

# MODERN HISTORY: *RUSSIA*

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## Bolshevik consolidation of Power

### Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution 1917

The Lead up:

- In the second half of the 19th century, people were calling for reform, to overthrow the Tsar. Liberals pushed for a parliamentary democracy while 'populists' wanted to lead a peasant revolution and regional self-government
- At the turn of the century Marxist debate were strong and activities increased (Bloody Sunday-1905) leading to a government crackdown.
- Impacts of 1st World War on Russia:
  - Trade interrupted
  - Poor harvest and outbreak of famine. Peasants hoarded produce, city food supplies dwindled.
  - Refugees and deserters (people dropping their guns and walking away, some cases of soldiers killing their commanders)
  - Conditions on Eastern Front were terrible- no boots, food or ammunition. People wanted an end to the war.
  - Factory conditions and labour disputes worsened resulting in mass exile and jailing.
- Tsar Nicholas takes command of the front while there is instability at home (Rasputin and Alexandra)
- Strikes for more wages, food and out of the war.
- 2 March 1917 the Tsar abdicates and Provisional govt is put in place
- The provisional government decided to continue the war (this is where they lost their support)
- Kerensky PM in July
- Lenin 'Peace, Bread, Land' and 'Power to the Soviets' (refer to half yearly notes for events of the revolution)
- Why did the Bolsheviks succeed?
- Organisation:
  - Well-trained armed units targeted key sites.
  - Control of the Petrograd Soviet and hence the capital.
- Lack of effective opponents:
  - Kerensky's government was divided, no popular program of reform.
  - Defeated army did not challenge the coup.

- Popularity and credibility:
  - Kerensky continued the war and ignored demands to redistribute land. Lenin called for 'Peace, Bread, and Land.'
  - Lenin had the sympathy and respect of soldiers, sailors, urban workers and rural peasants.

### **Communist (Bolshevik) Ideology at the time of revolution**

- Lenin's plan:
  - The Party would become dedicated, professional revolutionaries; providing the proletariat with an elite command structure to organise revolution and establish an interim dictatorship
  - In Russia peasants would be major players in the revolution but once in power the dictatorship would impose industrialisation. Technology and a population dominated by workers would end poverty and class distinctions.
  - This was later seen as Marxist-Leninism
- Lenin's April Thesis:
  - Overthrow the Provisional Government
  - Do not cooperate with other political parties
  - Use Bolshevik-dominated Soviets as the basis for proletarian government
  - End the war. Lenin believed that the military threat would disappear as revolution spread through Europe (supported by Trotsky in his ideas of permanent revolution)
  - Nationalise the banks and land
  - Create a Communist state by abolishing private property
  - In 1917 Lenin advocated the Soviets as a higher type of democracy, without police, bureaucracy or a standing army.
  - Lenin noted that the success of any communist state is based on service, responsibility, discipline and obedience. All citizens in a communist state must willingly place themselves below the needs of the government
  - The new RSFSR was a blend of Marxist ideals, communist theories and Lenin's determination.
  - The new government created a rigid, inflexible system that demanded loyalty and dismissed the personal wants and desires of its citizens. It became an authoritarian regime in which coercion and manipulation was used by Lenin to achieve his goals. This was not Marx's concept of communism, it was 'Leninism'.

## Social and Political reforms of the Bolsheviks

- Lenin's Decree on Land was popular with the peasants: each could claim as much land as he alone would cultivate. Hiring labour was forbidden. Russia's estates were divided into 25 million small holdings.
- All workers and peasant over 18 could vote, irrespective of their race or wealth On 11 March 1918 Lenin moved the government to Moscow.
- Gregorian calendar was adopted.
- Not being able to cope with the chaos (opposition) that followed the coup, one of Lenin's first reforms was the establishment of a political police force, the Cheka. They were brutal and violent.

