

THE SOVIET ERA



Lenin Addressing a Crowd The strong-willed revolutionary leader believed that the communist government he had established in the Soviet Union would not last very long. Lenin was convinced that this government would “wither away” and be replaced by a classless society. Instead, the communist dictatorship lasted more than 70 years. **Fine Art** How does this painting suggest Lenin’s power as a leader?

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 The Russian Revolution
- 2 A Totalitarian State
- 3 Life Under Communism

On April 16, 1917, a crowd of people waited in the bitter cold at the train station in Petrograd. Just before midnight, a train arrived. The crowd began shouting, “Lenin! Lenin! Lenin!”

A shabbily dressed man stepped off the train. He was led to what had been the czar’s waiting room. There, he addressed the crowd:

“Dear comrades, soldiers, sailors, and workers, I am happy to greet . . . you as the advance guard of the international army of workers. . . . Any day may see the general collapse of European capitalism. Long live the International Social Revolution!”

While living in exile in Switzerland, Lenin learned that a revolution had forced Czar Nicholas II from power. Because Russia and Germany were still at war, the Germans allowed Lenin to travel through Germany to Russia. The Germans hoped that the revolution would weaken Russia and

help end the war. Under Lenin's leadership, however, the Russian Revolution would have even more far-reaching effects on the world.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

Discontent had been spreading in Russia since the Revolution of 1905. Under the pressures of World War I, the czarist government collapsed. Most political parties then cooperated to try to build a new, democratic government. Lenin, however, refused to support the new government. Instead, he and a small group of dedicated revolutionaries called for a new society based on equality and justice. But the society they set up was very different from what most socialists expected.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Under Lenin, the Bolsheviks set up a communist state in Russia.
- ▶ Under Stalin, the Soviet Union developed into a totalitarian state.
- ▶ The Soviet economic system was based on central planning by the government.
- ▶ Although life improved for most Soviet citizens after the 1950s, shortages and limits on freedom restricted their lives.

Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works:

- “The Intelligentsia and the Revolution,” Alexander Blok
 - Doctor Zhivago*, Boris Pasternak
 - Blockade Diary*, Elena Kochina
- For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

FIND OUT

- What events led to the overthrow of the czar?
- How did the Bolsheviks gain power in Russia?
- What were the goals of Lenin and the Bolshevik party?
- What changes did the Bolsheviks bring to Russia?

Vocabulary abdicate, soviet

In 1918, Alexander Blok, a Russian poet, expressed a dream for the future of his country.

“We Russians are living through a period that has few equals in epic scale. . . . To arrange things so that everything becomes new; so that the false, dirty, dull, ugly life that is ours becomes a just life, pure, happy, beautiful. . . . With all your body, all your heart, and all your mind, listen to the Revolution. ”

Revolution had brought Lenin and the Bolsheviks, a socialist revolutionary party, to power. Like many Russians, Blok believed that the Bolsheviks would build a new society based on justice and equality.

Blok's optimism did not last. The revolution led by the Bolsheviks did transform society, but not the way Blok had hoped it would.

The Strains of War

When World War I broke out in 1914, Russia joined its allies, Britain and France, in fighting Germany and Austria-Hungary. At

first, each side expected that it would be able to win a quick victory.

As the war dragged on, Russia suffered a tremendous strain. Russian industries were not developed enough to meet the need for war supplies. Also, the transportation system could not supply the armies at the front. At times, only one out of three soldiers had a rifle. Unarmed soldiers were told to pick up the rifles their dead comrades had dropped. Poorly equipped troops suffered enormous losses.

Word of the terrible conditions at the front trickled back to the cities. Russians blamed the czar and his generals for disastrous defeats. In the cities especially, people faced shortages of food and other goods because of the war.

From Protest to Revolution

As shortages increased, discontent with the czar's government grew. In 1917, two revolutions took place. The first was an un-

planned uprising by a huge number of people. The second was a well-planned coup d'état carried out by a small, determined group.

The March Revolution. In March 1917, riots and strikes erupted in Petrograd, the Russian capital.* Angry crowds protested the war and the shortage of food. "Bread and Peace!" they shouted. When the demonstrations began to spread, the government sent troops to restore order. Many soldiers refused to fire on the crowds, however. Hundreds even joined the protesters.

News of the events in Petrograd quickly spread by telegraph. Throughout Russia, demonstrators overthrew czarist officials. Only a week after the Petrograd riots began, Czar Nicholas II **abdicated**, or gave up the throne.

* Early in World War I, the Russian capital was renamed Petrograd because St. Petersburg sounded too German. Petrograd was renamed Leningrad in 1924. In 1991, the city was once again called St. Petersburg.



Soldiers Join the Revolution

A Russian artist captured the spirit of the soldiers who joined the March Revolution of 1917 in Petrograd. In the following months, most soldiers on the front deserted and went home. An official report described the army as "a huge crowd of tired, poorly clad, poorly fed, embittered men."

Change Why did the Russian people resort to drastic measures to bring about change?

