest survive > militant nationalism
 - balance of power: advantage of one Great Power must be matched by all others
 - prestige
 - power of the media: mass literacy and “yellow journalism” (the sensationalist press) which exacerbate tensions and crises

The HOUSE of ROMANOV (continued)

NICHOLAS II, Emperor of all Russias (1868 / r. 1894 - 1917)

oo Tsarina ALEXANDRA Feodorovna

(Alix of the Ducal House of HESSEN / 1872 - 1918)

the Tsarevich Alexei and daughters Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia

Nicholas “shared his father’s views of the worthlessness of legislatures, freedom of speech, and ... tended to see the hidden hand of the Jews in liberalism and socialism. Had he not been tsar, he would have made an ideal conservative country gentleman, for he was also gracious, kind, and a good family man. His wife Alexandra ... encouraged all these characteristics, as she was equally conservative and equally devoted to her family.” (Paul Bushkovitch)

-Peter Carl Fabergé (1846 – 1920)

-Grigori Yefimovich RASPUTIN (1872 - 1916)

The formation of the Alliances in Europe :

-the “Entente” powers

-alliance between France and Russia

-secret treaties between England and France, England and Belgium, England and Russia

-the “Central Powers”

-alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy

-the Ottoman Empire joins October 1914

The GREAT WAR (World War I)

-the assassination of Austrian Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophia

in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina (June 28, 1914) by Serbian terrorists

-the British press: “Something has to be done about Servia”

-“War by Timetable” = the imperative of rapid mobilization : the war will be swift and decisive

-therefore: the first to mobilize has the strategic advantage

-and the first to strike has the tactical advantage and will therefore win the war

-the declarations of war :

-Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia (July 28, 1914)

-Russia mobilizes (July 29) along **both** Austro-Hungarian **and** German borders

-France begins mobilization (July 29), also along German borders

-Austrians mobilize (July 31)

-German Empire begins mobilization and declares war on Russia (Aug. 1)

-German Empire declares war on Belgium and France (Aug. 3)

-England declares war on Germany (Aug. 4) to the shock of Europe

-British Prime Minister Lloyd George: “The lights are going out all over Europe and it will be a long time before they are lit again.”

-the Battle of the Marne (September 1914) and the “race to the sea”

-the Battle of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes in East Prussia (August – September 1914)

-the Russian invasion of eastern Germany is repulsed

-German Generals Paul von Hindenburg & Erich von Ludendorff

-St. Petersburg renamed as PETROGRAD (by the government of Nicholas II)

- stalemate and trench warfare
- the Battle of the SOMME (July – October 1916) / Sir Douglas Haig (England)
 - Edmund Blunden (one of the “War Poets”) : “By the end of the day, both sides had seen in a sad scrawl of broken earth and murdered men the answer to the question. No road. No thoroughfare. Neither race had won, nor could win, the War. The War had won ... and would go on winning.”
- great economic and financial exhaustion of combatant countries

The First RUSSIAN REVOLUTION / the “February Revolution” (in March 1917)

- troops mutiny in St.Petersburg
- abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and imprisonment of the Imperial family (March 15, 1917)
- the Provisional Government (March – November 1917)
 - led by Alexander KERENSKY (1881 – 1970)
- Social Democratic Party
 - Mensheviks (“minority”) which was the largest party
 - Russia must first pass through a bourgeois stage
 - revolution through democratic & legal means
 - Bolsheviks (“majority”), actually the smallest party, led by Lenin and Trotsky
 - the proletariat must unite with peasants to overthrow the feudal czarist regime
 - the revolution must be led by a professional, secret, highly-organized revolutionary party using undemocratic and illegal means
- SOVIETS (councils of governance) established by soldiers, sailors, workers, peasants
 - the Petrograd Soviet opposes Kerensky’s Provisional Government
- April 6, 1917 -the United States declares war on Germany
 - liberal internationalism: “make the world safe for democracy”
- April 1917 -Lenin arrives in Russia from Switzerland exile
 - Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov > “LENIN” (1870 – 1924)
 - What is to be done?* (1902)
 - other major Russian revolutionaries:
 - Lev Bronstein > “TROTSKY” (1879 - 1940)
 - Josif Dzhugashvili > “STALIN” (1879 - 1953)
 - had created a party newspaper in St. Petersburg: *Pravda (Truth)* / 1912
 - Lenin soon heads the Bolsheviks in Petrograd / slogan: “Peace, Land, Bread !”
 - the 4 Program Points :
 - immediate peace
 - redistribution of land to the peasants
 - transfer of control over factories, mines, and other industrial facilities to the soviets (committees of factory workers in each factory)
 - recognition of the soviets (councils) as the supreme power in Russia
 - > “All power to the soviets”
- July 1917 -major Russian offensive (led by the Kerensky Provisional Government)
 - catastrophic results
- major Brit-French offensive in the West : Paschendale