## Women

- Women were given the same status as men to own property and sign documents.
- Marx- 'gender equality was a major goal of any socialist system.'
- All discrimination against women was made illegal
- 1919- Zhenotdel, Women's department of the Russian Communist Party, was established by feminist Alexandra Kollontai.
- 1918- Women were included in 9 hour working day and 45 hour week with basic wage and marriage code declared women equal to their husbands.
- 1919- abortion was legalised and divorce was made easier to obtain.
- 1926- marriage law introduced concept of alimony, stating for the first time a father's responsibility towards his children.
- However, 'they stopped short of abolishing traditional women's roles and eliminating traditional discrimination. Thus women... could not function as men's full equal in Soviet society.' (Raleigh)

## Religion

- To raise revenue and destroy religion the state seized the lands and institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church in February 1918. In desperation, the church urged its many adherents among the peasants, middle class and military to rebel against the Bolsheviks.
- Marx- 'Religion is the opium of the masses. Religion and politics can never coexist.'
- The church was seen as a competing ideology as it had a means of controlling the people.
- Fight against religion began with the 'Decree on Freedom of Conscience, Church and Religious Organisations' or 1918 that stated the Russian Orthodox church was no longer the state religion.

- All priests and church leaders were considered enemies of the party; they lost their right to vote and many were arrested.
- All religious demonstrations and teachings were banned and church owned land was confiscated and buildings were destroyed.
- Anti-religion propaganda campaign was waged through a government-supported group, 'The league of the Militant Godless' who held public forums on why God doesn't exist and established an atheistic newspaper.
- Weddings were done in front of a portrait of Lenin not a priest.
- 1922 Anti-church campaign ordered a seizure of all valuable church items and in retaliation over 8000 people were executed or imprisoned as they fought armed soldiers.
- Underground services
- Mid 1920s survey showed half the peasantry stated they were still practicing Christians.

### **Education:**

- Decrees on education aimed to end illiteracy, but little progress was made until the 1930s.
- There were 'utopia plans to educate all children in a collective spirit as the basis for socialist order.' (Raleigh)
- 1918 under the order of Antalii Lunacharskii, Commissar for Education, all school curricula was changes to reflect socialist values.
- Lenin- "The entire purpose of training, educating and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics."
- Sciences were encouraged and all teaching materials came under state censorship.
- Before the revolution more than 70% of the population was illiterate and so in 1919, a number of literacy courses for all citizens between 8 and 50 were put in place by the 'liquidation of illiteracy' decree.
- Schools were run by committees of teachers and by 1921 there were four years of free primary education in the country and 7 in the cities.
- However the system failed as the majority of teachers did not understand or support the new teaching methods with only 5.5% of secondary teachers in 1919 in support of the communist party.

### **Health:**

- Bolsheviks aimed to bring medical services under government control and made available to all the people.
- Factory-like hospitals and clinics were established and due to the elimination of payment for health services, all medical care relied on the organisation of state economy.

- Medical employees were placed on low wage and expected to deal with unrealistic patient quotas.
- Equipment and medicine were scarce, hospitals crowded and conditions unsanitary.
- Medical black market was formed- what was supposed to be 'free' was bought with status and bribery.
- Some improvements- decrease in infant mortality rate with 275 per 1000 in 1913 to 186 per 1000 in 1927.

#### **Economic:**

- Foreign trade nationalised, banks nationalised, foreign debts repudiated.
- Decree on land: peasant land seizures confirmed, agricultural implements placed under state monopoly.
- Factories and railways under worker control; working hours set to 8hrs/day, 48 hrs/week; social insurance applied to all workers.
- Economy placed under Supreme Council of National Economy (Vesenkha)
- Large scale enterprises

#### **Legal:**

- Racial, religious, and gender discrimination, titles and class distinction abolished.
- Court system replaced by revolutionary tribunals

#### **Military and international relations:**

- Army democratised: abolition of ranks, saluting, decorations; Red Army created by decree, 15 Jan 1918

#### **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk:**

- Signed on 3 March 1918
- Article 1- 'The state of war between Russia and the Central Powers has ceased.'
- Article 2- 'All forms of propaganda between Russia and the Central Powers will cease.'
- Article 5- 'Russia will demobilise its army and navy.'
- Article 6- 'Russia will renounce all claims of Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Belarus and all contested territories bordering the Ottoman Empire.'
- This resulted in Russia losing more than 50% of its industries, 75% of agricultural farmlands, 33% of its population (60 million people)

## Consequences:

- Russia's hatred of Germany intensified.
- Many Bolsheviks criticised Lenin's compliance with Germany's demands and left the party. Ethnic nationalism intensified (eg. Ukrainians demanded independence. Prepared to fight Germany and the Red Army)
- Russia's allies (Triple Entente- Britain and France) were outraged.
- Germany withdrew from the war and renounced the treaty (it had lasted 8 months)
- Versailles Peace Conference (1919) gave Poland and Finland independence.
- '...it was impossible to forget the terrible losses inflicted on Russia in the war and at Brest Litovsk' (Bradley)

## Civil War

- Many citizens of the Empire rejected the Bolshevik coup and its radical reforms. The Allies supported their attempts to reconquer Russia during 1918-20, sparking a reign of terror and creating a lasting suspicion of the West.

