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Becoming One with the Revolution: A Scholarly Analysis of the Everyday Life of Soviet Citizens

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Becoming One with the Revolution:

A Scholarly Analysis of the Everyday Life of Soviet Citizens

Genesis Medina

May 2023

A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for

the Master of Arts in Teaching Degree, MAT Program, Bard College

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Section I - Synthesis Essay

In order to understand what led to the beginning of the Russian Revolution, it is important to highlight the global event of the Industrial Revolution. Beginning in the 1750s in Great Britain, it continued its spread to the northeastern United States in the late 18th century, and then in the early 19th century, made its way to western Europe. The Industrial revolution fueled the economic development of countries like the United States, and countries in the European continent such as Great Britain. This became a global phenomenon that moved the focus of the economy from agriculture and handicraft, which was focused mainly in rural areas, to an industrial economy in urbanized areas. Industrialization contributed to the rise of democracy due to its allowance of the economic freedom to buy property and pursue an occupation of one's own choosing. An example of this is the influence the industrial revolution had in the French Revolution. According to the "Steam democracy up! Industrialization-led opposition in Napoleonic plebiscites" journal, industrialization in France led to political transformation.[1] The industrial revolution made it transparent that countries' economies need human capital–meaning human combined experiences and skills to produce goods that would contribute to the nation's wealth. Such "political transformations" needed to prioritize workers, even if it came at the cost of political changes. The Industrial Revolution promised to not only improve the quality of life for people, but also to change it drastically. An example of this would be the growth of cities due to the urbanization process.

As the industrial revolution spread in several areas of the world, at the end of the 19th century, Russia had also started to be influenced by the industrial revolution. Sergei Witte, who

[1] Jean Lacroix, "Steam democracy up! Industrialization-led opposition in Napoleonic plebiscites", *European Review of Economic History*, Volume 22, Issue 2, (May 2018):135, https://doi.org/10.1093/ereh/hex021.

underwent many titles under imperial Russia, was Tsar's Nichola II's advisor. Witte was partly responsible for motivating Russia's economy to move from agrarian production to industrial. He started Russia's industrialization process by borrowing money from other countries to start industries. St. Petersburg, as well as other cities like Moscow and Kiev, were some of the first places to witness the spectacle of the industrial revolution in Russia.[2] Despite the success of establishing industries in Russia, the majority of the Russian people were working as peasants, were impoverished, and were starving under the Tsar Nicholas II, who ruled from 1894 to 1917. Peasants who had moved from the countryside into these cities found themselves living under unhygienic circumstances. The quality of life of the people was not being satisfied and the empire was far from being modernized–let alone from being a democracy.

The Russian Revolution was in fact not a single event, but rather, came in waves. The majority of revolutions in Russia led to different political leaders taking control of the government and making drastic changes to the Russians' way of life. In the 1905 revolution known as "Bloody Sunday", Russian workers and their families approached the Tsar's palace and protested peacefully to Tsar Nicholas II so that their personal freedom and their working conditions could improve. However, this earlier revolution is not extensively discussed by historians, since the revolution was unsuccessful and ultimately two hundred Russian citizens died. The most commonly studied revolutions by historians tend to be the revolutions that were successful–typically the ones that occurred after 1905. For example, the second revolutionary movement started with the replacement of Tsar Nicholas II with the Duma in 1917, which established a parliamentary democracy. The Duma was led by socialist Alexander Kerensky, but within six months, it was overthrown by the Bolsheviks. This was an event which became known

[2] "Russian Industrialisation", Alpha History, accessed May 8, 2023, https://alphahistory.com/russianrevolution/russian-industrialisation/.

historically as the “The October Revolution.” The revolutionaries then placed Vladimir Lenin in charge to establish a communist dictatorship. The third revolutionary movement brought the Bolsheviks into power in 1918. The fourth revolutionary movement started when Lenin died in 1924, and soon after that, Joseph Stalin and Trosky competed for the ascendancy of the Soviet Union–to which Stalin took control in 1929 and started the project of the New Man and the Utopian communist world. Behind the political actors that helped carry out such revolutions, the stories and actions of the ordinary people were also present.

This paper will discuss how scholars of the Stalinist phase of Soviet history have written about the lives of Soviet citizens under Stalin. There is much debate among historians about the quality of life for Soviet citizens after Stalin gained control in 1929. Such debates among these scholars include whether private accounts that narrate Soviet doubts towards Stalin’s regime are a better approach to speak of the Soviet self, or whether non-private facts of everyday life, like food shortages and Soviet culture transformation, are better ways to speak of Soviet lives. This essay considers the work of six scholars. Depending on the year of publication, these monographs use interchangeable language to write about the Soviet man. The six monographs are similar to one another because they compare the pre-revolutionary with the revolutionary Russian Man. There are plenty of common historical events mentioned by all these scholars–one of which being the New Economic policy that was started under Lenin’s regime from 1921-1928. The NEP (New Economic Policy) introduced intermixed capitalist and communist economies, allowing peasants to be able to sell their crops to the government so that the government could then sell it to the rest of the population. Another is the five-year plan introduced under Stalin from 1928-1932, which aimed to create rapid agriculture to move Soviet workers to industries and industrialize the country as fast as possible. Next is collectivization, which happened as a

result of the five-year plan, between 1929-1933, and made peasant workers give up their farms to the government so the government could collectivize them. Due to food distribution happening mostly in the cities rather than farm areas, agricultural areas were experiencing famines. Lastly, one of the major historical events that all of my chosen monographs discuss is the Great Purge in 1934, in which Stalin sent the NKVD–the secret police–to eliminate and investigate any individuals who opposed or were in doubt of Stalin's regime.

All six scholars' works under consideration in this paper were published across several decades, spanning from 1944 to 2006. The first two monographs are from contemporary writers such as Jochen Hellbeck, author of *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin,* published in 2006 and Igal Halfin who published *Terror in My Soul* in 2003. Both of these monographs put an emphasis on Soviet's inner thoughts by interpreting and analyzing the diaries of individuals who lived throughout Stalin's control of Russia. After having researched Hellbeck's and Halfin's monographs, I found myself curious to know what historians were writing during Stalin's control of Russia. Therefore, while walking through the Stevenson Library at Bard College, I found a monograph by David J Dallin, titled *The Real Soviet Russia,* which was published in 1944. Dallin struck me for having personal connections to Russia. He was born during the Russian Empire and then went into exile to Germany and finally settled in the United States. While reading Hellbeck's and Halfin's monographs, it became apparent that Katerina Clark's work was influential to their work. *Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution,* published in 1998 by Katerina Clark, became the fourth monograph to be researched. An honorable mention in Hellbeck's monograph was Sheila Fitzpatrick, writer of *Everyday Stalinism* published in 2000, which became my fifth monograph.[3] Towards the end of my research,

[3] Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism:Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.)

Fitzpatrick's work, particularly engaging with Soviet inner home culture under Stalin, seemed to highlight more intimate domestic practices in Soviet homes. Her historiographical approach of "Alltagsgeschichte" ("history of everyday life"), was closely engaging with the Soviets' lives. My sixth monograph, *In the Shadow of Revolution* (2000), also by Sheila Fitzpatrick, co-written with Yuri Slezkine, focuses on the role of Soviet women in the revolution.

As previously said, David J Dallin, writer of *The Real Soviet Russia,* was a Belarusian-American, born under the Russian empire in 1889. He was imprisoned in the early 1900's for anti-tsarist activity. In 1917, he joined the Menshevik faction, which, just like the Bolshevik faction, was part of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party. The aim for both of these factions was to overthrow the Tsarist government and establish the communist state. Although these factions represented the Social-Democratic Workers' Political party, the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks had different opinions on Russia's transition to communism. The Mensheviks, like Dallin, believed in a gradual change for Russia from autocracy to communism. Mensheviks believed that there had to be capitalism first, then socialism. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks wanted immediate change from Tsarism to Communism.[4] During 1918, Dallin joined the Mensheviks party committee, and by 1922, Dallin was persecuted by the Bolsheviks just like many other Mensheviks had been at the time. He took exile in Germany, where he got his doctorate in economics, and then went into exile in Poland, then later in the United States due to Europe's instability during World War II.[5] Dallin wrote the monograph, *The Real Soviet Russia*, while he was living in the United States. This monograph was published far earlier than the rest of monographs under consideration in this essay.[6] It's of major significance that this book came

[4] Giulia Squadrin,"Difference Between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks", accessed May 8, 2023, Difference Between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks

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[5] "David J. Dallin Papers" (PDF). New York Public Library. Retrieved 3 August 2012.

