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CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF 20TH CENTURY WARS

CAUSES OF WAR

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

CAUSE - ECONOMIC

Agriculture economy with problems:

- *Over 75% of the Russian population belonged to the poor peasant class - less than 1/3 of them could read and write. Very low prices on bread (= low income). Redemption payments before 1905*
- *the equipment was usually very old - often made of wood and the farming methods were inefficient and gave low yield + frequent harvest failures*
- *Lack of land available for the peasants (when the population increased the land was subdivided)*
- *Landed aristocracy ruled the country outside the cities – and they treated the peasants poorly*

Industries:

- *Compared with the western countries was Russia's industrial power very modest. In terms of Russian economy, the industrialization was more impressive (In 1890 – the industrial output was worth 1502 million roubles – 1912 the industrial output was worth 5738 million roubles) around 40% of the industries were textile industries 1910.*
- *The living and working conditions for the workers were usually very poor*
- *In 1896 an eleven-an-a-half-hour working day was legally instituted. This was ignored by the employers...*

Transportation:

- *The roads of Russia were poorly developed - Rivers and lakes were more often used*
- *In the late 19th century came the railroads. The Russian railroads were not very well developed compared with the western world and it was nearly always single-tracked*
- *The Russian merchant marine was small*

WWI

- *Russian performance in WWI –poor equipment and supply shortages*
- *Food and fuel shortages - especially in the cities (Note – transport problems)*
- *Problems in Petrograd 1916-17; shortages, demonstrations, strikes, lockouts, riots...*

Reforms in April-June 1918: Extensive nationalization

- *All the industries, banks, mineral resources, industrial plants and foreign trade nationalized - "Decree of Nationalization")*

CAUSE - IDEOLOGY

Bolshevism – Communism (Leninism). Leninism is a political theory for the organization of a revolutionary vanguard party and the achievement of a dictatorship of the proletariat, as political prelude to the establishment of socialism...

Functionally, the Leninist vanguard party was to provide the working class with the political consciousness (education and organization) and revolutionary leadership necessary to depose capitalism in Imperial Russia. After the October Revolution of 1917, Leninism was the dominant version of Marxism in Russia, and, in establishing soviet democracy, the Bolshevik régime suppressed socialists who opposed the revolution, such as the Mensheviks and factions of the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

Before the Revolution, despite supporting political reform, Lenin proposed that capitalism could ultimately only be overthrown with revolution, not with gradual reforms—from within (Fabianism) and from without (social democracy)—which would fail, because the ruling capitalist social class, who hold economic power (the means of production), determine the nature of political power in a bourgeois society.

In the Russian socialist society, government by direct democracy was affected by elected soviets (workers' councils), which "*soviet government*" form Lenin described as the manifestation of the Marxist 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat'. As political organizations, the soviets would comprise representatives of factory workers' and trade union committees, but would exclude capitalists, as a social class, in order to ensure the establishment of a proletarian government, by and for the working class and the peasants.

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

CAUSE - POLITICAL

Autocracy: Nicholas II was an absolute ruler. Politically incompetent according to Morris (and so was his wife)

- *Aristocracy with privileges given by the Tsar*
- *Orthodox Church with privileges given by the Tsar*
- *The Officers were recruited from the Aristocracy - who depended on the privileges given by the Tsar . They controlled the largest standing army in the world*
- *No constitution and no elected parliament - all appointments and dismissals were made by the Tsar*
- *Censorship*
- *Secret Police - "Okhrana" and millions of informers (repression)*
- *All trade unions and political parties were forbidden*
- *Pogroms (Jews were treated poorly)*
- *All trade unions and political parties were forbidden*

Political Opposition 1894-1905

- *Liberals (Octobrists/Kadets), Socialist Revolutionaries, Marxists (Social Democratic Party - Split between "Mensheviks" and "Bolsheviks"), Nationalistic parties that wanted independence... - all of them were forbidden before 1905. After the October Manifesto 1905 they became legal.*

Russian Revolution – February 1917

- *Dual Power system (Provisional Government – Petrograd Soviet)*
- *Lenin and the Bolsheviks (Lenin's April Theses: "All Power to The Soviets" and "Bread, Peace, Land")*
- *July Days (riots in Petrograd) – Kornilov revolt*
- *Local Soviet elections (Bolshevik majority in Petrograd and Moscow)*

Russian Revolution – October 1917

- *The Bolsheviks take over Petrograd 24-25th October 1917*
- *Red Guard forcibly dispersed the Third Coalition Government (Provisional Government)*
- *The Bolsheviks took over the All-Russian Congress of Soviets (coalition with leftist Socialist Revolutionaries – Mensheviks and Right Socialist Revolutionaries walked out of the Congress in protest)*
- *Bolshevik temporary government The Council of Peoples Commissars (Sovnarkom) formed*
- *Decree on the Press (censorship)*
- *The establishment of a secret political police – the CHEKA (repression)*
- *January 1918 – Lenin closes the Constituent Assembly – taking over power by force*
- *Decree on the Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly!*
- *Bolshevik military control – Reforms to reinstate discipline (like the death penalty)*

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk March 1917 (Russia lost lots of territory and resources)

- *Left Socialist Revolutionaries left the coalition with the Bolsheviks in protest of the Peace Treaty*
- *Russian officers and military very critical to the Peace Treaty*

German offensive in France – the allies wants Russia back into the war...

