

Russian Security State

GOVT-5519/IPOL-3519/REES-5519/SEST-6763

Lecture 06. Building Communism

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Today's objectives

1. *Identify*: key groups of actors central to Russian Civil War
2. *Understand*: how Bolsheviks were able to support war effort
3. *Discuss*: trade-offs between ideological purity and economic development/performance

Picking Sides

How would you expect the average member of each group to align?

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| a) Peasants | d) Military officers | f) Landed aristocracy | i) Clergy |
| b) Urban workers | e) Military rank-and-file | g) Bureaucrats | j) Bourgeoisie |
| c) Minorities | | h) Cossacks | |

The choices are:



Figure 1: Reds



Figure 2: Whites

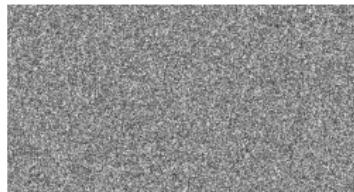


Figure 3: Third Party

War Communism

Who Were the Bolsheviks?

- radical faction of Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP(b))
- ideological split from Mensheviks, 1903
 - a) "minority" Mensheviks supported:
 - cooperation with bourgeoisie
 - Russian participation in WWI
 - use of terrorism, violence
 - collectivization of agriculture
 - b) "majority" Bolsheviks supported:
 - cooperation with bourgeoisie
 - Russian participation in WWI
 - use of terrorism, violence
 - collectivization of agriculture
- support base: factory workers, soldiers
- party banned in 1914 due to war stance
- Lenin in exile until April 1917



Figure 4: Lenin and Friends

The Revolutionary Moment

1. February Revolution

- mass protests, mutinies in Petrograd lead to regime change
- dual power: Provisional Council/Government (SRs, Mensheviks) vs. Petrograd Soviet of Workers' & Soldiers' Deputies (Bolsheviks)
- main disagreements: WWI, death penalty on front, land reform

2. October Revolution

- Petrograd Soviet seizes power, announces new cabinet
- pro-Bolshevik soldiers, sailors storm Winter Palace, arrest PG
- "left" SR faction backs Bolsheviks
- Mensheviks, SRs oppose coup
- armed opposition forms almost immediately



Figure 5: Man Yells at Crowd



Figure 6: Crowd Responds

National legislative elections held 20 days after October Revolution
... they do not go well for the Bolsheviks.