To restore order, leaders of the Duma set up the Provisional Government. This temporary government introduced reforms such as freedom of speech and of religion. It called for an elected assembly to draw up a constitution. For the first time, Russia would have a government based on written laws rather than on the decrees of the czar.

However, the new government was powerless. It had little authority in Petrograd or elsewhere in the country. It angered peasants by refusing to redistribute land right away. The government also lost much support by continuing the war against Germany.

At the same time, socialist revolutionaries were setting up their own organizations to challenge the Provisional Government. In Petrograd and elsewhere, they formed **soviets**, or councils made up of workers, soldiers, and peasants. The Petrograd soviet had great influence in the capital. It acted independently and challenged the authority of the Provisional Government.

The Bolshevik Revolution. The Bolshevik party was active in organizing the soviets. The Bolsheviks called for a socialist revolution, which became known both as the Bolshevik Revolution and as the Russian Revolution. Lenin, their brilliant leader, moved swiftly to increase their power over the soviets. The Bolsheviks won increasing support among workers and soldiers in Petrograd and other cities with their slogan “Land! Peace! Bread!”

As the Provisional Government became weaker, it ordered Lenin’s arrest. Lenin convinced other Bolshevik leaders that the time had come to seize power. In early November, armed Bolsheviks captured government buildings and arrested members of the Provisional Government.

Lenin immediately made two announcements that increased support for the Bolsheviks. He told peasants they could keep the land they had seized after the March Revolution. He also promised to seek an immediate peace with Germany. In March 1918, Russia and Germany signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The treaty marked the end of Russia’s participation in World War I.

The Bolsheviks in Power

In the novel *Doctor Zhivago*, by the Russian writer Boris Pasternak, the title character reflects on the startling events of 1917:

“If you charged someone with the task of creating a new world, of starting a new era, he would ask you first to clear the ground. . . . But here, they don’t bother with anything like that. This new thing, this marvel of history, this revelation, is exploded right into the very thick of daily life. . . . It doesn’t start at the beginning, it starts in the middle, without any schedule, on the first weekday that comes along.”

With Lenin and the Bolsheviks in power, Russia entered on a new course.

Lenin. Lenin was born Vladimir Ulyanov in 1870. While he was still a teenager, his older brother was executed for plotting to kill the czar. Later, Ulyanov used the name Lenin to conceal his identity. (📖 See Connections With Literature, page 808, “‘The Bedbug’ and Selected Poetry.”)

As a young man, Lenin read the works of Karl Marx. He adapted Marxist ideas to suit the conditions in Russia. For example, Marx had predicted that the proletariat, or working class, would rise up, without planning, in a great socialist revolution. Lenin, however, argued that such a revolution could be successful only if it was carried out by a small, well-disciplined group of leaders.

Once in power, Lenin set out to create a Bolshevik dictatorship. He took steps to destroy all other political parties in Russia. The Bolsheviks closed down opposition newspapers and set up the Cheka, a secret police force, to end all resistance to their rule.

Civil war. The Communists, as the Bolsheviks soon began to call themselves, faced stiff opposition from many groups. Some of these groups demanded democratic socialism. Others favored capitalism. Still others wanted to restore the czar to power. In addition, national groups, such as the Uzbeks,

Georgians, and Ukrainians, sought greater freedom or even complete independence.

From 1918 to 1921, civil war raged in Russia. The Communists were better organized than the opposition groups, which were deeply divided. An energetic Bolshevik leader, Leon Trotsky, set up and trained a communist army, known as the Red Army. The Communists ruthlessly took anything they needed to build up the Red Army. They seized grain from the peasants and took control of all factories, mines, banks, and businesses. The op-

posing White Army was supported by British, French, and American troops for a while. However, it lost popular support as well as control of important regions. (See Connections With Literature, page 808, "The Red Cavalry.")

In the end, the Communists won control over most of the old Russian Empire. In 1922, they reorganized Russia into a union of four republics. They renamed the country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or the Soviet Union. The Russian Soviet Federat-

MAP STUDY

In the 1930s, the Soviet Union was made up of 11 republics. In theory, each republic was independent. In practice, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic always dominated the Soviet Union.

- 1. Location** (a) Identify the two Soviet cities that are separated by the greatest distance. (b) Approximately how far apart are they?
- 2. Interaction** Why do you think the major cities of the Soviet Union are located west of the Ural Mountains? (See the map on page 708.)
- 3. Applying Information** Why would governing the Soviet Union be a difficult challenge?



ed Socialist Republic dominated the union. Later, the USSR grew to include 15 republics that were made up of more than 100 national minorities.

New Economic Policy. The civil war took a tremendous toll. At least 7 million people died, mainly from starvation, disease, and the cold. The fighting destroyed crops, factories, and homes. When the war ended, the USSR was on the verge of economic collapse.

To ease the crisis, Lenin announced his New Economic Policy (NEP). Under the NEP, the government stopped seizing grain from peasants. It allowed them to sell their surplus crops on the open market. The government continued to control heavy industry, but it allowed some private businesses to operate in order to help the economy recover.