[6] David J. Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia* (Yale University Press, 1944.)

out in 1944, during WWII, before the war had ended. The USSR at the time was actually a United States ally against Nazi Germany. In a way, Dallin's monograph is the only one that brings the USA into discussion with the USSR. By Dallin putting these two nations in conversation, he illustrates tensions between the USA and Russia in the Cold War.

Dallin criticizes newspaper journalists of his time–particularly Americans – whom he accuses of writing misinformation. In his preface, Dallin compares the way foreigners have written about Russia to the way foreigners wrote about the discovery of the Americas.[7] An example of this is when Dallin states, "another writer, the editor of a New York newspaper, discovers that 'the Russians rarely say 'da' –yes; they say mostly 'da-da-da.' "[8] Dallin does not directly footnote or refer to this newspaper in his monograph, but he makes the point that outside narrators are ignorant and know little of Russia's culture. Here, Dallin points out that outsiders are ridiculing and stereotyping Russians. Dallin seems to believe that part of the "misinformation" that outsiders were generating has to do with the fact that Russia's reality at the time was far from the reality of many places in the world. This, therefore, pushed outsiders to make inferences and entertain and generate misformation to the public. He states that, "for this reason we confine ourselves to literature and authors that seek to explain, not to advertise."[9] Dallin believes that newspapers deceived people of the "real" Soviet reality. He believes that people should instead inform themselves on Russian affairs by relying on scholars who are unbiased and rely on date and facts.

Dallin's mission with his monograph is to rewrite a narrative that illustrates truth to Soviet's lives. Dallin's approach to reconstruct the Soviet people's history is by providing facts and data to back up his claims. As a scholar with an economics doctorate, it is transparent that

[7] Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia,*1.
[8] Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia,* 2.
[9] Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia,* 4.

Dallin cares to present his arguments with numbers, charts, and graphs. Even so, I would argue that some of his charts lack credibility due to Dallin's lack of details on where he generated the data he provided.

The Soviet people's history is through the lenses of Classical Social history. Since Dallin's book was written during the second world war, it makes sense for Dallin to find importance in the narratives of soldiers. Classical social history has to do with the second wave of social history, which is concerned with the experiences of soldiers in world war two. He uses economics when he tries to predict what will happen to the Soviet economy after World War II as he narrates about soldiers in the war, as well as when he talks about Labor Camps (the Gulag) being places where money grows for the Soviet Union.[10] He states, "without the armies of forced labor the state economy could not have attained the effectiveness which it had reached at the beginning of the war…The Soviet social-economic system cannot exist without forced labor… "[11] What Dallin seems to be doing here is pushing back the narrative that Russia tries to sell to the world –that Russia is a classless society. By Dallin stating that Soviet society relies on forced labor he tries to shine light to the idea that Russia's communism is flawed.

According to historians Green, and Troup:

> Historical demography, in part based on serial analysis, is the study of population in the past. Historians reconstruct rates of life course events, such as birth, marriage, and death, and from there can examine topics such as family and household structure, migration, social structure, and gender roles. These patterns can then be considered alongside economic data, like price and wage series, immeasurably broadening our historical perspective.[12]

[10] Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia,* 249.
[11] Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia,* 249.
[12] Anna Green & Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 169.

Dallin attempts to reconstruct Russian history by analyzing the economical and political stress that existed within the nation, to later on dive into constructing what the lives of the soviets might have looked like. Dallin provides data in his monograph of the number of employable intellectuals and number of party members during the years 1920-1941.[13] His data is presented below:

Year	*Number of Employable Intellectuals*	*Number of Party Members*
1920	About 2,000,000	612,000
1929	4,600,000	1,532,000
1932	About 8,000,000	Before the purge 3,170,000
1939	9,600,000	3,200,000
1941	10–11,000,000	3,900,000

The increase in percentages over 1920 is as follows:

1920	100	100
1929	230	250
1932	400	518
1939	480	523
1941	500–550	637

Data like this helps Dallin explain in his narrative the growing support, or support becoming involved, within the revolution. Dallin's use of data helps provide understanding of the Soviet community to illustrate the massive support that the Soviet Communist party has received throughout the years.

As previously mentioned, Dallin is concerned about writing that forced labor is important for the Soviet economy. His monograph includes a chapter titled, “Standard of Living,” “The New Upper Classes, II” which discusses the way of life through an economical approach to describe the types of things Soviets could buy, could not buy, and how much they could afford. Dallin states,

> Many of these people have reached their present status after suffering great privation and by ruthlessly overrunning their associates. In the long years of the Soviet regime, many saved their own skins by betraying their closest friends. All of them grew up in an evil, neverracking, dangerous period, when men stopped at nothing in order to survive.[14]

Dallin spends a good amount of time talking about Soviet people through the lenses of

[13] Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia,* 172.
[14] Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia,* 164.

the sacrifice they were experiencing due to the revolution. Although Dallin cares to speak about the economic conditions such as food shortages, he seems to also have an early eye for the history of emotions. Although Dallin's work is around fifty years behind Halfin's and Hellbeck, Dallin's monograph still senses the inner panic of the Soviet people in relation to censorship. What makes the excerpt provided special is that although Dallin orients his language around economics for the majority of his monograph, where he laid out the emotional response to fear of Stalin's regime. The difference between Halfin and Hellbeck would be that Dallin lacks including more memoirs. It is clear that Dallin has personal attachment to this narrative, but I too believe that Dallin contradicts the purpose of his monograph. At the beginning of his monograph he highlighted the importance of facts and unbiasedness, but here I see that he could put more credibility to his narrative by providing excerpts from the original transcripts or memoirs.

Among the studies under consideration in this essay, Dallin is the only one who uses more of a general research approach to history, in which he studies the new social class within the so-called communist society, as well as new means of exploitation–like labor camps, for example. In contrast to how Dallin's monograph is constructed on the basis of Classical Social History, Igal Halfin and Jochen Hellbeck's studies, which came out some fifty years later, use History of emotions and approach it through a more philosophical angle.

Igal Halfin, author of *Terror in My Soul: Communist Autobiographies on Trial*, uses the Russian historical event of the Great Purge, and the Moscow Show Trials of 1937–1938, to show how the "New Man" had molded itself to be a "righteous" Soviet participant of their society through executions and "trials." Historically, the Great Purge was part of Joseph Stalin's campaign to exterminate whoever opposed Stalin's communist party. Those killed included, but were not limited to, old Bolsheviks, Kulaks (wealthy peasants), anti-communists, members of

Stalin's communist party who seemed to not be fully committed to the revolution, and other Soviet citizens who could have been related to family members of those who disagreed with the revolution. Halfin states that he felt limited by relying only on his expertise in the discipline of history in his effort to convey this time period, and thus he went further into other disciplines such as "anthropology, semiotics, and philosophy" to further explore the lives of the Soviets under Communist rule. These alternative disciplines, aside from history, permit him to study the human subject and mind. Key terms in this monograph are "trials," "terror," "soul," and topics of ethics. The phrase "terror" calls back to the historical context of the executions and suicides that the Soviets were undergoing, and the fear of being convicted by Stalin's regime. Meanwhile, the term "soul" points out the morality behind the thoughts of those Soviets. In other words, Halfin uses the aspect of morality to help explain the modification of the identity of the New Man from the old Soviet man.

Jochen Hellbeck, author of *Revolution on My Mind: Writing under Stalin,* has an important discussion about diaries being dangerous to have during the Stalin era. Before the Great Purge, diaries were very common, as Soviets felt the need to document as they lived through the major historical events of the revolutionary era. It was not until the Great Purge started that those diaries began to disappear and be collected by the secret police. As Hellbeck states, "Diaries… became extinct in the post revolutionary climate of terror and distrust." [15] Such diaries spoke for the "I" of the people, and not the collective that the state was trying to construct. Since diaries almost went "extinct" post-Great Purge, no historian with the intention of writing about Soviet lives was able to access them until 1990 –when the Soviet Union collapsed and the archives went from being private to public. This is how historians like Sheila Fitzpatrick,

[15] Jochen Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 3.