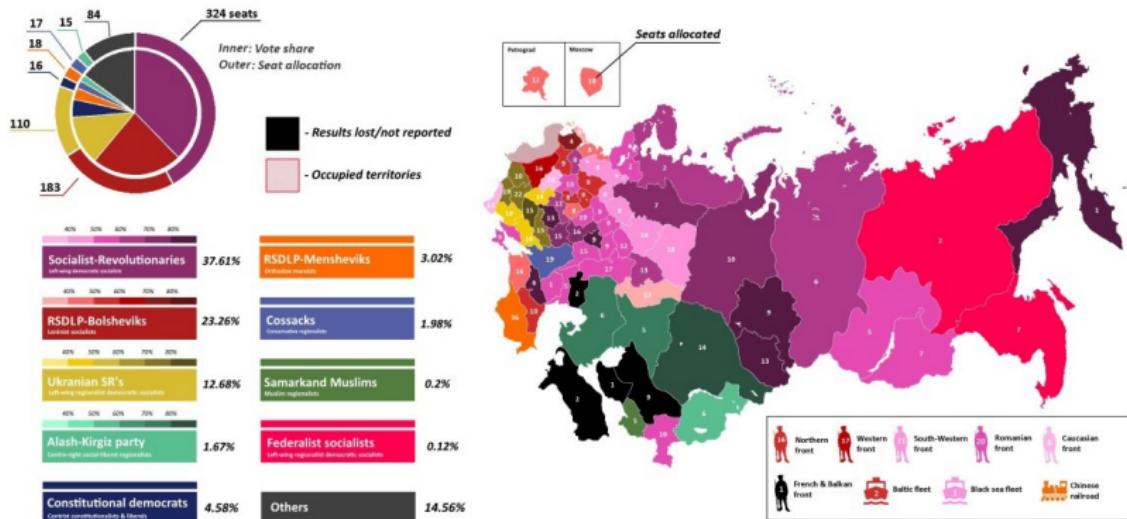


Figure 7: 1917 Russian Constituent Assembly election results

How to lose a country, in 3 simple steps

1. Dissolution of Constituent Assembly
 - Bolsheviks lose Nov 1917 elections
 - Lenin disbands Assembly, begins repression of rival parties
2. Agricultural policy
 - Bolsheviks keep PG's state monopoly on grain sales
 - announce "produce dictatorship" to address urban food shortages
3. 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
 - Bolsheviks sign peace treaty with Germany, Austro-Hungary
 - default on all allied commitments
 - territorial concessions: Finland, Baltics, Belarus, Ukraine, Poland

Each of these moves was *deeply* unpopular.
Why did the Bolsheviks do this?
Did they have any better options?



Figure 8: A Bad Policy?



Figure 9: A Bad Deal?

Russian Civil War

Fallout from Brest-Litovsk

1. Political isolation
 - left SRs oppose treaty, leave Bolshevik government in protest
2. Foreign occupation / intervention
 - Germany, Austria occupy Ukraine
 - Entente troops land in Murmansk, Vladivostok, Odesa, Sevastopol
 - foreign weapons, aid to opposition
3. Food crisis worsens
 - no flow of Ukraine grain to cities
 - food prices spike, breadlines form
 - Soviets take emergency steps to requisition grain by force



Figure 10: Help Arrives

Russian Civil War

Year	Key Events
1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Don Cossack uprising in South - Japanese invasion of Far East
1918	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ukraine (UNR) declares independence - Don Cossacks defeated, for now - Czech legion captures Trans-Sib railroad - Allied invasions of n. Russia, Siberia - Failed Bolshevik takeover of Finland - Bolsheviks capture, lose, reoccupy Kyiv - Kolchak seizes power in Siberia - Polish-Ukrainian War in Galicia - Failed Bolshevik invasion of Baltics
1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Denikin's forces take s. Russia, Ukraine - Red counteroffensives in south, Siberia - Bolsheviks retake Kyiv - Denikin's forces defeated in s. Russia - Most foreign troops withdrawn
1920	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Kolchak's forces defeated in Siberia - Poland captures w. Ukraine, w. Belarus - Wrangel's forces defeated in Crimea - Whites evacuate by Black Sea

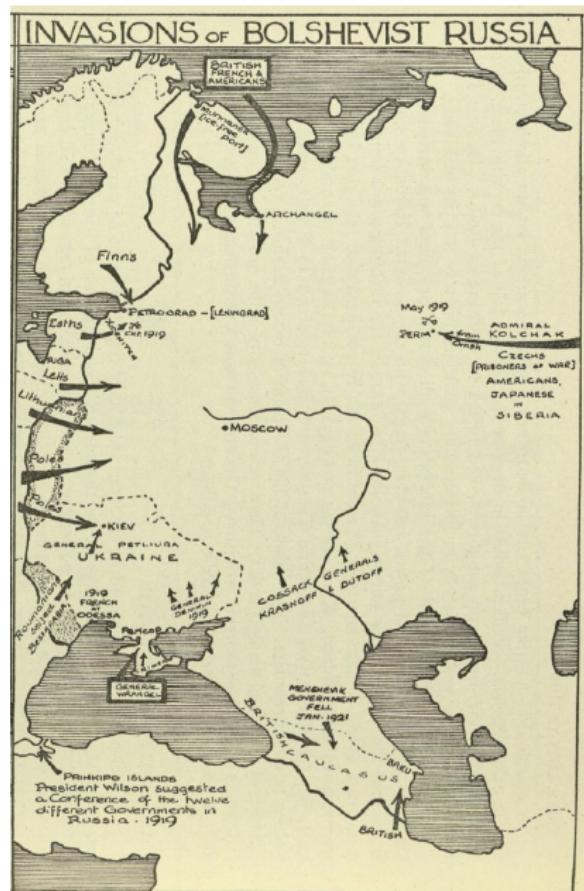




Figure 12: Net territorial losses and gains

Governance During War

Problem: how to finance war effort?

