**T of and Events - Bolshevik Influence in the Civil War**

Source Analysis 1: Bolshevik Impact, 1917-24

| **Theme/Event/Idea** | **Extent of significance (limited/moderate/high)** | **Significance** |
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| Military Leadership (Trotsky) | Significant impact as Trotsky enforced unity and organisation required to defeat whites | Gave the Reds a distinct military advantage:  Strong discipline for soldiers - death penalty for turning back/deserting  Led by ex-Tsarist officers - experienced, held families at ransom  Train travel - morale of soldiers boosted  Loyalty to the Bolshevik cause eg. oath, Red Banner |
| Political Leadership (Lenin and Trotsky) | Significant impact, NEP crucial to retain power particularly as The Bolsheviks were incredibly unpopular (WC) | Lenin monopolised leadership (ie. control of Sovnarkom and Politburo)  Forced through his decisions by eliminating opposition eg. banning party factions, forced through NEP in order to maintain support and power |
| Political Ideology | Significant impact, main factor that increased support, equality appealed to masses | Drastic change from continuity of the Tsar and PG: dissociate with previous regime  Gave the illusion of positive change - workers and peasants felt they had made SOME small gains from the Revolution when socialism came into effect, were willing to support the Bolsheviks to keep gains. |
| Concessions | Moderate impact, was the reason peasants still supported Lenin, concessions overall outweighed bad policies (WC) | Gain support, allowing them to maintain power - peasants and workers felt like they had made real gains from the Revolution |
| Class Conflict | Moderate Impact, class warfare through propaganda strengthened the vision for equality | Disempower middle class  Gain support from peasants and workers - vengeance  Dissociate themselves with the Tsarist regime |
| Role of the Church | Limited impact, last Tsarist sentiment that was not influential in fighting against Bolsheviks. | No longer could support the leadership, didn’t have divine right to rule - weakened Lenin. Leaders Persecuted. |
| Peasants | Moderate impact, was initially promoted by Bolsheviks pre rev, but after they became less of a priority. Rural areas exploited. | Support of peasants was vital - made up over 80% of country’s population, relied upon peasants for food and fuel supplies  Green army hostile to Reds and Whites  Whites generally less preferred for policy of returning ownership of peasant land to landlords - thus Reds were lesser of two evils for the Peasants |
| Workers | Significant impact, main force that was building the proletariat. Were the ones who contributed to economy most and given most importance by Lenin | Main support basis for the Reds and Bolsheviks  Were disenchanted with war communism and economic downturn, but still wanted to keep the gains they had made in the revolutions of 1917, thus mostly still fought for the Reds. |
| International Forces | Limited impact, barely a force that fought the Bolsheviks. Didn’t actually do the dirty work. Sent troops during civil war but they didn’t actually fight. Money sent for aid barely resolved crisis. | Significant in downfall of the Whites  Alliance between Whites and Allies made it seem like the whites were fighting against Mother Russia for international invaders  Eg. Britain donated £100 million to Whites - seen as invaders just as Germans had been  Allowed Reds to exploit propaganda opportunities to characterise Whites as enemies of Russia  Corruption: White generals would sell donated materials on the black market, would often be bought by the Reds - gave more materials to Reds, made Whites seem corrupt |
| Land | Moderate impact, main reason peasants supported Bolsheviks. Was key resource relied on for foodstuffs during civil war. | Biggest issue for the peasants: redistribution of the land between peasants was one of the only gains of the October Revolution, and they intended to keep it  Meant that Whites’ policy of returning ownership of peasant land to landlords was hated deeply - thus Reds were lesser of two evils for the Peasants.  Also was motivation for creation of Green Army, peasant paramilitary - to protect land. Would cause significant issues for both Reds and Whites eg. whole brigades of Red Soldiers were killed, heads stuck on poles. |