Igal Halfin, and Jochen Hellbeck were able to access the accounts that were picked for their monographs.

Hellbeck speaks of Julia Piatniskaya, a soviet citizen whose husband was arrested by the secret police for “terrorist” acts. Julia Piatniskaya started to write in her diary about whether or not her husband was truly guilty of the crimes he was being accused of by the state. Hellbeck states,

> The pages of Piatnitskaya's diary document the struggle between her spontaneous views and the reflective labor she applied to restore her worldview as a committed Communist. The diary served as a tool by which she could release her poisonous thoughts and thereby regain the assured and unified voice of a devoted revolutionary. Her task was to "prove, not for others, but for yourself... that you stand higher than a wife, and higher than a mother. You will prove with this that you are a citizen of the Great Soviet Union. And if you don't have the strength to do this, then to the devil with you."[16]

To some Soviet citizens, these diaries were tools to reconnect with their commitment to the state. For others, it was their secret place to deposit their hidden hatred for the revolution. In this passage, in which he discusses Piatnitskaya's reasons for keeping a diary, Hellbeck was quoting Julia Piatniskaya’s diary and stating that to be part of the revolution was to surrender any feeling of belongingness to family or group in order to prioritize the revolution with full attention. This excerpt demonstrates the importance of separating the individual from any organization or person. What is particularly interesting is that Piatnitsky is “higher than a wife” ; her devotion to the country is of bigger importance and responsibility than anything else. Hellbeck uses this memoir to demonstrate that the individual, no matter the gender, is the revolution itself.

This next section will discuss the two closely related works by Jochen Hellbeck and Igal Halfin, who are on close terms with one another, and happen to be actual friends. In Hellbeck’s monograph, he states in his acknowledgement that Igal Halfin helped shape his thinking while

[16] Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind,* 2.

writing the monograph.[17] Helbeck's *Revolution on My Mind: Writing a Diary under Stalin* (2006) and Halfin's *Terror in my Soul* (2003), are two monographs closely associated by their discussion of the self and their unique approach of looking at memoirs through the discipline of philosophy. They each refer to each others' monographs within them. For example, Halfin refers to Hellbeck's chapter of "Writing the Self in the Time of Terror: Alexander Afinogenov's Diary of 1937" in the book *Self and Story in Russian History.* This furthers Halfin's narrative of The Great Purge being a time in which immoral individuals had to be eliminated, since "so many people had turned out to be different from what we thought them to be."[18] Hellbeck refers to Igal Halfin's *Terror in My Soul* to discuss the act of reading for Soviet citizens as a process of abandoning their old lives and joining the communist party.[19] Aspects of Hellbeck and Halfin's use of ethics and morality can be seen in the titles of their monographs. The period of the 1930's and the Great Purge are of major interest for both Halfin and Hellbeck. In Halfin's monograph title, the key term is "soul", and in Hellbeck's monograph, there is the word "mind." To be moral in Hellbeck's context was to be, "the habitat of a perfect human being, the "'new man,' whom revolutionary actors described as a human machine, an untiring worker, or an unfettered, integrated "personality."[20] These are terms that invoke a sense of personal liberty and a unique sense of self that went against the goals of the marxist state. Hellbeck and Halfin are both using accounts, which, to some extent, questioned the purpose of the revolution. The accounts in diaries and autobiographies are used to develop the historical narrative of the Soviet people inside of the Russian Revolution. Such accounts include one from Stepan Podlubny (Hellbeck), a Ukrainian who joined the Komsomol (communist youth league) in order to become eligible to be

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[17] Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind, 422.*
[18] Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul: Communists Autobiographies on Trial* (Cambridge MA Harvard University Press, 2003), 34.
[19] Halfin, *Terror in My Soul,* 27.
[20] Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind, 5.*

part of the new communist society. Stepan Podlubny's account illustrates his longing and hesitation to integrate his identity with the revolution. At the same time, Podlubny's diary represents his unending journey of feeling one with Stalinism. Another intimate personal account is Hellbeck's analysis of Nina Sergeyevna Lugovskaya's diary. Lugosvskaya was an anti-communist whose diary ended up being discovered by the NKVD (the Soviet secret police) during the Great Purge. Her diary was used as evidence to imprison her for five years of labor in the Gulag (labor camp).[21]

Despite Halfin and Hellbeck's monographs using aspects of morality to underpin their analysis, they are different in the fact that Halfin's monograph is particularly focused on using accounts to discuss morality and how they were tools of evidence to create legal trials during the Great Purge. According to Hellbeck, "their diaries were active tools, deployed to intervene and align them on the axis of revolutionary time" or to make them realize their counter feelings against the revolution.[22] Hellbeck relies on the work of Halfin as an inspiration for his philosophical analysis of memoirs. Without a doubt, the Great Purge seems to be a particular obsession of these historians. The purpose of the Great Purge was to keep loyal Soviet citizens in society, and those who weren't, away from having the possibility of influencing Stalin's devoted society. There is also more emphasis on the trials in Halfin's book in contrast to Hellbeck; Hellbeck uses the accounts to speak of the internal betrayal and resistance that Soviets are experiencing in their minds to illustrate the Soviet struggle of becoming solidified into one with their country. It can be understood that Hellbeck uses more of a "theoretical" approach to write his monograph that is more psychological than Halfin's. It can be agreed, to some extent, that they are both relying on disciplines like psychology and philosophy to write their monographs,

[21] Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind,* 107.
[22] Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind,* 5.

however.

This segment will discuss the historiographical work behind Halfin's and Hellbeck's monographs. In 1990, Hellbeck, like many other scholars, visited Moscow libraries and read privately sourced diaries, both short and long, whose authors ranged from different genders, ages, and social classes.[23] Scholars at the time were taking trips to Russia, since it was the time that the Soviet Union had broken up and all archives were made available–especially diaries under Stalin era. Hellbeck was particularly interested in focusing on diaries whose authors were questioning their identities, and how their identities could "change" through the revolution. Halfin and Hellbeck look at literature when analyzing memoirs. Both Hellbeck and Halfin are using the history of emotions to help explain hesitation of the Soviet people. According to historians Tosh, Green, and Troup, authors of *The House of History*, "emotions are active creators of the historical world with links to political meaning, action, and power."[24] In other words, emotions can be a tool for historians to understand one's self-will against, or for, their government and society. Hellbeck and Halfin, in this case, looked at the linguistics involved in their chosen accounts–language being an element of linguistics helps to categorize emotions of fear, anger., and etc. Hellbeck states,

> These actors do not speak for the whole Soviet society, but the language of self that they share helps explain what life was like under Stalin's rule. Their voices resonate with utopian fervor, they introduce us to a time once fascinating and disturbing, when ordinary people felt compelled to inscribe their lives into the revolution and into world history.[25]

Halfin and Hellbeck's studies were both influenced by that of their predecessor, Katerina Clark. Igal Halfin worked directly with Katerina Clark, author of my third monograph titled,

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[23] Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind,* x.
[24] Green & Troup, *The Houses of History,* 406.
[25] Hellbeck, *Revolution on My Mind,* xi.

Petersburg, Crucible of Cultural Revolution (1998).[26] Clark's writing aided Halfin's understanding that historical accounts do not contradict theoretical minded research.[27] Hellbeck's monograph also referred to Clark's previous monographs. Halfin, Hellbeck, and Katerina Clark, along with other scholars, have worked together in a collection of articles that speak of the Russian Self, titled, *Autobiographical Practices in Russia.* Clark's article of "The History of the Factories" is mentioned in Hellbeck's monographs to discuss the practice of writing being mandated by the country to affirm their loyalty to the party.[28]

Clark's study is specifically located in the city of Petersburg, which was the primary city of Russia before Stalin. The city was known as St. Petersburg before World War I, then renamed Petrograd in 1914, and then renamed again as Leningrad after Lenin's death in his honor. Clark's monograph starts by discussing Petersburg's imperial origins with 18th century Tsar Peter the Great, who named the city after himself. Clark then discusses the 1917 Russian Revolution and its beginnings to dramatic events such as the Red terror. She looks at the cultural evolution of fashion, theater, music and film. Clark makes a critique that the Soviet Culture accounts of the 1920s are Moscow Centric and not enough from other cities like Petersburg. (It was the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, who moved the capital of Russia to Moscow because it was being threatened by German Troops during World War One).