- *In March British troops landed at Murmansk*
- *In April Japanese troops land in Vladivostok*

Reforms in April-June 1918: Extensive nationalization

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Czech Legion (Czech and Slovak deserters) hindered to return to Europe by Bolshevik troops in May 1918.

- *Commissar for War – Leo Trotsky orders them to surrender their arms. They refused*
- *Czech Legion takes control over the Trans-Siberian Railroad*

The Moscow Bolshevik government cracks down on non-Bolshevik socialists.

- *The Bolsheviks dismiss Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary deputies from the central and local soviets... (+ banned the from all political activities)*

CAUSE - TERRITORIAL

Poland

- *The later phase of the Civil War involved Poland – and Polish claims to Russian territory*

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

CAUSE – “OTHER”

Military reasons:

- Russian performance in WWI – military incompetence, poor equipment and supply shortages
- Tsar – Commander-in-Chief (incompetent – left Petrograd)
- Continuation of WWI (disastrous offensive in June 1917)

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk March 1917 (Russia lost lots of territory and resources)

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German offensive in France – the allies wants Russia back into the war...

- In March British troops landed at Murmansk
- In April Japanese troops land in Vladivostok

Religious reasons:

- Orthodox Church with privileges given by the Tsar
 - Pogroms (Jews were treated poorly)
-

LONG-TERM CAUSES

Nicholas II; Absolute ruler – Autocrat. Politically incompetent according to Morris (and so was his wife)

- Aristocracy with privileges given by the Tsar
- Orthodox Church with privileges given by the Tsar
- The Officers were recruited from the Aristocracy - who depended on the privileges given by the Tsar. They controlled the largest standing army in the world
- No constitution and no elected parliament - all appointments and dismissals were made by the Tsar
- Secret Police - "Okhrana" and millions of informers (repression) + Censorship
- All trade unions and political parties were forbidden
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Agriculture economy with problems:

- Over 75% of the Russian population belonged to the poor peasant class - less than 1/3 of them could read and write. Very low prices on bread (= low income). Redemption payments before 1905
- the equipment was usually very old - often made of wood and the farming methods were inefficient and gave low yield + frequent harvest failures
- Lack of land available for the peasants (when the population increased the land was subdivided)
- Landed aristocracy ruled the country outside the cities – and they treated the peasants poorly

Industries:

- Compared with the western countries was Russia's industrial power very modest. In terms of Russian economy, the industrialization was more impressive (In 1890 – the industrial output was worth 1502 million roubles – 1912 the industrial output was worth 5738 million roubles) around 40% of the industries were textile industries 1910.
- The living and working conditions for the workers were usually very poor
- In 1896 an eleven-an-a-half-hour working day was legally instituted. This was ignored by the employers...

Transportation:

- The roads of Russia were poorly developed - Rivers and lakes were more often used
- In the late 19th century came the railroads. The Russian railroads were not very well developed compared with the western world and it was nearly always single-tracked
- The Russian merchant marine was small

Political Opposition 1894-1905

- Liberals (Octobrists/Kadets), Socialist Revolutionaries, Marxists (Social Democratic Party - Split between "Mensheviks" and "Bolsheviks"), Nationalistic parties that wanted independence... - all of them were forbidden before 1905. After the October Manifesto 1905 they became legal.

Russo-Japanese War 1904-05. Devastating for Russia since they lost this war...

- Bloody Sunday - Popular Reaction – “1905 Revolution” – led to concessions: October, November, December Manifestos. The Russian peasants still needed land and the political system – Autocracy – had not changed!
- Some historians claim that Russia could have changed towards a parliamentary system – but then WWI came.