(see Half yearly notes for details on Civil War and the Red/white armies)

## War Communism

- Introduced June 1918
- Decree on the Nationalism of Large-scale Industries' 28 June 1918:
- All industry was nationalised
- Private sales were forbidden as personal profits became illegal
- Strict working rules were put in place
- Industrial strikes were forbidden
- National service- physical labour on government projects
- Wages were reduced
- Ruble became worthless
- Class based rationing system was introduced.
- David Christian described that one of the 2 pressures that lead to war communism was 'the need to fight the civil war'. In this way it was successful as it 'did the job of supplying towns and armies with just enough food and supplies to keep providing was material and to keep fighting. In this was it was successful.' (Christian)
- Second goal was 'to build a socialist society.' (Christian)

- Lead to an increase in violence and theft as the nation was overcome by starvation.
- 'The outcome was the disastrous famine of 1921, rendered worse by the general drought which immediately preceded it... there was almost total failure of crop... Some five million are estimated to have died from starvation.' (Greenwood)
- Peasant refusal to cooperate with the rationing system brought the Cheka to extreme violence at which uncooperative villages were destroyed, peasants were executed and grain was confiscated.
- The system began to turn peasants against each other as they were told that if they took part in the confiscation of goods they could keep a percentage. This led to peasants stealing off each other, destroying the fabric of society.
- Malnutrition and infectious disease reached unprecedented levels.
- By 1922 nearly 5 million Russians had died from starvation.
- Between 1917-1921 the production of coal, oil, timber and steel decreases 40-50%. This was because of manpower shortages as thousands were being conscripted and because the White Army destroyed many of the railway lines. (also meant food supplies could not be transported)
- International trade came to a halt due to Britain, France, US and Japan creating naval blockades.
- Sanitation was non-existent

## NEP

- Due to the failure of War Communism, the NEP was introduced, causing large political conflict as although it was successful in dealing with the problems, it was a step back from the Bolsheviks' ideologies and goals.
- Social unrest, protests and demonstrations against the policies of War Communism had reached new heights.
- Tambov uprising :
  - 1920-21 farmers and workers in Tambov Oblast staged public demonstrations
  - Created an illegal political organisation called the Union of Toiling Peasants.
  - Called for economic reforms, cancellation of War Communism, reduction in the powers of the Cheka.
- Lenin reacted with violence and in 1921 more than 20 000 Red Army soldiers, armed with mustard gas and artillery, swept through the province, hundreds were killed and thousands arrested and sent to the gulags.
- Kronstadt Naval Base uprising:
  - February 1921

- Crew on battleship Petropavlovsk complied 12 demands including the release of political prisoners, amendments to the 1918 constitution and the cancellation of War Communism and was sent to the Communist Party in Moscow. (Kronstadt Revolutionary Resolution)
- 17 March the Red Army was ordered to advance on Kronstadt, resulting in more than 4000 military personnel killed and an equal number soon executed.
- Lenin tried to hide the failure of War Communism by saying it was, 'we were forced to resort to War Communism. It was a temporary measure.' (The Tax in Kind- April in Prudava)
- Lenin also says 'Can the Soviet State and the dictatorship of the proletariat be combined and united with capitalism? Of course they can!' Totally compromising Lenin's previous written works and public statements that capitalism is the enemy.
- The NEP was based on state controlled capitalism. All national industries, natural resources and land were still under government control, the Communist Party ruled alone, state security increased and conscription continued. However these things (many aspects of capitalism) were employed:
  - Farmers were provided with quotas and once these were met, farmers were free to produce excess grain that could be sold for personal profit.
  - Small factories and local industries were released from government control and encouraged to pursue their own profits.
  - Retail trade developed. This was controlled by Nepmen- merchants and managers who acted as intermediaries between the people and local industries and farmers. By 1922, Nepmen controlled approx. 75% of Russia's retail trade.
  - Taxation laws were reformed.
  - A new currency was introduced
  - Compulsory labour was cancelled.
  - It slightly improved the quality of life for most Russians with their greatest achievement in the increase of food production, reducing starvation.
  - Improved Lenin's image in the countryside.
  - Scissors crisis (1923):
    - Agricultural recovered more rapidly than industry, so industrial production could not satisfy the growing peasant demand.
    - Industrial prices rose and agricultural prices declined
    - Instead of selling grain in return for overpriced and scarce industrial goods, the peasants stopped marketing grain.
    - Trade between town and country began to break down, which threatened the very foundations of the NEP.