Like Fitzpatrick, Clark also focuses on the urban life of the Soviet people. She states, "Most accounts of Soviet culture in the 1920s have been about individual figures or groups, but the picture they present of its evolution has been, de facto, Moscow-centric."[29] This is interesting because historians were going to Moscow in the 1990's to find accounts after the Soviet Union

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[26] Katerina Clark, *Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.)
[27] Halfin, *Terror in My Soul,* x.
[28] Walker, Barbara. Review of *Autobiographical Practices in Russia/Autobiographische Praktiken in Russland.* Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History 7, no. 2 (2006): 351-357. doi:10.1353/kri.2006.0027.
[29] Clark*, Petersburg,* xi.

broke apart, rather than Petersburg, where the first Russian Revolution had started. In her monograph, Clark discusses Petersburg as a place that holds the old model of national Russian identity, and Moscow as the new model of national identity in relation to the developing Soviet years. “Petersburg, as the capital, had been the center of Russia. It lost that status in 1918, and by the time the city was renamed Leningrad in 1924… Petersburg changed its function from the seat of power to that of a significant other.”[30]

Historians have been interested–and taken different avenues–in exploring the concept of the New Soviet Man. Clark believes that because of the movement of Russia’s original capital of Petersburg to Moscow, historians might have been misled on where the heart of Russian culture might lie. Similarly to Hellbeck and Halfin, Clark discusses the transition of the old man to the new when speaking of these cities. Clark frames her discussion of Moscow and Petersburg as if they are each other’s antithesis. In this case, Petersburg would be the past, or the old man, while Moscow would be the new man and the future of the communist party.[31] Clark speaks of Soviet culture through the lenses of religion when she states, “Industrial labor could function as the ritual observance of a kind of new religion and was seen as the route to salvation.”[32] She refers to industrialization, which was a big factor of the Russian Revolution, as a “ritual.” In other words, as a veneration of Soviet Culture, industrialization was in a sense a religion itself. Industrialization as a religion serves as a major component to Soviet National identity and culture. This connects to Hellbeck’s interpretation of morality, wherein to be a moral Soviet was to lead to “salvation”, while being an unloyal soviet to the revolution would mean to be “evil.” Rituality is a performance by which Soviets would congregate and practice their duty as workers of the revolution.

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[30] Clark, *Petersburg,* xi.
[31] Clark, *Petersburg,* 6.
[32] Clark, *Petersburg,* 258.

Clark uses the phrase “Stalinist’ Culture” and “Ecology Revolution, " which are similar topics being discussed in Sheila Fitzpatrick’s monographs *In The Shadow of Revolution* and *Everyday Stalinism*, in the sense that it explores the relationship between the organism and its surroundings.[33] In other words, Fitzpatrick and Clark's focus on ecology helps to describe Soviets as feeding from their environment. The quest for Stalin’s rapid industrialization required every aspect of Soviet people’s lives to evolve around being a collective. Collectivization was larger than moving from agricultural labor to manufacturing. Collectivization also included changing the day to day life to become a commitment to industries and the betterment of the country. The way Fitzpatrick speaks of collectivization is through the lenses of a one state system economy, while also focusing on the effects farm collectivization had on peasants–often resulting in famines due to uneven food distribution in the countryside rather than city areas. Fitzpatrick also pays attention to the influence collectivization had socially in families due to the departure of peasant men that had to leave their wives single to be the “breadwinners” of their families. [34] Clark speaks about collectivization as being one with industrialization and Soviet Culture. The way Clark speaks of industrialization refers to building Soviet nationalism and making Moscow the utopia and center for Soviet culture. Soviet Culture is Stalinist culture. Clark states,

> Industrialization in the mass spectacles became an important element both formally (in terms of techniques and apparatus used) and thematically. Most mass spectacles had as their centerpiece a mighty machine or construction. These figures were not there merely to affirm success in industrialization; the machine or giant industrial complex had become for many intellectuals the master metaphor for the new organization of Soviet society, a model for the way all the parts might be integrated into a whole. Thus the sense of human nature and of the function of people and culture in society was a very mechanistic one.[35]

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[33] Sheila Fitzpatrick and Yuri Slezkine, eds., *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to the Second World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.)
[34] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 139-140.
[35] Clark, *Petersburg,* 245.

Clark refers to industries as individual tools that represent the soviet people whose singular purpose is to serve the machines. In a way, Clark speaks about machines as Soviet instruments that needed to be worshiped. The unionsome of people working together is beyond strengthening the country's defense, but building up nationalist pride just like many propaganda posters during Stalin's time demonstrate.The physicality of the Soviet environment was adjusting to Stalin's goals for the future of Russia, and so were the Soviet people themselves.

In addition to Clark, another historian who I found to be constantly mentioned in Hellbeck and Halfi's monograph is Sheila Fitzpatrick. Fitzpatrick is known historian of Soviet social history. Fitzpatrick thinks of Hellbeck and Halfin as post-revisionist scholars.[36] In order to understand post-revisionist scholars, it is important to understand that Fitzpatrick was one of the revisionist scholars who was writing around the 1960s; she, along with other revisionist scholars, believed that what gave political power to Stalin was the Soviet people, and that is thus one of the influences to the development of the Communist party. Non-revisionist scholars from 1914, during world war one, were writing history through the lenses of Nation State history. Nation State historians were interested in speaking about how much of a country's politics had to deal with the directions and decision making of their government. Nation state historians argued that the Soviet Union was a totalitarian empire who seeked to take over the world. Revisionist scholars of the 1960s would not reject this idea, but instead expand it, to say that society also influenced the Nation and State. In a way, revisionist scholars looked to combine social history by analyzing human influences in society with its given government. Revisionist historians were interested in the lives of the people as well. Post-revisionists are scholars like Hellbeck and Halfin, who are writing history around the 1990's during the end of the cold war. Fitzpatrick, as one of the founders of revisionist history, thinks of Hellbeck and Halfin as scholars who have

[36] Eric Naiman, "On Soviet subjects and the scholars who make them" *Russian Review,* May 10, 309.

pushed revisionism further into considering what it means to be Soviet under Stalin. In Fitzpatrick's view, 'Stalinism was not simply a regime project imposed on Soviet citizens; it was also a project of Soviet citizens themselves.'[37]

Fitzpatrick comes from a family of historians like her father, Brian Fitzpatrick, who lived during the time when Australia had a Communist Party. The Communist Party of Australia was founded in 1920 by Australian socialists who were influenced by reports of the Russian Revolution. Brian Fitzpatrick was critical of the communist party in Australia yet did not show to have any strict affiliation to any party in particular. The socialist party later collapsed in 1992, just a year after the Soviet Union had. Sheila Fitzpatrick's motive behind Slavic studies seems to be motivated by both her father's critical analysis of the communist party in Australia and the influence the Russian Revolution had on her homeland–Australia.

In *Everyday Stalinism,* Fitzpatrick is not solely interested in using accounts that show the people's oppositions under Stalin, but rather, more comprehensively, how those who lived agreed, disagreed, or were satisfied with Stalin's regime. Fitzpatrick's base of research varies from deportation records and court cases, to memories–such as how Fitzpatrick uses memoirs from devoted activist Komsomol member Nina Kosterina,[38] and documentaries such as the 1938 film, *The sentence of the court is the sentence of the people.*[39] These sources paint a picture of the Great Purge, which was a collection of brutal executions and convictions of individuals who were against Stalin and his regime. Fitzpatrick argues that historians have mostly looked at the Soviet Revolution through the lens of "misery." In other words, Fitzpatrick believes that historians have been narrating about the purges as something that Soviets were completely

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[37] Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'The Soviet Union in the twenty-first century', *Journal of European Studie*s, 37, 2007, pp. 51-71, (quotation from p.61.)
[38] Nina Kosterina, *The Diary of Nina Kosterina,* trans. Mirra Ginsburg (New York: Crown Publishers 1968), 128.
[39] A documentary on the Bukharin trial, entitled *The sentence of the court is the sentence of the people,* was shown in Kazan a month later in a double bill with another documentary, *Strana sovetov*: Kr. Tat., 28 April 1938, 4.

discontented with and saddened about. Fitzpatrick instead states that it was "a temporary sacrifice" of "seeing life as it was becoming rather than as what it was."[40] This was different from accounts like those by Hellbeck that would speak of the misery of the people, as Fitzpatrick focuses on the optimistic mindset of Soviets who saw the purges as a necessary cause for the Communist utopia to come true. It further illustrates the collective, rather than the individual interest. Fizpatrick's "history of everyday life" approach tries to paint a picture of the purge through the eyes of the absolutely loyal Soviet–one that has become one with the revolution instead of through the lenses of Soviets who lived in horror and thought of the deaths as a nightmare–or as the only way out of their misery.