Although the NEP allowed some capitalist practices, Lenin still planned to set up a communist state. After Lenin died in 1924, his successor, Joseph Stalin, also tried to achieve that goal.

SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).
- 2. Identify:** (a) Provisional Government, (b) Bolsheviks, (c) Lenin, (d) Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, (e) Leon Trotsky, (f) NEP.
- 3. Define:** (a) abdicate, (b) soviet.
- 4.** How did World War I contribute to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution?
- 5.** (a) What were the goals of Lenin and the Bolshevik party? (b) How did the Bolsheviks gain power?
- 6.** How did Lenin organize the Soviet government and economy?
- 7. Making Inferences** Why do you think the civil war in Russia was a longer and harder struggle than the Russian Revolution of 1917?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Many Americans welcomed the overthrow of the czar but not the Bolsheviks' victory. Write a paragraph explaining why people in the United States may have felt this way.

2

A TOTALITARIAN STATE

FIND OUT

- What were Stalin's goals for the Soviet Union?
- How did World War II affect the Soviet Union?
- What problems did Stalin's successors face?

Vocabulary kulak, dissident

Worried and weak, Lenin sat in his Moscow apartment. Seven months earlier, he had suffered the first of two strokes. Aware of his own poor health, Lenin was alarmed at the growing strength of Joseph Stalin. In a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist party, Lenin warned:

“I propose to the comrades to find some way of removing Stalin from his position and appointing somebody else . . . more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and considerate to his comrades. . . . This circumstance may seem to be a mere trifle, but I think that it is a trifle which may acquire a decisive importance.”

Despite Lenin's warning, Stalin became the leader of the Soviet Union. The new ruler set up a brutal totalitarian state.

Stalin in Power

Stalin was born Joseph Dzugashvili. As a young revolutionary, he took the name Stalin, which means “steel.” When Lenin died, Stalin and Trotsky struggled for power. Stalin forced Trotsky into exile and then became dictator of the Soviet Union. Trotsky was later murdered by Stalin's agents.

A planned economy. As Lenin's successor, Stalin rejected the policy of gradual change under the NEP. Instead, he launched a campaign to turn the Soviet Union into a socialist state as quickly as possible. Under socialism, the government makes the basic decisions about the economy. Communists viewed this as a step toward a truly communist world.

Stalin believed that the Soviet Union would be unable to stand up to its capitalist rivals unless it modernized rapidly. "We are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries," he declared. "We must make up this gap in 10 years. Either we do it or they crush us!" In 1928, Stalin announced his first five-year plan. It set ambitious goals for developing Soviet industry and increasing food production.

Industrial development. To make the Soviet Union a world power, Stalin emphasized heavy industry over consumer goods. He poured resources into building steel mills and dams for hydroelectric power. He set high goals for coal and oil production. New factories were built to produce chemicals, tractors, and other machines.

The Soviet Union made impressive gains. Output in steel, oil, and other industries climbed rapidly. Those successes came at

great human cost, however. Soviet factories and mines were operated by forced labor. Many people were worked to death. Even free workers were forbidden to strike. Workers who failed to meet quotas were severely punished. In addition, anyone who protested disappeared into Stalin's huge network of prison and slave-labor camps.

Workers who did meet their quotas were proclaimed heroes of the revolution. Propaganda in films, the press, and everywhere reinforced Stalin's power over the people.

Collectivizing agriculture. Rapid industrialization required increased food production. Food surpluses were needed to feed city workers and for export to obtain money to buy the heavy machinery needed in factories.

To increase food production, Stalin combined millions of small peasant farms into large collective farms. In theory, collective farms should have been more efficient. Many families would work together, using machinery and modern farm methods to produce food surpluses.

In fact, collectivization led to disaster. In protest, millions of peasants resisted the new system. They destroyed crops and livestock, contributing to the terrible famine that soon

A Cotton Collective This powerful painting by Alexander Volkov shows workers on a collective farm. Although collectivization had only limited success, by 1939 the government was able to transfer 20 million farmers to industrial jobs. **Power** How did the government enforce collectivization?



spread across the Soviet Union. Stalin responded with violence. Red Army soldiers shot peasants who refused to give up their farms. **Kulaks**, or prosperous peasants, were sent to brutal labor camps. Between 5 and 10 million people died as a result of collectivization and state terror.

By 1939, most peasants were working on collective farms. Food production rose slowly, however. Eventually, Stalin allowed peasants on collectives to tend small plots of land for their own use. There they grew vegetables and fruit and raised chickens, a few pigs, or a cow. Private plots made up only about 3 percent of the land. But because the peasants worked hard on them, those plots produced nearly 25 percent of the country's food.

Communist System of Government

In 1936, Stalin wrote a new constitution for the Soviet Union. It set up an elected legislature called the Supreme Soviet. All citizens were expected to vote for members of the Supreme Soviet. However, since there was only one political party, voters had no choice of candidates. In theory, the Supreme Soviet made the laws. In fact, the Communist party ran the Soviet Union. The Supreme Soviet met only once or twice a year, when it approved decisions made by Communist party leaders.