| Military conflict | Moderate impact, during civil war was crucial in winning. After civil war wasn’t as prominent during NEP | Winning Civil War = could maintain power, not taken by Allies/Whites |
| Kronstadt Rebellion | Significant impact, represented democracy that was promised before & after rev. Made Lenin approve some of their demands | Betrayal of what had been a key support group of the Bolsheviks in October Revolution - demonstrated that Bolsheviks were sliding towards autocracy, many in the proletariat didn’t feel represented by them any more, continuity of the Tsarist regime’s mistreatment |
| War Communism | Revealed the vulnerability against whites, simply would not been able to defeat them without WC. Despite unpopularity, WC fed soldiers & workers. | Economic decline: By 1921, iron production was 2% of 1914 levels. Agricultural output reduced from 135-52 million tonnes of grain between 1913-20 - caused starvation.  Cities emptied: workers went to country to try and feed themselves, 72% people left Petrograd by end of Civil War  Caused famine in 1921  Social impact: uprisings eg. Peasant uprising 1920-21 Tambor  Growth of Black Market trade  Wages in 1919 were 2% of 1913 levels |
| Grain Requisitioning | Significant impact, main economic policy that accounted for the strife, starvation and rebellious nature of peasants. Bolsheviks unable to manage their “own” peoples | No incentive for peasants to actually produce more = fall in supplies, famine.  Subsistence farming: Peasants started to only produce enough for themselves to survive, to undermine Bolshevik quotas and requisitioning.  Peasant disillusionment towards Bolsheviks - fall in support. |
| Economic Decline | Significant impact, main factor for change which was not brought by Lenin as promised as war communism increased decline. | Worrying for the Bolsheviks: famine and disease, Tambov Revolts, Jan 1921 strikes in city - overall dissatisfaction meant Bolsheviks had to take drastically progressive action - NEP |
| Continuity of Tsarism | Moderate impact, merely replaced one authoritarian regime for another more continuity than change | Overall dissatisfaction from peasants (strikes eg. Jan 1921) meant Bolsheviks had to take drastically progressive action - NEP |
| Bolshevik Autocracy | Moderate impact, merely replaced one authoritarian regime for another more continuity than change | Shows continuity of Tsarism (see above) |
| Disunity of the Whites | Moderate impact, one of the crucial reasons for loss to Bolsheviks | Facilitated Red victory: had no uniting force, weren’t fighting for a common cause, thus was easier for Bolsheviks to defeat individual armies |
| Reforms of the Bolsheviks | Significant impact, reforms ultimately allowed them to retain power | War communism 1918-1921 (fail, but important to win civil war)  NEP 1921-1928 (mostly improved Russian life but was temporary) |
| Opposition to the Bolsheviks | Limited impact, after civil war, opposition was eradicated and strengthened one party state | Divided: SRs eg. some supported Bolsheviks, some supported Constituent Assembly |
| Creation of the USSR | Moderate impact, finally reaching goal of spreading communism | Allowed Communists to consolidate power by ensuring international unity to spread the word of Communism, preserving culture and traditions etc. Avoid imperialist claims by preserving strong sense of nationality - Bolsheviks seen favourably. |
| New Economic Policy | Moderate impact, temporary expedient that brought prosperity through capitalism | Economic recovery (factory output increased 200% 1920-23), benefitted peasants and workers, increased Bolshevik support  Increased international confidence - thought NEP meant end of Communism, Britain 1924 and Germany 1922 made trade agreements - benefitted industry, production, population |
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**Significance of Themes and Events -**