History of everyday life is part of Social history. According to David F. Crew, "Alltagsgeschichte helps identify the forgotten joys and sorrows of ordinary people."[41] In line with John Tosh's formulation of historiographical schools, Fitzpatrick's *Everyday Stalinism* counts as an example of social history. According to Tosh, social history is "the analysis of social structure and social change [which] can have major implications for economic and political history."[42] Fitzpatrick's monograph uses "Stalinism" in the title to aim to discuss the transition between a non-Stalin normal life, to the extraordinary life under Stalin, which Fitzpatrick points out as moments of "hardships." Fitzpatrick describes the "hardship" as a "temporary sacrifice"[43]. This aligns with what Josh Tosh says in his section about social history; he states, "society is a process. It is never static."[44] Fitzpatrick believes that some historians think that writing about everyday life means accessing the "private life" of the people.[45] She states, "Scholars of

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[40] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 9.
[41] Crew, David F. "Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History 'From Below'?" *Central European History* 22, no. 3/4 (1989): 394–407. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4546159.
[42] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (London & NY: Longman, 1991), 89.
[43] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 9.
[44] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History,* 89.
[45] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 3.

everyday life under totalitarian grimes often focus on active or passive resistance to the regime." History of everyday life is also used by Fitzpatrick as she puts a focus of attention on how people lived life in "extraordinary times."[46]

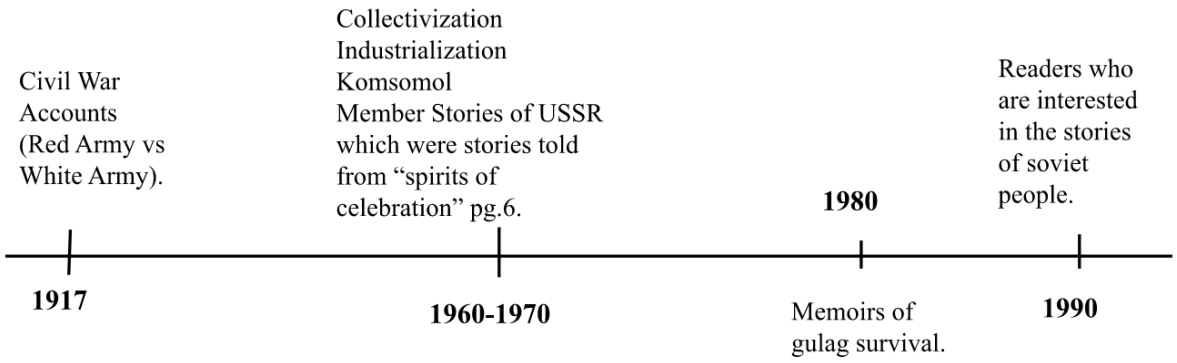
In contrast to Jochen Hellbeck, Fitzpatrick's chosen account of Soviet people explains the way of life, rather than a detailed attention on the transition from the old man to the new one. Fizpatrick's efforts to speak of the Soviet's routines alludes to her commitment of the Soviet people to the revolution. This differs from Hellbeck's monograph since Hellbeck and Halfin's monographs attempt to get into the psychology behind the accounts. In other words, Hellbeck explores internal issues of Soviets committing to the revolution while Fitzpatrick speaks of the external reality of Soviet life. Fitzpatrick focuses on the "experiences" and "practices… in the urban population as a whole." She states that she is not interested in class, despite the fact that Soviet historians use it as the "framework of their analysis."[47] She seems to not want to specialize her studies in one class because she does not want to restrict herself to certain types of accounts, which could make the narrative of her monograph become subjective to one common narrative trend. The approach that Fitzpatrick used to write her *Everyday Stalinism* is to illustrate "practices and the norm", which comes from habits devoted to physical space, such as Soviets' home appearances or their name changing. An example from *Everyday Stalinism is,* "The cultured person needed a cultured name. A few people called their daughters Stalina or Stalinka."[48] The name change is an example that Fitzpatrick uses to explain how the revolutionary man evolved around Stalin–as in becoming one with Stalinism. However, *Everyday Stalinism* is in fact more biased on picking accounts that represent the Soviet commitment to Stalin's regime compared to Fitzpatrick's other monograph, *In the Shadow of*

[46] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 2.
[47] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 11.
[48] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 84.

Revolution, in which the pool of accounts vary more greatly from one another.

The type of sources used in *In the Shadow of Revolution* are memoirs that were either written or were oral. Fitzpatrick and Slezkine look to find the intention behind women wanting to write memoirs. They state, "For other women, the urge to testify comes from a desire for justice or revenge."[49] Fitzpatrick and Slezkine analyze the censorship of sources. They provide an invisible timeline of memoir publication to show how they determined whether or not the memoirs were censored. This timeline in itself is helpful to help understand how other scholars who were focused on memorists who picked their work.

Soviet Publication of Participant Accounts



Even though Fitzpatrick and Slezkine are picking their memoirs from a large pool of different demographic categories, they are interested in picking memoirs of different social classes, and education levels.[50] For example, Fitzpatrick and Slezkine discuss nobles like Princess Volkonskaia, a Russian autocrat in the early to mid-19th century, who had to give up their land and were forced to live under the fear of being eliminated for being classified as

[49]Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, *In the Shadow of Revolution*, 4.
[50] Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, *In the Shadow of Revolution,* 10-12.

enemies of the revolution.[51] One of Fitpatrick and Slezkine most used terms is “collectivization.” They agree to say that although the memoirs selected in their monograph come from a variety of backgrounds, they present the stories of many other women with the focus of gender and problems related to it.[52] In the context of this monograph, revolution equals some sense of liberation for women. A source used to back up the meaning of revolution is the 1918 law permitting abortion.

In the Shadow of Revolution is also similar to Clark's monograph of Petersburg in the sense that *In the Shadow of Revolution* can speak of the Moscow way of life–in that religion or reproduction no longer held the same cultural meaning as it did in Clark’s imperial Petersburg. Clark would argue that the 1918 law permitting abortion was a step closer for soviets to abandon their pre-revolutionary culture whose origins fell in Petersburg.

The historiography that Fitzpatrick uses leans towards social history, while Katerina Clark uses cultural history. Where social history and cultural history differ, is that social history combines government systems and how it affects the individuals of its given society. Meanwhile, cultural history is how individuals react to their environment based on their belief system. According to John Tosh, “Cultural history is a vast and absorbing field, embracing everything from formal belief through ritual and play to the unacknowledged logic of gesture and appearance”[53]. Despite the different approaches to historiography, Clark and Fitzpatrick approach the physical aspect of everyday life, and in doing so, speak to the revolution of Soviet Culture.

Along with Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, Dallin also uses Social history. However, there is a difference between the way their research and their monographs were constructed. Dallin's monograph uses charts and dates to speak of the one state economy system the Soviet Union was

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[51] Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, *In the Shadow of Revolution,* 12.
[52] Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, *In the Shadow of Revolution,* viii.
[53] Tosh, *The Pursuit of History,* 269.

intending to create, and its effect on the peasant lives suffering due to the consequence of starvation. Dallin's work reflects the earlier mid 20th century wave of social history that relied on cliometrics rather than on qualitative data, which Fitzpatrick and Slezkine uses. Cliometrics have to do with mathematical methods to the study of history; meanwhile, qualitative which is what Fitzpatrick and Slezkine use has to do with the gathering and analysis of non-numerical data in order to gain an understanding of individuals' social reality.