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

SHORT-TERM CAUSES

WWI

- *Russian performance in WWI – military incompetence, poor equipment and supply shortages*
- *Food and fuel shortages - especially in the cities (Note – transport problems)*
- *Tsar – Commander-in-Chief (incompetent – left Petrograd)*
- *Rasputin (his influence over the Tsar family)*
- *Problems in Petrograd 1916-17; shortages, demonstrations, strikes, lockouts, riots...*

Russian Revolution – February 1917

- *Tsar abdicated - confusion*
- *Dual Power system (Provisional Government – Petrograd Soviet)*
- *Continuation of WWI (disastrous offensive in June 1917)*
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- *July Days (riots in Petrograd) – Kornilov revolt*
- *Local Soviet elections (Bolshevik majority in Petrograd and Moscow)*
- *Election in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets coming up*
- *Election to a Russian Constitutional Assembly coming up*

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- *Bolshevik temporary government The Council of Peoples Commissars (Sovnarkom) formed*
- *Decree on Peace*
- *Decree on Land*
- *Election to the Constituent Assembly (November 1917) Socialist Revolutionaries won...(problems)*
- *Decree on the Press (censorship)*
- *Decree on the Formation of the Supreme Economic Council of National Economy (VESENKHA)*
- *The establishment of a secret political police – the CHEKA (repression) The All-Russian Extra-ordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution, Speculation, and Sabotage. The Cheka was established on December 7th 1917 by a decision of the Sovnarkom. It was subordinated to the Sovnarkom and its functions were, "to liquidate counter-revolution and sabotage, to hand over counter-revolutionaries and saboteurs to the revolutionary tribunals, and to apply such measures of repression as 'confiscation, deprivation of ration cards, publication of lists of enemies of the people etc.' The man in charge was Felix Dzerzhinsky. But several contemporary sources indicate the active role of Lenin in enforcing the "policy of terror"... During 1918 6300 people were executed by the CHEKA according to their own official numbers. The actual figures were probably much higher. The most famous victims were the Tsar family (executed in Yekaterinburg in July 1918).*
- *January 1918 – Lenin closes the Constituent Assembly – taking over power by force*
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The new Bolshevik regime did not trust the old army so they formed a new one in January 1918 – The Red Army:

- *It was open to all "class-conscious" workers of 18 years of age or more*
- *The bourgeoisie was banned*
- *50 000 former Tsarist officers were retained to train the new force*
- *Each unit received a political commissar who was responsible for indoctrination and he should ensure that the army remained under Bolshevik control*
- *The supreme commander of the military forces was Leon Trotsky*
- *In August 1919 the Red Army had 300 000 soldiers – in January 1920 the Red Army had over 5 million men...*

To reinstate discipline a few regulations were made in February/March 1918:

- *The powers of the regimental councils were curtailed*
- *The practice of electing officers was abolished*
- *The death penalty for deserters was reintroduced*

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

IMMEDIATE CAUSE

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk March 1917 (Russia lost lots of territory and resources)

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German offensive in France – the allies wants Russia back into the war...

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In July (10th) 1918 RSFSR – the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic received a new CONSTITUTION

- *RSFSR was a "classless society"*
- *RSFSR had freedom of worship*
- *All private ownership of property was forbidden*
- *Universal suffrage (except for: former members or agents of the Tsarist government, those who had profited from the labor of others, those with unearned income, priests, lunatics and criminals...)*
- *The economic principle was "he who does not work neither shall he eat"...*

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF 20TH CENTURY WARS

PRACTICES OF WAR – IMPACT ON THE OUTCOME

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

TYPE OF WAR (Civil War; War between states; Guerrilla War; Limited War; Total War)

CIVIL WAR

RED

- *Bolsheviks*
- *Support from peasants (the Bolsheviks promised land – “Decree on Land” but the White said the landlords would regain their land and then the peasants would lose it)*
- *Support from urban workers (they wanted to protect the gains from 1917...)*
- *Support, to some extent, from nationalists (the White claimed that they wanted the pre-1917 borders back)*
- *Support from the Kronstadt sailors – an elite among the soldiers and very symbolic for the Bolshevik cause*

AIMS. The Bolshevik had their aims in common - to protect the revolution and save the new system they set up (Communism). Since several foreign nations got involved they also claimed that they protected Russia.

LEADERSHIP. The Bolsheviks had very skilled leadership – Lenin as the political leader and Trotsky leading the military efforts

WHITES

- *Tsarists, nobilities*
- *Middle-class constitutional democrats*
- *Mensheviks*
- *Socialist Revolutionaries*
- *Foreign Powers*
- *Groups of nationalists, peasants etc... (Greens: Independent groups of nationalists, peasants or bandits who roamed Russia at this time. They fought anyone and raided villages and towns. The most famous was the Ukrainian nationalist, Nestor Makno, who shared his booty with local peasants)*

(Another suggestion:

- *Those attached to other revolutionary groups, hostile to or rejected by the Bolsheviks...*
- *Former officers of the Imperial army, usually resentful of the "betrayal" at Brest-Litovsk*
- *Nationalist groups seeking independence for their particular minority)*
- *+ some support from foreign nations...*

AIMS. The groups that made up the Whites had different aims. Some wanted the Tsar back, some a military Dictator; others wanted constitutional government or revolutionary change. The only aim they had in common was to defeat the Bolsheviks; they agreed on little else...