- Oct 1917 -The Second Russian Revolution / the “NOVEMBER REVOLUTION”
 -attack upon the Winter Palace
 -Lenin and the Bolsheviks and the Workers’ Soviets (councils) seize control of Petrograd (St. Petersburg) to overthrow the Russian Republic
- Jan 1918 -revolutionary Russia and the German Empire make peace
 -Lenin: “No annexations, no indemnities”
 -the call for international revolution: all peoples should overthrow their governments = international communism
 -Wilson: “the 14 Points” > “liberal internationalism”
 -an end to secret treaties and negotiations (“open covenants openly arrived at”)
 -freedom of the seas in peace and in war
 -freedom of international trade
 -disarmament (military reductions of all powers)
 -colonial readjustments
 -evacuation of all occupied territory
 -an international organization to prevent war = the League of Nations
 -the Red Army is established under Leon Trotsky (1879 – 1940)
- Mar 1918 -the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (between Germany and Russia) : independence of Poland, the Ukraine, Finland, and the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia)
 -civil war in Russia (1918 – 1922) :
 -the WHITES (anti-Bolshevik forces, including monarchists, liberals, democrats, socialists, plus anti-Lenin Bolsheviks)
 vs. the REDS (Trotsky and the Red Army, Bolsheviks & other pro-Lenin forces)
 -the Bolshevik Party renamed the “Communist Party” (Mar 1918)
 -Tsar Nicholas & family at Ekaterinburg (July 16, 1918)
 -CHEKA (the Extra-Ordinary All-Russian Commission of Struggle against Counterrevolution, Speculation & Sabotage) = KGB (Committee of State Security)
- The Central Powers collapse (Sept - Nov 1918)
 -Nov. 11 : “Armistice Day” = the end of World War I
- The PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE (1919 — 1920 / 1923)
 -led by Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States (1856 – 1924 / Pres. 1913 – 1921)
- Civil war in Russia continues: declaration of the “RED TERROR”
 -attempted assassination (Aug 30, 1918) of Lenin
 by Fanny Kaplan (Feiga Roytblat / 1890 - 1918)
 “It is necessary “to cleanse the land of Russia of all sorts of harmful insects”, such as “the rich, the rogues and the idlers”.
 “Where we say “the state”, the state is we, it is the proletariat, it is the advanced guard of the working class.”
 “It is true that liberty is precious — so precious, that it must be rationed.” -Lenin

[The RED TERROR]

“Do not look in the file of incriminating evidence to see whether or not the accused rose up against the Soviets with arms or words. Ask him instead to which class he belongs, what is his background, his education, his profession. These are the questions that will determine the fate of the accused. That is the meaning and essence of the Red Terror.”

-Martin Latsis (head of the Ukrainian Cheka in the newspaper *Red Terror*)

The Third International (the COMINTERN) established in 1919

-the association of national communist parties — its stated purpose: to serve as the primary organ of Soviet Russian control over the international Communist movement and to promote world revolution

Uprising of the sailors of Kronstadt (1921) — the Red Terror intensifies

“War Communism” = nationalization of large industries

Establishment of the UNION of SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS / USSR (1922)

-Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, White Russian [Byelorussian] Soviet Socialist Republic, Transcaucasian Soviet Socialist Rep.