Fitzpatrick and Slezkine's historical approach is very similar to Dallin's. They are both using demographics, social relationships within groups, and looking at economic trends. Both rely on social history and are particular in how the economy under Lenin and Stalin were influencing the Soviet quality of life. While Dallin directly implements data into his monograph, Fitzpatrick talks about food shortages, the Soviet population, the big demand on food, and low supplies. Fitzpatrick's other monograph, *Everyday Stalinism,* is just like *In the Shadow of Revolution,* in which they speak of "experiences and practices." Fitzpatrick and Slezkine state that the accounts presented in this monograph have in common, for the most part, that "Russian women often write themselves as victims, not usually of their gender… [they] are victims of Communism, Capitalism, or simply History." [54]

Historians have written about History from Below or People's History in the best way they could make sense of in their given reality. The historical narrative of the Soviet people under Lenin and Stallin has evolved thanks to the archives that opened after the fall of the Soviet Union. As a result, a type of historical narrative that attempts to give light to the perspective of common people rather than leaders has emerged. As contemporary historians illuminate the narratives of the marginal and non-marginal groups, readers begin to nourish and understand the Soviet world, a world that now includes the history of the individual itself.

[54] Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, *In the Shadow of Revolution,* 3.

Because of this, historians like Halfin and Hellbeck make a close analysis on the Soviet people's internalized thoughts. Both of the historiographical approaches present memoir as tools to comprehend people independently from their state. After having researched how historians have been writing about the Soviet people, I leave with other questions; questions that relate to the censorship that Russians live under in the present day. How much has changed particularly for Russia and how much has stayed the same? These are questions that also make me curious of the directions future historians will take when writing about the Soviet's everyday life. Beyond anything, I am excited to be a spectator of how future historian realities will impact the future narratives of the Soviet people.

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Section II - Primary Document Collection

"Revolutionary Culture"

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*During the 1920's, after the **Bolshevik revolution** had ended and Lenin had gained power over Russia many had to adopt a new way of life that was satisfactory to the new regime. Due to the many difficulties those changes brought on people's lives, generational descendants of those individuals who lived during Lenin's rule began to oppose the authoritarian state. One of those opponents to the Soviet authoritarian state was Masha Lipman. This is an excerpt of her describing how individuals like her grandparents were adopting a new way of life after the revolution and getting rid of their old "bourgeois" ways. Being bourgeois was undesirable during this era as it was thought by **Marxism** to be an oppressive class. When reading this passage think: How would extravagant accessories reflect one's social class status? Why would Lipman's grandparents eat their meals on butcher paper?*

'They and their friends developed a revolutionary style even in the way they lived at home.... They had no dishes, no real furniture. They decided it was all too bourgeois…. Birthday parties, weddings and New Year's [Christmas] trees were also gotten rid of. Bourgeois … They thought that traditional Russian felt boots, valenki, were also bourgeois, so the children walked through the slush and the snow in thin leather shoes, crying of the cold. They just mocked all traditions of the old order. So they had my mother call them by their first names and they ate their meals off of butcher paper.[55]

Glossary:

Bolshevik Revolution: Vladimir Lenin gained power and ended the czarist rule tradition.
Bourgeois: Capitalist that would exploit its works and according to Marx, needed to be overthrown.
Marxism: The ideology of a classless society ruled by the proletariat (workers).
Butcher paper: a kind of thick paper used for wrapping meats when purchased at a butcher's shop.

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[55] Katerina Clark, *Petersburg: Crucible of Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 1.

“Big Holdups”

This image comes from Krokodil, a magazine published in the Soviet Union. This was also known as a Worker’s magazine which ridiculed groups and ideas that opposed the Soviet system. Collectivization was part of Joseph Stalin’s five-year plan during the 1930’s to transfer peasant privately owned farmland to be controlled and owned by the state. Due to individuals who opposed collectivization, “shoe production was affected by…the result of mass slaughter of farm animals.” This led to a leather shortage in the 1930’s which later led to shortage of footwear. The government industries responded by mass producing poor quality footwear which would break and not last long.[56]
The bottom caption of the image is an English translation which states, "that is the third pair of shoes I have worn out and I just can’t find a pair of children’s shoes.”

“Big Holdups.” Caption: “That’s the third pair of shoes I have worn out and I just can’t find a pair of children’s shoes.” Artist: K. Rotov. From *Krokodil*, 1935, n. 24, p. 8.

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[56]Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism,* 45.

“A Gentleman”

This image comes from Krokodil, a magazine published in the Soviet Union. This was also known as a Worker’s magazine which criticized and illustrated events of daily life.
What is this cartoon depicting that happened in the 1930’s? If men are leaving to work on collective farms then who becomes the new breadwinners of the family?

“A Gentleman.” Caption: “Did you really leave your wife completely alone?” “What do you mean? I left her with the child.” Artist: Iu. Ganf. From *Krokodil*, 1935, n. 30–31, p. 2.

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism:Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 144..

“I was Revolutionized”

Treivas is a a Russian citizen who lived though Czar Nicholas’ reign saw his family being labeled as “enemies” of the Czar for having set up a shoe shop. In the 1905 revolution known as “Bloody Sunday”, Russian workers and their families approached the Tsar’s palace and protested peacefully to Tsar Nicholas II so that their personal freedom and their working conditions could improve. Treivas and his family belonged to the“Bund”–a political party called the Bundist Socialist Party - which was especially for Jewish workers. This political party worked closely with the Bolshevik party in the 1905 revolution to overthrow the Czar and eliminate the bourgeoisie. Eventually, Treivas joined the Bolshevik party and attended the Smolensk Institute, which was a university formed by a decree of the revolutionary Council of People's ***Commissars****. The period in which Treivas’ account is narrated is prior to the 1918 Revolution which marked the end of Tsarist reign in Russia. When reading this account, think about:“ Who is Treivas against and why” and “what does it mean to be “revolutionized?”*

“Although I was a child, the 1905-06 revolution left an indelible mark on me. My eldest brother, then a member of the **Bund**, was swept up in the revolutionary movement. I had to live through many terrifying scenes: police raids, endless searches of the apartment, the arrest of my brother, and finally the appearance in 1915 of a detachment of one of the **penitentiary** expeditions. The **dragoon**s pillaged our apartment and beat my father in front of my eyes for refusing to turn in my brother. I saw how soldiers **clobbered** workers with their rifle butts after the demonstrations had already dispersed, I saw the parade of bound revolutionaries sitting on manure carts, and I had to bear my brother's fight from the country. All that doubtless sunk deep into my very young mind and inspired a profound hatred of the existing regime. I was revolutionized.”

Glossary:

Bund: Or Bundist was a Jewish Socialist political party for the proletariat (workers).
Clobbered: Hit.
Commissars: An official of the Communist Party responsible for political education and organization.
Penitentiary: A prison for people convicted of serious crimes.
Dragoon: a kind of soldier who is on horseback.

Igal Halfin, *Terror in My Soul: Communists Autobiographies on Trial*. (Massachusetts: Harvard Press, 2003), 82.

“Sowing on a Collective Farm on the Steppes of the Ukraine, USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)”

This image is taking place in Ukraine which at the time was under USSR control in 1930. The goal of the five-year plan under Joseph Stalin was to move from agriculture to manufacturing as soon as possible. When looking at this image, think: How did the development of plowing machines affect production?

Sowing on a collective farm on the steppes of the Ukraine, USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Ukraine Soviet Union, None. Between 1930 and 1940?. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2017872041/.

“Kulak iz kolhoza, Russian Empire”

This is a 1930’s propaganda poster titled, “Kulak iz kolhoza” which translates to “Fist from the collective farm.” Kulaks were known as “wealthy” peasants who owned land and farm and under Stalin's revolution were enemies since owning land was seen as bourgeoisie and meant that kulaks, wealthy peasants, were exploiting their workers. The goal under Stalin was to force the Kulaks to give up their land to the state.

Translation from Russian to English:
Top: Kulaks are the most brutal, the most tough, the most wild exploiters, that more than one time in history of other countries have restored the power of landowners, kings, priests and capitalists. Lenin.
Bottom: Down with the kulaks from the collective farms.