- no tax revenue due to anarchy
- black market, barter economy
- food shortages, famine
- labor shortages in cities, rural areas

Solution: “War Communism”

1. Nationalization of banks
 - all deposits, savings confiscated
2. Nationalization of all industries
 - heavy industry 75% state-owned
 - agriculture 12% state-owned
3. Compulsory labor regime
 - labor units formed in Red Army
4. Requisitioning of grain from farmers
 - doesn't prevent famine, but provokes peasant uprisings
5. Red Terror
 - repression of “class enemies”



Figure 13: Give Us Bread

Post-War Communism

A Dictatorship, If You Can Keep It

- by 1921, Bolsheviks had won civil war
- but the country was devastated

1. Human toll

- up to 9 million dead from violence, famine, repression
- 1-2 million refugees, exiles abroad

2. Economic toll

- grain production down 56%
(from pre-war 1913 levels)
- livestock production down 73%
- industrial production down 70%

3. Political toll

- Bolsheviks still widely despised
- international diplomatic isolation
- losing support among soldiers, sailors (1921 Kronstadt uprising)



Figure 14: Now What?

New Economic Policy, 1921-1928

Policy area	War Communism	New Economic Policy
<i>Agriculture</i>	Grain requisitioning	Grain taxation
<i>Heavy industry</i>	Nationalization	Nationalization
<i>Light industry</i>	Nationalization	De-nationalization
<i>Private property</i>	Forbidden	Small private enterprise allowed
<i>Private trade</i>	Forbidden	Permitted
<i>Foreign trade</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Banks</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Economic goals</i>	Mobilize resources for war	Stop economic crisis
<i>Political goals</i>	Establish party dictatorship	Maintain party dictatorship

Discussion:

In what ways was NEP an economic success, but ideological failure?

Results of NEP

1. Industry, agriculture recovers
 - output returns to prewar levels
2. But couldn't reap full benefits of capitalism or socialism
 - no employment expansion beyond what market allows
 - no incentive for peasant communes to consolidate, fully feed urban industrial class
3. Ideological divide in party
 - leftists see NEP as heresy
 - NEP creates new "class enemies" (NEPmen, kulaks)



Figure 15: The NEPman

Five Year Plan

Debating Industrialization Policy

1. Nikolay Bukharin

- advocated co-development of heavy industry and agriculture
- proposals:
 - reduce price of manufactures
 - improve terms of trade for agro

2. Yevgeniy Prokhorov

- advocated heavy industrialization, at expense of agriculture
- proposals:
 - surplus extraction over taxation
 - stack terms of trade against agriculture (higher consumer goods prices, low grain prices)

Discussion:

Who won this debate, and why?



Figure 16: Impossible?

Policy area	New Economic Policy	Five Year Plan
<i>Agriculture</i>	Grain taxation	Collectivization
<i>Heavy industry</i>	Nationalization	Nationalization
<i>Light industry</i>	De-nationalization	Nationalization
<i>Private property</i>	Small private enterprise allowed	Forbidden
<i>Private trade</i>	Permitted	Forbidden
<i>Foreign trade</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Banks</i>	State monopoly	State monopoly
<i>Economic goals</i>	Stop economic crisis	Rapid industrialization
<i>Political goals</i>	Maintain party dictatorship	Consolidate Stalin's rule

NEXT MEETING

Collectivization, Industrialization, Famine (Th, Sep. 25)

- Stalin asserts control
- things to consider:
 - what happens when prices, profits become irrelevant, and output targets become everything?
 - was mass famine of 1932-1933 preventable?