- By 1926 and 1927 the NEP was generating insufficient funds to sustain industrial growth once post-war recovery was complete.
- The government then increased taxes on private trade and lowered the price the government paid for purchases of grain surplus.
- This led to the procurements crisis of December 1927 which showed that if the government taxed the peasantry too hard, it would destroy trade between town and country.

## **Stalin's rise to Power**

### **Power struggle between Trotsky and Stalin & immediate aftermath**

- In Lenin's last will and testament he made comment about several leading figures in the party. He expressed his growing distaste for Stalin and if the will had been published, Stalin's political future would have been in doubt.

#### **Trotsky:**

- Seemed likely to follow Lenin
- Charismatic, intelligent, admired by Lenin
- Largely responsible for Red victory in the civil war
- Disliked by many in the party for his arrogance.
- He was admired but also envied, distrusted and hated by many because of his arrogance and his contemptuous attitude to those whom he deemed to be his intellectual inferiors.
- Had the loyalty of the Red Army and could have wiped out Stalin but he never saw him as a real threat.

#### **Stalin**

- Seemed least likely to assume leadership.
- Silent and aloof, lacking charisma
- Not liked by Lenin
- Built a powerful power base in the party bureaucracy.
- Responsible for getting many of the party members their jobs.
- 'Two years after the Civil War, Russian society already lived under Stalin's virtual rule without being aware of the ruler's name.'
- Commissar for Nationalities
- Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants Inspectorate
- A member of the ruling Politburo (political arm of the party)

- General Secretary of the Communist Party.
- They were not high jobs but he had influence in many areas and could essentially fire anyone who suspected him (not that anyone did)
- Totally underestimated, fear feared or suspected him of having any aspirations for leadership.

### Timeline of the power struggle:

- 1922: Stalin is appointed General Secretary of the Communist Party
- 1923: Stalin had accumulated an enormous amount of bureaucratic power in his hands.
- 24 January 1924: Death of Lenin
- Stalin tricks Lenin into missing Lenin's funeral (gave him the wrong date as Trotsky was ill and out of state). This damaged Trotsky's reputation and Stalin is seen as chief griever and Lenin's loyal disciple (pall bearer)
- May 1924: Stalin survives the reading of Lenin's testament (Trotsky suppresses it due to Lenin's few words against himself)
- 1924: Triumvirate (Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin) succeed in defeating Trotsky at the 13th Part Congress when Trotsky raised objections to the growing centralisation and bureaucratisation of the party. This left Trotsky isolated.

Zinoviev and Kamenev bring up Trotsky's pre-1917 disagreements with Lenin to show he was 'never a true Bolshevik'. Trotsky replied with 'lessons of October' in which he highlighted Zinoviev and Kamenev's opposition of Lenin over the decision to seize power. Stalin sits back and watches them fight it out.

- 1925: Trotsky loses his position as Commissar for War
- Stalin forms an alliance with 'the right' (Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky) who supposed the continuation of NEP and gradual industrial development.

Opposes left (Zinoviev and Kamenev- try to team up with Trotsky who refuses) who pick up Trotsky's ideas for rapid industrialisation.

Stalin Proposes 'Socialism in one country'.

Zinoviev and Kamenev lose every vote at the 14th Party Congress.

- 1927: Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky accused of forming a 'United Opposition' and appealing to the masses. Their crime is 'factionism' (creating small groups within the party)

They are expelled from the party.

- 1927-1928: Country facing major economic crisis.

Food shortages are appearing as the NEP had 'run out of steam' (much as Trotsky had predicted)

- Stalin now turns on the his right allies and called for rapid industrialisation and a hard line against the peasants. (Trotsky had originally said this and been ridiculed by Stalin because of it).
- 1929: Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky are forced out of the Politburo after Party Congress.
- End 1929: Stalin had succeeded in becoming the undisputed leader of the Soviet Union, having defeated rivals on left and right.