Role of the Communist party. The Communist party operated at every level of society in the Soviet Union. It controlled factories, schools, and farms. It also ran sports clubs, youth organizations, and newspapers.

At the head of the party was the Central Committee. It elected a small executive body called the Politburo, or Political Bureau. The head of the Politburo, the general secretary of the Communist party, was the most powerful person in the country. The Politburo made all important decisions in the Soviet Union.

Totalitarian rule. Under Stalin, the Communist party built a totalitarian state. Using modern technology, the government exercised complete control over the people. Radios and loudspeakers broadcast the party's message to the people. Through massive prop-

aganda campaigns, the government convinced the people to support its goals. At the same time, the government used terror to enforce its will.

During the mid-1930s, Stalin launched the "Great Purge." Its purpose was to purge, or expel, Stalin's rivals from the Communist party. Thousands of high-ranking party members and military officers were charged with treason and were executed or imprisoned. Even many ordinary citizens faced a similar fate. Although the Great Purge increased Stalin's power, it weakened the Soviet military at a time when Hitler's activities were leading to war in Europe.

A Dishonorable Agreement

Despite their mutual hatred, Hitler and Stalin signed a nonaggression pact in late August 1939. The treaty left Hitler free to fight Britain and France without fear of attack from the Soviet Union. It gave Stalin a chance to gain territory and time to improve Soviet defenses.

A week after the pact was signed, Hitler invaded Poland from the west, while Stalin attacked from the east. The two nations then divided Poland between them. In 1940, the Soviet Union annexed the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In June 1941, Hitler turned on Stalin. He broke the nonaggression pact and invaded the Soviet Union. Within weeks, the Germans had reached Leningrad.

Up Close

Life Under Siege

As the German invasion advanced toward Leningrad, a young woman began keeping a diary. Elena Kochina listened to the radio with growing alarm. "Every day," she wrote in her diary, "the Germans are swallowing up 20- to 25-mile chunks of our territory." Many people fled, but Elena Kochina and her husband, Dima, could not leave because their baby daughter was sick. As the Germans



The Siege of Leningrad During the 900-day siege, people had to carry the dead to mass graves on the outskirts of the city. Everyone who survived the terrible siege was awarded a special, highly regarded decoration. It read simply: “For the Defense of Leningrad.”

Scarcity How did scarcity affect people’s behavior during the siege of Leningrad?

approached, Elena Kochina joined others who were digging anti-tank trenches. “Leningraders hurriedly erected barricades out of stone, metal, all kinds of junk, and their fanatical love for the city.”

By early September, the Germans had surrounded Leningrad. No one could enter or leave the city. The siege had begun.

Food supplies quickly dwindled. The city reduced bread rations to just a few ounces a day. The bread contained more sawdust than wheat. When the harsh Russian winter closed in, Leningraders ate anything they could find. Dogs and cats “disappeared” mysteriously.

One day, Kochina made a lucky find:

“Today, in some old junk I found a box of wallpaper glue made out of macaroni waste products. It weighed over two pounds! This is terrific! We couldn’t believe our eyes. Dima immediately shoved a whole handful of the glue into his mouth.”

Each day, hundreds died from hunger and the cold. The living lacked the strength to remove the frozen bodies. “They just pile them up near the outer doorways,” Kochina wrote.

Her husband grew too weak to get out of bed. Alone, Elena Kochina went out to find food, water, and firewood. One day, after she had waited in line for hours to get her ration of bread, a man grabbed it from her:

“I jumped on him like a panther, grabbing him by the throat. He fell to the floor. I fell with him. Lying on his back, he tried to cram the whole piece of bread into his mouth. . . . I grabbed him by the nose. . . . Finally, I succeeded in taking everything he hadn’t managed to swallow.”

In the spring, the Soviet government evacuated some people across a frozen lake. At that time, the Kochinas managed to get the necessary permit to escape. At villages outside the city, they wolfed down all the food they could.

Elena Kochina and her family were lucky. More than 1 million Russians eventually died during the 900-day siege of Leningrad. As Elena Kochina discovered, the struggle to survive crushed people’s sense of right and wrong.

“Heroism, self-sacrifice, the heroic feat—only those who are full or who haven’t been hungry long are capable of these.”

Victory and Aftermath

In the same military offensive that threatened Leningrad, German troops came within 50 miles (80 km) of Moscow before the bitter

Russian winter slowed their advance in November 1941. In 1942, the German campaign reached Stalingrad on the Volga River. Fighting fiercely, the Soviets finally stopped the Germans. Slowly, Soviet forces turned the tide in the east. As Hitler's armies either froze to death, were captured, or retreated, Soviet forces occupied Eastern Europe. (See Chapter 34.)

