

How much change	Brezhnev 1964-82	Compare with other How much change:				
Authority:		Lenin Stalinism; Khrushchev Gorbachev				
Brezhnevian System	After helping oust Khrushchev, Brezhnev had a new job: Fat Controller of the system, For no-one had a patch on his Savvy making patronage work;	...B. emerged as “first among equals”, who had no interest other than maintaining status quo, which they had helped to set up under Stalin; He had gained many contacts during 30s; used these throughout his rule & they made up the Politburo.		2.	Diverting rivers to the Aral Sea For cotton’s water barrels In Uzbekistan proved disastrous;	...described as “...environmental catastrophe of the first order”
Patronage				3.	Machinery for farming And industry was long out of date; Mocking deadline prophecies For houses, flats and offices Were drunk & pilfering	...lack of quality control and obsolescence of machinery dogged Soviet Union’s outer reaches. ...alcohol problem remained with 10 million drunks incapable of coherent protest; Soviet male life expectancy decreased 64 - 62 under Brezhnev’s rule, partly from home-made vodka.
Stagnation	Politburo oligarchs, Determined still to follow Marx With new “Developed Socialism”; Found activity frozen Till delivery of the chosen perk;	...status quo was stagnation: “Developed (or Mature) Socialism” merely a way of ignoring Khrushchev reforms; so little was done without payment in advance and even less quality control		4.	builders & plasterers, And Consumer goods but trickles Sealed the Hammer and Sickle’s fate.	
Propaganda	It was then the Oligarchy Of the Communist party Would continue both	...“Leading & Guiding” meant repression of serious criticism: 1966 trials of progressive reformers <u>Yuli Daniel</u> & <u>Andrei Sinyavsky</u> and hounding of Solzhenitsyn		5.		
Repression	“leading and guiding” Moving dissidents on, Like Solzhenitsyn, “beyond he pale”;		Black Market Economy Security:		*- So, Mister Brezhnev, Up an economic cul-de-sac – The only markets with wares left Were every darker shade of black.	
Criticism/Satire?	Yet cartoonists could joke About corruption, and poke Fun at Brezhnev in his wheelchair, riding, For purges by the Kremlin Were nowhere on the Stalin scale.	...more leeway for cartoonists; jokes could do the rounds without fear of arrest ~ “If <u>they joke about me, they like me</u> ” he was reported to have said.	Arms Race v. U.S. and the West		Beside the nuclear arms race Too swiftly gathering pace, As the Kremlin turned to face the White House, It kept tanks for excursions To keep its Iron Curtains drawn; If more easily it could check The Prague Spring under Dubcek, Fearing Nationalism it might rouse, The Warsaw Pact cost rather more Than spending on the Lada or corn.	...8 fold rise in arms spending from rising oil costs - by 1982 = 15% of GDP. O.F p375; hardliners dominant to keep pressure on USA & NATO ... plus tanks to control Empire. ...crushing Czech liberalism and maintaining Warsaw pact central to defence of Soviet Union’s integrity.
	*- So, Mister Brezhnev, You made a nightmare of Lenin’s dream: There weren’t that many years left Before it joined him in his mausoleum.	“If death came from Spain, I should be immortal” said of Philip II of C.16 Spain’s viceroys, could equally have been applied to Brezhnev’s. USSR. Average age of Politburo 60 in 1964 over 70 in 1982	Repression of Liberal/Nationalist movements: 1.Czechoslovakia 2. Warsaw Pact Brezhnev Doctrine		And though Brezhnev formed his doctrine To keep the Soviet Bloc integrated with Socialism, S.A.L.T. I joined consent On Space, Environment and Trade; There was accord on Berlin’s status And exchange of spies & traitors, Till Kremlin-backed “Global Marxism” Caused S.A.L.T. II to crash, As did the Soviet Afghan raid,	...As Brezhnev fatter & was more confined, Politburo, especially Gorbachev, moved for talks with Washington, despite Carter’s abhorrence of Soviet Union’s heel-crushing of civil rights ...agreements on hold after Soviets invaded Afghanistan, & US boycotted Moscow 1980 Olympics ...remained till Gorbachev and Reagan re-opened negotiations.
Pragmatic self-interest of Party elites			Co-operation with U.S. & N.A.T.O 1.			
Prosperity:			2.			
Continued centralisation	While state ownership remained, Central planning sustained A rigid economic structure, Despite many a misgiving That standards of living would rise;	...continuation of State-determined 5 year plans: 7 th . 1961-65; 8 th . 1966-70; 9 th . 1971-75; 10 th . 1976-80; 11 th 1981-85; ensured no progress in economic growth & standard of living: reversal of Khrushchev/ Kosygin’s “tinkering” with less state control	3.			
False hopes		...oil & gas kept regime afloat after the 1973 oil crisis, because prices quadrupled enabling government to use dollars to provide foreign grain, sufficient to keep millions on the breadline; this despite transport problems	UNTIL...			
Energy	There was pressure to amass Siberia’s oil and gas, With coal, to power manufacture, But sluggish transport of the products Could all too often clog up supplies.				* - So, Mister Brezhnev, Wherever did you go from here? With scarce a rouble to spare left, Was the Afghan war your very best idea?	References: Orlando Figes Revolutionary Russia 1891-1991. Ch18. Wikipedia: Leonid Brezhnev Sections 5&6 Comm. States in the C20th
Problems/ Crises	1.					