-constitution (1924): the USSR is “a decisive step by way of uniting workers of all countries into one World Soviet Socialist Republic”

1924 -death of Lenin

-power struggle for control of the Communist Party

-Josef Stalin and the *apparatchiki* (the “apparatus men” > the bureaucrats)

-Leon Trotsky and the “permanent revolution”

-he denounces “bureaucracy” and “ossification”

1927 -the 15th Party Congress

-majority vote for Stalin (854,000) vs. Trotsky (4,000)

-ascension of Josef Stalin and expulsion of Leon Trotsky (for “leftist deviationism”)

1928 -declaration of the first 5-Year-Plan : rapid industrialization, forced collectivization of agriculture

“I am an old Bolshevik. I worked in the underground against the Tsar and then I fought in the civil war. Did I do all that in order that I should now surround villages with machine guns and order my men to fire indiscriminately into crowds of farmers ?”

1933 -purge of the Communist Party

1936 -“show” trials of “Old Bolsheviks”

-the cult of Stalin

“Centuries will pass and the generations still to come will regard us as the happiest of mortals, as the most fortunate of men, because we ... were privileged to see Stalin, our inspired leader. Yes, and we regard ourselves as the happiest of mortals, because we are the contemporaries of a man who never had an equal in world history. The men of all ages will call on thy name [Stalin], which is strong, beautiful, wise and marvelous. Thy name is engraved on every factory, every machine, every place on the earth, and in the hearts of men.”

1938 -purge of the Soviet military

- 1939 -August : Non-Aggression Treaty between Hitler and Stalin (Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia)
 -Sept. 1 : invasion of Poland
 -Sept. 3 : declaration of war by Britain and France against Germany
 -Nov : Soviet attack upon Finland
- 1940 -April - June : Nazi invasion of Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, Belgium, France
 -Soviet annexation of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) as Communist Republics
- 1941 -June 22 : “Operation Barbarossa” > Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union
 -siege of Leningrad
- 1942 -siege and “the Battle of Stalingrad”
 1943 -Feb: Nazi German army surrenders at Stalingrad; Soviet army goes on the offensive
- 1944 -Jan: Soviet Red Army enters Poland
 Siege of Leningrad broken
 -June 6 : “D-Day” / the Allied invasion of Nazi Europe in Normandy
- 1945 -Feb: the Yalta Conference: Churchill, Stalin, F.D. Roosevelt
 -March: Allied invasion of Nazi Germany itself
 -April: American and Soviet troops meet at Torgau on the Elbe River
 -death of F.D. Roosevelt (replaced by Harry Truman)
 -death of Adolf Hitler
 -May 8: unconditional surrender of Germany
 -June 26: establishment of the United Nations
- 1946 - 1949: establishment of pro-Soviet Communist governments in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania
- Stalin: “This war is not as in the past: whosoever occupies a territory also imposes his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his armies reach. It cannot be otherwise.”
- Winston Churchill: “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent.” (March 6, 1946 / Westminster College, St.Louis, Mo)
- 1949 -the creation of two new German states:
 -the Federal Republic of Germany (“West Germany”) / provisional capital at Bonn
 -the German Democratic Republic (“East Germany”) / capital in East Berlin
 -NATO = the North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- 1953 -death of Stalin
 -replaced by Nikita KHRUSHCHEV (1894 - 1971) who promises a new course for the USSR
 -workers’ uprising in East Germany / suppressed by Soviet Russian military
- 1955 -West Germany is admitted to NATO
 -the Warsaw Pact (“the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation & Mutual Alliance”):
 USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania
- 1956 -uprising in Hungary / suppressed by Soviet Russian military
 1959 -Fidel Castro seizes control of Cuba with Soviet Russian assistance