World War II had a devastating effect on the Soviet Union. More than 20 million people, 20 percent of the Soviet population, died. Much of the western Soviet Union lay in ruins. Destroyed factories, railroads, farms, and cities had to be rebuilt.

When the war ended in 1945, Stalin wanted to make sure that Germany would never again invade the Soviet Union. To ensure this, he set up friendly communist governments in Eastern Europe.

Stalin's Successors

When Joseph Stalin died in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev (KROOSH chehf) won the struggle to succeed him.

Khrushchev. In 1956, Khrushchev shocked the world by denouncing Stalin as a tyrant who had caused the Soviet people great suffering. He introduced reforms to end the brutal terror of the Stalinist period. He also reduced censorship.

Khrushchev did not change the Soviet system of central economic planning or the Communist party dictatorship, however. He continued to work for the victory of communism over capitalism. In the Cold War rivalry that existed between the Soviet Union and the United States, Khrushchev invested heavily in arms, space technology, and heavy industry. At the same time, he tried to meet the growing demand for consumer goods. Factories increased the quantity and quality of their clothing and appliance production, while the government built more housing.

Brezhnev. Leaders of the Communist party forced Khrushchev out of office in 1964. Leonid Brezhnev (BREHSH nehf) then emerged as the new party leader. Brezhnev ended the

comparative openness that had marked the Khrushchev years. He cracked down hard on **dissidents**, people who spoke out against the government. They were jailed, exiled, or sent to hospitals for the mentally ill.

The Soviet Economy

Under both Khrushchev and Brezhnev, the Soviet economy faced major problems. Although progress was made in agriculture, food production did not increase as fast as

Khrushchev in Iowa The Soviet leader constantly worried about his country's low crop yields. On a visit to the United States in 1959, one of the places he toured with special interest was a prosperous farm near Des Moines, Iowa. "I must admit that you are very intelligent people in this part of the world," Khrushchev remarked. "But God has helped you." **Geography** What do you think Khrushchev meant?



was planned. Farms planted high-yield crops and used irrigation to bring more land under cultivation. Lack of rainfall, however, limited output in areas such as Kazakhstan. Also, collective farms suffered from shortages of machinery, spare parts, and fertilizer. Food often rotted in railway cars before it reached the cities, and worker productivity remained low.

Industries, too, suffered from low productivity. The government in Moscow made economic decisions for plants that were thousands of miles away. Frequently, government planners knew little about local conditions.

Sometimes, factories had to shut down because planners had not ordered the necessary machine parts. Also, factory managers worried more about meeting government quotas than they did about the quality of the goods they produced. As a result, these goods were often poorly made.

Despite these problems, the standard of living in the Soviet Union rose. Consumers were able to buy more goods than they could during the Stalin era.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Estonia, (b) Latvia, (c) Lithuania, (d) Leningrad, (e) Stalingrad.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Joseph Stalin, (b) Supreme Soviet, (c) Politburo, (d) Great Purge, (e) Nikita Khrushchev, (f) Leonid Brezhnev.
- 3. Define:** (a) kulak, (b) dissident.
- 4.** (a) Describe two goals Stalin had for the Soviet Union. (b) How did he try to achieve each of them?
- 5.** Explain three ways in which World War II affected the Soviet Union.
- 6.** What economic problems did the Soviet Union face after Stalin's death?
- 7. Analyzing Information** How did technology contribute to the power of a totalitarian state such as the Soviet Union?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** During World War II, the United States sent food and war supplies to the Soviet Union. Write an argument for providing aid to the Soviet people during World War II and an argument against providing such aid.

3

LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

FIND OUT

How did communism change Soviet society?

What were the economic advantages and disadvantages of the Soviet system?

How did education reflect the government's goals?

What was the government's attitude toward the family and women?

Vocabulary black market

At a Moscow department store, Nina Voronel was waiting to pay for a hand mixer she needed. She saw a sales clerk pass by carrying a box of imported lamps.

Voronel had not gone to the store to buy a lamp. In fact, she did not even need one. Yet she immediately said to the sales clerk, "I'll take one. Put me down for one and I'll go pay the cashier." While Voronel went to pay for her lamp, a long line of people formed to buy the remaining lamps.

In the Soviet Union, consumer goods were so scarce that people often bought whatever was available whether they needed it or not. They could always trade one product for another or sell what they did not need. Learning to cope with shortages was a way of life in the Soviet Union.

Social Changes

In theory, communism was supposed to create a classless society in which everyone's needs were met. After the Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks abolished the old titles of nobility. They then set out to end the inequalities that had existed under capitalism. Czarist officials, landlords, and business owners lost their wealth and power.