- *Senior Russian Army Officers hated the humiliating terms of Brest-Litovsk. They also wanted to regain control over the Army...*
- *Landowners wanted their land back*
- *Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks had been denied power...*
- *The Foreign Powers were critical against Russia leaving the war (for several different reasons)*
- *The Foreign powers were also afraid of the new doctrine - Communism*
- *National minorities wanted their independence...*

LEADERSHIP.

- *The Whites lacked good leaders. Some of the commanders were cruel, treated their men with disrespect and set a bad example, drinking and taking drugs...*
- *The White Generals did not trust each other and would not co-ordinate their attacks. This allowed the Bolsheviks to pick off the White Armies one by one*
- *The Whites had problems inside their Armies, too. There was often fighting and squabbling, because the groups had different aims and beliefs. It was particularly hard for the revolutionaries to co-operate with supporters of the Tsar.*

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

THEATRE OF WAR: AIR

THEATRE OF WAR: LAND

PHASE 1:

During the first phase, the eastern front was the most significant. The fronts in the north and southeast did not register much activity. The Czech Legion started to fight against Bolshevik troops that denied them to pass through Russia towards Europe. They took control over the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Admiral Kolchak overthrew the Directorate which had been established in Ufa and proclaimed himself supreme ruler of Russia in November 1918.

PHASE 2:

The second phase saw action on the northwestern, eastern, south-eastern, southwestern, and southern fronts. Bitter fighting was the keynote everywhere. The high point of White progress was achieved in October 1919 when Denikin's cavalry reached Orel, 200 miles southwest of Moscow. Yedenich reached the suburbs of Petrograd in late October 1919. The Reds scored notable victories to force Denikin back to the Don in October 1919 and Kolchak was forced to retreat to Irkutsk in December.

PHASE 3:

Phase three is dominated by the Polish invasion in May 1920 and Wrangel's drive north from the Crimea in June. The Reds met defeat near Warsaw and conceded territory to the Poles at the Treaty of Riga in March 1921. By the end of the year Soviet Russia had been cleared of all large anti-Bolshevik forces.

The Polish claim was extra difficult since there was a disagreement of the eastern borders; should the historic borders from before the partition of the old Polish kingdom in 1772 be the new border or should it be fixed by the main areas of the Polish-speaking population (called the Curzon Line). The dispute about this border would lead to war between Poland and the new Bolshevik State of Russia in 1920...

Look at the map on page 17 (last page)

NOTE: You should also bring up the "Red Terror" as well as the "White Terror"

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

THEATRE OF WAR: SEA

MOBILIZATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES

Both sides in the Civil War used forced conscription

Recruiting + the size of the armies

Workers – especially in the war industries, etc... could be brought up under “mobilization of human resources”

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

MOBILIZATION OF ECONOMIC RESOURCES

RED – BOLSHEVIK ECONOMY: The economy had to be adjusted to the war...

- Extensive nationalization (all the industries - "Decree of Nationalization")
- Temporary abolition of money (extreme inflation - economic chaos)
- Equalization of earnings and direction of labor
- Grain requisition (sometimes by military force - caused a reaction: the peasants stopped producing a surplus which led to hunger and starvation)

War Communism is reckoned to have begun at mid-1918 with the "Decree of Nationalization", making all large-scale enterprises liable to nationalization without compensation. In the following three years there was wholesale nationalization, grain requisitioning, extreme inflation and the virtual disappearance of a money economy, a chaotic decline of industry, rationing, hunger, and disease, a decline of urban population, a gradual subordination of the unions to the government, and a Civil War which demanded the dispatch of all available human and material assets to the fronts.

Morris writes about War Communism: "Strict centralized control of all forms of economic production and distribution, the virtual outlawing of all private trade, and the near destruction of the money economy by the printing of vast quantities of banknotes."

To be able to feed the towns during the civil war a large-scale requisitioning of grain on the countryside was necessary. In June different local administrations - the "Committees of Poor Peasants" were formed. They were going to fulfill the needs of the urban population and the army. To make sure that the food supply was enough a decree of 1919 ordered the peasants to hand over to the State any grain surplus to what was needed for subsistence. In response the peasants simply reduced their production so there was no surplus. By 1921 only about half as much stock was kept and half as much land cultivated as there had been in 1913. Little food arrived in the cities, and the only prospect of a livelihood lay in the countryside. City workers in their thousands simply left and went into the country, to join the thousands of soldiers returning from the wars. The Government continued the confiscation of supplies, sometimes by military (CHEKA) force.

In March 1921, shortly before the Tenth Bolshevik Party Congress opened in Petrograd, the sailors of the Kronstadt naval base outside Petrograd, joined by some of the Red Army, refused to obey their officers and called for a new revolution that gave genuine freedoms - of speech, of assembly, of private trade. Trotsky decided firm action was needed - it took ten days before the rebels gave up. This outburst, together with the peasant's active refusal to take part in the grain requisitioning, convinced Lenin of the need for change.