File:Kulak iz kolhoza.jpg - Wikimedia Commons

“Strengthen Working Discipline in Collective Farms”

This is a 1933 propaganda poster done in Tashkent which is the capital of Uzbekistan in central Asia. The artist is unknown. The historical background behind this image starts with Soviets gaining influence in Tashkent during the Russian Revolution of 1917. When looking at this image ask yourself: What seems to be happening in the background of the image and how does it connect to Stalin’s five-year plan? What is happening in the front of the image and why do you think this might be happening?

File:“Strengthen working discipline in collective farms” – Uzbek, Tashkent, 1933 (Mardjani).jpg - Wikimedia Commons

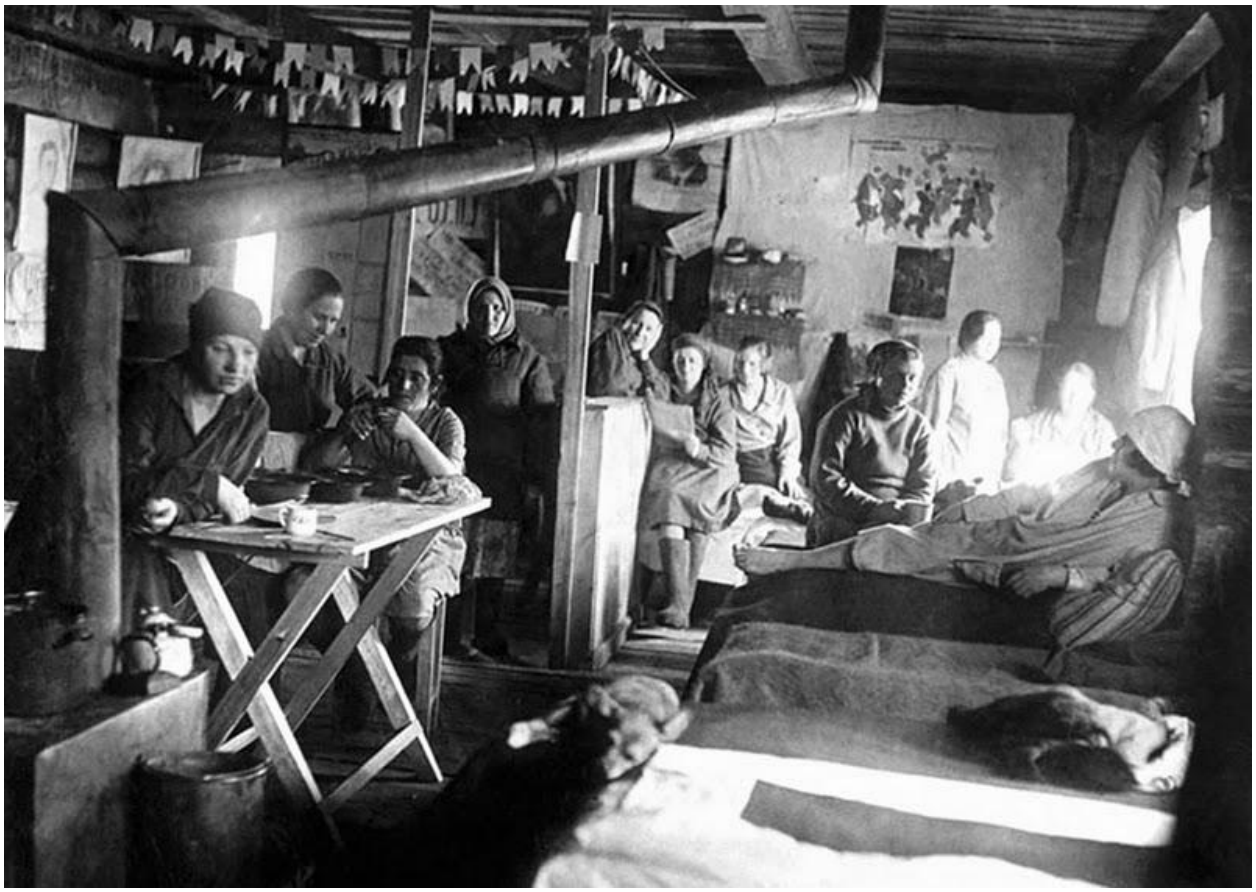
“Gulag Workers creating the White Sea Baltic Canal”

The men working in this image are prisoners at construction of Belomorkanal in 1932. Belomorkanal is also known as the White Sea-Baltic canal which is located in Russia to present day. The Gulag were known as forced labor camps where Stalin sent those he thought were disloyal to his regime. Prisoners would be required to work long hours under the cold weather. The labor used in these prisons aided the dream of Soviet rapid industrialized utopia. Most of the work was done manually by the prisoners.

“Prisoner labor at Belomor Canal,” 1932. https://picryl.com/media/canal-mer-blanche-9f4c1d

“Women in Gulag, 1930’s”

Just like men, women had to also endure long hours of forced labor as well inside the Gulag. This image depicts the overcrowded barracks in which women lived. Many women during Stalin’s Great Terror and Show Trials were sent to the Gulag,which was a network of labor camps, as their penalty for being counter-revolutionary or related to someone who was. Women who were pregnant would have to give birth to their child in the Gulag and then, the child would be placed in an orphanage.While observing this image, think about: What can we learn about the living conditions in the living quarters for these women ?



Gulag, 1930s. | Photo-exhibition «International Women’s Day … | Flickr

“The Bitter Truth: Actual Conditions in the Russian Starvation Area”

This is an image taken in 1921, in the Volga district, the center of Russia's starvation area during the civil war. These images illustrate orphans from a variety of ages. The 1920-1930’s were periods of child homelessness and starvation in Russia. Due to World War I many parents had died during war or were killed by ***purges*** *or were unable to provide enough food for children. When looking at this image consider, “What does this image let us learn about these orphans?”*

Glosarry:

Purge: A Purge is the removal of members that are considered to be undesirable or disloyal to the government. During a purge, the government orders the mass killing of those individuals.

The Bitter truth--actual conditions in the Russian starvation area - PICRYL

Section III - Textbook Critique

I have researched the Everyday Life of Soviet Citizens during the Russian Revolution. The New York State Grade 9-12 Social Studies Framework marks the Russian Revolution unit under both nationalism and ideology. For example, the framework states, "examine the Russian revolution and the development of ideology and nationalism under Lenin and Stalin." [57] The lenses in which the Russian Revolution is depicted in the framework starts from how historic leaders like Lenin and Stalin shaped Russia into the powerful Soviet Union. The framework writes about Lenin and Stalin as the figures that were responsible for taking Russia out of autocratic rule into a self determined nation. I would argue that the framework does not seem to emphasize Russian citizens' daily life under autocracy as the leading factor that led Lenin and Stalin to rise to power. The reason for why the textbook is failing to include the daily life of Soviet Citizens could be explained by the fact the framework is not overly interested in students learning this.

As the framework seems to be interested in discussing nationalism within the Russian Revolution, it is my impression that some secondary students might understand this unit as another section of propaganda. Not to belittle the importance of propaganda, since it is a big part of nationalism, but starting from nationalism or Lenin and Stalin hinders the role people played when contributing to the revolution. Even if the mission of this framework is to push students to think of the next unit of Fascism and totalitarianism, the framework still orients itself on the history of leaders. It is to my understanding that without the history of the people, students can not care to learn about political figures.

[57] The State Education Department The University of the State of New York. "New York State Grades 9-12 Social Studies Framework," Revised February 2017, New York State Grades 9-12 Social Studies Framework.

With this in mind, I am interested to know how secondary school textbooks portray the everyday life of the Soviet Citizens under the Russian Revolution Unit. For this section of my research academic paper, I will be analyzing the Russian Revolution section of McDougall Littell's 1998 *World History: Patterns of Interaction.* My questions as I examine this section will be, "in what ways does the textbook depict the lives of the Soviet before and after the revolution? Does the textbook include counter-revolutionaries? How are the images aiding to support what the text is narrating? Do timelines help make sense of the multi-periods of revolutions that Russia underwent?

