

SOLDIERS IN THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

The Red Army and the
Soviet Socialist State,
1917–1930

Mark von Hagen

Studies of the Harriman Institute

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ithaca and London

Contents

Illustrations	ix
Preface	xi
Terms and Abbreviations	xv
Introduction	1

Part One. Revolution, Civil War, and Peace

1	Building a Socialist Army, February 1917–March 1919	13
	Soldiers and Revolution	13
	The Brief Era of the Volunteer Army	21
	The Politics of the Conscript Army	36
	Pressures for Reform	50
2	War and the Soviet State, April 1919–November 1920	67
	Desertion and the Peasant Question	67
	The Army and the Party	80
	Soldiers' Culture and Political Work	89
	A Breathing Space and Civilian–Military Conflicts	114
	The Final Struggle	121
3	From War to Peace, November 1920–December 1922	127
	The Dilemmas of Demobilization	127
	The Army under Siege	132
	The Tenth Party Congress	137
	Defining Culture and Politics	152
	Political Work in the Peacetime Army	163
	The Crisis in Discipline	175

Part Two. The Frunze Reforms

4	The Context of Reform, January 1923–February 1924	183
	Communist Ethics and Generational Conflict	185
	Trotsky's Struggle for Power	195
5	Militarization: Officers and Soldiers	206
	Militia Compromise and Conscription	206
	The Remaking of the Officer Corps	210
	Trade Union Methods and Iron Discipline	220
6	Peasants, Civilians, and Army Politics	231
	Rural Politics and the Peacetime Army	231
	Militarization of the Civilian Populace	240
	The Party and Komsomol	252

Part Three. A School of Socialism

7	Militarization and Sovietization: Political Culture in the Postreform Army	271
	Toward the Two-Year Program	271
	The Army as Family and School	279
	Soviet Patriotism and Leninism	288
8	The Red Army and the Worker-Peasant Alliance, 1925–1930	295
	Cadres for the Countryside	295
	Soldiers and Collectivization	308
	Conclusion	326
	Bibliography	344
	Index	359