Andrei Sakharov, Voice of Dissent

On November 22, 1955, Soviet scientists and military leaders were celebrating the successful test of a new nuclear weapon. Andrei Sakharov, the “father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb,” rose to give a toast:

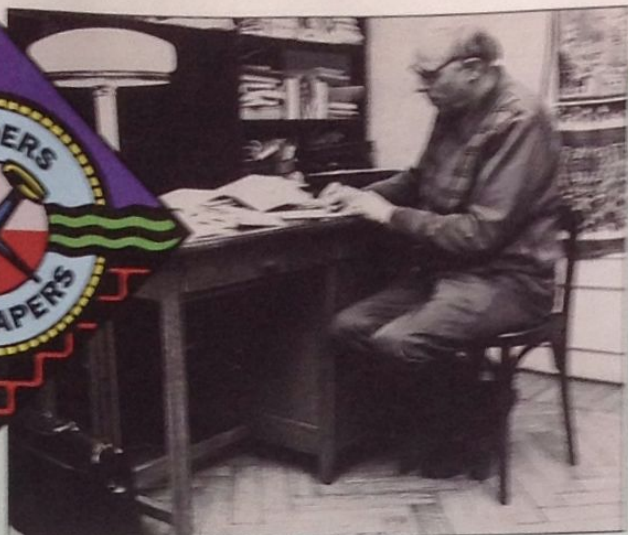
“May all our devices explode as successfully as today’s, but always over test sites and never over cities.”

A stunned silence followed. After an awkward moment, the military director of the nuclear test scolded Sakharov. Scientists, he said, should only build bombs. They should not decide how to use them.

Sakharov was a brilliant physicist. In the 1950s, he sincerely believed that building nuclear weapons would help preserve world peace. Then, he began to worry that Soviet leaders were disregarding the dangers of nuclear weapons. By the early 1960s, Sakharov had begun to call for limits on nuclear testing because it damaged the environment. His protests helped to bring about a treaty banning nuclear testing.

Sakharov emerged as an outspoken dissident. He not only rejected nuclear weapons but also denounced human rights abuses in the Soviet Union. With his wife, Yelena Bonner, Sakharov repeatedly condemned repressive government policies.

The party elite. Before long, however, a new elite emerged. Leaders of the Communist party became a privileged class. Ordinary people waited in long lines in stores whose shelves were empty. Party leaders shopped in special stores stocked with high-quality domestic and foreign goods. Party leaders had access to the best medical care. In spite of the country’s severe housing shortages, they re-



Sakharov won worldwide admiration, as well as the Nobel Peace Prize. To Soviet officials, however, he was a troublemaker. In 1980, he was arrested and exiled to Gorki, a remote city that was closed to foreigners. Despite the hardships he suffered, Sakharov continued to criticize the government and call for reform.

In 1986, as the Soviet Union entered an era of growing freedom, Sakharov was released from exile. He returned to Moscow a hero. When Sakharov died three years later, people throughout the world hailed him as a man whose vision and courage had helped to change the world.

1. (a) How did Andrei Sakharov first become famous in the Soviet Union? (b) Why did he become a critic of the Soviet system?
2. **Applying Information** (a) Why do you think the government of the Soviet Union considered Sakharov to be a troublemaker? (b) Why did it take great courage for Sakharov to defy the Soviet government?

ceived new apartments and enjoyed vacations in summer houses reserved for them. Their children attended top schools and were given good jobs when they graduated.

Communist party membership was limited. Less than 10 percent of the Soviet people belonged to the party. Many children joined communist youth groups that opened the way to future party membership. To join the

party, people had to have recommendations from several party members and pass an investigation to make sure they held correct Communist attitudes and beliefs.

Nationalities. Other inequalities existed under the communist system. Although the Soviet Union was a multinational country, Russians held the most important positions. Other Slavic peoples, such as Ukrainians and Belarussians, also gained some key posts. The country's many other national minorities had little power or influence, however.

During the late 1800s, the czars supported a policy known as Russification. They tried to force everyone in the empire to adopt the Russian language and culture. After the Russian Revolution, the Soviet government followed a similar policy. Russian was made the official language of the Soviet Union. The government encouraged Russians to settle in the non-Russian republics. Schools emphasized communist beliefs over local traditions. Despite these efforts to weaken cultural ties, nationalism remained a strong force among the many peoples of the Soviet Union.

Attacks on religion. The communist government was hostile to all religions, since they competed with communism for the people's loyalty. Although the government did not outlaw religious observances, it did use its power to reduce the influence of religion. The government imposed tight controls on churches and delivered a constant barrage of antireligious propaganda. Stalin vowed, "Not a single house of prayer will be needed any longer in any territory of the Soviet Union, and the very notion of God will be erased."

For years after 1917, the Soviet government campaigned against the Russian Orthodox Church. It seized Church property and imprisoned and even executed some priests. Other religions suffered, too. The government destroyed churches that belonged to Catholics, Lutherans, and other Christian sects. It forced many Muslim mosques and Jewish synagogues to close. Jews faced severe persecution. By the 1960s, many Soviet Jews sought to emigrate to other countries. Until the late 1980s, the government made it difficult for them to leave the Soviet Union.

People who continued to observe their religion paid a price. No one who was openly religious could pursue a career in the Communist party. Still, many Soviet citizens maintained their religious beliefs.