Trotsky had been expelled from the country.

Stalin pushes for collectivisation and industrialisation in a series of five year plans.

- Stalin was now in control with all party jobs filled with his supporters.

## Reasons for the triumph of Stalin

### Stalin's control of the Party Machine

- Stalin recognised that in order to control the party, one did not have to be its leading light to whom all looked up with admiration and for guidance.
- Stalin knew that whatever decision was made in the Politburo would have to be implemented by the party machine (bureaucracy)
- As Nationalities Commissar, Stalin used his position to build up contacts in the border areas and in the far flung party organisations.
- 'His attitude was just that mixture of patience, patriarchal firmness, and slyness' (Deutscher)
- Commissar of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate- trained people, had the ability to fire or hire people, supervised the personnel and workings of the entire government.
- His role in the Politburo was the day to day management (no one wanted to do it), je directed party workers to wherever they were needed (or he wanted them) and was the only link between the Politburo and the Orgbureau.
- 'Like none of his colleagues, he was immersed in the party's daily drudgery and in all its kitchen cabals.' (Deutscher)
- General Secretary (seen as a dull job) in 1922 meant he was responsible for promotions, demotions and appointments. By mid-1920s thousands owed their positions to Stalin.

### Surviving Lenin's will

- 'Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands... I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from the position...' (Lenin's testament)
- Zinoviev argued that Lenin's fears had proven to be false and party members were able to work harmoniously with Stalin. The will was not read.

## **Development and abuse of the cult of Lenin**

- Raised up Lenin to an almost divine status, his image appeared everywhere and often quoted.
- In order to justify a policy or decision Stalin would find a way to quote Lenin in his argument for it and any opposition was then impossible.
- Lenin's words were coming to have the same authority as that of the Bible to a Christian.
- He made himself appear as completely loyal to Lenin, his disciple (while Trotsky presented himself as an equal).

## **Stalin and Trotsky: Contrast**

- Nobody suspected Stalin of ambition and nobody feared giving him additional responsibilities and additional powers.
- He saw Trotsky as capable of becoming a military dictatorship (a reflection of Napoleon Bonaparte after the French Revolution) and therefore feared him.
- Stalin always made time for people, keeping his views to himself and listened to others, gaining trust and respect.
- Trotsky lacked patience and found it difficult to deal with intellectual inferiors.

## **Luck, opportunism and how to play the game**

- Lenin's illness and Premature death was a great benefit.
- Trotsky's absence from Moscow during Lenin's death.
- Zinoviev's speech to not read Lenin's will.
- He used his position to place people who supported him in the Congress.
- The ban of factions meant Stalin's opponents were not allowed to campaign against his policies.
- Skilful at forming and reforming political alliances.
- Devious and immoral in when it came to pursuing policy (Devoid of principle and concerned only with his power, stood for whatever would benefit him in his climb to power)

## **Stalin's understanding of the mood of the country**

- He understood the people of Russia wanted a rest from the strains of war and revolution.
- He supported the NEP because it offered calm.
- He realised that there was still a strong nationalist feeling within the country that he could tap into.
- 'Socialism in One Country' told the people they could do it on their own! And his introduction of plans for massive and rapid industrialisation stirred millions by this great patriotic adventure in which Russian would catch up to the West in a decade.

## The Soviet State under Stalin

- Stalin was ‘...a demi-god, who with a few words could send millions of people from one end of a country to another.’ (Khrushchev)

## Industrialisation

- ‘We are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries of the West, We must make up this gap in two years.’ (Stalin)
- ‘The whole of Russia was hurled into a gigantic struggle to...transform Russia from a backward agricultural into an advanced industrial country’ (Volkogonov)
- Gosplan, Gosbank and the Gosstnab established which factories would produce what and a schedule of production targets for each factory, as well as both wholesale and retail prices of the goods.
- 1: October 1928-1933: Class A industry = coal, iron, steel, electricity = railways, ships, factories.

1929- 7 day week

Dec 1932- internal passports

- 2: Late 1933-1938: Class B industry = consumer goods as incentives to work harder
- ‘it was a time of unprecedented enthusiasm, achievement and huge effort by the workers.. mostly sustained by only barest necessities of life [believing] that they were genuinely creating a communist future.’ (Volkogonov)
- 3: late 1933 (interrupted by need to prepare for war and never met its targets)
- 4: 1946-1950
- ‘Industrialisation requires three main elements to be in synchronicity: capital, raw materials and labour.’ (Cantwell and Brady)
- Forced collectivisation acquired every last grain of food to export to the West and acquire overseas revenues which was used to purchase technology and technicians. This fixed the issue of capital.