NOTE: The Bolsheviks won the war...

WHITE ECONOMY: Winston Churchill, War Secretary in Britain, encouraged the British to send help to the White forces. Great Britain sent £100 million worth of supplies to the White side...

INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN POWERS

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

INVOLVEMENT OF FOREIGN POWERS

Who were the interventionists?

- *Japan (wanted to gain territory in the east)*
- *Britain (first wanted Russia back into WWI)*
- *France (wanted Russia back into WWI + they also wanted to make sure they would receive the money the Russian government owned them – the new government had made clear that they did not intend to pay)*
- *USA (was more focused on keeping an eye on the Japanese and check weapon depots)*
- *Italy*
- *Finland (involved in its own Civil War between Red and White in 1918)*
- *Lithuania (wanted independence)*
- *Ukraine (had already declared independence and wanted to remain independent)*
- *Poland (wanted to gain old Polish territory back - The Polish claim was extra difficult since there was a disagreement of the eastern borders; should the historic borders from before the partition of the old Polish kingdom in 1772 be the new border or should it be fixed by the main areas of the Polish-speaking population (called the Curzon Line). The dispute about this border would lead to war between Poland and the new Bolshevik State of Russia in 1920)*
- *Romania*

Why did foreign powers intervene in the Russian Civil War?

- *Lenin “The allies wanted to suppress communism” Fear of Bolshevism*
- *The western powers did want to defeat Bolshevism (especially after the Third Communist International - “COMINTERN” in March 1919 had been founded with the expressed intention of spreading communism around the world and organizing the overthrow of the Western governments).*
- *To regain old lost territory (Poland)*
- *Resentment at Russian withdrawal from war*
- *To recover war supplies that were stored in Russia*
- *They wanted to prevent Germany and Austria from making free use of the Russian, Polish and Ukrainian raw materials*
- *Anger at writing off Russian debts by the Bolsheviks*
- *Japan wanted to try to gain some territory in the east...*

The international intervention was strictly limited:

- *The US sent only about 6000 men to Siberia (mostly to check the Japanese troops)*
- *Many of the men that were sent over were affected by war-weariness - they were not motivated*
- *The undemocratic regime of some of the White generals made it hard (or impossible) for some of the foreign troops to cooperate (esp. with Admiral Kolchak on the Eastern front... the US troops refused to cooperate and the French troops did it with very big difficulties)*
- *More important for the White armies were the substantial sums of money and the large quantities of military supplies. Unfortunately, some of that was checked by corruption and inefficiency which meant that little of the aid actually reached the front*
- *The intervention seemed to have the opposite effect of what it meant to have. The Bolsheviks were skilled in their propaganda when they portrayed their war effort as a defense of Russia against foreign imperialism...*
- *The only big exception to the limited success of the international efforts was the **Czech Legion**. On their way to the Western front they clashed into local Soviet officials who tried to disarm them (in Cheliabinsk). This incident led to this well-organized and well-equipped unit to cooperate with the White forces. It was successful, especially in the beginning of the Civil War, and their success encouraged the White forces. Representatives of the Socialist Revolutionaries combined with the Czech Legion formed one center of White Administration at the Eastern front (Omsk).*

Why did the interventions fail?

- *Lack of co-ordination*
- *Interventionists were not too keen for a fight with the exception for Poland...*
- *Very limited objectives*
- *Not any concerted effort to bring down the Bolsheviks*

CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF 20TH CENTURY WARS

EFFECTS OF WAR

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

SUCCESS OF PEACEMAKING

The Russian Civil War ended with Bolshevik victory 1921.

There was no Peace Treaty except with Poland (Treaty of Riga March 18th 1920) – which was a little failure...

FAILURE OF PEACEMAKING

TREATY OF RIGA: *The treaty established the so-called Riga border, leaving the strategic railroad that linked Baranowicze-Łuniniec-Sarny-Równe as well as East Galicia on the Polish side and Minsk on the Soviet side. The border linked Poland with Latvia and separated the Soviet state from its informal ally, Lithuania. The Soviet state was not to meddle in the Polish-Lithuanian quarrel over Vilnius. Poland officially recognized Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Belarus, and agreed not to support Petliura's troops after 2 November, when the treaty became legally binding. The treaty recognized that Polish territories had participated in the creation of the Imperial State Bank's gold reserve, and provided inter alia for the return of the movable property as well as archives, libraries, and works of art removed from Poland to Russia.*