Economic Life

The Soviet economic system provided its citizens with several basic benefits. Public transportation was inexpensive, and health care was free. The government kept rents and basic food prices low. It guaranteed every individual a job. Although many jobs paid low wages, most people enjoyed the security of regular employment. Unemployment was almost unknown. The government provided workers with old-age pensions. However, the pensions were so small that many elderly people lived in poverty. Also, workers on collective farms did not receive pensions until the mid-1960s.

After Stalin's death, the standard of living in the Soviet Union rose. New housing was built, and Soviet factories produced more consumer goods. By the 1970s, most urban families had radios, refrigerators, and television sets.

Shortages. Still, many goods remained in short supply, especially in comparison to Western Europe and the United States. Families in city apartments often had to share kitchens and bathrooms with their neighbors. Meat, fresh fruit, and vegetables were difficult to get and expensive when they were available. People spent much of their lives standing in lines to buy food and other goods.

The average person often spent years on a waiting list to buy a car. To make matters worse, Soviet goods were poorly made.

Because well-made goods were so scarce, a thriving black market emerged. In a **black market**, people trade goods and services illegally in defiance of government rules.

Shortages were common, in part because the government invested so much in military spending. Instead of making cars and appliances, for example, Soviet factories produced tanks and missiles. During the 1970s and 1980s, at least 15 percent of the total output



Work Time Needed in a Major City to Buy Goods and Services, 1982

Goods or services	Soviet Union	United States
White bread (2.2 pounds)	17 minutes	16 minutes
Sirloin steak (2.2 pounds)	182 minutes	79 minutes
Chicken (2.2 pounds)	185 minutes	16 minutes
Fresh milk (about 1 quart)	22 minutes	6 minutes
Potatoes (2.2 pounds)	7 minutes	7 minutes
Oranges (2.2 pounds)	92 minutes	10 minutes
Bath soap	20 minutes	4 minutes
Aspirin (100 cheapest)	246 minutes	5 minutes
Lipstick	69 minutes	30 minutes
Regular gasoline (3 gallons)	210 minutes	36 minutes
Newspaper	3 minutes	3 minutes
Jeans	46 hours	3 hours
Washing machine	165 hours	47 hours
Rent (for 1 month)	12 hours	56 hours
Gas bill (for 1 month)	39 minutes	290 minutes
Telephone call (1 local)	1 minute	2 minutes
Haircut (men's)	37 minutes	63 minutes
Car (medium size)	88 months	8 months

Source: *Radio Liberty Research Supplement*, 1982.

Chart Study Under communism, the Soviet government controlled the nation's products and services and determined the prices for everything. ▶ Study this chart and then make a generalization about the standard of living in the Soviet Union and in the United States in 1982.

of the Soviet economy was used for military goods in the country's efforts to keep up with the arms race during the Cold War.

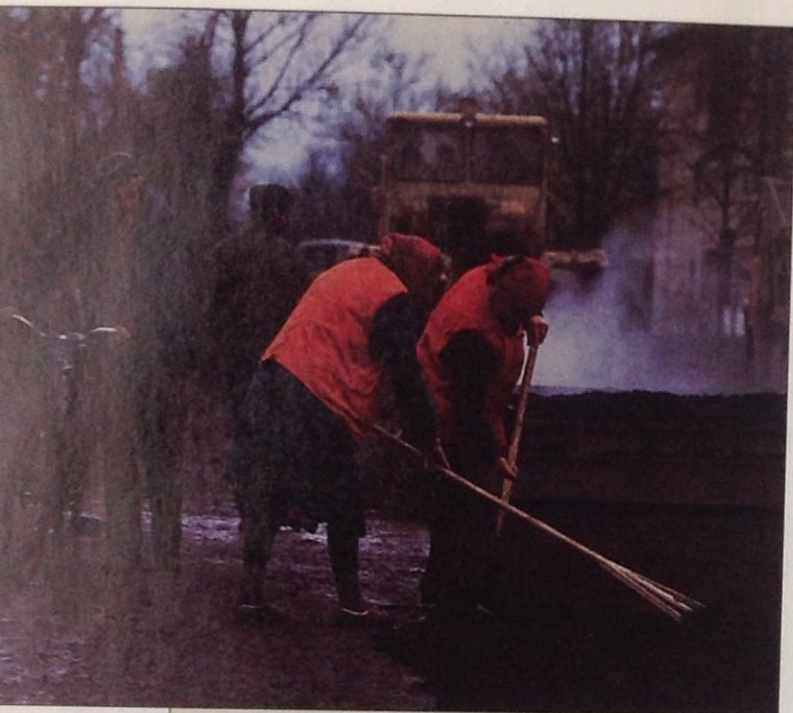
Education

After 1917, the Bolsheviks worked hard to provide education for everyone. By the 1960s, the Soviet Union had virtually ended illiteracy. All Soviet children received at least eight years of schooling. In large cities, children attended school for 10 years. In the fifth grade, students began an intensive study of a foreign language, often English.