- Raw materials- oil rich region in the South

Natural gas deposits, salt, potash and petroleum in central western USSR

Huge coal fields near Moscow

Iron Ore from regions in Ukraine

## Collectivisation

- ‘Farming in the USSR was primitive, ineffective and on too small a scale to produce more than enough for subsistence farming.’ (Cantwell and Brady)

- June 1928-June 1929

The number of collectives rose from 33 000 to 57 000, containing one million households, Only 20% of all farms were to be collectivised as state farms (sovkhoz)

85% were to be cooperatives (kolkhoz). Stalin provided incentives to join these by promising Machine Tractor Stations where special equipment could be hired, and there would be communal hospitals, schools and clinics. (peasants resisted)

- By March 1930 55% had been collectivised yet it was not enough for Stalin. He turned on the kulaks, as capitalist farmers, where 'preventing the USSR's further progress towards democratic socialism. This led to dekulakisation- liquidating the kulaks as a class.
- Initially 'kulaks' were stripped of possessions and left with no means of support. For some, alternative land in Siberia was offered, while some were put onto a train and sent east.
- January 1930- kulaks were denied access to kolkhoz, denying them opportunity to re-establish themselves.
- Grain produce fell and peasants were killing their stock rather than getting it confiscated so animal produce reduced.

- 1928-1933

Horses: 33mil → 15 mil

Cattle: 70 mil → 34 mil

Pigs: 26 mil → 9 mil

Sheep and goats: 146 mil → 42 mil

- By 1933 approx. 25-33 million people were subject to famine and more than 50 000 had been sentenced to death for trying to take food.
- Machinery in farms meant lesser need for farmers = move to the cities.
- Beaten into submission and lived in fear and confusion.
- Peasants were forced to surrender and through the Sovkhoz and the kolkhoz Stalin was able to force the creation of large-scale farming enterprises which eventually produced enough food to feed the cities and thus increase industry.

### Terror

- Confession of political leaders to crimes they had not committed
- Families held hostage
- 1933- 20% party members expelled
- Sent to camps or executed
- NKVD- Yezhov (bloodthirsty dwarf) included to sadistic pleasures.
- NKVD officers were given quotas to fill for arrests and a fixed percentage of those arrested were executed and a fixed percent given 10 years or more.

- When arrested people gave the names of others simply to reduce torturing.
- People gave names of people they had something against or to prove their own loyalty to Stalin.
- Intellectuals
- Everyone was struck by fear and no one trusted anyone- it ruined the fabric of society.
- 1939- 8% of party members had been members in 1920
- Most members were young people who only knew Stalin as leader

### **Society**

- Stalin and the state one and the same
- He became a god
- All art, music etc. was aimed to make him a hero and he had to approve it
- Stakhanovites – promoted hard work
- Education curricula, books, history all changed to reflect Stalin as the hero of the revolution and as a god. All removal of Trotsky.
- Fear from the terror ruined the fabric of society as people turned on each other.

### **Foreign Policy**

- Permanent Revolution/ Comintern = ideological (Trotsky)
- Socialism in one country (1925) = ideological for Russia but it did not follow Marx ideas that revolution should be worldwide. (Stalin)
- 'Russia had little international recognition and remained isolated. Its isolation was a result of Lenin's foreign policies which many countries regarded as suspicious, ambiguous and inconsistent.' (Cantwell and Brady)
- 1919 Exclusion at Versailles Peace Conference
- 1922 Treaty of Rapallo (Signing with a capitalist nation- against ideology, move to practicality)
- 1926 Treaty of Berlin
- Russia failed to support Social democratic party as Hitler and fascism rose (Stalin's close of Comintern that turned away from Permanent revolution)
- 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact
- 1933 Recognition by the US
- 1934 Russia joined the League of Nations (even after Stalin called it a 'Capitalist club')

- Britain and France failed to support Republicans in Spanish civil war, lead Russia to see them as insincere and caused them to back out, leading them to...
- 1939 August Nazi-Soviet Nazi Aggression Pact