Each side was not to support organizations aimed at undermining the other's political or social order. All former citizens of the Russian Empire who had lived on Polish territory could opt for Polish citizenship. The Soviet state was to return all libraries, archival collections, works of art, etc., that had been removed from Poland. Due to the Polish territories' participation in the creation of the Russian Imperial gold reserve, Poland was to receive 30 million gold rubles. The Soviet state agreed to buy out, for 27 million gold rubles, the railroad rolling stock that had been removed from Polish territory. The Soviet state was also to return Polish property. Polish funds, kept in deposit in former Russian imperial banks, were to be returned in paper money. Poland was released from the obligation to pay any share of the debts of the former Russian Empire. . People who lived in the borderlands could choose their citizenship and both sides promised to uphold the rights of the minorities and grant autonomy to minority churches

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

TERRITORIAL CHANGES

TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK MARCH 1917: *If we include this treaty then Russia lost lots of territory and resources...*

LOSS TO POLAND: *The Polish claim of territory was extra difficult since there was a disagreement of the eastern borders; should the historic borders from before the partition of the old Polish kingdom in 1772 be the new border or should it be fixed by the main areas of the Polish-speaking population (called the Curzon Line). The dispute about this border would lead to war (the "Third Phase") between Poland and the new Bolshevik State of Russia in 1920... After some losses the Bolsheviks conceded territory to the Poles at the **Treaty of Riga** in March 1921.*

- *Russia had to surrender large areas of White Russia (Belarus) and the Ukraine to Poland*

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS

- *10th Party Congress 1921: The one-party state - all parties other than the Bolsheviks had been outlawed.*
- *10th Party Congress 1921: The ban on factionalism - prevented criticism of leadership within the party, in effect a prohibition of criticism and free speech.*
- *10th Party Congress 1921: The destruction of the trade unions - with Lenin's encouragement, Trotsky had destroyed the independence of the trade unions with the result that the Russian workers were entirely at the mercy of the State.*
- *The police state - the Cheka was the first of a series of secret police organizations in Soviet Russia whose task was to impose government control over the people.*
- *The politicizing of the law - under Lenin the law was not operated as a means of protecting society and the individual but as an extension of political control. He declared that the task of the courts was to apply revolutionary justice. 'The court is not to eliminate terror but to legitimize it'.*
- *The system of purges and show trials which were to become a notorious feature of Stalinism had first been created under Lenin. Outstanding examples of these were the public trials of the Moscow clergy between April and July 1922 and of the SRs between June and August of the same year.*
- *Concentration camps - at the time of Lenin's death there were 315 such camps. Developed as part of the Red Terror they held White prisoners of war, rebel peasants, Kulaks, and political prisoners, such as SRs, who were considered a threat to Soviet authority.*
- *Prohibition of public worship - the Orthodox churches had been looted then closed, their clergy arrested or dispersed and atheism adopted as a replacement for religious belief.*

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

ECONOMIC IMPACT

- *At the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia lost much land and resources*
- *Industrial sector was pushed far back during this period - devastating results – the industrial production fell disastrously*
- *Temporary abolition of money (extreme inflation - economic chaos)*
- *Equalization of earnings and direction of labor*
- *Agriculture collapsed – due to the Civil War and Grain requisition (sometimes by military force and/or help from the Cheka)- caused a reaction: the peasants stopped producing a surplus which led to hunger and starvation)*
- *Peasant unrest all over the country (uprise...)*
- *Kronstadt uprising. The sailors together with some soldiers from the Red Army called for a new revolution with freedom of speech, of assembly and private trade*

This was a period of war, economic chaos, hunger + starvation and enormous hardship. So was the Bolshevik economic policy "War Communism" successful? Well, they won the Civil War...

NEP: Lenin's new policy of March 1921 was primarily aimed at the peasants in an effort to regain their support and give them an incentive to produce more. Therefore

- 1. The requisitioning of surplus grain was ended and instead an agricultural tax introduced, to be paid in kind until 1923 and thereafter in cash. The amount to be paid was a fixed proportion of the surplus, hence the more that was produced, the greater the peasants share of his own surplus. In addition, this surplus could be privately traded and the peasant could buy machinery, hire labor...*
- 2. The "New Economic Policy" (NEP) was not restricted to agriculture. Industry and trade were restored in part to private enterprise, although the types of works and businesses in private hands tended to be small and local. The State retained control of what Lenin called "the commanding heights" - heavy industry, the transport system, foreign trade and banking.*
- 3. The third thing that needed to be restored was the currency. Lenin reconstituted the rouble and backed it up with gold, silver and foreign currency.*

By returning to a private trade system the immediate problems were solved but at some time a fundamental reorganization would be needed. Soviet saw a considerable recovery in living standards and production levels. By 1926 in most production areas the economy had regained the 1913 output level.