Soviet schools also emphasized math and the sciences. The government felt that these subjects were essential to a modern industrial

nation. By the time students completed the seventh grade, they had studied algebra and geometry, as well as biology, chemistry, and physics. Soviet students also studied warfare. In the ninth and tenth grades, male students took military training one afternoon each week during the school year. During the summer, they spent several weeks in military training.

In reality, Soviet schools were a propaganda machine for the government. Students learned about the "evils of capitalism." Teachers and textbooks presented history and economics from the point of view of Marx and Lenin. At Soviet universities, students were required to spend at least half of their time studying Marxist-Leninist ideas.



Road Construction Soviet women worked hard, but they were underrepresented in many occupations, especially in top positions. For instance, women dominated the teaching field, but relatively few of them were administrators. **Change** How did the status of Soviet women change after the Bolshevik Revolution?

clining birth rate alarmed some officials. They feared that Russians would be outnumbered by other nationalities.

Women's lives. After the Russian Revolution, the Communist party passed laws guaranteeing that women and men would be treated equally. As a result, all occupations were opened to women. Soon, they were driving tractors and operating steam shovels. Women also became highly skilled professionals. About 70 percent of Soviet doctors and a large number of lawyers were women.

During World War II, millions of men were killed in the fighting. By 1945, women greatly outnumbered men in the Soviet Union. As a result, women played a large part in the task of rebuilding the nation.

By the 1980s, 85 percent of Soviet women worked outside the home. Their income was needed to support their families. However, these women had few labor-saving appliances. Neither did their husbands give them much help with household chores. In addition to their full-time jobs outside the home, married women often spent another 35 hours doing housework each week.

Family Life

After 1917, the Communists simplified marriage and divorce laws. Instead of having church weddings, couples married at government offices. Getting a divorce was easy, and the divorce rate soared as a result. The government hoped to replace close family ties with loyalty to the state.

By the 1930s, however, the government realized the need for strong families. It made obtaining a divorce more difficult. The government also abandoned efforts to have families live together, sharing kitchens and other facilities. Still, the disruptions caused by Stalin's purges, collectivization, and World War II took their toll on the extended family. Many families who were separated by the war were never reunited.

Urbanization also led to smaller families. Because city apartments were so small, parents tended to have fewer children. The de-

SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** Russification.
- 2. Define:** black market.
- 3.** (a) How did the Bolsheviks change the social system? (b) Did the Soviet Union achieve a classless society? Explain.
- 4.** (a) How did the government ensure economic security for Soviet citizens? (b) What economic hardships did most people face?
- 5.** Describe two ways in which communism affected family life.
- 6. Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think the Soviet government wanted to undermine religion?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** List three ways in which Soviet schools supported the communist system. Then, list three values taught in American schools that help to support our system of government.

CHAPTER 33 REVIEW

Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 1. abdicate | a. council of workers, soldiers, and peasants |
| 2. soviet | b. illegal trade in goods and services |
| 3. kulak | c. someone who speaks out against the government |
| 4. dissident | d. give up |
| 5. black market | e. prosperous peasant |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

- (a) What reforms did the Provisional Government introduce in Russia? (b) Why did the Provisional Government lose support?
- Describe Lenin's New Economic Policy.
- How did Stalin use propaganda and terror to achieve his goals?
- (a) What progress did the Soviet Union make in agriculture after Stalin's death? (b) What problems did Soviet peasants face?
- (a) Why did Soviet citizens face shortages of food and consumer goods? (b) How did these shortages affect people's lives?
- (a) What gains did Soviet women make? (b) What problems did they face?

Reviewing Chapter Themes

- In 1917, Russia experienced two revolutions. (a) Describe two causes of the March Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution. (b) What was one difference between the March Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution?
- Stalin completed Lenin's goal of setting up a totalitarian state run by the Communist party. (a) How did he expand central economic planning? (b) What was the role of the Communist party in the Soviet Union?
- Communism radically altered the lives of the Soviet people. Explain how three of the following were affected by communism: (a) human rights, (b) the social system, (c) religion, (d) education, (e) family life.

Thinking Critically

- Analyzing Ideas** Lenin said, "Liberty is precious—so precious that it must be rationed." (a) What was Lenin's main point? (b) Why do you think he was against allowing too much liberty all at once? (c) How did his policies reflect this idea?
- Making Global Connections** (a) How did the Cold War rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States affect economic policies under Khrushchev? (b) How do you think the United States viewed the Soviet arms buildup?
- Linking Past and Present** (a) What problems did non-Russian peoples face in the Soviet Union? (b) How do you think their discontent contributed to the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991?

Applying Your Skills

- Analyzing a Quotation** Read the excerpt from the poem by Alexander Blok on page 729. In your own words, explain why he wanted people to "listen to the Revolution." How do you think he may have reacted to the outcome of the Russian Revolution?
- Using Visual Evidence** Look at the pictures on pages 741 and 742. (a) What is the subject of each picture? (b) What do the pictures reveal about life in the Soviet Union? (c) Compare the life these pictures show with life in the United States.