- 1961 -the construction of the Berlin Wall
 -Stalin's body is removed from the Kremlin's Mausoleum in Moscow
 -Nikita Khrushchev announces dismantling of the cult of Stalin : "de-Stalinization"
 -Bay of Pigs (American-Cuban invasion of Cuba fails)
- 1962 -the Cuban Missile Crisis / U.S. President John F. Kennedy (1917 / 1961 – 1963)
- 1964 -Bay of Tonkin / US becomes involved in Vietnam conflict: the Vietnam War (1964 – 1975)
 -Leonid Brezhnev (1906 – 1982) tumbles Khrushchev from power
 -becomes Communist Party Secretary (highest authority) 1964 – 1982
- 1968 -the "Prague Spring" — a liberalization of Communist control led by Alexander Dubcek
 -suppressed by Soviet Russian military
 -the Brezhnev Doctrine = Moscow has the right to interfere in the affairs
 of all other socialist (communist) states
- 1972 -"Détente" : U.S. President Richard Nixon and Brezhnev sign a nuclear arms treaty
 (SALT / the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties)
- 1975 -American involvement in the Vietnam War ends / pullout of American troops
- 1979 -Soviet Russian invasion of Afghanistan (1979 – 1989)
- 1982 -death of Brezhnev / successor is Yuri Andropov (1914 / General Secretary 1982 – 1984)
 -escalating tensions with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and British Prime Minister
 Margaret Thatcher over medium-range Pershing missiles in Europe
- 1984 -death of Andropov / successor: Konstantin Chernenko (General Secretary 1984 – 1985)
- 1985 -Mikhail GORBACHEV (b. 1931) becomes General Secretary of the Communist Party
 -*glasnost* ("openness / transparency") and *perestroika* ("restructuring")
- 1989 -Solidarnosc ("Solidarity" / Polish trade union federation, est. 1980) replaces Communist
 government in Poland in semi-free elections, led by Lech Walesa
- Nov 9 – 10 -fall of the Berlin Wall
 Nov 24 > -the Czech govnt collapses: "the Velvet Revolution"
 Dec 19 > -uprising in Rumania overthrows the Communist government
 Dec 27 -Rumanian President Nikolai Ceausescu and his wife are executed
 Dec 28 -an aged Alexander Dubcek is made President of the new Czech Republic
- 1990 Jan 22 -Yugoslavian Communists relinquish 45-year monopoly of power
 Feb 7 -Soviet Communist Party relinquishes monopoly of power
 Oct -unification of West and East Germany
 Oct 10 -the US Senate ratifies the treaty that grants Germany full sovereignty
 = the official peace treaty with Germany that 'ends' World War II
 Oct 15 -Gorbachev receives the Nobel Peace Prize
 Nov 19 -in Paris, the 22 members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact
 sign a disarmament treaty that ends the Cold War
- 1991 July 1 -the Warsaw Pact dissolves itself and ceases to exist; NATO remains
 July 10 -Boris Yeltsin (1931 – 2007) is installed as the President of the Russian Republic
 = the first democratically elected president in Russian history
 Aug 18 -Soviet hardliners attempt to kidnap and imprison Gorbachev
 -rescued by Boris Yeltsin