The Russian revolution section of the textbook is titled, "Revolutions in Russia." "Revolutions" labeled as plural at the very first paper of the unit is a good way to make students wonder why there might be many revolutions instead of one. In other words, it posts a good essential question to start the unit. It might appear that the textbook writers may be relying on students remembering the French Revolution unit for definitions of revolution. However, it might be even better to have a little paragraph that can explain what a revolution is and examples of political and non-political revolutions might be helpful for a recap for the students. In the same page the textbook starts talking about Alexander III who ruled Russia harshly by oppressing minority groups such Jews. Alexander III was the father of Nicholas II who was the last emperor of Russia who was overthrown by the Bolsheviks party led by Lenin. The next five pages talk about Czar Nicholas and his inability to rule Russia–first by entering a war with Japan in the Russo-Japanese War over Manchuria and losing, and secondly, from Bloody Sunday leading to the deaths and injury of workers who were peacefully protesting in front of the Palace.

Czar's Nichola's reign ends with him placing Rasputin in charge of Russia while he was fighting in World War I and this then leading to Czar Nicholas II to stepping down after the March revolution started by women in March 1917.

Although Czar Nicholas II section ends with the March revolution being led by hungry women who wanted autocracy to end, the next sections in the textbook focus heavily on how Stalin and Lenin rose to power and how they led Russia as leaders. Lenin with the New Economic Policy and its economic breakdown being a mixed economy and Stalin's five-year plan being a representation of command economy. The textbook then introduces Stalin, a totalitarian leader who controlled all aspects of everyday public or private life. The textbook then states, "totalitarianism challenges the highest values prized by western democracies–reason, freedom, human dignity, and the worth of the individual."[58]Although this is a helpful contrast between stalinism and democracy, it is more helpful for students to see examples that they can relate to in their textbook. For example, in a democracy YOU can choose whether to buy a black car or a red car. In a totalitarian society, you can not choose the type of car or color to buy, the government decides for you. Personalizing text in this passage can bring more reality to a complex political reality.

As the textbook moves further into the unit, it presents Stalin as a "case study." This means that Stalin is the political leader who should be studied the closest in comparison to all of the other leaders in Russian History from Alexander III on. "Police terror" and the "Great Purge" are topics discussed in one paragraph all together. As my academic research paper has highlighted, historians believe that a big part of the Russian Revolution is the Great Purge. This

[58] Littell's, McDougall. *World History: Patterns of Interaction*. (Evanston, Illinois, 2003), 775.

is a place in the textbook where primary sources and stories of people who were thought to be counter-revolutionaries or actually were and went through the Great Purges. The Gulag was not mentioned in this section at all. The Gulag was the alternative to those who did not get killed by the Purge. This is where Russians were sent for being classified as enemies. This entire section of the textbook uses vocabulary to refer to people as "enemies" of the state. However, if there was the inclusion of primary sources that not only contain images but also narrate the Great Purge, students can visualize and put the same importance students put on the Holocaust to the Great Purge.

On the last page of the Russian Revolution Unit there is a page of "Propaganda Through Art." The last page contains images of posters of Stalin's reign. The posters entail Stalin's five-year plan as well as a collage image of trail of communist leaders. While the textbook could utilize that page to speak about the Soviet's lives under Stalin, the textbook adds more to the idolization of Stalin in his time.

Clearly the textbook goes beyond to fulfill more content than what the New York State Framework requires. Even so, the pages of the Russian Revolution unit lack images and a timeline that can help make sense of the many revolutions that not only established new leaders, political, and economic systems, but that also changed individual lives and freedoms tremendously. In fact, most of the images in that unit are of Czar Nicholas, Stalin, or Lenin faces. This textbook focuses on great leaders and political ideas but I found myself wishing to see some analysis that draws on the recent historiographical trend that foregrounds the history of emotions. The way the textbook is structured is to study Russian's lives through its political leaders, but

wouldn’t studying the lives of Russian’s to understand their social political realities create more of a complete perspective inside of student’s heads?

Section IV - New Textbook Writing

Stalin's Mass Killings of Military & Trotskyists: Stalin's Great Purge

The Great Purge was a period of mass execution in the 1930's by Stalin to eliminate anyone who might oppose him or his revolution. This included civilians, old Bolsheviks, Trotskyists, or anyone who might oppose Stalin, including children and any civilian of any age. During the Great Purge, Stalin ordered the killing of more than half of the Red Army due to his paranoia and as another technique to further solidify his power and authority. This left the Soviet army weak in the face of Hitler's attack during World War II. The reason for why the Great Purge aimed to eliminate those who supported Trotsky was due to Trotsky's and Stalin's competition for power after Lenin's death in 1924. Trotsky was not only Stalin's rival but Trosky's supporters went against Stalin's regime. Since Trosky was the head of the Red Army from 1918 to 1925, Stalin saw members of the Red Army as a threat and also sent them to be judged in the Show Trials. The Moscow show trials, ordered by Joseph Stalin, were a sequence of court trials between 1936 and 1938. Most if not all of the trials ended in convicting the Trotskyists which also included members of the Red Army for either attempting to kill Stalin or being anti-communist. At the end, most of the Trotskyists were executed by being directly shot, sentenced to death, or sent to labor camps to later be killed.

The Gulag played a major role during the Great Purge. The Gulag refers to the network of prison camps established by the Soviet government. These camps were located far away from the population centers. Many of them were located in the province called Siberia, located far to the east of Russia's populations centers. The climate in Siberia was harsh, with severe heat in the summer and extreme cold in the winter. Prisoners were not given adequate food, housing, or medical care.

As a rule, people sentenced to hard labor in one of the camps of the Gulag had to travel great distances by train to reach the prison camps, adding to their isolation.The Gulag were labor camps that were thought as prisons where both civilians and political prisoners would be sent if they were not executed. The Gulag served two functions: one, to remove anti-communist disloyal individuals from society and two, to make criminals participate in projects labor jobs that would aid in building more infrastructure for the Soviet Communist utopia. An example of this is the White Sea-Baltic Sea Canal that still stands to this day in Russia. Labor conditions were harsh; Gulag workers would have to work in freezing weather and long hours. An interesting fact about the Gulag is that apart from helping assist the Soviet Utopia of an industrialized nation, it also promoted propaganda from inside the prisons. Some prisoners' job was to perform government approved plays for other prisoners, their performance evolved around Stalinism and communism. This is to show that there was a communist cultural

movement within the Gulag that had to be carried by individuals who actually opposed the propaganda they now had to create.

Women who were pregnant during their time in the Gulag would have to give up their child to an orphanage. Some women's menstruation cycle stopped due to the harsh labor they conducted on a daily basis inside the Gulag. In the Gulag, women would undergo rape and assault by the Gulag guards they worked under supervision. Women who lived through the Gulag still carry the trauma of the intense sexual reality they experienced in the Gulag. Due to this, many women did not share their stories of their harsh experiences.

Women's voices about their time in the Gulag have been greatly overshadowed by men's experiences in the Gulag but women were in fact big resistors against the Gulag and Stalin's regime.

The Great Purge and Civilians

The primary responsibility of the NKVD - the secret police - was to serve the state and protect its security interests. People who worked for the NKVD had the authority to invade civilian homes and demand to read their diaries. Writing diaries under Stalin was a very popular thing people

did. Many people felt the need to write their lives on paper as they understood they were living historic times. The secret police would particularly read diaries to test whether civilians were loyal to Stalin's regime and his revolution. Having a diary was a dangerous thing to have in one's household (in the 1930s) as that diary could be used to convict that person of being counter-revolutionary or anti-communist. Not only were diaries a way to verify loyalty but children rant to their parents as being against the revolution. Those who did not pass this loyalty test (meaning the NKVD people decided the diary contained opinions disloyal to Stalin and his program) were automatically killed or sent to the Gulag. Families and every civilian feared the NKVD visiting their homes.One of the effects that this mass execution had on the Soviets was children being felt homeless due to mass parent executions. Children then started to be executed for stealing bread or resources. Stealing to Stalin was seen as claiming property rights. This in no way was a principle of a communist society.

The Gulag, the Moscow Show Trials, as well as the NKVD were Stalin's ways to manifest to the Soviet people his totalitarian power over the Soviet Union.