- *coal, iron, steel, banking and railway remained nationalized*
- *Bolsheviks brought in experts, on high wages, to increase production*

Private Enterprise

- *Lenin let peasants sell their surplus of grain, but had to pay tax*
- *some hard-working peasants became rich (Kulaks)*

Problems:

- *price of manufactured goods became high*
- *Kulaks became rich, but most peasants and many workers in urban areas were under strict state control*
- *"Nepmen" made huge profits from buying food and goods cheaply and selling them expensively*
- *was a capitalist economy, meaning it was ideologically incorrect*
- *caused split in party*

SOCIAL IMPACT

1921 crisis

- *'Workers opposition' - demanded higher wages, more food, better working & living conditions, workers control of industry*
- *Kronstadt Uprising March 1921 - wanted end to Bolshevik monopoly of power, freedom of speech, end of Bolshevik privileges, withdrawal of political commissars and secret ballot elections to soviets*
- *Response - Trotsky violently suppressed uprising*

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT

10 million dead!

- *5 million people died in the war*
- *5 million people died in the famine (and drought) of 1921*

CHANGES IN THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN

WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

WHY DID THE BOLSHEVIKS WIN (OR WHY DID THE WHITE LOOSE?)

- *In the south and east the armies fought on fronts that were too wide*
- *poor communications between the white armies*
- *far away from industrial centers*
- *intervening allies and the white generals did not agree with each other*
- *the white armies showed very little understanding for the peasantry and the national minorities*
- *the white leaders had no clear policies*
- *the white generals did not develop any international understanding for their cause*
- *the methods of operations as well as the aims of the white armies were defective*
- *there were sympathies with the Bolsheviks among the intervening troops*
- *the red army benefited from "brilliant" leadership*
- *the red army also had coherent policy and propaganda*

The reasons for the final victory of the Reds in the Civil War are not difficult to determine:

- *The various White armies fought as separate detachments. They were never more than an uncoordinated group of forces; whose morale was seldom high.*
- *They were unwilling to sacrifice their individual interests in order to form a united anti-Bolshevik front. This allowed the Reds to pick off the White armies separately.*
- *In the rare cases in which the Whites did consider combining, they were too widely scattered geographically to be able to mount a sustained attack on the Reds.*
- *The Whites were a collection of dispossessed socialists, liberals and moderates, whose political differences often led them into bitter disputes among themselves.*
- *Save for their hatred of Bolshevism, the Whites lacked a common purpose.*
- *They became too reliant on supplies from abroad, which seldom arrived in sufficient quantity, in the right places, at the right time.*
- *Although the Reds imposed a reign of terror, the Whites' own record in ill-treating local populations was equally notorious.*
- *The Whites lacked leaders of the quality of Trotsky.*

The Reds, had a number of advantages:

- *They remained in control of a concentrated central area of western Russia, which they were able to defend by maintaining their inner communication and supply.*
- *The two major cities, Petrograd and Moscow, the administrative centers of Russia, remained in their hands throughout the war.*
- *The Reds kept control of the railway network.*
- *The Reds' strongest hold was over the industrial centers of Russia. This was a key advantage since it gave them access to munitions and resources unavailable to the Whites.*
- *The dependence of the Whites on supplies from abroad appeared to prove the Red accusation that they were in league with the foreign interventionists. The Civil War had produced a paradoxical situation in which the Reds were able to stand as champions of the Russian nation as well as proletarian revolutionaries.*
- *Waging war is not just a matter of resources and firepower. Morale and dedication play vital roles. Throughout the struggle the Reds were sustained by a driving sense of purpose.*
- *The Red Army was brilliantly organized and led by Trotsky as the Bolshevik war commissar. He created an army with an unshakable belief in its own eventual victory.*

We also saw some impact of the war on the Bolsheviks;

"TOUGHNESS": *The revolutions and the Civil War created a tradition of military obedience and loyalty. The Bolsheviks of this generation were hard men, forged in the fires of war!*

"AUTHORITARIANISM": *It was the military aspect of early Bolshevik government that left it with a "readiness to resort to coercion, rule by administrative centralized administration and summary justice".*

"CENTRALIZATION": *In 1919 two key sub-committees were added the Bolshevik Central Committee; the **POLITBURO** (Political Bureau - responsible for the major policy decisions) and the **ORGBURO** (Organization Bureau - responsible to turn the policies into practice).*

In 1922 the **RSFSR** (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic) became the **USSR** (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