- 1991 Aug 24 -Gorbachev resigns as General Secretary of the Communist Party
 Aug 25 -the 3 Baltic republics (Lithuanian, Latvia, Estonia) proclaim their independence
 Sept 2 -disintegration of Yugoslavia: Slovenia and Croatia announce their independence
 Nov -Yeltsin bans all Communist Party activities in Russia
 Dec 25 -Gorbachev resigns as President of the Soviet Union
 -Boris Yeltsin proclaims the dissolution of the Soviet Union
 -becomes President of the Russian Federation (1991 – 1999)
 -creation of CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States)
 includes the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus
- 1992 Nov -the Czech Parliament approves the dissolution of the republic
 into 2 separate states: the Czech Republic and Slovakia
- 1993 Nov 1 -the Maastricht Treaty takes effect, creating the EUROPEAN UNION
 Nov-Dec -Yeltsin and voters approve a new constitution for Russia
- 1994 Russian troops invade Chechnya
- 1999 Aug: the Russian Parliament (Duma) confirms the appointment of Vladimir PUTIN (b. 1952)
 as Primer Minister of Russia
 Dec: Boris Yeltsin resigns as President of the Russian Federation;
 Prime Minister Putin becomes acting President
- 2000 Mar: Vladimir Putin elected President of Russia (53 % majority)
- 2002 Oct: Moscow Theater hostage crisis (Chechen terrorists)
- 2004 Putin re-elected as President (71 %)
 -the Beslan school hostage crisis (Chechen terrorists)
- 2007 death of Boris Yeltsin
 2008 Prime Minister Dmitry MEDVEDEV becomes President; Putin becomes Prime Minister
 -the “tandemocracy”
- 2012 Putin wins 3rd term as President
 2014 Crimea region annexed by Russia

VLADIMIR PUTIN (b. 1952)

“Hitler wanted to destroy Russia — everyone needs to remember how that ended.”

“People are always teaching us democracy, but the people who teach us democracy don’t want to learn it themselves.”

(On the American press:) “Maybe they have nothing else to do in America but to talk about me.”

“Russia never lost the Cold War ... because it has never ended.”

“Even if we do not always agree on every aspect, nobody should take this as an excuse to declare us as enemies.”

“There used to be the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. There used to be Soviet troops in the German Democratic Republic. And we must honestly admit that they were occupation troops, which remained in Germany after WWII under the guise of allied troops. Now these occupation troops are gone, the Soviet Union has collapsed, and the Warsaw Pact is no more. There is no Soviet threat, but U.S. troops are still in Europe. Why ?”

"Whoever does not miss the Soviet Union has no heart. Whoever wants it back has no brain."

READING RECOMMENDATIONS :

- Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra: The Fall of the Romanov Dynasty* (2007)
- Pierre Gilliard, *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court : A Personal Recollection of the Last Years of Tsar Nicholas II* [by the French tutor to the daughters of Nicholas II] (2016)
- Greg King, *The Court of the Last Tsar: Pomp, Power and Pageantry in the Reign of Nicholas II* (2006)
[sumptuous “coffee table book”]
- Helen Rappaport, *The Last Days of the Romanovs : Tragedy at Ekaterinburg* (2010)
and *The Romanov Sisters : The Lost Lives of the Daughters of Nicholas and Alexandra* (2015)
- Orlando Figes, *A People’s Tragedy : The Russian Revolution 1891 - 1924* (1998)
- Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands : Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (2012)
- Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Stalin : The Court of the Red Tsar* (2005)
- Rosemary Sullivan, *Stalin’s Daughter : The Extraordinary and Tumultuous Life of Svetlana* (2016)
- Anne Applebaum, *Gulag : A History* (2004)
- Serhii Plokhy, *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union* (2015)
- Anne Garrels, *Putin Country: A Journey into the Real Russia* (2000)
- Vladimir Putin, Nataliya Gevorkyan, *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia’s President* (2000)
- Dmitri Trenin (Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center), *Should We Fear Russia ?* (2016)
- Paul Bushkovitch, *A Concise History of Russia* (2012)
- Suzanne Massie, *Land of the Firebird: The Beauty of Old Russia* (1980)
“This beautifully written book on pre-revolution Russia opens one's eyes to the richness, exuberance, creativity and color of the Russian culture ... Her descriptions cover every aspect of old Russian life from the serfs to the Czars. An especially interesting section is on Pushkin, Gogol and their contemporaries.”
- Orlando Figes, *Natasha’s Dance : A Cultural History of Russia* (2003)
“Figes .. creates a window into the nation's soul”
- Historical **fiction**: Amor Towles, *A Gentleman in Moscow* (2016)
- On a lighter note:
Alexander Afanasyev *Russian Fairy Tales* (2013), with illustrations by Ivan Bilibin

If you have questions or suggestions, please contact me at nhohmann@sfc.edu