**Stalin’s Rise to Power**

Source Analysis 2: Transfer of Power

| **Theme/Event/Idea** | **Extent of significance (limited/moderate/high)** | **Significance** |
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| Socialism in One Country vs Permanent Revolution | High significance | Shows Stalin’s willingness to concede Marxist ideal of permanent revolution in favour of Socialism in One Country: suited Stalin, as permanent revolution was unpopular overseas, and S.O.C. appealed to nationalist sentiments of Russians. Conceded ideology mainly to counter Trotsky’s unpopular alternative - wasn’t pursuing Communism, but was pursuing power grab. |
| Centralised vs Collective leadership | Moderate significance | Fears of centralisation helped to eliminate Stalin’s opposition: eg. fear of Trotsky becoming dictator of the party as Napoleon had done after French Revolution, couldn’t have Trotsky as he was a divisive leader. Abhorred factionalism: allowed dismissal of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev. |
| NEP vs Rapid Industrialisation | High significance | Indicated the lengths to which Stalin was willing to go to preserve his power.  Eg. NEP: agreed with it at first in a strategic alliance with Bukharin to eliminate Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev. Then, changed ideology to rapid industrialisation (that of Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev) to eliminate Bukharin and the right, claiming that Bukharin wasn’t ‘Communist enough’.  S.O.C. strengthened Stalin’s support: investing more money within Russia for Russians, rather than overseas as Trotsky proposed - Jewish international conspiracy. |
| Legacy and influence of Lenin | High significance | Left a power and ideological vacuum: Communism had not been Marxism, it had been Leninism, and now Leninism had lost its figurehead in the power vacuum of Lenin. Stalin stepped into that vacuum - he continued Lenin’s legacy and thus Leninism for some while. Yet he soon changed to Stalinism: dictatorship and centralisation. Under Lenin, the ideological basis of ‘Communism’ had been based almost purely upon leadership (evidenced in the deification of Lenin after his death, 3.5 million people came to visit his body in 3 days despite freezing temperatures). Stalin managed to transfer this to himself, replacing ideology with leadership and charisma. |
| Lenin’s death | Moderate significance | Death came at a convenient time: Lenin hated Stalin, would have brought him down if lived longer.  Lenin had begun the democratisation of the party eg. expansion of Central Committee from 12-100 people, which would have reduced Stalin’s dictatorial power - but he died in time, and Stalin reduced power from 12 to 3 (triumvirate) to 1 by 1927. |
| Lenin’s funeral | Moderate significance | Trotsky not invited to funeral - damaged his reputation.  Stalin made himself a key figure and the natural successor to Lenin: made a speech in tribute to Lenin, thereby transferring support for Lenin to himself. Carried casket. |
| Ideology | Limited significance | Primary focus of Stalin was not Communist ideology, rather it was staying in power. See below |
| Concessions of ideology | Moderate significance | Indicated the lengths to which Stalin was willing to go to preserve his power. Conceded Marxist ideal of permanent revolution in favour of Socialism in One Country: suited Stalin, as permanent revolution was unpopular overseas, and S.O.C. appealed to sentiments of Russians. |
| Elimination of opposition | Moderate significance | 1. *Alliance with Zinoviev and Kamenev (triumvirate): slander Trotsky in 1924 and exile him in 1928, cover up Lenin’s will* 2. *Alliance with Bukharin 1925 re: NEP, put Stalin supporters in the Politburo, dismiss Zinoviev and Kamenev alongside Trotsky (United Opposition - factionalism) in 1925* 3. *Dismantled NEP in favour of rapid industrialisation, dismissed Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky in 1929*   Ambivalence and political manoeuvring allowed Stalin to eliminate and discredit the left and the right, leaving himself as the only viable option as leader for years to follow. No other viable options: Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev posed a factionalist threat, while Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky supported the unpopular NEP - capitalist notions. |
| Trotsky | Significant: his failures and weaknesses allowed Stalin to come to power when Trotsky appeared to be the obvious choice - which damaged him | Trotsky was divisive, arrogant and confrontative, didn’t like to compromise - fear amongst members that he would split the party, weakening its power. Fear of factionalism ie. United Opposition of Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev.  Trotsky was a Jew: distrusted, thought he was part of conspiracy in other nations. Heightened by his support for permanent Revolution.  Left out from Lenin’s funeral: damaged his reputation.  General: didn’t know how to play the political game. Fears that he would become the ‘Red Napoleon’ - dictatorship would emerge like it had in France. |
| Stalin’s leadership ie. Cult of Stalin | Significant | Significant in aiding transfer away from pure Communist ideology, particularly its adaptation in Leninist Communism. Cult of Stalin allowed Stalin to assert himself as rightful leader of USSR, and successor of Lenin - despite the fact that Communism idealised the withering away of the state. Thus, personality cult allowed Stalin to exercise total autocratic powers by himself. |
| Lenin’s testament | Limited significance | Had the potential to upend Stalin’s quest for the leadership, but he found out about it and had it read to Central Committee first, rather than being released. Contained incriminating material on Kamenev and Zinoviev, and helped to bolster Trotsky - thus, it was seen as a threat by the Central Committee, who chose not to reveal it. Meant that knowledge never got out - by the time Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev attempted to release it to the press in 1925, was too late as Stalin had already seized power. |
| Propaganda | High significance | Allowed Stalin to characterise himself as the natural successor of Lenin, and thus to ensure support for himself and his plans as ‘Lenin’s will’. Facilitated creation of the Cult of Stalin as a direct result of the Cult of Lenin. |