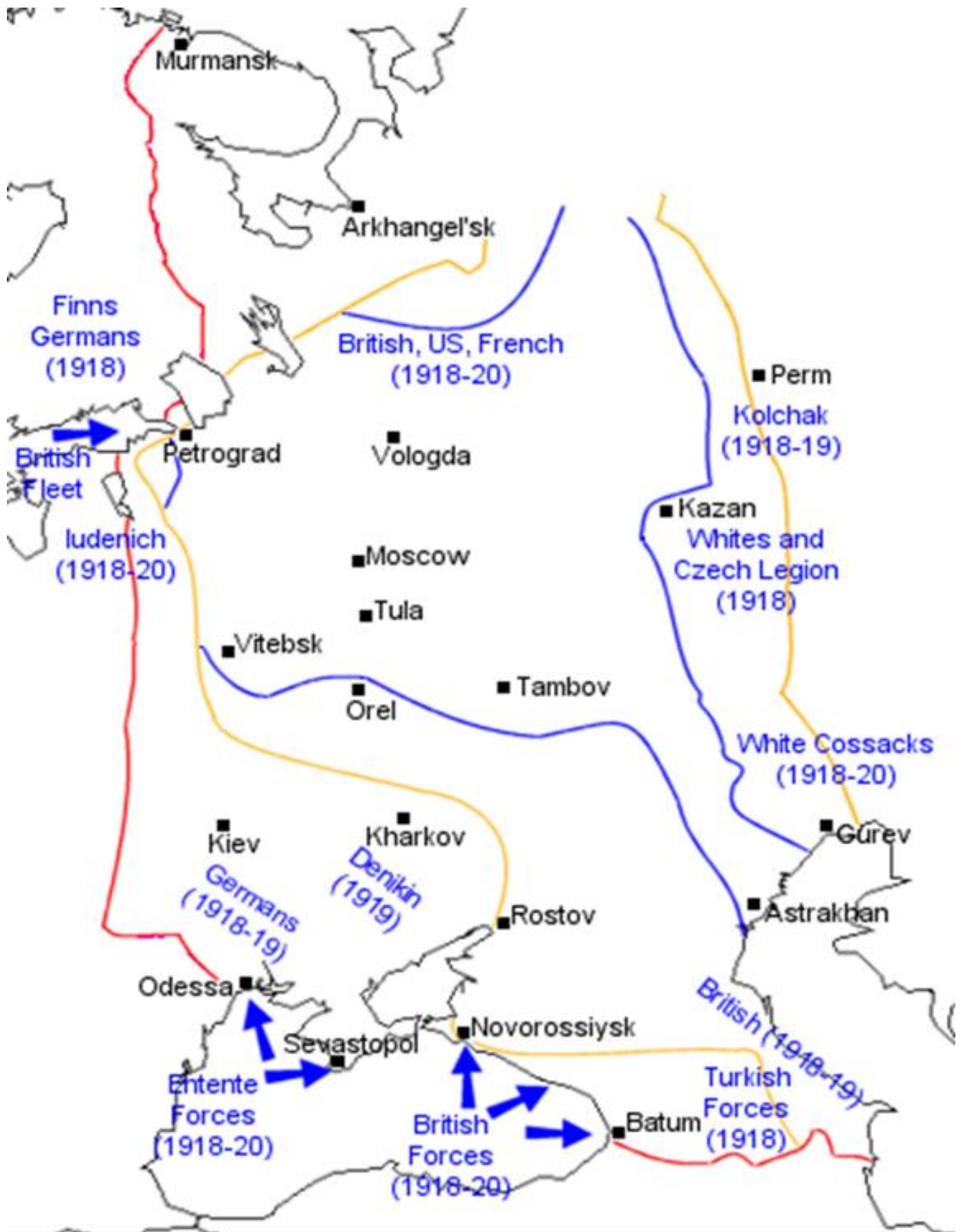
WAR: RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR

WHY DID THE BOLSHEVIKS WIN (OR WHY DID THE WHITE LOOSE?)

The Bolsheviks had some advantages - the railroad within their area made it possible for the troops to move quickly from one front to another, the area included industrial centers who could easily change the production to arms and equipment, they had a skillful Commissar of War - Trotsky - who brought in 30 000 former officers of the Tsarist army (by compulsion), and the Red Army was quite homogeneous - the army was united in the aims, the ideology and by compulsion...

CHANGES IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

*The Civil War left lots of resentment on both sides. The Soviet Union could look for little help, trade or friendship from the Western powers. Their participation in the Civil War had left each suspicious and convinced that the war between communism and the West was not over. The Soviet Union needed trade with the West to help build up industrial expertise. A few smaller trade treaties were signed (with Great Britain and Germany 1921) but the big breakthrough came in Italy 1922. For the very first time since WWI both Soviet Union and Germany got to participate as delegates in an International Conference. Both of these states had been alienated from the rest of Europe. The French government demanded that the Soviet government should repay the debts of the Tsarist Russia to France. The Soviets refused and demanded that the Western powers should pay reparations for their involvement in the Civil War. The Conference seemed to fail. During an intermission Germany and Soviet, the two "outcasts" started to negotiate and draw up an agreement of friendship and trade - the **Treaty of Rapallo** (6 April 1922). They agreed to cancel all territorial claims against each other and to cooperate economically.*



MAP OVER THE RUSSIAN CIVIL WAR